

# PROMISING CURES

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

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



Volume 1: Early-Century Questions

ANDREW V. RAPOZA

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Andrew V. Rapoza

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## Volume 1: Early-Century Questions



## **The *Promising Cures* Collection**

*Volume 1: Early-Century Questions*

Volume 2: Mid-Century Choices

Volume 3: Deep-Century Promises

Volume 4: Late-Century Exposures

*This book is dedicated  
with love and gratitude  
to my dear wife and  
eternal companion,  
Gail,  
who has walked with me,  
hand in hand,  
through the streets of a town  
others could not see;  
and to my cherished mother  
who taught me  
how to see history  
with the mind  
and heart.*



Thus thou mayest in two or three houres travaile over a few leaves, see and know that, which cost him that writ it, yeares and travaile ... and therefore I hope thou wilt accept it; which shall be my full reward, as it was my whole ambition, and so I rest ....

William Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, 1634

He is the greatest physician who performs the greatest number of important cures, not he who writes the best recipes.

Aaron Lummus, *The Life and Adventures of Dr. Caleb*, 1822

There appears to exist an opinion, in the minds of some, that an historian is a mere machine, an appendage of time and circumstance, whose only duty is to preserve an account of events, but who is not at liberty to offer his own remarks. Every other writer, from the author of the ponderous octavo to the essayist of a village newspaper, may bring out his opinions at full length, on any subject which suits his fancy ... but the serious historian must be silent, though his habits of long research, patient investigation, and deep reflection have given him some of the best advantages for obtaining correct views. Such is not the opinion of some of the best writers in this department of literature, nor shall it be mine. Considering myself as accountable, not unto men, but unto God, I shall speak the truth, whenever I consider it to be my duty, and have the opportunity.

Alonzo Lewis, *Lynn Mirror and Essex Democrat*, 1830

Everything differing from the old school is termed quackery? What is quackery, then, but improvement?

Elizabeth Mott, *The Ladies' Medical Oracle*, 1834

The writing of town and local histories is most invariably a labor of love, rarely a means of profit. ... Much as this fact is to be regretted, ... it rarely discourages research or hinders historical labors. The true historian is impelled by his nature, ... not by a love of lucre. ... While Lynn histories have never proved bonanzas of pecuniary profit ... every book of Lynn history ... finds a welcome to the shelves of rich and poor here.

George E. Emery, *Daily Evening Item*, 1883



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# Casket of Graphic Remains

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

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

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

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## Preface

Health is critical to happiness. For every rational person, being healthy is better than being sick; being healed is far better than living in pain. Sickness, disease, and injury prevent full enjoyment of life and consequently, people have always tried to solve how to prevent these misfortunes from happening and to stop them when they unavoidably occur. Over the centuries, solutions that seemed certain in one moment were eventually proven ineffective and sometimes more dangerous than the problem; they then were replaced by the next notion in medicine or treatment which, in turn, was replaced by yet another idea. As a result, some of our remedies today have emerged from the shadows of superstition, others from the unflinching faith of religion, some from the empirical trials of science, and still others from the fog of quackery.

Before you assume this book is another retelling of the triumph of medicine, think again: it is now the twenty-first century and superstition, religion, science, and quackery all still have their adherents. It is not my intention to declare a “winner” – the decision of how best to be and stay healthy remains an intensely personal choice. This book recites some stories of those who have gone before us and what they did to be healthy and not “gone too soon.” Maybe we can learn something from them; at the very least, we can empathize with their struggles and decisions as we walk along with them by reading about their mortal journeys.

My wife and I bought our first home in Lynn, Massachusetts, and raised our children there for ten years. My fascination with Lynn’s history developed from collecting and studying its Victorian era advertising that today is laughed at as remnants of quackery foisted upon our supposedly gullible ancestors. Quackery has always been considered a joke, a snickered condescension; a hoax, a pretentious boast; a damning accusation; an unkept promise; a cruel extortion of the sick, the ignorant, and the helpless – but when it’s not happening to you, it’s also absolutely fascinating.

From the first moment I held an advertising trade card and stared at its before-and-after images of a deathly ill Victorian cured by an amazing elixir, it was I who had become addicted to nineteenth century patent medicine. Over the past four decades I have enjoyed collecting and researching “quack medicines” and associated advertising from the nineteenth century. I have also looked behind the promising cures and learned there was far more depth and complexity to choosing which medicine or healer to trust. No one chose to be duped but everyone wanted to be cured. All health products were promoted as promising cures; they only became known as quack medicines when they didn’t succeed.

I have focused my research and writing on the pursuit of health in Lynn because its population was just large enough at every point throughout the nineteenth century to sample virtually every type of nostrum and notion of health experimented with during those years. Focusing my collecting on one community also kept some restraint on my budget and preserved my marriage.

Lynn, Massachusetts, was just like every town or city in New England and at the same time it was unique and unequaled. Geographically, it sat at the intersection of Boston and Salem, as well as being a waypoint between southern and northern New England; historically it was at the junction of the supernatural and hard reality, the Civil War and the cholera, the road to health and

the path to the grave. Its citizens discovered life on the moon, helped bring a machine to life, spied an invisible railroad that came through their city, and watched as a colorful train of healers came through, promising cures from witchcraft to water, and from electric shocks to stunning cure-alls.

Although Lynn was home to Lydia Pinkham, the most successful female medicine entrepreneur of the century, the stature of the city as a medicine manufacturing center was dwarfed by its many neighbors in the Northeast, including Boston, Lowell, Portland, Providence, and of course, New York City. Nonetheless, its citizens got sick, died, and tried to avoid both, just like everyone everywhere else. In their pursuit of health, they sometimes tried a medicine or a practitioner whose reputation, cost, or promises seemed to be worth a try. Sometimes their health improved and sometimes not; when it did not, quackery was often blamed for the failure.

Quackery is an aspect of history that seems to be more easily recognized after much time has passed, medical improvements have been accomplished, and scientific knowledge has been gained. But looking backward (and downward) at the mistakes of the past is not a fair perspective from which to understand the struggles and confusing choices that confronted the nineteenth century sick person. It mitigates the pain, sorrow, and worry they experienced and diminishes them into a race of gullible bumpkins that literally swallowed the lies of money-grubbing charlatans. It also transforms all uncertified medicine makers and practitioners into a singular species of scoundrel bent on deception for personal gain. But the nineteenth century is no more a simple story of villains and victims than the current century will be. We enter into tomorrow as a marvelously advanced civilization where quackery nonetheless still abounds. Before we enshrine ourselves on a throne of medical mastery and superior accomplishments, we should reflect on how our descendants will review our choices in a few hundred years. Consider for instance, that our legacy will include the use of radiation and toxic chemicals to eradicate cancer, the injection of cow botulism to remove wrinkles, organ transplants from pigs and monkeys, and experimentation with DNA cloning. Will they scoff at us some day for using steroids to enhance physical performance, actually trying to have tanned skin, or continuing to smoke cigarettes? They already do – and we do it anyway.

My purpose in this book is not to pass judgment on our ancestors or to prove who was a quack and who was not, but rather to share the health challenges of their times and the choices that were made. I have gained a deeper appreciation and respect for progenitors whose choices, right or wrong, were at least good enough to allow me to be here today. Based on my life patterns, personal beliefs, and never satisfactory funds, I have often speculated that if I lived back in the nineteenth century, I too, would almost certainly have invested some hope in a few over-the-counter remedies before resorting to the doctor's more expensive prescriptions or surrendering to the surgeon's knife ... just as I do today.

Please note that I am *not* a doctor and this is definitely not a medical history. I regard myself as a social historian and this book is intended to be a social history of health in just one community. A fair amount of non-medical history is included when it helps to put the town's health history in better context. The description of Lynn's participation in the Civil War gives dimension to the casualties during those years and the impact felt by their families. Health reforms are more fully understood when seen alongside social reform movements and the spirit of reform occurring in the community at the same time. The growth of general business and marketing in various periods gives depth to the business of medicine, especially patent medicine, and how consumers were pitched, prodded, and enticed to buy certain brands or services. While being healthy is critical to a fulfilling existence, life is not lived just to be healthy. Good health is the seed of human happiness, but quality of life is better understood like a pinecone, with many levels and pieces contributing harmoniously to the whole. In writing this history, I try to help you appreciate the seed by showing you the pinecone.

This history concentrates on the nineteenth century – the epoch of seismic change in the history of health. The Prologue and Epilogue to these tectonic shifts provide valuable insights into Lynn health during the years leading up to and resulting from the 1800s. They also extend Lynn's story, combining one intensive focus on a single century with a cursory synopsis of two more centuries, to form a picture of health for a New England community from 1629 to 1929, the first 300 years of Lynn's history. While the ten chapters comprising the nineteenth century stand on their own, history junkies may enjoy the glimpses of what happened before that story began and after it ended.

Since the focus on one town makes the account more personal, the vast majority of its facts are about the personal experiences of that community's residents. The poignancy of health history can best be appreciated by studying it as much as possible through the eyes and understanding of those who lived in it. Viewing the life and death of others through powerful binoculars may be convenient and safe, but this is not that book. So be forewarned: seeing illness, accidents, mayhem, and death up close is not for the faint of heart but it's what we will do in these chapters. It may be easy and comfortable to make observations while walking around the wounded and half-dead body in the road that thieves left behind, but how bad the injuries are and how painful the beating becomes clearer as you minister to the victim, binding up his wounds, and it is clearer still when *you* are the victim.

I have frequently quoted these citizens of the past and avoided letting twenty-first century perspective get in the way. There have been plenty of medical histories over the past century that have looked down condescendingly from lofty modern perches, snickering at the ignorance and gullibility of the masses and the failures of their medicines. This book takes a decidedly different direction. It will invite you to walk among those who lived – not to vindicate or to paint a revisionist picture, but just to see and understand more clearly what choices they made and why. The approach of this book is to include claims of cure as fact because it is what the patient believed or what the medicine maker or healer claimed had happened; not because it is true to us now, but because it was true to so many then. To further help the reader get eye-level to the subjects of this history, I have not labeled anyone by the title, "Doctor." That appellation had far broader use and meaning than it does today and its inclusion by me would mistakenly read now as an approval or qualification. The text of this book is instead only allowed to identify them as such when they were so referenced by another individual contemporary with them. Each person had to wade through the advertising claims and neighborhood gossip about healers and decide who could really heal; the reader of this book will have to decide this for themselves as well.

The fact of an individual's existence is often captured in just a few words left behind in a letter or journal; perhaps a relic that they owned surfaces, too. It's really not much, and certainly doesn't tell their whole story or the reasons and thoughts they had that made them do what they did. Yet I have tried to create a history that often characterizes the individuals, complete with thoughts and motivations, based on those few words and artifacts left behind. Hopefully, I have sometimes hit the nail on the head, gathering fair and reasonable inferences from the historical remnants, but I confess they are speculative assumptions at best. While it is easy and logical to draw a straight line between two uncovered facts about a person, people's lives properly mapped out tend to look more like a Rube Goldberg invention. I have tried my best to do justice to each actor on Lynn's historical stage and I certainly attempted to squeeze every drop of fact out of the historical record to do so. I hope I haven't caused any skeletons to roll over in their graves.

As I have studied the human interactions of this community, I have felt intimately entwined in the lives of many Lynn residents and visitors: healers skilled and shady, medicine makers and medicine takers; the poor, the sick, and the infirm, those struggling to survive and the mourners who were left behind. All of these people are the subjects of this book; their health challenges and the solutions they chose color their story, but hero, villain, and victim alike, this story is about them. I present matters of life and death, sickness, and health, from the various perspectives of the

healer and the patient, the businessperson and the consumer, as the available historical records permitted. Throughout this effort I have felt duty-bound to bring these people off the black-and-white page and back to life, even if for just a few moments. Their lives mattered, and their experiences were very real and poignant to them and those around them, no less so than ours are to us today. I have done what I could to present them as more than just names on a page by researching their families and lineage to better understand who they were and how they came to experience their few moments in the mortal drama that is life. I hope that those facts I share are helpful to their progeny identifying them and understanding a little better what their ancestor went through and why.

This book is an anecdotal history at best. From epidemics to murders and treasure hunting to shoemaking, I have searched for stories of life's feeble grip on the slippery handle of health. This collection of those life stories may not paint a definitive picture, but hopefully it creates a colorful collage that brings some tribute to and understanding about those who lived before us. Many hundreds of individuals have their stories told here, some in just a few words and others going many pages. The length or brevity of their respective stories is absolutely no measure of their individual importance. This book has never been intended to be a biography of any Lynner deemed prominent enough by other authors writing entire books about them. Individuals are *not* the story here – *Lynn is the story* – and the many people mentioned are *all* integral to the telling of this narrative; sometimes a brief sentence about a person was all that was needed and other times many pages better help to tell the story of Lynn's pursuit of health.

I have tried to capture data and insights from a wide array of sources, focusing especially on primary documentation when and where available, but source material is constantly being made accessible to the public, especially through the internet, and therefore the many stories and events mentioned in this work will constantly be subject to update and improvement. I did my best with what I had, but it is exciting to think that future scholars will be able to dig deeper and harvest even more.

*Promising Cures* has been in progress for about thirty-five years. It is a product of my free time, being frequently put aside while I tried even harder to be a good husband, father, grandfather, employee, and even a bishop in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints for seven years. It has let me do the two things I enjoy most: research history and write. It has evolved from a pleasant hobby to a driving goal to share my collection of knowledge and artifacts about the health history of this wonderful community as it approaches its four hundredth birthday in 2029. The effort has always been a labor of love and had nothing to do with fame or profit; therefore, I have elected to post this effort online for the free use and benefit of others who may be interested. If possible, I may also self-publish it in book form in the future to be passed on to my family and friends and anyone else insisting they need a copy to keep a door open.

I make no apologies for the length of this book or the extensive footnoting. The compelling story of this special community full of amazing people takes its time to be fully told but this telling of it may soon be looked at as a cumbersome relic from the old days of books. As demonstrated by the now dominant reliance on soundbites and texting, the richness and complexity of life have been edited down on illuminated, hand-held screens, to a few brief phrases with frequent acronyms and emojis to further squeeze the joy out of words. This book is clearly lost on those who revel in instant messages. If you have forced yourself to get to this point in my preface, it would probably be best for you to just put the book down and walk away; my best wishes to you for your digitally abbreviated happiness. ... I hope there is at least one reader out there, someday, who will embrace this history and just fall into it, wondering about, marveling at, and enjoying the story on each page.

The endnotes are purposely extensive, partly because I wanted this to unquestionably be a history, not a story. Nonetheless, I have also enjoyed writing it with emphasis on historical narrative rather than simply conveying a litany of research results. When I had progressed to

writing Chapter 10, I became aware that this style had been fairly recently recognized as “creative non-fiction,” so I feel like I have been a little ahead of my time since I was doing it for decades. Writing predominantly in that style encouraged me to keep information about research, documentation, and the comments of other authors buried in the endnotes, so that the narrative could just flow and you the reader could better enjoy and follow the history. The endnotes are for the satisfaction and assistance of the inquisitive and other researchers who want to pursue their own paths from a particular fact. It has always been a source of great frustration when I find the most fascinating information in a “history” book whose author did not bother to share where they found their facts. A history book without proper documentation is a poor fiction. Their authors are history quacks.

This is a book, not a manifesto. I have no politics to spew, no spleen to vent or axe to grind. I have tried to be sensitive and sympathetic to the feelings of both sexes and all religions, races, and health practices that came under the focus of this study, treating them each with dignity. I love and respect my fellow man and woman and have conscientiously tried to not be judgmental, condescending, or in any other way paint their picture with my own colors; I have strived instead to repaint the past using only the colors that history provided. To enhance that feeling of total immersion in each time period considered, I have tried to use only words, concepts, and idioms in use at that time.

Most of the illustrations in this book are proudly shared from my collection. Proper stewardship of these treasures over which I have been entrusted during my mortal probation requires that I should share them with others for their enjoyment and education; like any passionate collector, I am happy to do so. Their monetary values vary widely but their value to history is priceless. I hope the photographs do justice to these jewels and mementos of others who lived and died by them.

A brief but important clarification needs to be made about the dating of this work. While decades run from the year ending in one to zero (such as 1821-1830) I have defined them in this work for the purpose of narrative clarity as the period from zero to nine (1820-1829; 1830-1839, etc.).

Despite all the text corrections and suggestions by those who have kindly assisted in proofreading and editing this book, mistakes will inevitably be found. Any and all errors of historicity, accuracy, and readability are mine alone. Please forgive me for not living twice as long to get it all right.

I hope those who have attachment to Lynn find something that strengthens their bond. Perhaps some results of my research will contribute to a better understanding of the history of Lynn, health, and mankind’s determination to endure, and that it will fluster preconceived and mistaken beliefs. I suspect that this book will be considered a lightweight contribution to knowledge by most professional historians and too serious by the armchair historian; but at least my mom always liked what I wrote.

A word about this book’s title: throughout Lynn’s history there were many who were promising cures, claiming to sell promising cures that occasionally worked because sometimes, the mere act of promising cures. And thus, this story begins.

Andrew V. Rapoza

Oak Ridge North, Texas  
by way of Lynn, Massachusetts

## Acknowledgements

The endless list of thanks must start with my appreciation for the constant, selfless support of my sweetheart, Gail – your unflinching support and belief in me, even during the many times I started to lose faith in my own abilities – are the only reasons these volumes got completed. Thank you for letting me fritter away so much of our time together chasing after obscure historical details, and for your deep reservoir of patience and good humor as I asked you to read and reread the same paragraphs over and over with every rewrite. I sure love you. Thank you as well to my children, Nicholas, Braden, Shanda, and Gwendolyn, who probably lost far too much quality time to me playing author and historian instead of dad. Through it all, you believed in me and treated me like I was the smartest guy in the world; thanks for putting me on such a goofy high pedestal, but *you* are my stars.

I will always be indebted to Dr. J. Worth Estes, whom I regarded as my mentor in this effort. A brilliant historian and author of medical history, he always supported my book project with his own research, thoughts, insights, and advice, and treated me like my contribution to history would matter – I hope these volumes will honor his memory and the investment of his precious time to help me. I was also starstruck by meeting and sharing the speaker's podium with Dr. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich back in 1989. Receiving her congratulations and compliments for my talk at the same seminar where she presented material from what would be her Pulitzer Prize-winning research gave my book-writing effort a shot of adrenalin that has lasted for decades.

Although time and miles have separated us, I will be forever grateful for the special friendship and personal support and encouragement of Barbara Rusch, Diane DeBlois, and Sophie Garrett, each of whom, in their own way, encouraged me to accomplish something I didn't know I could do.

To my dear friend and benefactor whose anonymity I choose to protect: you made it possible for me to assemble an amazing collection of antiquities that would not have been possible on my own; thank you, once again, so much.

As the thousands of endnotes will attest, this work would not have been possible without the help of countless individuals and archives over the decades from the Essex County Court House, Essex County Registry of Deeds, Massachusetts State Archives, Massachusetts Law Library, and American Antiquarian Society; the Mary Baker Eddy Library at The First Church of Christ, Scientist; the Schlesinger Library of the Harvard Radcliffe Institute; the Phillips Library of the Peabody Essex Museum; and the wonderful Lynn Library and Lynn Museum & Historical Society. I sincerely appreciate your tireless service and support. Many of the individuals who have helped are cited in the endnotes. I must, however, single out the dedicated, determined, and unflinching support of Lisa Kulyk-Bourque, the Head Reference Librarian of the Lynn Public Library; without her assistance, completion of this book would have been impossible. Digitally, free access to the databases of the Library of Congress, National Institute of Health, Hathi Trust, JSTOR, Peach Tree Glass, and the Lynn Public Library were all absolutely essential to my research and understanding. They have inspired me to make my four-volume reference work similarly available on the worldwide web at no charge, so that future readers and researchers will hopefully enjoy and benefit by my contributions to knowledge.

I am sincerely grateful for the enthusiastic effort, great patience, and considerable sacrifices of time made by my peer review team, especially Patricia Lee; also for the diligent and skillful legal guidance and copyright assistance of Ed Korompai, Esq. Finally, a special thank you to my son, Nicholas Rapoza, who constantly amazed me with his skillful ability to digitally correct, improve, and enhance the photography I took with my cell phone. Evidence of excellence is due to them; all errors are mine alone.

Also a brief thank you to the inventors of “Control S” and perhaps even more so for “Undo.”

My final acknowledgement is to the memory of Augustin Ribeiro Gonzales, my headstrong great-great grandfather from the Canary Islands who ran away from home when just fifteen by joining a traveling circus. As an adult he was said to have distrusted Victorian doctors so much that he made his own medicinal tea from rat droppings and lived to tell about it, much to the dismay of my disgusted grandmother Margaret and great aunt Elsie, who both told me that story. Their embarrassed retelling of his disgusting medicine inspired me, as a teenager, to be fascinated by our species’ drive to survive and the unpredictable road to health we have been willing to follow to stay alive.

## Notes on the Endnotes

When a cited source does not list an ancillary detail that I have included, like a person's first name or occupation, I have located those additional facts in city or county directories and/or federal or state census records that were on or close to the same year of the stated fact.

In both the text and the endnotes, I use the device of square brackets within direct quotations to indicate information or clarifications I am adding; otherwise, what is in the quotation, including parentheses, incorrect spelling or typographical errors, is included as it was in the original. I have, however, taken the liberty to correct without comment the occasional, obvious typesetting errors made by newspapers. Also note that the author of this book is specified as "the author: Rapoza" or "the author (Rapoza), to avoid confusion of authorship with another author's work being described; where a statement is not regarding another work, reference to Rapoza is listed only as "the author."

I have always abhorred the use of the term "ibid." and even more so, "op. cit." within endnotes; they are clumsy vestiges of an era when every typeset word was a time-consuming addition of space and expense. In a work like this one, containing many thousands of cited notes, antiquated Latin shortcuts confuse rather than clarify, and thus have found no home in this book. The first time a work is cited in a chapter, the full citation is used; subsequent citations of the same work are abbreviated, but sufficiently identified to help the reader recognize its full, first citation in that chapter.

When one or more sentences share a single endnote citation, I have introduced key words from the sentence in the endnotes in parentheses to identify the source of each statement when the sentences were made from multiple sources. Thus, "... source 1 (malaria); source 2 (gurnippers)," identify separate sources from which the respective statements or sentences containing those key words were taken.

Newspaper articles starting in the 1880s often had multiple subheadings under the main heading. I always include the main heading and sometimes some or all of the subheadings, when they provide further clarification to the narrative I am relaying.

In the text and endnotes, all mentions of cities and towns outside of Massachusetts are listed with the state they are in; when no state is mentioned, that city or town can be understood to be in Massachusetts.

When quoted material was found online, I have often sited only the website as the root finding aid rather than the whole address; I have done this for two reasons: (1) complete address links often get changed by the owner; and (2) complete address links are often so long that it would have placed extra burden on the length and effort for accuracy in the endnotes. As the website is the online repository of said information, the reader is at least correctly directed to the place they can pursue their search for the needed information.

## Notes on the Indices

Boston, Massachusetts, has been intentionally omitted from the indices. There are so many mentions of that city throughout the book, its inclusion would have been prohibitive.

❖ Prologue: 1629-1781 ❖

## Poking and Prodding

*But [he] Carried her too Lin too an owld wiche.*

Deposition of Bethiah Carter against  
Widow Burt of Lynn, healer, 30 November 1669

*Reader, PHYSICIANS Dy as others do; Prepare, for  
thou to this art hastning too.*

Epitaph of John Henry Burchsted, doctor  
Old Western Burial Ground, Lynn, Mass.  
20 September 1721

They walked uneasily up the rocking plank onto the waiting ship, their familiar homes and predictable lives unavoidably left behind. As the English coast evaporated from view, the ship rolled and pitched through the unpredictable North Atlantic, a bundle of wood and sails afloat on a tempestuous ocean. The vessel had looked large and sturdy back at dock, but now bobbed up and down amid constantly erupting white caps, like a child's toy boat hopelessly lost and probably doomed. With the landlubbers' every wobbly step on the rocking deck, safety trembled and danger danced. The shipload of God-fearing Puritans felt some comfort with hands clenched in prayer but the merchant ship was also armed with cannons because of the ever-present threat of attack by the French, Spanish, or even pirates. This voyage was no casual tootle on the Thames.

It was the trip of a lifetime – a one-way, never-look-back, 3,300-mile commitment. During the early years, thousands of colonists made the pilgrimage from old England to New England. They took everything they could to ensure their success and happiness: the entire family right down to the tiniest infant, all sorts of household necessities, jugs of beer and wine, weapons and tools, farm equipment and animals – dogs, cows, sheep, and chickens. From deep in the bowels of the ships bellowed the discordant protests of the captive beasts, barking, mooing, bleating, squawking, and defecating their displeasure about confinement to inches of wood instead of acres of land. Wind and water currents pushed the little arks along but the colonists' sails also filled with faith, hope, and anticipation as they navigated on the celestially charted course to the northern rim of Massachusetts Bay. At full sail, their ships still took more than two months to cross the vast ocean, leaving Europe far behind the horizon.

The reward for such daring was to start life all over again in a remote and largely unexplored wilderness that, if the tales were true, was inhabited by dangerous, wild creatures. Wolves and bears were fearsome competition that prowled the forests and the nights, but deeper in the dark recesses of the settlers' memories lurked the “many scandalous and false reports … from the sulphurous breath of every base ballad-monger,” about still worse creatures lying in wait for them, like “Devills or Lyons” that made “a terrible kinde of roaring,” and snakes that “could kill a man with his breath and that … can fly.”<sup>1</sup> But all this was still less threatening than the other intimidating denizens of the land – the peculiar, primeval race of heathens that they would surely encounter.

The risks were huge and coming to New England seemed like a fool’s errand, except to the passengers on those ships. Reports from nearby Plymouth Colony and earlier explorers had described New England as similar to their European homelands and endowed with abundant resources.

Although Plymouth and Jamestown had been successfully planted, there had also been the failures – the abandoned settlements of Roanoke, Cape Ann, Wessagusset, and the Popham Colony in Maine. Survival was *not* assured.

The Plymouth experiment had weathered six years before the first permanent settlement was established in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, a sufficient time to weigh the benefits of colonization against the drawbacks. Plymouth's pilgrims were proving that the region's natural resources could sustain them in their religious pursuits; in addition, the bounty had the potential to provide exports, such as timber, furs, and fish. Opportunity encouraged further immigration.

Salem was the Massachusetts Bay Colony's first permanent settlement, established in 1626, made up largely of those from the failed Cape Ann settlement. They were joined in September 1628 by about a hundred colonists who had sailed for eleven weeks on the *Abigail* out of Weymouth, England. Their fall arrival left little time to winterize with well-made housing, sufficient firewood, and a harvest. Worse still, as the story goes, they feared they were being targeted for attack: a large number of Indians were coming their way from nearby Saugus, making much noise in the nearby woods, "coming against them to cut them off." Impending attack would have been bad news at any time, but especially now – the Indians were amassing in the woods while the newly arrived colonists were prostrated by an attack of shipboard illness. The colonists were "in a manner all so sick" during their journey on the *Abigail* and were still extremely weak after their arrival; they had "both small and great guns, and powder and bullets for them, yet had not strength to manage them." The threatening sounds of danger and impending doom in the nearby woods revived some of the sick colonists sufficiently enough to fire a few of the cannons into the trees, and "by the good hand of God, strike such dread" among the Indians that they could be heard crying out in confusion something that sounded like "O Hobbamock, much Hoggery," as they ran back to Saugus.<sup>2</sup>

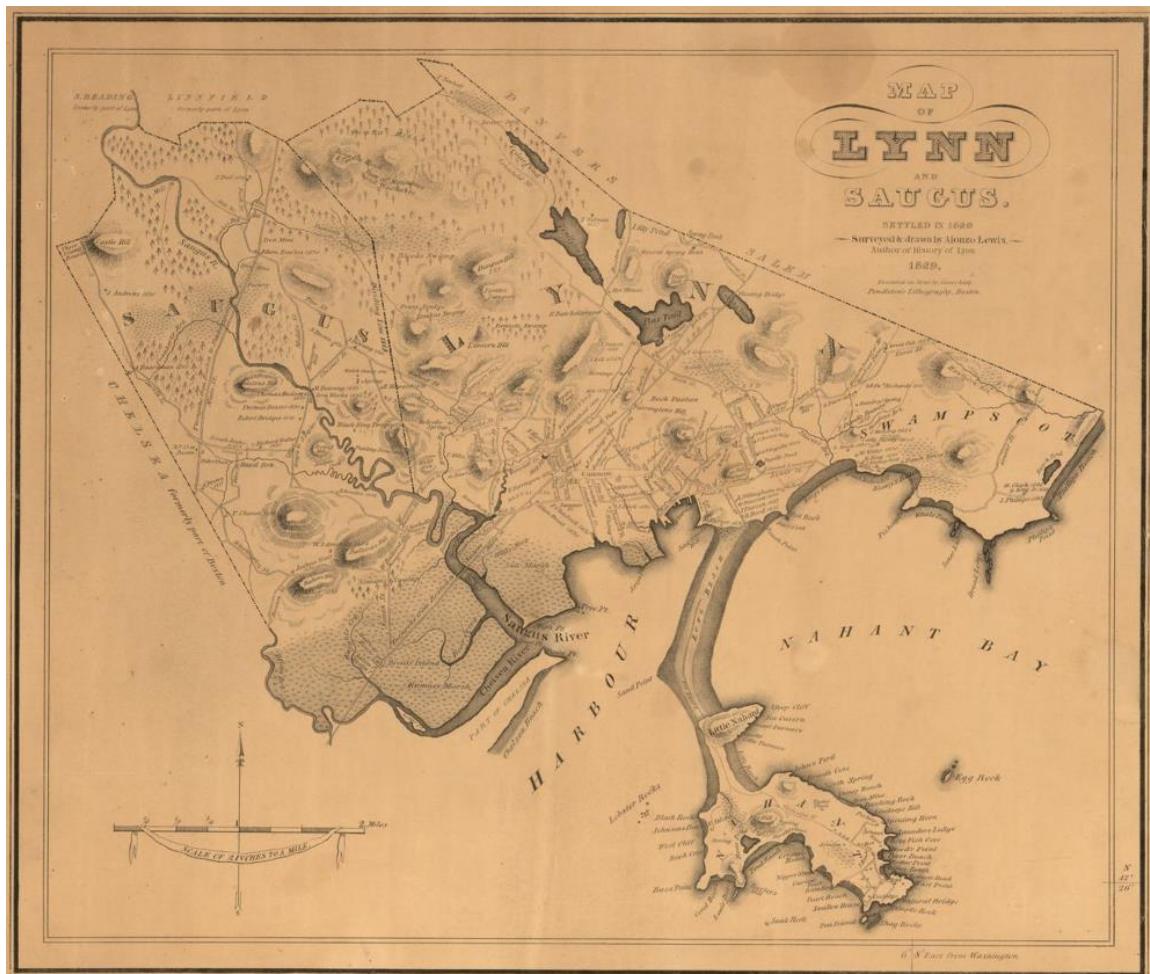
In order to settle in this unsettling place, the colonists believed they had to confront and subdue the bogeymen and devilish adversaries they saw and imagined. Flintlocks and faith provided them a tenuous mastery over the territory they would call home. So armed, the colonists could then discover this new land for themselves and record their own accounts of Providence or tribulation, as the case may be, for relatives, friends and everyone else back in Europe.

## **LIVING IN ORIGINAL LYNN**

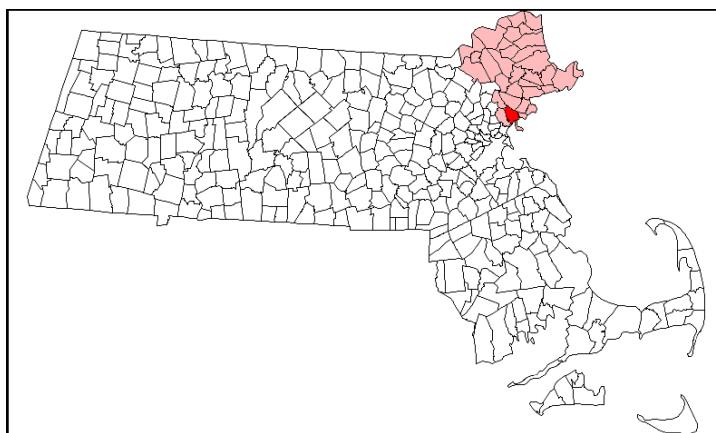
In 1629 a small group of five men from Salem (at least some of whom may have arrived in the *Abigail*), some with wives and children, received permission to settle in the land immediately to the southwest, which was called Saugus by the Indians.<sup>3</sup> The designation was adopted by the colonists until the late summer of 1637, when court records were using the name "Lynn" interchangeably with Saugus. Then during the 2 November 1637 (Julian calendar) proceedings of the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, an entry referred to "Saugust" and was immediately corrected by the next line, "Saugust is called Lynne."<sup>4</sup> History also records that in 1635, the first two men with shoemaking skills had made their home in Lynn; this trade would become as synonymous with the little community as its final name.<sup>5</sup>

Lynn was a coastal settlement, about nine miles northeast of Boston. The Atlantic Ocean was to the south, and its closest neighbors, Salem and Marblehead (often referred to in the General Court records as Marble Harbour), were to the northeast. The original boundaries of Lynn included what ultimately became Reading, Wakefield, Lynnfield, Saugus, Lynn, Swampscott, and the two land-tied islands of Nahant and Little Nahant, tethered to each other and then to Lynn's coast by a narrow, sandy isthmus that was sometimes rendered impassable during storms and especially high tides.

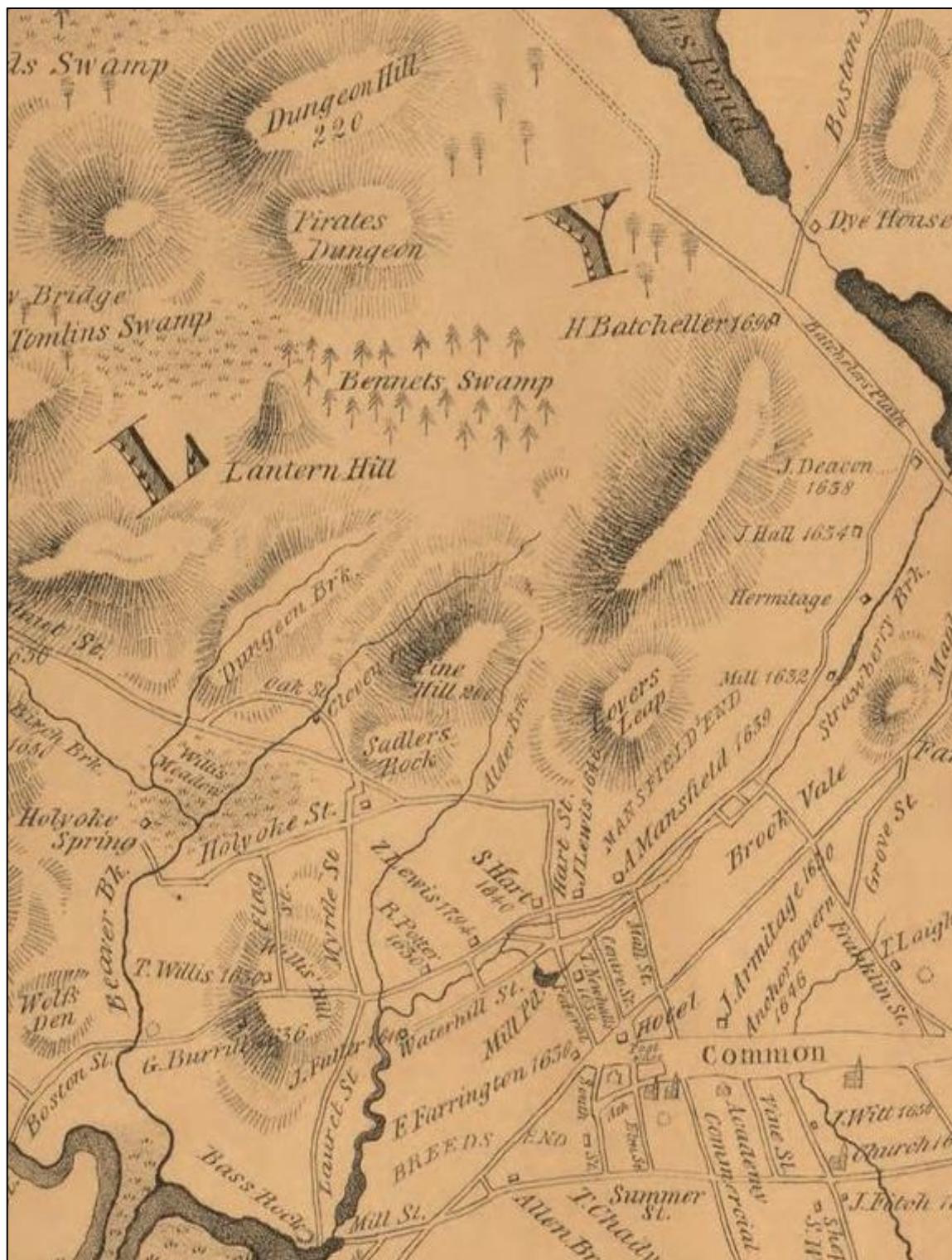
The earliest colonists settling in Lynn were young: ten of the seventeen traceable settlers to arrive during 1629-1630 were in their twenties; three more were in their thirties and two others were



**Earliest Detailed Map of Lynn, Massachusetts.** Including what later became Saugus, Swampscott, and Nahant. See close-ups of Lynn on following pages. (Map by Alonzo Lewis, 1829. Collection of the Library of Congress.)



**Position of Lynn within Essex County and the State of Massachusetts.** Lynn is in red; Essex County is in pink. (Courtesy of en.wikipedia.org)



**Close-up of west-central Lynn.** Notable natural features include Dungeon Hill, Pirates Dungeon, Strawberry Brook, Beaver Brook, and in the lower left, a portion of the Saugus River. Also visible in the lower right is the Lynn Common. (Map by Alonzo Lewis, 1829. Collection of the Library of Congress.)



**Close-up of east-central Lynn.** Notable natural features include Flax Pond, Collins Pond (with the future Floating Bridge crossing it), High Rock, Stacey's Brook, Wolf's Hill, Kings Beach and Red Rock. (Map by Alonzo Lewis, 1829. Collection of the Library of Congress.)

teenagers.<sup>6</sup> The wife and child of John Taylor never arrived, having died during their voyage over the Atlantic, yet 54-year-old Joseph Rednap and 74-year-old Boniface Burton proved not only hale and hearty enough to make the crossing, but to live to 110 and 113 years old, respectively; remarkable accomplishments in any century since the time of the biblical ship traveler, Noah.<sup>7</sup>

One of the original five male colonists to be associated with Lynn (during its earliest years when it was called Saugus) was William Wood, the author of *New Englands Prospect*, which was an account of his travels through the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Recognizing there was great curiosity about the new land an ocean away, he wrote his book to disprove the false stories of the ballad-monger and to “both enrich the knowledge of the mind-travelling Reader, or benefit the future Voyager.” He lived in that colonial wilderness, possibly with his home base in the settlement then known as Saugus, for about four years before returning to England in August of 1633.<sup>8</sup> Wood’s book was published in 1634 and the preface stated that he intended, “God willing[,] to returne shortly againe” to the colony.

Whether or not the author had built a house in original Lynn, it is evident from his book that what he called “my dwelling place” referred more broadly to everywhere in the colony rather than any one place, since he spent much of his time traveling throughout the Massachusetts Bay Colony and a little beyond. Wherever he went, he wrote his observations of the region’s diverse physical features, the many types of plants and the various animals in its fields, forests, lakes, rivers, and in the air. He noted, for example, that the best fishing for sturgeon was on the shoals of Cape Cod and in the Merrimack River where they grew up to eighteen feet long and that “the beast called a Moose [was] ... as bigge as an Oxe ... The English have some thoughts of [making] them tame, and to accustome them to the yoke....”<sup>9</sup> More than half of his book was focused on the region’s several indigenous tribes and he also made a point of describing the benefits and prospects of each English settlement in the colony, to help his “mind-travelling readers” start thinking about where they may want to settle. He wrote that the “faire and handsome Countrey-towne of Roxberry” was a place where the inhabitants were “all very rich,” the village of Medford was “a very fertile and pleasant place, and fit for more inhabitants than are yet in it,” and the town of Boston was “neither the greatest, nor the richest, yet it is the most noted and frequented, being the Center of the Plantations where the monthly Courts are kept.”<sup>10</sup> A small fence had to be built across the narrow neck of the Boston peninsula to protect its cattle from wolves.<sup>11</sup>

Wood’s book promised potential travelers back in old England that New England was a cornucopia of natural resources and Lynn (still Saugus in Wood’s book) was as abundantly blessed as anywhere else in the colony; its prospect was an important feature of *New England’s Prospect*:

The next plantation is Saugus ... This Towne is pleasant for situation, seated at the bottome of a Bay, which is made on the one side with the surrounding shore, and on the other side with a long Sandy Beach.... Upon the South-side of the sandy Beach the Sea beateth ... and after stormes casts up great store of great Clammes, which the Indians taking out of their shels, carry home in baskets. ... On the North-side of this Bay is two great Marshes, which are made two by a pleasant River which runnes between them. Northward up this River, goes great store of Alewives, of which they make good Red Herrings ...this is like to prove a great inrichment to the land, (being a staple commoditie in other countries) for there be such innumerable companies in every river, that I have seene ten thousand taken in two hours by two men, without any weire at all, saving a few stones to stop their passage up the river. There likewise come store of Basse, which the Indians and English catch with hooke and line, some fifty or threescore at a tide. At the mouth of this river runnes up a great creeke into that great Marsh ... wherein lye great store of Geese, and Duckes .... Here is likewise ... fresh meadowes, which afford good grasse and four spacious ponds, like little lakes, wherein is store of fresh fish: within a mile of the towne, out of which runnes a curious fresh brooke that is seldom frozen by reason of the warmenesse of the water ... and up this river comes Smelts and frost fish .... For wood there is no want, there being store of

good Oakes, Wallnut, Caedar, Aspe, Elme; The ground is very good, in many places without trees, fit for the plough. In this plantation is more English tillage, than in all new England, and Virginia besides; which proved as well as could be expected, the corne being very good especially the Barly, Rye, and Oates.

The land affordeth the inhabitants as many rarities as any place else, and the sea more: the Basse continuing from the middle of Aprill to Michelmas, ... besides here is a great deale of Rock-cod and Macrill, insomuch that shoales of Basse have driven up shoales of Macrill from one end of the sandie Beach to the other, which the inhabitants have gathered up in wheelbarowes. The Bay that lyeth before the Towne at a low spring-tyde, will be all flatts for two miles together, upon which is great store of Muscle-banckes, and Clam bancks, and Lobsters amongst the rockes and grassie holes. These flatts make it unnavigable for shippes ... many dangerous rockes and foaming breakers that lye at the mouth of that Bay. The very aspect of the place is fortification enough to keep off an unknowne enemie, yet may it be fortified at a little charge, being but few landing places there about, and those obscure.<sup>12</sup>

Lynn's landscape was, indeed, a rich blend of coastal New England topography: thick woods, stone hills, and patches of fertile lowland, well-watered with an abundance of brooks, ponds and springs. The town's woods were an avian refuge for prodigious bird life; flocks of pigeons were said to have "obscured the light" and broken large tree limbs by their weight.<sup>13</sup> Wild fowl were so numerous, it caused the impressively unbelievable claim that sometimes fifty ducks were killed with one shot.<sup>14</sup> There were so many fowl in the area, added Reverend Higginson, "that a great part of winter the Planters have eaten nothing but roastmeat of divers Fowles which they have killed."<sup>15</sup>

Lynn's woodlands, fields, and hills were also occupied by a great variety of wildlife: deer, foxes, raccoons, rabbits, woodchucks, squirrels, beavers, and rattlesnakes flourished; moose and bears lumbered through as well, and wolves and wildcats prowled the menu before them. Lynn's natural features often came to be known by plants or animals thriving in those vicinities: there were Strawberry, Plum, Cherry, Cowslip, and Beaver brooks, Turkey Field, and hills named Deer, Moose, and Wolf.

Rockier portions of the Lynn landscape were well-suited for pastureland. Where there were no trees, the ground had good soil for farming, as the Indians had demonstrated by growing corn, pumpkins, and squash. The colonists undertook planting these as well, and also grew grains: barley to malt for beer, flax to be spun into linen for clothing and bedding, and wheat for their bread. Regarding the colonists' corn harvest in 1629, Reverend Higginson of Salem ecstatically claimed, "yea Josephs encrease in AEgypt is out-stripht here with us."<sup>16</sup> By 1630 Lynn's handful of pioneers had swelled to about fifty settlers, each family being given from 10 to 200 acres, and by 1631 the Massachusetts Bay Colony's governor, John Winthrop, was recording that Lynn had enjoyed a plentiful crop.<sup>17</sup> Another colonist wrote in 1633 that farmland in Saugus "hath reaped a rich harvest."<sup>18</sup> The land yielded all manner of wild berries and "Hearbes [herbs] for meate, and medicine, and that not onely in planted Gardens, but in the woods, without eyther the art or the helpe of man" and also an "abundance of other sweet Herbes delightful to the smell, whose names we know not."<sup>19</sup>

As Wood had indicated in his prospectus, the richness of the town's bounty extended from the land right into the sea, which offered up fish and shellfish in great quantity. Lynn seemed an ideal place to settle down during the seventeenth century. Reverend Jeremiah Shepard, colonial Lynn's minister for forty years, reflected on the Puritan emigration to New England as a parallel to the biblical exodus of the Israelites from Egypt across the Red Sea to the safety of the wilderness: God took His "People (our Fathers) over a far greater Sea (the vast *Atlantick Ocean*) into this *American Desart*, this vast howling Wilderness ...."<sup>20</sup> Like the Israelites of old, the Puritans were God's elect, being delivered from their bondage to a land that had all they would need, not only to survive but to thrive. Even as he penned these thoughts in 1715, almost a century after the first

Europeans arrived in Lynn, he could see the Lord's hand still performing miracles to preserve His chosen people:

The Lord hath spread a Table for us in this Wilderness and supplyed our wants from year to year, and every year; the year last past, was an eminent Instance of this; in the time of that lasting scorching drought, when our Hearts and our Hopes failed us: God did secretly and unaccountably (I had almost said Miraculously) Reserve a Blessing for us, that there was Bread to the sower, a supply for our necessities; this was the Lords doing, and it is Marvellous in our Eyes, it was Gods Glorious Arm that effect it; Oh let His Everlasting Name be Magnified.

Oh how hath the Lord provided for us from year to year, and sometimes plentifully; this is indeed to rain Bread in a Wilderness.<sup>21</sup>

And with these blessings, God had enabled His children to blossom, grow, and multiply in the wilderness:

And God has granted Prosperity to these blessed Enterprizes, he has caused the Gospel to flourish in this Land; and we have not only brown bread and the Gospel, but the Bread of Life; *Manna* in plenty, Angels food. Oh how hath God prospered our small Beginnings, and given us Towns and Buildings, and Blessings of all sorts, and hath sown our Land with the Seed of Man and Beast; so that we can now tell of the Beasts of our Forrests, and the Cattle upon a thousand hills, and of our Oxen strong to labour, of our Sheep that bring forth thousands and ten thousands in our streets, Psalm 144.<sup>22</sup>

Despite Nature's bounty and God's blessings, the new settlement fell far short of Paradise. New England provided plenty of natural resources, but many household items and tools were not available until the next boatload of newcomers brought them, and then only if they could be afforded. Estate inventories reveal that while most of Lynn's earliest settlers had known it would be essential to bring saws, axes, and hoes with them to the new land, only the most rudimentary household furnishings were in their homes. These included an iron or brass pot, kettle, and frying pan, a few wooden or pewter dishes and spoons, and some bedding. Curtains, rugs, tablecloths, and fire bellows were not critical, so were seldom brought over; even a chamber pot was only listed for one of the six households inventoried in the 1640s and only two in over twenty years of inventories, apparently because a hole in the ground would suffice. Only four of twenty-eight families' inventories from 1643 to 1664 listed among their possessions a mortar and pestle, which were used for food or medicine preparation, or both.<sup>23</sup> Two silver nipple shields (to remedy soreness and protect especially from teething, breastfed babies) listed in the inventory of widow Jane Gaines in 1645 were likely regarded by her as essential rather than an extravagance.<sup>24</sup> The fact that they were silver rather than the more common lead nipple shields suggests that she could have afforded a wet nurse for her baby, but that may not have been a viable option, given what was probably a minimal availability of lactating women living conveniently close by in the still thinly settled Lynn.<sup>25</sup>

By mid-century, Lynn had progressed beyond being an experiment in survival. From 1643 to 1653, most families had some cows or pigs, and by the period 1654 to 1664, many household inventories showed that sheep had often been added, along with oxen and horses.<sup>26</sup> The ox had become recognized as essential for clearing and plowing the rocky, root-bound land of Lynn, and while horses had been almost entirely absent from inventories before 1654, they became important additions to households, probably to take people the considerable distances to other farms, the village center, and large towns like Salem more quickly and practically than could be accomplished with the massive, plodding oxen.

Timber for building was most easily crafted when nails, saws, augers, and other tools were available. Locally produced iron for tools and housewares was available early in the Lynn area with the first successfully operating ironworks in North America, being established on the Saugus River in



**Colonial Medicine at the Ready.** Eighteenth century mortar and pestle, surrounded by medicinal plant materials and a cruet of salad oil. The mortar is made of strong, dense lignum vitae wood (also called ironwood, for its weight and strength) and the base was reinforced with an iron band. The pestle was tipped in animal bone and shows signs of being well-worn from use. The botanical ingredients (counter-clockwise from the left) are: sassafras bark, pumpkin seeds, walnuts, birthroot, and bloodroot. Pleasant-smelling sassafras bark was used in a tea for inflamed eyes and syphilis; pumpkin seeds were used to expel tapeworms and combined with the sassafras bark in a tea relieved painful urination. Due to the belief that God imbued certain items in nature with signature characteristics of human anatomy, walnuts were used for headaches because their crenulations were reminiscent of the brain. Birthroot was so named for its benefit in the birthing process and for menstrual problems. The reddish flesh and moisture coming from the bloodroot was, like the walnut, a heavenly message of its beneficial use for fighting scarlet fever and for cleaning ulcers and fungus off flesh. Olive oil or cold-pressed vegetable oil in the cruet (hand-blown, aqua glass, open pontil) would be used in salves and ointments, as Philip Reade's purchase demonstrated. (All collection of the author.)

1646. In addition to iron bars, the foundry's principal product, its inventive on-site blacksmith, Joseph Jenks, created iron anvils, saw blades, and scythes, axes and chisels, knives and cannonballs, hoes and spades, ox and horse shoes, bellows pipes for bagpipes, and possibly even the punches and dies for the colony's first coins, the pine-tree shillings.<sup>27</sup> Legend even has it that pirates placed an order with Jenks for iron goods. In 1658, a small pirate ship had appeared at the mouth of the Saugus River after sunset and a smaller boat was lowered from it, carrying four men who quietly rowed up to the ironworks. A note was found there the next morning with an order for "shackles, handcuffs, hatchets and other articles of iron manufacture," along with instructions on a specific place in the nearby woods where they should be secretly delivered, after which full payment in silver would be left in their place.<sup>28</sup> From pirates to Puritans, the need for iron wares throughout the colony continued to be great; by the 1650s, estate inventories in Lynn probate records were already listing frequently used land-clearing tools like saws, hoes, axes, and scythes as being "ould" because they were being worn out.<sup>29</sup> The Spanish could go chase gold in lands far to the south; in New England, good iron was truly worth its own weight to the early settlers.

Fabrics and leather were needed for clothes and shoes, as were more hoes, axes, and shovels for farming; plasters, chemicals, English herbs, and favorite nostrums for healing were also requested in letters written to family and friends back home. Even when some of these items found their way to the colonies, they commanded prices that were unaffordable to most of Lynn's settlers. George Burrill, Sr., one of the town's wealthiest men, enjoyed the luxuries of a gold ring, six silver spoons, a silver bodkin and thimble, two silver buttons, two silver bowls, an hour glass, a cheese press, and "a little box with spice," but he was definitely the exception in the town.<sup>30</sup> Among his many possessions, Philip Kirtland had "Indean matts," apparently from some local trading he had done with the natives, as well as ginger and copperas (both of which had medicinal uses), and a case of bottles.<sup>31</sup> Several other inventories listed bottles as well. The bottles were probably empty since contents were never listed, but they were saved because they could be reused to store other things; just like the random small pieces of fabric, a gun barrel, and old tools, anything manmade was used, saved, and reused as long as possible.

From the founding of the settlement at Saugus, some wild inhabitants of the region gave determined resistance to the intruding colonists; in those earliest days, when there were just a few dozen settlers, the threats to survival were greatest,

In passing through the forest, if they turned from the bear, it was to meet the wolf – and if they fled from the wolf, it was to encounter the deadly spring of the insidious catamount. At some periods, the planter could not travel from one settlement to another, without the dread of being shot by the silent arrow of the unseen Indian; nor could his children pursue their play in the shady woods, or gather berries in the green fields, without danger of treading on the coil of the rattlesnake, or of being carried away by the remorseless enemy.<sup>32</sup>

Wolves caused the most consistent trouble, preying on weak and small livestock; in October 1630, "the wolves killed some swine in Saugus."<sup>33</sup> Cows, goats, horses, and hogs fared very well in the colony as long as the wolves could be warded off. Nahant had good farmland, "fit for the Plow," but it was used by the first colonists as pasture for the cattle, goats, and swine to secure them from the wolves: "a few posts and rayles from the lower water-markes to the shore, keepes out thee Woolves, and keepes in the Cattle," much like was being done on the Boston peninsula.<sup>34</sup> Estate inventories from the mid-seventeenth century showed most households had some form of weapons among their essential possessions, the most common being swords, muskets and carbines, along with bandoliers, gunpowder, shot, and musket rests.<sup>35</sup> In 1634 it was "very pleasant amusement" for the training of the local militia to hunt the wolves that "infested" Nahant.<sup>36</sup> Bounties were posted to rid Lynn of wolves, foxes, and even blackbirds. Lynn's town meeting records had several entries about wolves being killed in Lynn and Nahant in 1698 and 1700. As late as 1753, citizens of Lynn, Salem, and Reading combined forces to clear the woods of foxes and wolves that continued to kill their

sheep. Lynnrs also dug wolf pits in several strategic locations. Legend has it that a woman and a wolf fell into the same wolf pit through separate accidents and spent the night warily in opposite corners; only the woman was rescued.<sup>37</sup>

Bears were fought off on at least two occasions; in 1630 a bear chased a man into the middle of the pond in Nahant and in 1759 a 400-pound bear was killed in Lynn's woods.<sup>38</sup> The region was also said to have abounded with "Snakes and Serpents of strange colours and huge greatness."<sup>39</sup> Rattlesnakes bit few Lynn settlers, but their presence in the area was a cause for constant concern. Of all the dangers in the new lands, William Wood wrote:

that which is most injurious to the person and life of a man is a rattle snake which is generally a yard and a halfe long, as thicke in the middle as the small of a mans legge ... with teeth as sharpe as needles, wherewith she biteth such as tread upon her: her pyson lyeth in her teeth .... When any man is bitten by any of these creatures, the pyson spreads so suddenly through the veines & so runs to the heart, that in one houre it causeth death, unlesse he hath the Antidote to expel the pyson, which is a root called snakeweed, which must be champed [chewed], the spittle swallowed, and the root applied to the sore .... It is reported that if the party live that is bitten, the snake will dye, and if the partie die, the snake will live.<sup>40</sup>

"Cinnamon color catamouts," or cougars (which were probably the "lyons" Wood reported settlers were hearing on Cape Ann), were as much of a threat to humans and livestock as wolves, bears, and snakes, and it was said that there were many stories of its attacks upon the earlier settlers, "by climbing trees and leaping upon them when traveling through the forest," but the steady encroachment of European farms and settlements forced these and other creatures of the wild to retreat into the wilderness that remained.<sup>41</sup> In 1768 a catamount was shot in Lynn's woods.<sup>42</sup>

There were frequent complaints of horseflies, mosquitoes, and "gurnippers," (described by Wood as "a small blacke fly no bigger than a flea," probably gnats), whose biting "causeth an itching upon the hands or face, which provoketh scratching which is troublesome to some."<sup>43</sup> Other insects destroyed portions of crops. Corn, wheat, and barley were damaged by large black caterpillars during the growing season of 1646.<sup>44</sup>

William Wood's assessment of health in New England was that it was better and surer than that experienced in old England. "The soundest bodies are mortall and subject to change, therefore fall into diseases, and from diseases to death," he explained, but the fevers that predominated in the Massachusetts Bay Colony were "easily prevented of any that will not prove a meere foole to his body. ... [and] the common diseases of England, they be strangers to the English now in that strange Land."<sup>45</sup> He had also written that "out of that Towne from whence I came [probably Saugus], in three years and a halfe, there dyed but three": one was a man who was already "crazed" with sickness when he came over from England; the other two were twin infants who had been born prematurely, apparently caused by the mother having been accidentally hurt.<sup>46</sup> The most compelling evidence Wood felt he could offer that the colony was a healthy place to live was his own experience while living there:

The last Argument to confirme the healthfulness of the Countrey, shall be from mine owne experience, who although in England I was brought up tenderly ... yet scarce could I be acquainted with health, having beene let blood sixe times for the Pleurisie before I went; likewise being assailed with other weakning diseases; but being planted in that new Soyle and healthfull Ayre, which was more correspondent to my nature, (I speake it with praise to the merciful God) though my occasions have been to pass thorow heate and cold, wet, and dry, by Sea and Land, in Winter and Summer, day by day, for four years together, yet scarce did I know what belonged to a dayes sicknesse.<sup>47</sup>

The severity of the seasons did cause casualties in Lynn's first century. The settlers quickly discovered that the New England winter could be brutal, with its biting cold and accompanying ice, snow, and sleet. Provisions were scarce in the winter of 1631; people lived "upon clams, and

muscles, and ground nuts, and acorns, and these got with much difficulty.”<sup>48</sup> The frosts and snows crept unpredictably into the spring sowing and autumn harvest. There was a blanket of snow covering the ground continuously from mid-November 1637 to April 1638. In that spring it was so cold that farmers had to plant their corn two or three times before it took root.<sup>49</sup> The winter of 1642 was so bitterly cold that Lynn’s harbor was frozen solidly enough for teams of draft animals to pass over the ice for five weeks.<sup>50</sup> Despite the “Violence of the Storm of Snow” that blew during the night of 29 January 1704/5, Joseph Newhall, Lynn’s representative in the General Court, tried to make his way back home from Salem; he started off on the road to Reading, but got lost in the snow, wandered across the road to Boston, and perished somewhere in the vicinity of Lynn’s Spring Pond.<sup>51</sup>

In addition to the pesky insects, summer brought some extreme heat and drought conditions, which were as dangerous to the inhabitants as the biting cold of winter. During a return trip from Salem to Boston on 28 June 1637, Governor Winthrop traveled through Lynn at night because other travelers had died from the extreme heat during the day.<sup>52</sup> Much sickness was again reported in the summer of 1644 in the midst of a drought.<sup>53</sup> Droughts were also recorded in 1638 and 1681, causing extensive crop damage. A liberal dousing of severe thunderstorms, whirlwinds, and hurricanes occurred in the changeable spring and fall seasons during the seventeenth century, killing people and destroying houses, trees, and crops. In August 1635, a hurricane hit southeastern New England; Governor Winthrop recorded that the wind blew along the Massachusetts coast “with such violence, [and] with abundance of rain, that it blew down many hundreds of trees, near the towns, overthrew some houses, [and] drove the ships from their anchors.” Up the coast from Lynn, off Cape Ann, a bark was shipwrecked and twenty-one people drowned, including a minister with his wife and six small children.<sup>54</sup> In the neighboring Plymouth colony, Governor Bradford remembered, “none now living in these parts, either English or Indian had seen the like, being like unto those hurricanes or tuffins, that writers mention to be in the Indies. … the sea … rose to twenty feet … and made many of the Indians to climb into trees for their safety.”<sup>55</sup>

Even the earth itself played a part in the caprices of Nature with earthquakes in 1638 and 1643, and one particularly noteworthy rending of the earth in 1658 that legend says entombed a pirate named Thomas Veal with his treasure in a cave in the Lynn woods; the resulting rubble has long been known as Dungeon Rock.<sup>56</sup>

Notwithstanding the adversities, a determination spurred by faith and opportunities for religious freedom and financial gain produced a continuous settlement of Lynn and the region. New England’s blessings had to be shared, however, with the local natives, who were unlikely countrymen. Their language, clothes, homes, and lifestyle were deemed strange and primitive to the Europeans, who consequently judged the natives’ morality and mentality as equally deficient and undesirable. In times of peace, the Indians were more often treated as childish servants than willing hosts, sometimes to be tolerated and oftentimes exploited, but not trusted. When the Indians realized that the proliferation and encroachment of white settlements were a threat to their futures, the colonists saw them as hostile, savage heathens, and clearly the enemy. The colonists believed that domination of the indigenous population was tantamount to overcoming the challenges of surviving and prospering in New England.

## **PURGING THE DEVILS WITHOUT**

Early European explorers had reported “countless multitudes” on New England’s shores, but the Indians were decimated by intertribal wars and some catastrophic epidemic that occurred around 1616-1617. (Various colonial writers had supposed it was plague, yellow fever, or the smallpox.)<sup>57</sup> Despite their reduced numbers when the European settlers arrived, the presence and impact of the natives was ubiquitous. A map of the region that William Wood published in 1635 showed how

integrated the region had become, with English-named locations, like Salem, Boston, Dorchester, and the Charles River, which neighbored Indian-named places like Wanasquam, Winnisimmet, Chicatabat, and the Musketquid River. The Indians and their interactions with the Europeans were described by Wood in great detail, often with enthusiasm, sometimes with gratitude, and occasionally with fear. He explained that the “Tarentenees,” (Tarrantines) an Indian tribe along coastal Maine, “eate not man[’]s flesh, [but] are little lesse salvage [savage] and cruel than ... Canniballs” and even the more southern tribes of the Massachusetts Bay Colony feared them as their deadly enemies.<sup>58</sup>

When the first handful of European settlers traveled from Salem to live in Lynn, there had been no native resistance whatsoever. The closest thing to a skirmish with Indians in Lynn happened in 1631, when an arrow was shot from behind some bushes through the night guard commander’s clothing (though not striking him). Guards returned a volley of gunfire into the bushes then retreated. In the morning, cannons were fired into the woods and the settlers were on high alert, bracing for battle, but the anticipated enemy had vanished.<sup>59</sup> Generally, the Indians of Saugus were willing, as were many of the coastal Massachusetts tribes, to share their lands and survival skills with the newcomers. They taught the colonists about planting corn, squash, and other crops, as well as how to identify which fruits, roots, bark, and leaves of indigenous plants were meat for the stomach and remedial for a body’s ailments.

While the colonists’ survival was made more certain, the native inhabitants continued to decrease from another epidemic, the smallpox. It was observed in 1631 that Montowampate, sachem over the land from Saugus to Marble Harbor, commanded not above thirty or forty men; most of his tribe had died from the smallpox.<sup>60</sup> The Puritans believed that God had used illness to destroy those who would counter His righteous children. Governor Winthrop wrote, “But for the natives in these parts, Gods hand hath so pursued them, as for 300 miles space, the greatest part of them are swept awaye by the small poxe, which continues among them: So ... God hathe hereby cleared our title to this place ....” and “the Lord hath cleared our title to what we possess.”<sup>61</sup> The Reverends Increase and Cotton Mather wholeheartedly agreed. Increase wrote, “God sent the Plague amongst the *Indians* here in *New-England* which swept them away in such numbers, as that the living were not enough to bury the dead.”<sup>62</sup> His son, Cotton, harmonized, “The *Indians* in these Parts had ... been visited with such a prodigious Pestilence ... that the *Woods* were almost cleared of those pernicious Creatures to make Room for a *better Growth*.”<sup>63</sup> Lynn’s minister, Reverend Jeremiah Shepard, also wrote in unison with the Puritan interpretation expressed by Winthrop and the Mathers:

A work never to be forgotten, is the Lords preparing this Wilderness for his People, when he swept away thousands of those Salvage Tawnies (those cursed Devil worshippers) with a mortal Plague, to make room for a better People, (I mean our Fathers) that came into this Wilderness to plant the Gospel, and to enlighten these dark Regions. ...<sup>64</sup>

The Lord with his Glorious Arm hath been our Protection, and delivered us from our Enemies in this Wilderness ... God hath delivered us from ... the *Pequ[o]nts*, [and] the *Narragansets*, that set upon Gods People when they were weak and tender; but how did the Lord crush and blast them, and blot out their Names from being a People as at this day; so let our Enemies perish that have committed their Outrages in this Land.<sup>65</sup>

To all four leaders, the decimation of the indigenous natives by the smallpox was the inevitable judgement of a jealous God, since the “obdurate Infidels” had refused to “receive the Gospel of Salvation”; Cotton Mather noted in particular that only one of the Indians in Lynn had chosen to listen to sermons about Christianity:

*Lyn Indians are all naught, save one, who sometimes comes to hear the Word; and the Reason why they are bad, is principally because their Sachim [sachem] is naught, and careth not to pray unto God. Indeed the Sachims, or the Princes, of the Indians*

generally did all they could that their subjects might not entertain the Gospel; the *Devils* having the *Sachims* on their side, thereby kept their Possession of the People too. ... those *Children of the Devil, and Enemies of all Righteousness*, did not cease to pervert the Right ways of the Lord, but their Sachims ... did more towards it; for they would presently raise a Storm of Persecution upon any of their Vassals that should Pray unto the Eternal God.<sup>66</sup>

Some of the Indians that survived the pox were dominated or at least domesticated by the new European landlords, working as their house servants and field hands. John Hathorne, the keeper of an ordinary (tavern) in Lynn, sold beer to the employed natives (because “the [Indians’] money was as good as others”), which led to instances of servants showing up drunk for work and the farmhands passing out in the fields.<sup>67</sup>

Aggressive tribes like the Pequots in Connecticut and the Tarrantines in Maine resisted the onslaught of colonists and kept the whole colony on edge. In the late 1630s and early 1640s, Massachusetts Bay colonists bristled at each report of Indian raids on outlying settlements, causing the colonists to live in constant apprehension; seeing Christopher Lindsey come back home to Lynn wounded from fighting Indians didn’t help. He had been wounded while fighting the Pequots and was granted payment by the court for “Losse of time, & charg of cure ... [for] damages sustained by his hurt.”<sup>68</sup> Closer to Boston and further from the trouble, Lynn was fined ten pounds in 1639 for not keeping constant watch as had been mandated by the General Court.<sup>69</sup> In 1642 reports were received that many tribes had joined together in a “bloody design” to make war “against all English,” so the General Court issued frequent orders for all of the colony’s settlements to provide for the common defense against the fearfully anticipated Indian attacks. “If anie person shall refuse, or neglect to obey ye Lawfull Comaund of anie Military Comaunder, or Officer in anie Publique Service such as watching, warding, teaming, or marching or any other service of like kind,” they could be punished with a fine up to twenty pounds or by being confined to the bilboes or stocks, “or such like Corporall punishment, as is usuall amongst souldiers.” Further, as the court considered “the continuall daingers the Inhabitants of each Towne in this Jurisdiction are in, by the Plots, & Conspiracies of the Heathen amongst us,” it ordered that a common series of warning measures be implemented throughout the colony as soon as danger was detected: “by distinct discharging 3 muskets, or a continued beat of the drum in the night, or firing the beacons, or sending a messenger to the Adjacent Townes, or discharging a piece of ordinance, in the night time ....”<sup>70</sup>

Each town was issued gunpowder and ammunition for their cannons – Lynn received one barrel of gunpowder and thirty-pound cannonballs for their “two great guns” – and to be able to replenish the supply of gunpowder, “every house, or some two, or more houses, doe joyne together” to make saltpeter, a major component of gun powder; the court suggested commandeering an outbuilding like a hen house for the purpose.<sup>71</sup> The colonists were ordered to keep a watch from sunset to sunrise, and blacksmiths were directed to suspend all other business until the arms of the colony were repaired.<sup>72</sup> Blockhouses were built for the protection of Lynn’s soldiers and their families. Military training was serious business, stretching all males to their limits. In 1637 experienced military men were delegated to each town in the colony to train a company of locals in the art of soldiering; a Lieutenant Lowe was the one assigned to get the planters of Lynn to beat their plowshares into swords.<sup>73</sup> In 1645, the General Court ordered that boys from ten to sixteen years old were to be trained in the use of small guns, half pikes, and bows and arrows.<sup>74</sup> Adult males were, of course, also required to attend military training. In 1646 Daniel King complained to the court that his goods had been taken to the amount of fifty shillings, by “the captain of ye trayned band of Lin, for supposed neglect of trayning,” but he explained that he was lame and was willing to find a man whom he could hire to take his place. The court found that “for time to come, this Courte doth discharge him in regard of his bodily infirmity, from attendance upon ordinary traynings, for any service in armes.”<sup>75</sup> At least sixty-five of those drafted in Lynn were actually called to combat; most

of them were sixteen to nineteen years old, for the rigors of war against the Indians required more endurance and strength than the Daniel Kings of Lynn could muster.

As it turned out, the Indian hostilities didn't break out in earnest in the Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth colonies until the embittered Pometacom, or King Philip to the English, refused to recognize a peace treaty that his father, Massasoit, had signed. King Philip led a federation of southern New England tribes against the colonists, directing destructive raids into Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts towns and rural areas. At least thirteen frontier villages were destroyed, six others were badly damaged, and large towns like Providence and Plymouth were threatened. Nearer to Lynn, the towns of Andover, Haverhill, and Ipswich were all attacked.<sup>76</sup>

The hostilities that surrounded the Lynn colonists made them tense and vigilant. John Flint of Salem, a soldier in the current war against King Philip, was duck hunting on the Lynn end of Spring Pond when he fatally wounded "a hostile Indian," but other accounts suggested the Indian was a friendly local native (perhaps one of the field hands) known as "Lo."<sup>77</sup> During King Philip's War, however, colonists and Indians were enemies, and war allows only one victor. On 19 December 1675 King Philip was killed along with over 300 Indians and 80 colonists in the Great Swamp Fight in South Kingston, Rhode Island. This battle was the last major Indian effort to recapture control of New England; Indian attacks on the fringe of colonial settlements tapered off in 1676.

To the victors went southern New England. Although the Indians of northern New England and Canada would continue to vex colonists in those areas (with the active encouragement of the French), the colonists of Massachusetts and Rhode Island had vanquished and subjugated their hosts and had gained control of their environment, relegating bothersome wild animals deeper into the woods and hills of New England; but some insidious adversaries had doggedly shadowed them through the seventeenth century and would continue through the next – the most sinister of these was the smallpox.

It was consistent with Puritan faith for them to sail to and inhabit a place that they had been warned was littered with the bones of people who had died a few years before of a plague-like sickness. As their ministers and governor explained, they believed that God had necessarily purged the new land of the heathen savages for their use and habitation and in 1630-1631 they had seen for themselves the smallpox further decimate the native population all around them. Their convictions gave them optimism and confidence that all was well in Zion.

The colonists were driven by faith in a god who would protect and bless devout servants and pave a way for them through the unrighteous and unfavored. On his 1629 immigration to Salem, Reverend Higginson considered himself spared, "from the time I came on shipboard to this day I have been strangely healthful ... God ... hath made my coming to be a method to cure me of a ... weak stomach and continual pain of melancholy wind from the spleen;" and he traveled in the company of God's elect, "divers children were sicke of the small pockes, but are safely recovered agayne, and 2 or 3 passengers ... fell sicke of the scurvie, but coming to land recovered in a short tyme."<sup>78</sup> The "careful hand of Providence" protected his cargo of souls from wickedness, as they knew He would:

a notorious wicked fellow that was given to swe[a]ring and boasting of his former wickednes, bragged that he had got a wench with child before he came this voyage, and mocked at our daies [days] of fast, railing and jesting against puritans, this fellow fell sicke of the pockes and dyed.<sup>79</sup>

One trip of six hundred colonists logged only three or four deaths in transit; "more might have dyed, by sicknesse or casualties," wrote William Wood, "if they had stayed at home."<sup>80</sup>

In addition to the bounteous flora and fauna, New England was blessed with a "medicineable Climate," which allegedly staved off the pox, measles, headaches, and consumption and restored the ill "to their former strength and health."<sup>81</sup> Thomas Graves of Charlestown, Reverend Thomas Welde of Roxbury, and John Winthrop in Boston wrote in 1629, 1632, and 1634, respectively, that few

colonists became ill in their respective parts of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.<sup>82</sup> Reverend Higginson wrote, “Experience doth manifest that there is hardly a more healthful place to be found in the world that agreeth better with our English bodies.”<sup>83</sup> Unlike Virginia far to the south, New England had cold winters that restored the “outward complexion” from an unhealthful summer tan and the “inward constitution” from inflammations and such diseases that colonial healers believed were caused by too much heat.<sup>84</sup> “I thinke it is a wise course,” Higginson summarized, “for all cold complections to come to take Physicke in *New-England*: for a sup of *New-Englands Aire* is better than a whole draft of old Englands Ale.”<sup>85</sup>

Time would prove that Lynn’s inhabitants had to be as wary of their constitutions as they were about their environment. In 1647 a flu epidemic went through the town.<sup>86</sup> The year 1666 was remembered as a year of disasters; Lynn was struck with lethal lightning and an epidemic of smallpox, both of which killed “a great many.”<sup>87</sup> In 1676 it suffered with a “great sickness,” which was probably the smallpox that in the same year had swept through Boston.<sup>88</sup> Lynn was hit frequently thereafter with the smallpox, as were most other towns in the colony. The promising initial reports of the region’s most enthusiastic supporters had been premature, as colonists in Lynn and elsewhere soon found out. In September 1629, the ebullient Reverend Higginson had borne his enthusiastic testimony of leaving old England a weak and sickly soul and being restored to full health and strength in New England:

None can more truly speake hereof by their owne experience than my selfe. My Friends that knew me can well tell how verie sickly I have been and continually in Physick, being much troubled with a tormenting paine through an extraordinarie weaknesse of my Stomacke, and abundance of Melancholike humours; but since I came hither on this Voyage, I thanke God I have had perfect health, [am] freed from paine and vomitings, having a Stomacke to digest the hardest and coursest fare who before could not eat finest meat, ... and I that have not gone without a Cap for many yeeres together, neither durst leave off the same, have now cast away my Cap and doe wear none at all in the day time: and whereas beforetime I cloathed my selfe with double cloathes and thicke Wastcoats to keepe me warme, even in the Summer time, I doe now goe as thin clad as any, onely wearing a light Stiffe Cassocke upon my Shirt and Stiffe Breeches of one thickness without Linings.<sup>89</sup>

Perhaps Reverend Higginson should have kept his clothes on; despite his satisfaction with New England’s climate, he died from illness eleven months later.

Many died prematurely in the colony’s first century, and survivors tried to determine why. One colonist suggested that the “want of warm lodging and good diet to which Englishmen are habituated at home” might have been the natural reasons for such high mortality, accompanied by “other causes God may have ... showed unto us ... [but I leave] this matter to the farther dispute of physicians and divines.”<sup>90</sup>

Puritans believed that illness, death, and some of Nature’s dramatic acts (earthquakes, comets, etc.) were directed by God, reminding all of the temporary and precarious balance of their sinful lives and that Judgement Day would soon be upon them.<sup>91</sup> The philosophy was bent in their favor however; illness was a trial for them, but it was a sentence for the Indians. As John Winthrop and Cotton Mather had pointed out, God had used the pox against the Indians to give the Puritans a clear title to the land so that they might exercise complete and righteous dominion over it.

## **PURGING THE DEVILS WITHIN**

In reality, the dominion they tried to exercise was not at all pure and righteous. Puritan doctrine was rigidly idealistic, demanding strict piety in their demeanor and actions, all of which was being closely watched by strictly theocratic authorities. From the outset of the colony, people proved

to be far less perfect than the doctrine, prone to slipping, falling, and being thoroughly, unforgivably human. Either large-scale illiteracy or lack of religious commitment resided in Lynn homes between 1643 and 1664: less than half of twenty-eight inventoried homes had a bible and seven of those with no bible nonetheless had other books; more homes prioritized having bedpans to warm their bedsheets than bibles to warm their souls.<sup>92</sup> Whether or not they were faithfully reading scriptures and paying attention in the church meetings that they were required to attend, willful and accidental breeches of religious and secular laws were being committed frequently by both the affluent and the poor, the influential and the nobodies.

The Puritan authorities also had to deal with frequent infractions of their tightly defined code of conduct by non-Puritans who inevitably appeared and lived in their midst. Assimilation of non-Puritans had not been part of the Puritan plan. Some Quakers were whipped, banished, and even executed for practicing their beliefs in the Puritan-controlled Massachusetts Bay Colony, but bad behavior that was not motivated by opposing doctrine was dealt with the same as had been done with Puritans gone wild. Under Puritan rule, it was better to be a sinner than a different kind of saint.

Dealing with non-Puritan behavior was an especially important issue for Lynn because a community had developed within its borders in the 1640s that contained a large number of non-Puritan nonconformists who had definitely not come to the colony to become part of the Puritan flock. Some were professional ironworkers and their families from Great Britain, recruited to start an ironworks in the colony; many others were Scottish prisoners of war, part of the huge number taken after their crushing defeat at the hands of the English at the Battle of Dunbar, Scotland, in September 1650. The prisoners were shipped all over the British Empire, include dozens who were conscripted into indentured servitude as general laborers and arriving, just three months after the battle, at the ironworks on the Saugus River. More arrived after the Scots' last drubbing of the war at the Battle of Worcester a year later.<sup>93</sup> After fighting for their lives in battle, enduring the privations of prisoners, and suffering the ordeal as human cargo freighted across a tempestuous ocean, the Scottish indentured servants arrived at the ironworks very near the end of their ropes; for one it turned out to be just that: a "Windeing Sheet" (a shroud) was purchased for a Scott named Danison who had died.<sup>94</sup> With no resident doctors or apothecaries in Lynn, a flurry of out-of-town medical help from different sides of the compass was called upon to aid the indentured servants who had arrived worse for the wear: George Emory, a physician of Salem, Robert Cooke, an apothecary of nearby Charlestown, and John Alcock, a physician of Roxbury, were all paid for "phisicke" of the Scots, which meant providing medical services, medicines, or both. Alcock received a full English pound for his phisicke, while the others' earnings were in shillings.<sup>95</sup> Payment was also made for the "Cure of two Scotts," although what healer earned that money is not stipulated in the record.<sup>96</sup> In November 1651, a surgeon was needed for their particular skills, and also for the "phissicke" of Goody Burt, a female healer of Lynn who had probably been called upon to care for one of the wives or children of an ironworker needing medical attention.<sup>97</sup>

The fairly sudden emergence of the ironworks community in the midst of the nascent, sparsely populated Lynn, must have had some startling impacts on the town. Skilled ironworkers and unskilled general laborers were both integral to the ironworks' success; the combined workforce, along with the sometimes-sizeable families of those that were married and fathers, comprised the village within Lynn known as Hammersmith.<sup>98</sup> The steady increase of Lynn's inhabitants suddenly spiked, increasing the population by at least forty percent once all the Scotsmen and the skilled iron workers and their families had arrived.<sup>99</sup> Although the ironworks enterprise was being staffed by handpicked, imported, skilled ironworkers and unskilled indentured servants, Lynners still had opportunities to profit from the enterprise, by providing services like cutting down trees in Lynn's woods and making charcoal for the iron making process, digging up bog ore from swampy areas and dried up pond and river beds, and drilling iron-bearing stone from Nahant outcroppings, as well as by supplying the ironworkers and their families with whatever skills they possessed, like carpentry, shoemaking and repair, and clothes sewing, washing, and mending.<sup>100</sup> Hammersmith's holdings

included a large farm near the ironworks that was likely tended by many of the indentured servants, but the agent's ledgers had many expenses recorded for the "dyett [of] the Menn" (keeping them fed), so Lynners were likely selling some of their produce to Hammersmith as well.<sup>101</sup> The enormity of the challenge to take care of such a large workforce is best seen in three expense entries from November 1651, appearing in immediate succession: "65 pr of Shoees," "92 pr: of Stockeing," and "72 Sheartes" (shirts).<sup>102</sup> Interestingly, the extant ledger pages make no mention of providing the indentured servants hats, jackets, or other warm clothing, despite the usually freezing New England winters. For all the expense required to provide the Scots' most basic needs, their servitude seems to have nonetheless provided them more grim reality than opportunity.

The ironworks company brought the town the potential for profit, but also its share of problems. Sometimes Hammersmith men and women acted just as badly as had some of the Puritan malcontents. Ironmaking was hard, hot, dirty, and sometimes dangerous, and it produced workers who were no less inclined to curse, carouse, and fight, drink too much and go to church too little than were their "godly" Puritan counterparts. Some were brought to court in 1652 for trying to skirt the straight-laced Puritan dress code: Elizabeth Pinnion and Ester Jenks, both wives of ironworks men, along with John Gorum, John Parker, and Richard Greene, more iron men, were all charged with wearing silver lace; Jonas Fairbanks had worn "great boots," and Sarah Perry, the daughter-in-law of another iron worker, had dared to wear a silk hood.<sup>103</sup> At the other extreme, John Turner, "living at the iron works in Lin," was convicted late in December 1647 that, while being "overtaken in drink," he had threatened to kill another of the iron workers and then stabbed Sara Turner, his daughter-in-law. He was sentenced to be severely whipped at Salem, then sent to the prison at Boston until his wounds recovered, "and later to be whipped at the iron works," obviously to prove to his fellow workers that there were terrible penalties for such serious lawbreaking.<sup>104</sup>

Punishments for wrongdoing ranged from fines to whipping, and several methods in between – the bilboes, stocks, and pillory, to name a few – were designed to at least embarrass the wrongdoer in front of the town and to warn the observers that wrongdoing would not be tolerated. Thomas Dexter had accomplished quite a bit in his first few years in Lynn: he was made a freeman in 1631, owned and farmed 800 acres, built a mill, set up a fish weir across the Saugus River, and negotiated the purchase of Nahant from the peninsula's Indian sagamore in exchange for a suit of clothes.<sup>105</sup> But his successes may have inflated his confidence when dealing with those in authority and it got him in trouble. In July 1632 he was brought before the court for having gone to Simon Bradstreet's house, exhibiting an "insolent carriage and speeches," then doing the same at the General Court. The court gave him a mild punishment, requiring him to pay a fine of five pounds, confess his fault to the court, and be on good behavior until the next court, but he was back before the court in less than a year.<sup>106</sup> In March 1633 he was again convicted of insolent behavior, "speking reproachfull and seditious words against the government here established ...." His new fine had swelled to forty pounds and he was taken to the bilboes, a punishment forcing him to lie on the ground while his feet were shackled and raised up on an iron bar.<sup>107</sup> The point of the device wasn't physical pain but embarrassment and public ridicule, the same results brought about by related apparatuses, the stocks and the pillory. It was expected, even encouraged, to hurl spoiled food, rotten eggs, and derisive insults at those bound in these punishments. In a quiet, early colonial village, it was popular entertainment. A mid-Victorian illustration of Lynn's town meetinghouse showed the stocks nearby; it was a centralized location for public display of these very public punishments. The pictured stocks could accommodate at least three people at the same time, which was probably a good idea in colonial Lynn.<sup>108</sup>

In the June 1638 session of the Essex County Quarterly Court, several were sentenced to the stocks in Lynn. A Mr. Burrell (possibly the well-heeled George Burrill) was so sentenced for the infraction of uncleanness (more likely moral than physical); also Robert Key's "unseemly behavior toward Goody Newhall" landed them both in the stocks, seated next to each other, and then they would have to repeat the punishment in the stocks at Cambridge.<sup>109</sup> Then there was John Legg, who

was also required to sit in the stocks for uncleanness, one hour in Salem and then one hour in Lynn, as well as to make a public confession of his guilt on the Lord's day at the church meeting.<sup>110</sup>

Whipping was quite different from the sentences of restraint – it was obviously designed to hurt – to punish the guilty and turn them away from their bad behavior, and to leave a lasting scar ingrained on the memories of the onlookers to keep them from ever making the same bad choices. For the crimes against the little Humphrey girls, a few hours in the stocks or bilboes was not even close to being punishment enough.

John Humphrey arrived in what would soon become Lynn in the summer of 1634 and lived on a 500-acre grant provided to him by the crown; it was called Swampscott and the house was located “on rising ground, a few rods from the sea.”<sup>111</sup> He was a wealthy, successful, and influential member of the colony who, among other attainments, was a lawyer, had a large estate that sprawled eastward from his house, served as the Deputy Governor of the colony, and was later selected to serve as the governor of the island of New Providence in the Bahamas, although several misfortunes and disappointments had thwarted his Caribbean plans. His third wife, the daughter of a British earl, was “far removed from the elegant circles in which she had delighted,” and she had become “lonely, disconsolate, and homesick. … the cold and barren wilderness of [eastern Lynn], populated by its few lonely cottages, round which the Indians were roaming by day, and the wolves making their nightly excursions,” was a stark and unhappy contrast to all she had left behind.<sup>112</sup> The Humphreys went back to England in the fall of 1641, apparently to lift the spirits and strengthen the prospects of both, but they made the grievous error of leaving their children back in the colony, in the hands of “honorable” men. Wrong, wrong, wrong.

For two years, from the time she was seven to nine years old, Dorcas Humphrey and her younger sister, Sarah, were sexually abused, repeatedly, by three men of Lynn. The sisters said nothing about “any of this wickedness, nor was there any suspicion thereof, till her father was gone to England ….” Then she told an older sister (that was about to be married), who immediately brought the matter to the attention of the authorities.<sup>113</sup>

Daniel Fairfield and his wife lived near the Humphrey farm. Jenkin Davis, “a member of the church [in Lynn], and in good esteem for piety and sobriety,” was the girls’ teacher, and he and his wife were also responsible for feeding them. John Hudson was a servant in the Humphrey’s household.<sup>114</sup> The three men were unconnected to each other but had one thing in common: monstrously victimizing the same two little girls.

Puritan ideals be damned.

The General Court found Daniel Fairfield guilty of “carnall knowledge, & soe in a most vile, & abominable manner, to have abused the tender bodie of Dorcas,” and “upon the Bodie of Sara Humphrey, a younger sister of the said Dorcas, & that this wickedness was committed verie often....”<sup>115</sup> For his “very foul sin[s],” Fairfield was sentenced to be whipped at Boston and have one of his nostrils slit open as high as could be done, then to have that wound seared with a hot iron. He was then put in jail for a while before he was to be taken to Salem where he was whipped again and had his other nostril slit and seared; then finally he was confined to live in Boston the remainder of his life with a two-foot-long rope tied around his neck. He was also to be whipped every time he was seen not wearing the rope halter and, if he ever tried to perpetrate degenerate crimes upon anyone again, he would be put to death. He also was required to pay John Humphrey forty pounds.<sup>116</sup>

Jenkin Davis received a less severe but very similar punishment to Fairfield: he was whipped and imprisoned in Boston and then again in Lynn, but his nostrils were left alone. He was confined to live for the rest of his life with a ready noose around his neck as well, with death waiting at the gallows if he tried to leave Lynn or abuse anybody else.<sup>117</sup> He also had to pay Humphrey forty pounds.

John Hudson was whipped in Boston and Lynn and ordered to pay Humphrey twenty pounds within two years.<sup>118</sup> Each criminal received forty lashes “without any … complaining … and acknowledged their sins to be greater than their punishment ....”<sup>119</sup>

Either way, God would not be mocked.

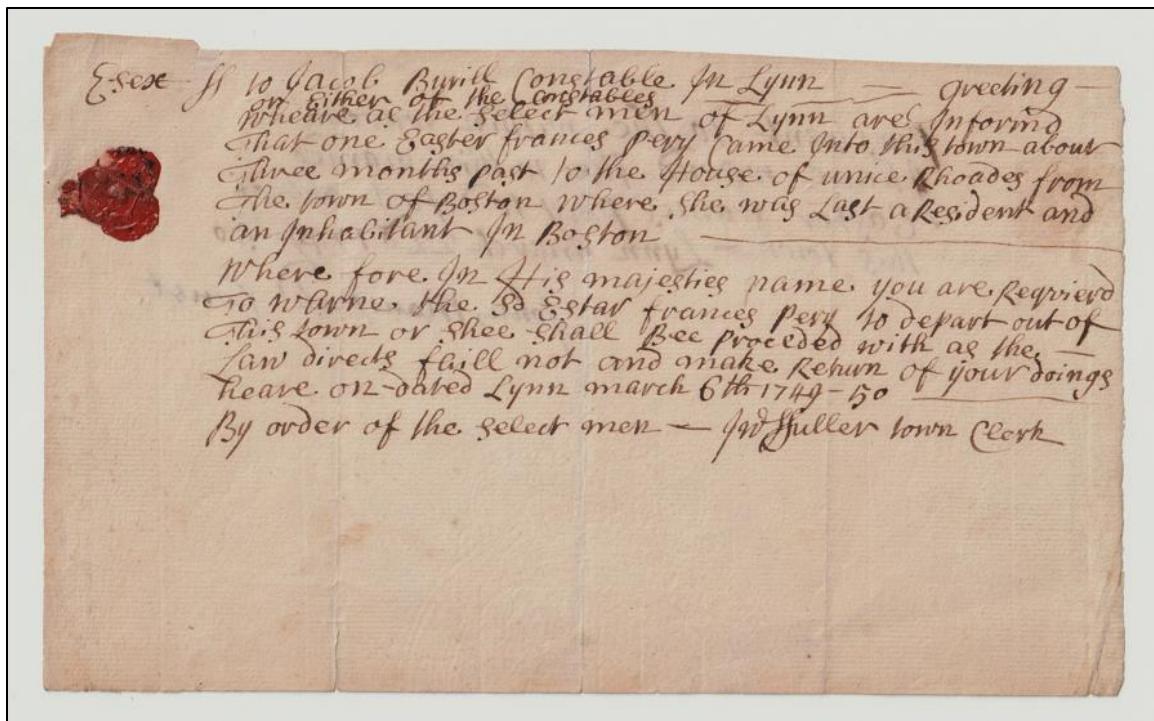
## **LIVING FOR THE MOMENT**

Whipping, restraints, and public humiliation were frequently used measures for lawlessness, and swords, guns and cannons were used to stop any unwelcomed two-footed or four-pawed visitors from coming out of the woods – Lynn was demonstrating a strong desire to prune the vineyard God had provided them. They exercised the same effort to control their new environment through frequent rulings made in town meetings. Every aspect of life seemed regulated, including rules imposed about Sabbath activities, prospective residents, the removal of clamshells at the beach, and keeping geese off the town common, to name a few. In 1697 an ordinance was passed requiring householders to bring twelve blackbird heads to authorities in two months or pay three pence for every seed-rober lacking. In the same year, the town meeting also posted rewards of twenty shillings for every wolf killed and two shillings for every fox.<sup>120</sup> The bounties and ordinances posted by Lynn demonstrated the control that had been wrestled from the area’s original inhabitants; by the turn of the eighteenth century, the people of Lynn were the hosts, and few guests were invited.

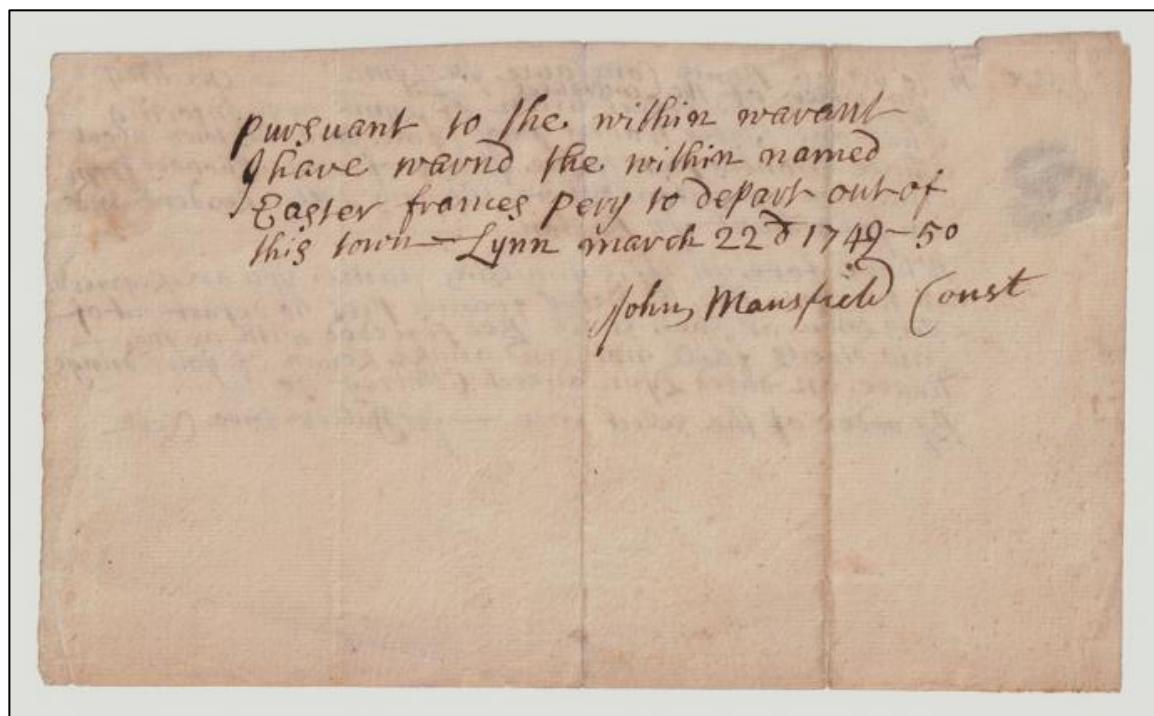
Residents were expected to pull their own weight or pay, as did Daniel King. Physical debility was one of the very few reasons that a man would be excused from civil responsibilities for which he was chosen. The number of colonists was too few and the work ethic too strong to excuse men for anything less than extreme circumstances. One of Lynn’s six surveyors in 1702 became ill and his absence meant a halt to the creation and repair of roads through the town until another man could replace him. In the next year, Joshua Rhoads asked the town leaders to excuse him from service as a constable because of “his fathers age & Infirmity & his owne inability of body by Reason of weakness & other things,” but he offered to hire another in his place.<sup>121</sup>

Only on the Sabbath were townspeople exempt from toiling, but while the town fathers deferred to a higher authority on Sundays, others did not. In 1667 Nathaniel Kertland, John Witt, and Ephraim Hall were presented at the Quarterly Court for skipping church services and eating the apples and cider of more dutiful worshippers.<sup>122</sup> In 1694 a repentant William Williams confessed that he worked on Thanksgiving Day and the court dismissed him with a light chastisement.<sup>123</sup> By the last half of the eighteenth century, Sabbath-breaking seemed to be considered a risk worth taking. Jonathan Hart was not penitent after being fined in 1760 for “absenting himself from the public worship of God”; he committed the same offense and received the same fine three years later.<sup>124</sup> Two laborers and two cordwainers were brought to court in 1766 for avoiding church as well, but only one was found guilty.<sup>125</sup> While some struggled with piety, industry found few shirkers. The energy of Lynn’s nascent shoemaking industry had produced 80,000 pairs of shoes in 1768 in a town of little more than 2,200 men, women, and children.<sup>126</sup> An advertisement in the *Boston Evening-Post* of 7 January 1765, placed by Oliver Greenleaf, whose shop was “between the White-Horse Tavern and the Great Elm-Trees in the South End of Boston,” listed “womens callimanco Shoes Lynn-made, as neat, and much stronger than any imported from England.” It was the only product in Greenleaf’s long list of goods that specified a town of manufacture within the Massachusetts province: by the second half of the eighteenth century, Lynn’s shoes were already gaining a strong reputation in the marketplace.<sup>127</sup>

With such an emphasis on industry, it was inevitable that work-related accidents would occur. While working, men and boys of Lynn were made lame and sometimes died from being burned, crushed by building timbers and trees, and run over by carts and horses. Zaccheus Collins, a Lynn farmer, had awful luck with leg injuries, suffering five work-related accidents that included burns



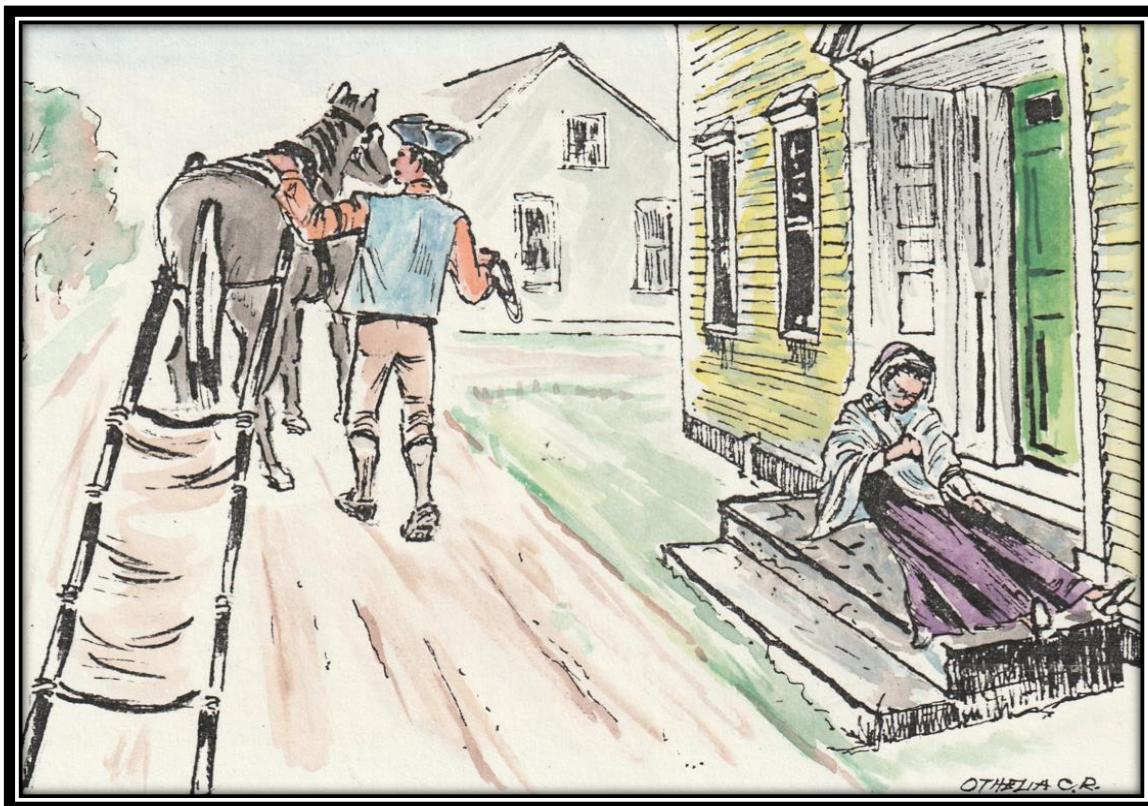
**Warning to Easter Frances Perry, 22 March 1749/50.** Easter Frances Perry (Esther Frances Perry) of Boston had been living at the Lynn home of Unice Rhoades (Eunice Rhodes) for about three months, which Lynn's selectmen decided was too long because she was or would soon become a financial burden to the town. So they instructed Lynn constable Jacob Burill to "whorne" (warn) her to depart or "Bee proceeded with as the Law directs". The warning was made official by the selectmen's seal (in red wax, above). The reverse side (pictured below) shows that another constable, John Mansfield, was the one to issue the warning to Easter; he reported on his actions sixteen days later. (Collection of the author.)



and having a spike driven through one leg.<sup>128</sup> Women and girls suffered as well from their chores in the home, especially from working around the open hearth.<sup>129</sup>

There was little room in this labor-intensive society for the unemployed transient. Every town in the growing colony had an unhealthy number of poor who wandered about in search of shelter, food, and an opportunity to reestablish themselves. Town meeting records throughout the colony in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are filled with uninvited individuals and families being warned by constables to leave town. They came from as far away as New York and Canada as large families or just widows and orphans. In 1761 one Lynner took in a child named Samuel Hart from Lunenburg, but even this solitary child wasn't exempt from a visit of the evicting constable.<sup>130</sup> Most transients had nothing for support, and some "strolled about" town, "idling away [their] time."<sup>131</sup>

Small towns like Lynn could not and would not accept the responsibility for a large public welfare problem because so many of their own residents were in need - widows, orphans, men disabled by war or work, and the ill; Samuel Mansfield of Lynn, for example, died of the smallpox in 1679, leaving a widow and three orphans.<sup>132</sup> In 1697, the smallpox hit the Lynn area, and the selectmen did not want to take a chance that the survivors from other towns would come to Lynn for support; they had to be concerned for Lynn's welfare. They issued a warning that the townspeople must not take in people from other towns without giving sufficient bond to guarantee that the transients wouldn't become charges of Lynn.<sup>133</sup> In January of 1730, Lynn ordered John and Ruth Pitman of Marblehead to leave the town with their children. They wandered back in 1752 but were taken right back to Marblehead. According to the Marblehead selectmen, Lynn's constable "laid the said Ruth then very much Sick & weak not able to stand & having fitts upon her in the Street at the



**Leaving Trouble at Someone Else's Door – Ruth Pitman, 1752.** The plight of the sick and poor was especially hard when spending time anywhere in the colony other than their hometown. Sick or lame, they were perceived as financial burdens, far more often subject to eviction than compassion. (Collection of the author. Illustrated in 1989 by Othelia Correia Rapoza, the author's mother.)

Door of one of the Selectmen of s'd Marblehead." The Marblehead selectmen felt obliged "to Provide lodging and other necessarys" or else "She might perish in the Place where she was left." Marblehead took Lynn to court over the Pitman residency question, but the court decided that the Pitmans were rightful residents of Marblehead.<sup>134</sup> People who would end up on the town dole were strenuously avoided.

Lynn had its own wards to tend to, but demonstrated some compassion for them. Jonathan Ramsdill petitioned the town in 1725 for relief from his own poverty and his aged mother's declining health. He promised the town he would "receive his ... mother into his famly" and take care of her, "whereby the Town may be at as Little Charge as may be" if they would give him a small piece of land, place his mother's house on it, and repair it "whereby it may be somthing Comfortable." The town granted all of his requests, letting him have his mother's house, five pounds, and "ten and twenty pooles of Land ... to sett sd hous upon and his Barn."<sup>135</sup> In another example of the town's apparent concern for its residents, considerable expense was incurred on behalf of citizen Elizabeth Sibburns. In 1730 another Lynn resident was paid four pounds for Elizabeth's care and keeping.<sup>136</sup> The reason for her being in need of care was apparently some physical debility; a year later the Lynn selectmen sent a letter to the Roxbury selectmen promising to support Elizabeth for a year while she was treated in that town for her illness and promising further to readmit her to Lynn when she could be returned:

Lynn June ye 14th 1731 to the selectmen of the Town of Roxbury  
Gentlemen

Whereas Elizabeth Sibuns an Inhabitant of this Town is now in the Town of Roxbery in order for a Cure under the Blessing of God according to agreement for one year with Doctr Samuel Wheat and we have agreed to suport her and at the Expiration of one year we shall Receive her again as an Inhabitant of our Town to the performance of the above we Bind our selves and our sucssors By order of the selectmen

Richard Johnson Town Clerk<sup>137</sup>

Illness and mortality were respected as unavoidable and unpredictable parts of God's plan for man. To provide in advance for a year's worth of Elizabeth Siburns' care and keeping, her benefactors must have determined that her prognosis wasn't good, yet she survived her long illness, returned to Lynn, and lived an additional twenty-eight years.<sup>138</sup>

Thomas Norris had a different problem. In the March 1742 town meeting, Norris was chosen constable, but he refused to serve and paid his fine as the law required. A debate among the selectmen ensued regarding whether or not to simply accept his payment for not serving. Civil service was considered an important obligation of able citizens, and able citizens were few, so Norris was asked whether he would serve if he lived another year. He consented, and both he and the selectmen were satisfied.<sup>139</sup> Life was such a frail commodity that the selectmen considered it a matter of colloquial address to question whether Norris would be alive the following year. He was only in his twenties and wouldn't even be married for another thirteen years; he would become a father and not die until 1773, thirty-one years after his endurance was questioned. No excuse was made by Norris, as was traditional in such petitions to the selectmen, that he was ill or infirm at the time of his appointment as a constable. Something may have precipitated the selectmen's concern, but Thomas Norris beat the selectmen's odds and lived a respectably long life.<sup>140</sup>

The colonists lived life on a day-to-day basis because they lacked control over illness and mortality, unlike the ability they had gained to control the rest of their lives. Children were especially hard-hit. They often died of fevers, consumption, influenza, disorders associated with teething, and a contagion called throat distemper (which was probably a combination of diphtheria and scarlet fever).<sup>141</sup> Over 1,400 Essex County children died during an especially brutal outbreak of throat distemper that lasted from 1735 to 1740; six Lynn children died of it in one week of the epidemic's last year.<sup>142</sup> Another devastating child killer was referred to as infantile cholera; in the town's first

two centuries, it was the ninth leading cause of all deaths in Lynn, with most of them occurring during the colonial era.<sup>143</sup>

The median age in the colonies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was sixteen; one-half of the population died before age twenty-seven.<sup>144</sup> Illness and death so frequently victimized the young, parents tried to maintain an emotional distance due to the frequent and often sudden losses of their children. Epitaphs in the Old Western Burial Ground in Lynn show the predictability of the unpredictable end for youth in the town. Given the economics of loss, many children were buried without the added expense of a headstone. In one precious exception to the rule, winged cherubim stare in stunned silence over the 1786 double gravestone of Joseph and Burrill Hart, ages eighteen and eleven:

These lovely youths, resigned their breath,  
Prepared to live, and ripe for death,  
You blooming youths, who view this Stone,  
Learn early death may be your own.  
The Lord who hath all Sovereign power,  
Cut short the lovely opening flower,  
The Sisters joy, the Parents hope,  
Submit to Deaths relentless stroke.<sup>145</sup>

The colonists' standard of living was nonetheless better than their countrymen were experiencing in Europe. Contagious illnesses like the smallpox, cholera, and typhoid did not rage with the widespread destruction that was seen in Europe. The Massachusetts Bay Colony had a small and dispersed population that limited the spread of infectious disease and other illnesses associated with poor sanitation and crowded conditions.<sup>146</sup> Virtually everyone in the colony could raise their own fruits and vegetables and some livestock, thereby receiving fresher and more nutritious foods than their European counterparts who frequently lived in old, crowded cities and towns and who could not provide for themselves with the same bounty of nutritious resources. Those who reached maturity in the colonies could hope to live approximately seventy years, although adult women had the additional gauntlet of birthing complications and infections to pass through as well.<sup>147</sup>

Colonists generally fared better away from their European homelands, but the American frontier did not provide the comforts and conveniences of home. For the first few centuries, the colonists relied heavily on Europe for the bulk of their medicine, surgical instruments, and medical texts.<sup>148</sup> Chemicals, minerals, healing plants, and favorite patent medicines were requested for curing the colonies. Some healing plants, like wormwood, dandelion, burdock, and mint, which were imported and planted in New England, grew prolifically and eventually were regarded as common weeds.<sup>149</sup> Physicians were not as easily imported, however. The medical acumen of England and Europe had little foundation in scientific fact, but the best knowledge that did exist was in the hands of university-trained physicians who catered to royalty and the upper classes; life in the colonies offered them few incentives that they could not have in Europe. While there were some skilled and university-trained physicians that came to the colonies, their numbers were insufficient and the colonist population too spread out to be able to rely on their availability. As with everything else they faced in their new world, when they didn't have what they needed, they had to fill in the gaps on their own.

## **A LACK OF HUMOR**

The healing art was practiced in Massachusetts Bay Colony largely by apprenticed but unschooled physicians and barber surgeons, by midwives who also learned through experience, and by laymen who learned by necessity and tradition. From esteemed physicians to the lowly country rustic who concocted herbals in the kitchen, the choice of medicines and treatments was based on the

centuries-old belief that illness had a spiritual cause: sin, and a physical cause: imbalanced humors. The sin-stained soul sought remedy in prayer and fasting and drawing on the spiritual strength of unseen forces.<sup>150</sup> Healing the sick body was procedurally far more involved and often seemed more stubbornly resistant to cure than was the soul.

The humoral theory stemmed from the ancient Greek concept that a healthy body enjoyed a balance of four humors: blood, phlegm, black bile, and yellow bile, which in turn corresponded with the four elements of Nature: air, water, earth, and fire. These elements, and therefore their humoral counterparts, were characterized by combinations of heat, cold, moisture, and dryness. This meant that the heat of a fever might be considered the result of an excess amount of blood. The solution was often (although not limited to) bleeding, which would presumably reduce the amount of heat and restore balance to the humors.

	WET	DRY
HOT	<b>Blood</b> (air, spring)	<b>Yellow Bile</b> (fire, summer)
COLD	<b>Phlegm</b> (water, winter)	<b>Black Bile</b> (earth, autumn)

Other ways of restoring the humoral balance included using medicines that encouraged or prevented expulsion of the various humors (depending on whether there was too much or too little of the humor) through urination, defecation, sweating, and vomiting.<sup>151</sup> These reactions to prescribed medicines and treatments were construed as signs that the chosen healing methods had worked. The humoral theory also connected the humors to the seasons; therefore, springtime was considered a season when the prudent should indulge in bleeding and blood purifiers and the winter was a time when one was likely to have a “cold” and the consequent copious discharges of phlegmatic humors.

The medicines and treatments prescribed for unbalanced humors and other ailments were often harmless, sometimes dangerous, but rarely genuinely effective. Plants and minerals were the most frequently used components to create medicines, but various food items like eggs, butter, and salad oil were also explored for medicinal use.<sup>152</sup> Those most desperate for a cure were even willing to try remedies infused with unpalatable components. Along with the traditional herbal and chemical elements listed in the official pharmacopeia of London’s College of Physicians were such exotic, often expensive, and unpleasant ingredients as scorpions, earthworms, ants, lizards, castrated dogs, rhinoceros horn, vulture fat, bull bile, bezoar stone from llamas, sparrow brains, and rooster testicles.<sup>153</sup> In this fashion, Robert Boyle, a renowned chemist and leader of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, published a book in 1663 that included ingredients far more exotic and off-putting than the standard arsenal of chemicals, leaves, and roots. Boyle’s treatise described the medical virtues of soot, horse dung, human blood, urine, and millipedes. All of these ingredients were generally steeped in wine or ale and destined for internal use. Soot was supposed to be beneficial for distempers of the brain. Human blood remedied asthma and consumption, and millipedes cured kidney stones, sores, and fistulas; of these critters Boyle wrote:

... [W]hen ... the hopes of her Friends, and those that endeavored to cure her, were lost, she ... recovered to a thriving condition of Body, by the frequent use of an internal Medicine ... a Drink (to be taken twice or thrice a day) made of a small proportion of a couple of Herbs (very common, and not much more likely to do Wonders in this case than Wormwood and Mint) and of three Hundred ... *Millepedes* well beaten (when their Heads are pull’d off) in a Mortar, and tunn’d up with the Herbs, and suspended in four Gallons of small Ale, during its fermentation. The wonderful efficacy of this Medicine ... being almost wholly ascrib’d to the *Millepedes* ....<sup>154</sup>

Such pearls of medical wisdom were not reserved for the less affluent or unschooled. The well-known Boston minister, Cotton Mather, favored a variation of Boyle's millipede panacea to remedy dropsy (edema), jaundice, and any "Ill-habit of Body": "Take *Sow-bugs* half a pound, putt 'em alive into a *Quart* or two of Wine; After a few days ... Strain them and Press them out very hard."<sup>155</sup> While Charles II of England could cure others with his touch, his physicians resorted to sterner measures. On his deathbed in 1685, King Charles was copiously bled and given doses of pulverized human skulls.<sup>156</sup> Even powdered mummy remains were used in medicine, from classical antiquity through the seventeenth century, because of their intended connection to eternal life.

Boyle also assured the public that horse dung was good for correcting urine stoppage, and that one's own "water" (urine) aided in "pleurisies, coughs, and other diverse distempers," as it did with another of Boyle's acquaintances:

I knew an ancient Gentlewoman, who being almost hopeless to recover of divers Chronical Distempers ... was at length advised, instead of more costly Physick, to make her Morning-draughts of her own Water; by the use of which she strangely recovered, and is for ought I know, still well. And the same Remedy is not disdain'd by a Person of great Quality and Beauty, that You know; and that too, after she hath travelled as far as the Spaw [spa] for Her healths sake.<sup>157</sup>

Although Boyle's urinary therapy was published in 1663, it was repeated as sound advice in *The Boston Gazette* of 18 December 1753, almost a century later.<sup>158</sup>

Since eighteenth-century Bostonians were willing to consider Boyle's drastic medicinal recipes, it's not surprising that seventeenth-century colonists experimented in their new wilderness environment as well. Many of the animal, bird, and fish species in America were new to the European immigrants and their usefulness for food, medicine, and other benefits had to be determined. Puritans believed that everything was made by the Creator for the benefit of man and it was incumbent upon them to find the God-given cures for the God-imposed ailments (in this context Boyle's remedies may have been a little easier to swallow when accompanied by a large helping of faith).<sup>159</sup> They also believed that while man was punished for his sinfulness, God placed the redemptive plants and animals near where the illness occurred. He also placed His signature on those blessed medicines, causing the shape, structure, or other quality of plants and animals to act as a clue to tell mankind what its benefits were.<sup>160</sup> According to this doctrine of signatures, toads were used for treating smallpox, syphilis, and other diseases exhibiting wart-like eruptions; yellow flowers such as saffron and turmeric were used for jaundice; and the convoluted meats of a walnut were clearly intended for headaches and other ailments of the brain that they resembled.<sup>161</sup> Closely related to this doctrine were sympathy cures wherein Nature's strengths could compensate for man's weakness; for example, animal skins were used for pains in the limbs and grease of the hairy bear was promising for baldness.<sup>162</sup>

In 1674, eleven years after Robert Boyle's treatise, fellow Englishman John Josselyn published *New England Rarities* on the use of various natural phenomena available in the colonies with an emphasis on their medical uses. A partial list of Josselyn's prescriptions from the local flora and fauna colorfully illustrates the colonists' elementary reliance on sympathy cures, the doctrine of signatures, humoral therapies, and unabashed acceptance of alleged medical properties in the wild:

Raccoon fat is excellent for bruises and aches.<sup>163</sup>

*Dogstones* ... whereof there are several kinds growtheth in our Salt Marshes. *To procure Love.* I once took notice of a wanton Womans compounding the solid Roots of this Plant [named for the bulbous root tubers resembling testicles] with Wine, for an Amorous Cup; which wrought the desired effect.<sup>164</sup>

The horns of moose are far better for Physick than the horns of other deer.<sup>165</sup>

A man who had a cold, grew crooked, lame, and full of pain, was cured “Lying one Winter upon Bears Skins newly Flead off, with some upon him, so that he sweat every night.”<sup>166</sup>

This mixture of medical principles continued well into the nineteenth century, as can be seen in the following handwritten instruction for the cure of rheumatism. It started off sounding like a recipe to make a food dish, but quickly changed with the addition of an ingredient that would have fit well in Boyle’s pharmacopeia, and then the directions were further complicated with the need for precise astronomical observation and discipline in order for the cure to work:

Ointment for Rumatic pains

Take one pint of cream and a half pint of salt and stir them well together in a frying pan over some hot coals and you will see the yellow oil appear then scum it off for use. [of] some purson. Put in a spoon full or two of earth worms with the cream & salt & let them fry together which I believe to be the best[.] And you must anoint every other night on the decrease of the moon, stroking downward – Bathing it before the fire[.]

April 10<sup>th</sup> 1836 David King<sup>167</sup>

The “decrease of the moon” was referring to the last half of the lunar cycle – the waning moon; if the rheumatism flared up during the first half of the lunar cycle, when growing towards a full moon, the sufferer was apparently out of luck, unable to benefit from this medicine.

David King’s certainty that healing was influenced by the phase of the moon reflected earlier colonial reliance on the supernatural realms of alchemy, astrology, and magic in their self-healing and self-preservation efforts. Alchemy was chemistry in its rudimentary form; the metamorphosis of wet clay into solid stoneware could be seen as one of its victories, much as was the transformation of foul ingredients into lauded cures. Astrology was carefully noted in period almanacs, which urged observance of the moon’s phase and position relative to the constellations of the zodiac in matters of planting, travel, business, love, and taking medicine. And magic was believed in, feared, practiced, and defended against; for Puritans, God and the devil were two sides of the same coin. It was popularly believed that Satan was doing his demonic best to thwart mankind’s mortal happiness as well as to steal their immortal souls. Witches, the devil’s minions, were often suspected of being the cause when sickness and even death struck family members or livestock. Consequently, Puritan colonists defended against witchcraft by using God-provided elements in nature and even counter-magic rituals to fight the witch’s black magic. In 1720, the first medical book printed in the colony advised that red coral from the sea stopped, among other things, “spit and piss Blood, [and] Witchcraft being carried about one” and that the herb true-love “resists Poyson … [and] takes away evil done by Witchcraft.”<sup>168</sup> In 1671 Joseph Blagrave, the self-described “Gentleman Student in Astrology and Physick,” gave his readers a few counter-magical methods of sympathy cure “to afflict the Witch, causing the evil to return back upon them,” both of which operated on principles of magic and, like King’s subsequent recipe for creamed worm ointment, they required the proper zodiacal position of the moon:

… get two new horseshooes, heat one of them red hot, and quench [them] in the patients urine, then immediately nail [them] on the inside of the threshold of the door with three nailes, the heel being upwards: then having the patients urine set it over the fire, and set a trivet over it, put into it three horse nails, and a little white salt: Then heat the other horshooe red hot, and quench him several times in the urine, and so let it boil and waste until all be consumed; do this three times and let it be near the change, full, or quarters of the *Moon*; or let the *Moon* be in *Square* or *Opposition* unto the Witches Significator [sign of the presence of witchcraft].

… Another way is to stop the urine of the Patient, close[d] up in a bottle, and put into it three nails, pins, or needles, with a little white Salt, keeping the urine alwayes warm: If you let it remain long in the bottle, it will endanger the witches life: for I have found by experience, that they will be grievously tormented making their water

[urine] with great difficulty, if any at all, and the more if the *Moon* be in *Scorpio* in Square or *Opposition* to his Significator, when its done.

... The reason why the Witch is tormented, when the blood or urine of the patient is burned, is because there is part of the vital spirit of the Witch in it, for such is the subtlety of the Devil, that he will not suffer the Witch to infuse any poysorous matter into the body of man or beast, without some of the Witches blood mingled with it ...<sup>169</sup>

In 1681 Joseph Glanvill, the Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles II, shared an account told to him by a William Brearley, a clergyman, who, while boarding in a house in Suffolk, East Anglia, was told by the landlord of his wife's recovery from a witch's spell.<sup>170</sup> As the story went, the landlord had told a visiting old man that his wife had been "ill handled by Witchcraft." The old visitor advised the landlord to "take a Bottle, and put his Wife's Urine into it, together with Pins and Needles and Nails, and Cork them up, and set the Bottle to the Fire well cork'd," to cure his wife who "had been a long time in a languishing condition, and that she was haunted with a thing in the shape of a Bird, that would flurr [flutter] near to her face, and that she could not enjoy her natural rest well." The old man later revisited the husband who told him his wife was "as ill as ever, if not worse," so the old man revised his instructions for making the bottle, "Take your Wife's Urine as before, and cork it in a Bottle with Nails, Pins, and Needles, and bury it in the Earth." The husband did so and in a short time his wife was "well recovered."<sup>171</sup> Then the residual impact of the magic bottle was fully discovered:

But there came a Woman from a Town some miles off to their house, with a lamentable Out-cry, that they had killed her Husband. They ask'd her what she meant and thought her distracted, telling her they knew neither her nor her Husband. Yes, saith she, you have killed my Husband, he told me so on his Death-bed. But at last they understood by her, that her Husband was a Wizard, and had bewitched this Man's Wife, and that this Counter-practice prescribed by the Old Man, which saved the Man's Wife from languishment, was the death of that Old Wizard that had bewitched her. This story did Mr. Brearly hear from the Man and Woman's own Mouth who were concerned, at whose house he for a time Boarded, nor is there any doubt of the truth thereof.<sup>172</sup>

From royalty's use of dead men's skulls and powdered mummies to the common man combining hair, nail clippings, pins, and urine in bottles to protect themselves from witches, superstition rode astride science in the development of colonial era medicine. Even long after the Salem witch trials, apotropaic measures like horseshoes and bottled preparations of magic (which have come to be referred to as "witch bottles") were still being used in the colonies and back in Great Britain, as were cures that employed folk magic.<sup>173</sup> Transference cures were another type of fantastical solution emerging from folk medicine's bubbling cauldron of preternatural possibilities. A colonial era cure for gout was an archetype of transference cures, blending improvisation, economy, and faith in magic by promising to transfer illness from a sick human to a crab: "To cure the gout, take the hair and nails, cut them small, mix them with wax, and stick them to a live crab, casting it into the river again."<sup>174</sup> The instruction read more like an incantation than a medicinal recipe and required the willing suspension of doubt by the desperate gout sufferer. Another handwritten transference cure from the late-nineteenth century reads, "Cut three bunches hair from his head one exactly behind, one above each ear, and bore a hole deep into a thrifty tree, but not quite through, put the hair in the hole and plug it shut. It would be well if he could do it himself." Unfortunately, what this instruction was expected to cure was not included in the note.<sup>175</sup> The supernatural lurked in the shadows of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century life, but was actively used and faithfully followed.

The medicinal use of magic and folklore, botanicals and chemicals, animals and insects, and even food and excreta, aggregated into an enormous medicinal formulary from which the colonists

could at least hope for a promising cure. For the most part, colonial physicians relied on medicines and recipes used by their European counterparts and forbearers; these were often compounds containing dozens of ingredients. By the eighteenth century, sufficient mercantile shipping existed between Boston, Salem, and Europe to keep the physicians and apothecaries stocked in the ingredients they couldn't grow or pick. But the compounds in vogue in London were far more expensive than alternatives that might exist in New England's fields and forests, so the colonists – physician, apothecary, and especially the layman – resorted primarily to botanicals of local origin to create simple medicines for specific problems. In this respect, colonial medicine borrowed from Indian notions of healing.<sup>176</sup> Like their Indian counterparts, colonists used the resources in the wilderness around them, bringing the sick some comfort and relief from their own herbal preparations and perhaps occasionally in the more audacious use of such items as moose horns and raccoon fat when needed. The colonists were keenly interested in learning about Indian remedies. While the most valuable contribution the Indians made to the settlers' comfort was probably their knowledge of what indigenous plants and animals were edible, the medicinal properties they ascribed to the flora and fauna were carefully observed by the colonists and sometimes incorporated into their evolving collection of medicinal recipes. Josselyn's entries typify this interest; he made frequent reference to Indian remedies in his 1674 book:

Bear's Grease is very good for aches and cold swellings, the Indians anoint themselves therewith from top to toe, which hardens them against the cold weather.<sup>177</sup>

The English use [sumach] to boyl it in Beer, and drink it for Colds; and so do the Indians, from whom the English had the Medecine.<sup>178</sup>

The Indians Cure their Wounds with [water plantain], anointing the Wound first with Raccoons greese, or Wild-Cats greese, and strewing upon it the powder of the Roots.<sup>179</sup>

The Indians will tell you, that up in the Country there are Pond Frogs as big as a Child of a year old.... They are ... very fat, which is excellent for Burns and Scaldings, to take out the Fire, and heal them, leaving no Scar; and is also very good to take away any Inflammation.<sup>180</sup>

The enormous range of medicinals, from the mild to the hard-to-swallow, found favor with various patients and healers for an equally wide range of reasons, ranging from genuinely therapeutic actions of certain ingredients to ineffective remedies being coincidentally used right at the point when the body was beginning to heal itself. Over time, failures would fade and successful remedies would be eagerly reproduced and given to other patients with similar complaints.

The resulting medicinal amalgam of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century physicians, apothecaries, and laymen in the Massachusetts Bay Colony developed from the diverse array of European, colonial, and Native American ingredients, knowledge, and superstition. No one way had proven superior to the others, so everything was tried and favorites eventually emerged.

If the colonists had no physicians or apothecaries on whom to rely, they could always go into the woods and countryside surrounding them and invent their own concoctions. In Lynn, especially during its first century, most of the town's families remained quite remote from those who provided healing services or sold medicines. When no healers of any type were available or desirable to the patient or their caretaker, these isolated families had to rely on their own knowledge and experience about what made them feel better and perchance seemed to heal.

Many people in the Lynn area probably invested some effort in healing themselves and their neighbors. John Josselyn mentioned several instances of colonial laymen taking medical matters into their own hands. Among these were "our Englishwomen in this Country" using powdered Beaver cods (testicles) in a draught of wine for "Wind in the Stomach and Belly, and ... give it to Women with Child."<sup>181</sup> Another example, although not from New England, revealed the common reliance of colonists upon each other instead of resorting to physicians in the first instance of pain or illness:

A Friend of mine of good Quality living sometime in Virginia was sore troubled for a long time with the Bloody-Flux, having tryed several Remedies *by the advice of his Friends* without any good effect, at last was induced with a longing desire to drink the Fat Dripping of a Goose newly taken from the Fire, which absolutely cured him, who was in despair of ever recovering his health again.<sup>182</sup>

## **MOTHERING NATURE**

Although history does not recall the names of the Native Americans or earliest European settlers who conjured up healing potions in their homes, most women took it upon themselves to make medicines and doctor their family and perhaps neighbors whenever possible. It was common practice among early settlers, isolated as they were in the colonial wilderness, to make medicines for their families and their draft animals, as well as create their own ink, varnish, shoe blacking, and other compounds that were otherwise unavailable or costly imports.

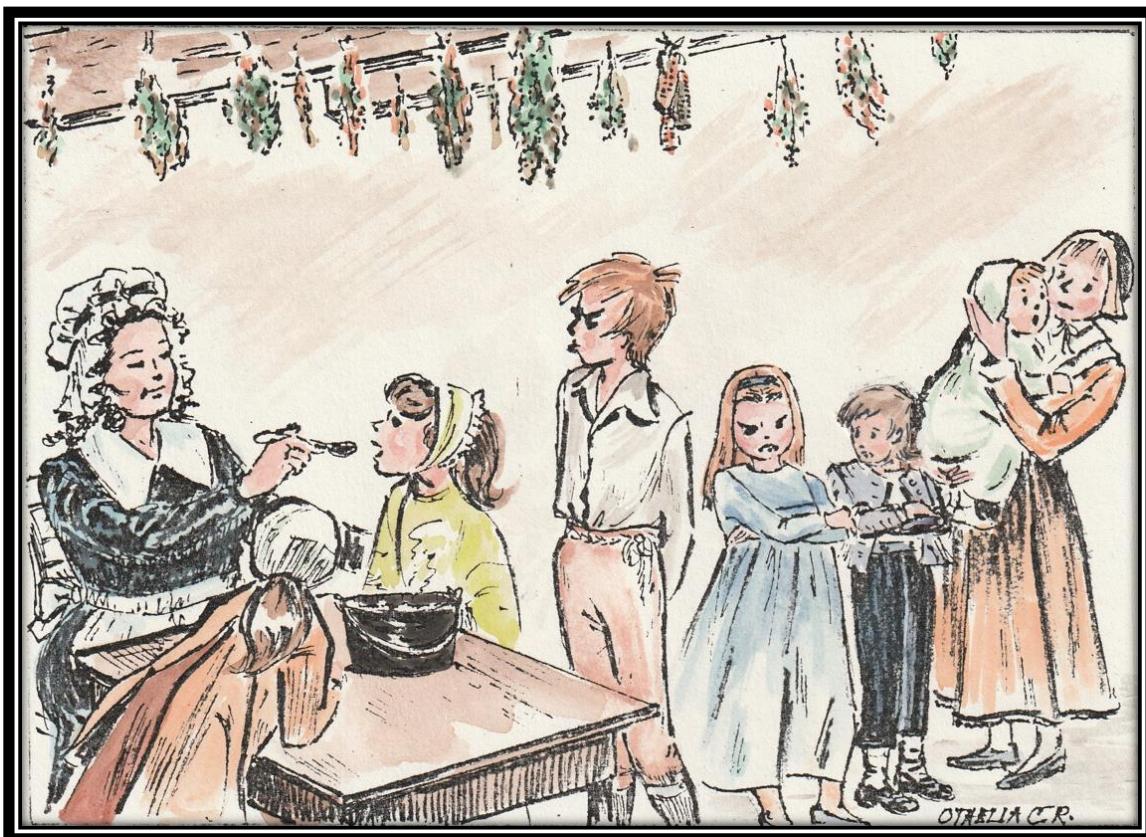
A historical fiction written by the nineteenth-century Lynn historian and jurist, James R. Newhall, captures the general extent of medical knowledge among the average colonists in seventeenth-century Lynn. This collection of reminiscences, written under the pseudonym Obadiah Oldpath, contains the account of Deborah Armitage, a humble spinster who made “an honest pittance” traveling around Lynn and neighboring towns, from Salem Village to Malden, selling herbs and simple medicinal preparations.<sup>183</sup>

In the woods, Aunt Deborah gathered her sassafras, gold-thread and checkerberry. In her little garden she raised her saffron, rue and wormwood. By the roadside she found her catnip and yellow dock. And the meadows supplied her sweet flag root and rosemary. The few bottles of eye-water that she took in her basket were distilled by her own fireside. And the few boxes of salve for wounds and bruises were made by her own hands.<sup>184</sup>

She was described as an honest, pious, and self-sacrificing woman, “with tears always ready to flow at a tale of suffering, and hands ever ready to do their utmost in charity.” Little children were particularly fond of her kind and patient way with them and adults regarded her presence in their homes as a good omen. She was a loved and trusted member of everyone’s family and was known admiringly as “Aunt Deborah.” Beyond her natural remedies, her most potent medicine was the Good Samaritan compassion that she applied liberally to all.<sup>185</sup>

Obadiah Oldpath also told the story of Jane Hawkins, a midwife who was allegedly known in Lynn as an energetic, moral, and educated mother and wife that, like most colonial women, made medicines at home. She ran afoul of the church elders with opposing doctrines, however, and this friction was exacerbated by accusations of witchcraft and of selling love potions that were thought to be bewitched, “This certainly was a piece of quackery very detrimental to her reputation. And it is hardly conceivable that so strong-minded and intelligent a woman ... should have allowed herself to thus trifile, and become an object of reasonable suspicion.”<sup>186</sup> The real Jane Hawkins was ultimately banished, but until her appointed time of departure from the colony, the court ordered “shee is not to meddle in surgery, or phisick, drinks, plaisters, or oyles, nor to question matters of religion, except with the elders for satisfaction.”<sup>187</sup>

A third Lynn woman named Dame Ramsdell was remembered by Oldpath for a large pocket in her homemade dress that was often “crammed with sweetmeats for good children and herbs and ointments for sick men and women.” She was well known as a spinner and weaver and for her skill with herbs. “Her capacious garret was a vast depository of spoils from the fields and woods, and her very person was redolent of herby perfumes.” She also had more children than anyone in Lynn up to her time. “These she found useful as ... models on which to display her manufactures, and as subjects on which to experiment with her herby concoctions.”<sup>188</sup>



**Dame Ramsdell Experiments with Herby Concoctions.** Based on the probably apocryphal Lynn character in Obadiah Oldpath (James R. Newhall), *Lin: or Notable People and Notable Things in the Early History of Lynn* (Collection of the author. Illustrated in 1989 by Othelia Correia Rapoza.)

Despite the questionable historicity of his Lynn pioneer healers, Oldpath's stories reflected several truths about colonial medicine, such as the reliance on herbs and the selling of homemade nostrums to others to make a few pence; the focus on the woman's role in healing was particularly appropriate. Home health care was largely the responsibility of the woman, along with her other domestic duties, like nurturing infants, tending the vegetable and herb gardens, and making meals and clothes. The mortar and pestle were standard equipment in the kitchen, being employed for crushing herbs used in medicines and corn and grain for the cooking pot. Grinding one's own herbal remedies was an important skill since there were no apothecaries in colonial Lynn.

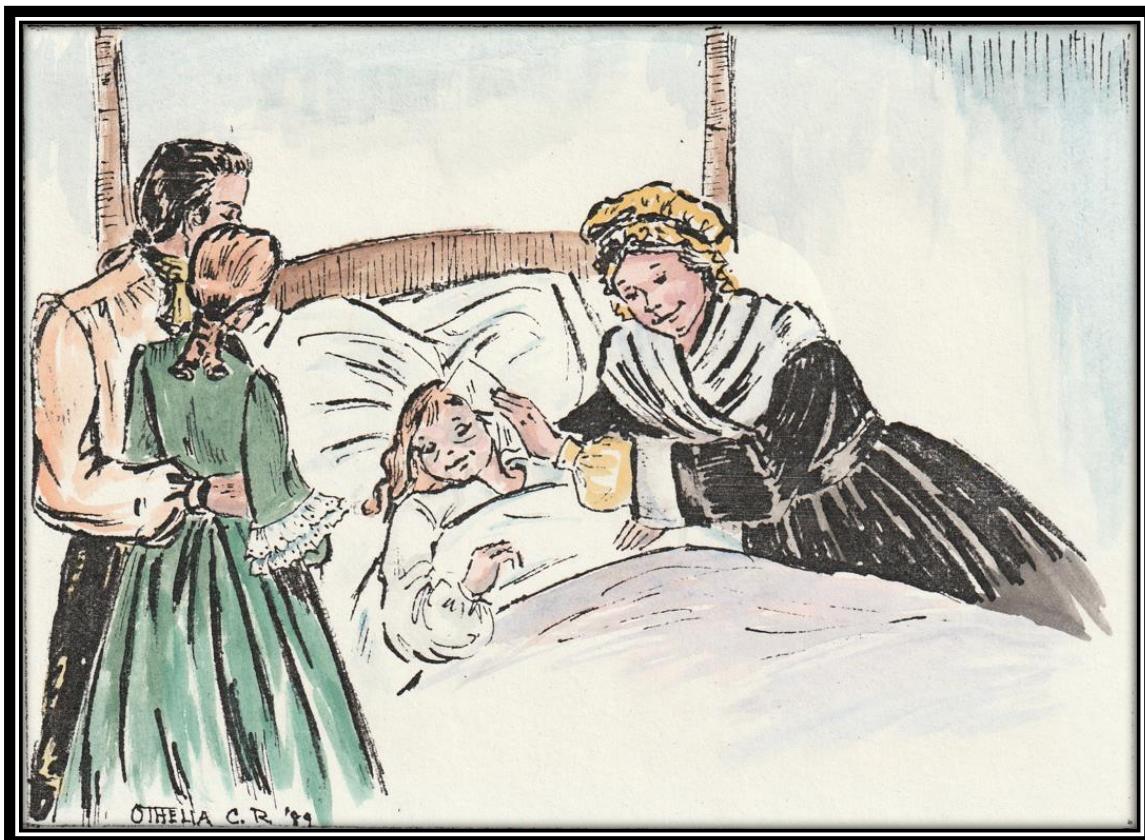
The woman was responsible for a long list of stereotypic female roles of which the most conspicuous assignment in her realm was childbearing. The function was expected, unavoidable, and vigorously practiced in the colonies. The alternatives, abortion and infanticide, were religiously and socially repugnant and seldom seen in colonial records.<sup>189</sup> With each birth, the lives of the mother and baby were at high risk; complications often caused stillbirths and infants that lived only a few minutes or maybe hours. A woman might have given birth to many children over many years, but die in childbirth with the next. Labor was a precarious moment where the complexion of a family's future could just as easily be scarred by the loss of the mother and infant as enhanced by the joy of an addition to the family.

The number of births occurring in a community, coupled with all the illnesses and accidents requiring medical attention, seldom allowed the few colonial doctors to attend women at childbirth. Birth was also considered an indelicate, intimate situation for men to be involved with, so for centuries, women helping women had been the obvious solution for delivering babies.

Midwives evolved in the town and country from the common practice of neighbor helping neighbor. Women probably helped their expectant neighbors and relatives with some of the household chores when possible and, by virtue of their frequent communication with the mother-to-be, they were aware of her discomforts and needs. When the time came for labor and delivery, they assisted and observed the midwife. First-hand experience at many labors and births plus the likely experience of bearing their own children were the credentials of midwives. This volume of experience meant that midwives were generally older women.<sup>190</sup>

If no physicians were in the vicinity, a midwife could be called upon for herbal medicine of her own preparation or for dressing a wound.<sup>191</sup> She was, in short, one of the best-known women in the community. The 1755 death record of Mary Farrington of Lynn was distinguished from those of other women by the appellation, "mid-wife."<sup>192</sup> Zaccheus Collins also distinguished Sarah Lyndsey from the other women in his diary by recording in 1731, "Sarah Lynsdye dyed the old midwife."<sup>193</sup>

The court also turned to the midwife for her considered opinion in rape and witchcraft trials and for her expert testimony in bastardy and infanticide cases.<sup>194</sup> Sexual transgressions were spiritual and economic concerns for the community. The family was the heart of Puritan society, a microcosm of the social order, and as such, sexual sins like bastardy, abortion, and infanticide reviled the laws of God and threatened the community harmony. Bastardy also tugged at the community purse strings since financial support had to be given to the mother and her newborn. The town was therefore eager to identify the father and affix the financial if not moral responsibilities to him. Closet immorality like the adultery of a married woman wasn't investigated with the same energy as the obvious immorality of a widow, single woman, or spinster, since no economic impact on the town was likely if the married woman's affair resulted in a child.<sup>195</sup> A Lynn woman in debt was thought of as a



**A Midwife's Work is Never Done.** While midwives have been remembered principally for tending to women in birth, they also provided care to children. Here the artist has portrayed an eighteenth century midwife tenderly ministering to the daughter of the concerned parents. (Collection of the author. Illustrated in 1989 by Othelia Correia Rapoza.)

burden to be avoided; for some brides, being debt-free was symbolically represented at their wedding. Long before the era when the bride wore white to symbolize her purity, she was sometimes clothed in a single undergarment to symbolize that she came into the marriage with no debts. The 25 December 1764 Lynn marriage record of Daniel Gowing and Mercy Bowers indicated that “Gowing took the sd Mercy naked, except a sheet & shift that she borrowed.”<sup>196</sup> A single woman in labor was a greater concern than a single woman about to be married because her future financial burden was obvious.

The midwife was tasked with interrogating the mother-to-be during hard labor to determine paternity. A name was painfully divulged by the mother as she underwent her torturous ordeal. A midwife’s report was damning evidence to the man named and rarely could he produce enough witnesses or evidence that could sway the court otherwise.<sup>197</sup> In 1701 Elisabeth Ingalls of Lynn confessed to the crime of fornication and “accused Bartholomew Jackson of Lynn to be the father of the Bastard Child.” In addition to her oath in court to this fact, her midwife, Sarah Lyndsey, and Sarah Leiton (apparently a woman who assisted Lyndsey) testified that “she steadfastly accused him in ye time of her Travail they being then present.” The court judged Jackson guilty and required him to pay weekly child support until “further ordered.”<sup>198</sup>

Jonathan Silsby Junior pleaded not guilty in 1708 to fathering the child unlawfully begotten of Eliza Collins, but again midwife Lyndsey testified that the woman “accused him steadfastly at ye time of her Travail” and produced other evidence that “he frequented her company at unseasonable times of Night for several Months together.” Once again the court was convinced by venerable midwife Lyndsey.<sup>199</sup> John Jeffries and Mary Downing, both of Lynn, were brought to court in 1724 on charges of fornication and bastardy. Mary pleaded guilty and was fined forty shillings plus court costs or “be severely whipt ten lashes on her naked back.” John protested the charges, but midwife Phebe Brintnall and her assistant testified that his name was used in Mary Downing’s “extremity” and he was also found guilty.<sup>200</sup> In 1719 Mary Newhall obstinately accused Ebenezer Norwood “at the time of her Extremity,” but which midwife testified to this was not recorded. Norwood was ordered to pay weekly support for the baby “while it lived - 10 days - and pay ye charge of Lying in & funeral of ye child & costs.”<sup>201</sup> In that same year, Maybell Evance accused (or more likely willfully admitted) that a slave named Gregory was the father of her “Blackish Negro child.” He offered to work hard and take care of the child and Maybell asked permission to marry the slave, but the court would tolerate none of it. She was indentured for five years towards the maintenance of the child and Gregory was whipped and imprisoned, “as the law directs,” until he could be sold out of the province.<sup>202</sup>

The lack of a birth bed confession to the midwife caused the woman’s court oath to be suspect and the burden of guilt was focused exclusively on her. Desire Thytot pleaded guilty of fornication and having a female bastard child at Lynn in 1770, “and she now charged ... Jesse [Whitman] with being the father of it.” He denied the charge and after hearing both sides and all the witnesses,

... [I]t did not appear in the Course of the Evidence that she had charged him with it in the Time of her Travail and it also appearing that she is a Person of evil Fame & of no Credit; the same question passed in the negative [he was found not guilty].<sup>203</sup>

Men were also called on occasionally to render quasi-medical opinions for the court, despite their inexperience and lack of medical training. Unlike midwives who dealt with the beginning of life, men were assigned to determine the ending. Coroners were appointed by the provincial governor to take inquests of “felonies and other violent and casual deaths committed.”<sup>204</sup> Two Lynn men who accepted the appointment as coroners were Jonathan Bancroft, an innkeeper, and Deacon John Lewis, a slave owner and retailer of “strong drink” in Lynn. They both oversaw a number of investigations into the deaths occurring in Lynn from 1744 to 1783 and were most frequently engaged on inquests of apparent drowning victims who were washed up on Lynn’s shores.<sup>205</sup> In 1744 Lewis submitted an account of expenses incurred for the inquest on Abraham Mulzey “taken upon

Phillip's Beach" in May 1742 and another inquest on "a Man, a stranger, taken up on Main Beach" in August 1744. Each list included the costs for the work and expenses of taking the inquisition, the constable's travel expenses for summoning the jury, and the jury's daily pay and travel rate. The inquests each lasted only one day.<sup>206</sup> An additional expense was incurred for making a coffin and digging a grave for the drowned stranger, but the coroner and his jury probably didn't perform those services.

The coroner's function wasn't to personally deliver postmortems, but to select an inquest jury and to direct the affairs of the inquest. The all-male jury was composed of "good and lawful men" from the same town where the body was discovered.<sup>207</sup> In 1669 a jury of twelve Lynn men was selected to investigate the death of George Fraill. The jury consisted of farmers, millers, and a haberdasher; three of them signed the inquest findings with the marks of illiterates. The inventories of their estates revealed no medical supplies, equipment, or learning.<sup>208</sup> An inquest jury was impaneled to determine how, where, and when the deceased was killed and by whom, if it was a murder. Their findings were the result of nothing more than basic deduction and consensus from the facts provided.<sup>209</sup> In the case of George Fraill's death, the jury of laymen found "that a Peace of timber of About 15c hundred weight ... Roulling over him was the cause thereof."<sup>210</sup> In 1683 another jury of twelve again composed largely of farmers, as well as a veteran of King Philip's War and a starch maker, was selected to go to Nahant and investigate the death of a boy who was found on the shore. After examining the body on the beach, the considered opinion of the jury was that "they thought he had been drowned."<sup>211</sup> Maleness, not medical experience, was all that was necessary to serve as a coroner or a juror; it was deemed a man's job to bravely stare death in the face.

Given the small population and largely rural character of colonial Lynn, with its scattered villages separated by farms, large tracts of marsh, hills, woods, and bodies of water, unexpected corpses were discovered with almost frightening frequency. Between the late spring and early summer of 1772, chronicler Richard Pratt recorded five instances of bodies found in various remote locations of Lynn. On 22 March the remains of an adult male were found on Little Nahant and an inquest was held at Widow Ruth Johnson's tavern. Six days later another man's body was found on Long Beach and brought to Increase Newhall's tavern for an inquest.<sup>212</sup> On 30 April a dead child was found in a swamp near the Widow Howard's. Suspicion quickly circled around Sarah Goldthwait (for reasons Pratt did not specify) and an "inquisition" held at Increase Newhall's got her to confess that the child was hers. The next day she repeated her confession before a judge and was sent to jail.<sup>213</sup>

Just a few weeks later, Pratt recorded that Abigail Rhoads had disappeared and when she still had not been heard from after nine days, a "Large number of People went in Search of her." Yet another nine days passed without any sign of Abigail, so the people searched again, but still without success. Seven more weeks went by before the remains of Abigail Rhoads were found in a swamp; an inquest upon the weathered remnants was held the next day.<sup>214</sup> Just three days later, before the somber proceedings of the inquest on one of their own townspeople had a chance to fade, another inquest had to be performed because another corpse had been discovered on Nahant. A year later to the day, yet another body was found at the same place.<sup>215</sup>

Aside from the occasional appointments as coroners and inquest jurors, the average man usually deferred to the average woman in medical matters. Zaccheus Collins saw many suffer illness in his house. Whenever possible, he would ride out the injury or illness and not seek any assistance, but if help was needed, he turned to someone other than himself.<sup>216</sup> When his wife was "ill" with child, he "fetched the women" or rode out to Marblehead to get a midwife. In 1744 when his wife was "not very well" he did not hesitate to get a woman he called Granny Newhall, who delivered the baby shortly after midnight.<sup>217</sup> In 1747, an ill sister-in-law from Nahant spent a week in the Collins home, and went home "better in helth," but likely through the exclusive efforts of his wife, since he again maintained his daily routine.<sup>218</sup> In 1730 he "tarried" all night at the house of a friend who was very sick, but made no claims to healing.<sup>219</sup> In 1735 his wife's leg swelled, making her very ill for



**The Coroner's Inquest Jury Examines the Body of a Stranger on the Beach, August 1744.** The Coroner's Inquest Jury was always composed of men, probably to shield women from the sometimes gruesome nature of death as well as to avoid the perceived impropriety of being intermingled with men not of their family; however, women were usually very experienced in dealing with death and tragic accidents, so conformance to social mores was probably the larger issue. (Collection of the author. Illustrated in 1989 by Othelia Correia Rapoza.)

weeks. He stayed home from some meetings because of her illness, but on the seventeenth day he called in a Boston doctor named Clark to care for her; four days later his wife was better and in a week she was able to get up.<sup>220</sup> In August of 1739 Zaccheus felt ill and resorted to fasting for his health. Four days later he realized he had the measles. Nine days after his fast he was up and about, but six more of his family and one of his hired hands became sick with the measles within a couple of weeks.<sup>221</sup>

In his diary, Collins followed the daily reports about friends who were terminally ill, but he was incapable of offering any medical wisdom or acumen; the most he could do was maintain a vigil at a sick friend's bedside or make the arrangements for a coffin and the grave.<sup>222</sup> He offered empathy and comfort to the ill, and the wisdom to seek the assistance of more qualified healers to aid them, whether it be his wife, a midwife and her assistants, or a doctor. To the dead he paid his respects and to survivors he offered his sympathy, attending many funerals and consoling many friends.

### **TRAVELING DOCTORS, WANDERING HUMBUGS**

In the same way that Aunt Deborah circulated through Lynn and nearby settlements to sell her herbal medicines, healers and medicine makers often traveled in greater or lesser orbits from their homes to find customers for their goods and services. Obadiah Oldpath claimed that Nicholas Knop made Lynn part of his route with its "Blew Anchor" tavern (nearby where the road to Boston crossed the Saugus River) one of his wayside lodgings.<sup>223</sup> Knop is best remembered for appearing in the

colony's court records on 1 March 1630: "Nicholas Knop is fined 5£ for taking upon him to cure the scurvy by a water of no worth nor value which he sold at a very deare rate to be imprisoned till he pay his fine or give security for it or els to be whipped and shall be lyable to any mans action of whome he hath received money for the said water."<sup>224</sup> Perhaps he came to Lynn with his scurvy medicine and maybe he stayed at the Anchor, but despite Oldpath's delightful narrative, the court record is the only existing document about his medicine-peddling career, and it does not connect Knop with Lynn; nonetheless, traveling healers and medicine sellers surely passed through Lynn on their way to Salem and Boston, the towns providing the largest numbers of potential customers.

One of the earliest physicians who definitely made rounds through Lynn had as much difficulty accurately diagnosing as did the scribe of Lynn End's Congregational church a hundred years later. Phillip Reade, a traveling healer from Concord, was known in Lynn for his accusations of witchcraft when no other explanation for illness or abnormal behavior was evident to him.<sup>225</sup>

The scanty records of Reade's practice before moving to Concord suggest the haphazard wanderings of a middle-aged itinerant physician. In February 1665, at forty-two years old, he was receiving payment from a patient at Quaboag Plantation (Brookfield, Massachusetts) and in 1667 he was a "Phission" in Norwalk, Connecticut while winning an arbitrated dispute of debt in the town of Brookhaven on Long Island.<sup>226</sup> By 1668-1669, Reade had made the apparently serendipitous move from the southwestern corner of Connecticut to Concord; however, he might actually have had some foreknowledge of Concord and Sudbury's medical needs. Court records reveal his father was also in the Concord area in 1670 and it may also be significant that Reade was married to Abigail Rice in 1669, quite soon after his arrival at Concord.<sup>227</sup> At a time when most New England colonists were migrating west and south in search of religious freedom and economic opportunity, Phillip Reade went against the flow, traveling north and east; it was characteristic of the rest of his life.

Although Reade raised a family in Concord, his medical practice included a swath of Massachusetts towns that reached to the ocean. The main towns of Reade's practice were Concord, Sudbury, Billerica, Woburn, Reading, and Lynn, none of which had resident physicians.<sup>228</sup> (It should be understood that Reade wasn't the only practitioner in the area. For example, John Chickering of Charlestown could also be found in Reading and Sudbury.<sup>229</sup>) Salem, which was almost twice the distance from Concord to Andover, was the eastern terminus of Reade's route because it had plenty of healers to cover its needs as the colony's second largest town, and Reade could restock his saddlebags at its apothecary shops – another medical commodity that his small rural patient towns did not have. Although Malden and Medford were conspicuously absent from his route (perhaps because of Reverend Michael Wigglesworth's medical ministry), to the south of these, the bay area towns – Boston Cambridge, and Charlestown – were among his frequent stops. Reade may have made this southern swing for the advantage of additional apothecary shops, but more likely because of the many opportunities for tippling.

Reade was constantly on the move between towns. Court records reveal that in the last five months of 1669, Reade had traveled through Concord, Billerica, Lynn, Charlestown, and Cambridge. The Concord constables were well exercised in attempting to serve Reade with many warrants, but they seldom found him at home. On one occasion they tried to ride twelve miles to Sudbury to catch up to the traveling doctor.<sup>230</sup> Another court record found Reade at Goodman Clarke's tavern just one day for his patients in Reading, then a month in Lynn taking care of a Mr. Hawkes' leg, and finally on to Salem "to visit my patients there."<sup>231</sup> In his travels, Reade carried a rapier and often enjoyed the company of another traveler. Most of the paths he traveled were far from Boston and therefore remote and secluded; the companionship of friends and sword probably gave him peace of mind amidst the potential problems with wolves, wildcats, bears, rattlesnakes, Indians, highway robbers, and other such road hazards of seventeenth-century Massachusetts.

Reade visited patients' homes by the wayside, but seemed to concentrate his activities at inns and ordinaries, which were community centers even when not at the center of the community. It is

not just coincidence that innkeepers and ordinary licensees from Sudbury, Concord, Charlestown, and Reading were involved in court actions for and against Reade. As public houses and local landmarks, these facilities were ideal breeding grounds for patients. If Reade arrived at an inn where he wasn't expected, he could probably still pick up a few shillings from unhealthy souls among the hostelry's clientele. But even though his practice covered many towns over hundreds of miles, he wasn't a slippery itinerant charlatan; he at least sometimes maintained a loose schedule and had a regular, repeat-business customer base. In 1679 court testimony, Reade displayed this responsible side of his practice, "I being about my employ amongst my patients and Coming to Redding ordinarye the Last Saturday in Sep<sup>br</sup> th[ere] to meet my patients *according to my promise.*"<sup>232</sup>

Reade had a contentious personality that did not endear him to many; he was frequently in court being sued or suing someone else. In 1669 he was sued for slandering a midwife in Concord.<sup>233</sup> In another case that year, Reade filed a complaint against Martha Hill for raising false reports that "he had Cured Sara Wyman of a swelling under her chin and another under her Apron."<sup>234</sup> Deponents all heard Martha Hill claim that "the New docktor [in Concord]" had said Sarah Wyman was pregnant, but no one heard Hill suggest Reade had performed an abortion, as Read had complained. In puritanical Massachusetts Bay Colony, the accusation of performing an abortion would have not only destroyed the physician's reputation, but would likely have sent him to the gallows. One of the deponents said Reade had placed the burden of paternity on a Joseph Walker. This would suggest that Reade was rendering some form of obstetrical care to Wyman when she yielded the confession to him, in the similitude of midwife-induced birth bed confessions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>235</sup>

An overdue bill for medical supplies at a Salem shop provides some further proof of Reade's obstetrical services as well as insights into the rest of his practice. Quaker shopkeeper Thomas Maule declared that on two occasions Reade bought goods with a promise to pay, but didn't make good on his promises. The first instance was 17 July 1685 when Reade bought twenty-two medical items, including several ounces of botanic elements: jalap root and scammony (cathartics); galingale, gentian root, and anise seed (tonics); and half a pound of birth root (an astringent used to hasten birth). The same order also included mineral preparations for external applications, like verdigris (an escharotic for surgical dressings) and red lead (lead tetroxide used in salves), in addition to a quart of salad oil, used in making lotions and ointments. He also picked up one pair of glasses, which could have been spectacles or bleeding glasses, and a knife. Three days later, Reade returned to Maule's store to get litharge (white lead, used in skin diseases), two pounds of copperas (ferrous sulfate, used as an astringent), more jalap and salad oil, a half-pound of Paracelsus salve (for healing wounds by soothing irritations), and two dozen sheets of paper, which were used to apply ointments and salves.<sup>236</sup> The combined list shows Reade had knowledge of Galenical and Paracelsian responses to illnesses and used both. It appears from these two shopping trips that he was preparing to make a substantial amount of medicine for external use; more than half of his supplies were for the preparation of unguents, plasters, and other topical preparations.

Reade's opinions and actions irked none more frequently than the church. In 1669 he was fined £20 for railing against a Concord minister, saying in part that the reverend was selected by a bunch of "blockheads who followed the plowtail."<sup>237</sup> He was also chastised for saying that the illness of a female patient came from attending the minister's long-winded sermon.<sup>238</sup> In 1671 he proved that he was also not a devotee of spiritual healings and was imprisoned for his blasphemy: "Philip Read of Concord Chirurgeon or practitioner of Phisick for not having the fear of God before his eyes & being Instigated by the divill ... on a motion ... to pray to God for his wife then sick blasphemously Cursed bidding the Divill take yo<sup>w</sup> & yo<sup>r</sup> praye<sup>rs</sup>. "<sup>239</sup>

Science, superstition, and conjecture were never far apart in seventeenth-century medicine, so the holes of ignorance were filled by suspicion and fear when no empirical explanation for physical, mental, or emotional abnormalities was clearly evident. In 1669 Reade accused the widow Ann Burt of Lynn of being a witch. The elderly woman had been practicing the healing arts while her husband

was alive, but for eight years after his death at aged seventy, continuing to sell her medicines and healing services became essential to sustain herself in her widowhood. Reade may have been protecting his value as a healer by trying to eliminate the competition, but several others also bore wild-eyed, frightful testimony against her that sounded quite damning. The evidence painted her to be the opposite of Puritan morality – a devil-worshipping witch. Claims were made that the old widow had tormented her patients, tried to get them in league with the devil, appeared and disappeared at will and even exercised control over a cat and a dog to do her bidding. The ill patronized her nonetheless, though some came to rue their decision, complaining that Burt took demonic satisfaction in the fact that her remedies only caused their pains to increase.

Bethiah Carter, aged 23, deposed that when her sister Sarah Townsend was still “a maid” (before 27 November 1668, when Sarah Pearson married John Townsend), she had been “sorely afflicted with sad fits” and that on an occasion when the two sisters were both ill, their father had carried Bethiah to Boston for treatment, but only took Sarah “too Lin too an owld wich” – the widow Ann Burt. Bethiah also claimed her sister Sarah saw the widow Burt appear at the foot of her bed frequently, both day and night and also that Burt had said if she would believe in her God (insinuating that Burt meant the Devil), she would be able to cure her body and soul.<sup>240</sup> Madeline Pearson, Sarah and Bethiah’s mother, deposed that she had heard Sarah explain how, after Widow Burt had gotten her to bed, she had urged her to smoke her pipe, “and giving of her the pipe she smoket it and Sarah fell into the fits again and said Goodwife Burt brought the devil to her to torment her.”<sup>241</sup>

Reade testified he was sent for three times to examine the ill sisters and found that Sarah was “in a more sadder Condiccion … but did playnly perceive there was no Naturall caus for such unaturall fits.” Finding Sarah rational on his fourth visit, Reade *asked her* the cause of her fits, “she tould me … Burt had afflickted her.” When the girl had her worst fit an hour later, Reade asked her who afflicted her, “She Replide with a great scrich she had tould me alreddy and that she did Now Suffer for it.”<sup>242</sup>

John Knight testified that he had seen Burt coming out of a swamp in her smock sleeves, a black handkerchief and a black cap on her head and then she suddenly disappeared; when he came into the house he found her there, wearing the same clothing he had seen her in at the swamp. When he asked her if she had been in the swamp, she denied it, saying she had been in the house the whole time to which he replied that she must be a “light headed woman” (crazy); he was standing by what he had claimed to have seen with his own eyes.<sup>243</sup>

Jacob Knight told of an occasion when he was lodging under the same roof as the Widow Burt. While lighting his pipe in the same room as Burt, Knight told her he had come down with a pain in his head, then went back to his room, which was separated from hers by five doors. He stooped down to unloosen his shoe, then upon looking upward, “there was widow Burt with a glasse bottle in her hand.” She told him it contained something that “would doe my head good, or cure my head, … [but] when I had drunke of it, I was worse in my head”. He then thought about how she had suddenly appeared in his room, separated as it was from hers by the five doors and a squeaky floor, “but I heard nothing & her sudden being with mee put mee into affright ....” The next day on his way to Salem, he saw a cat which then disappeared, followed by a dog that did the same (the intimation being that these animals were witch’s familiars spying on Knight for her as she had instructed them), then someone who looked like widow Burt goeing before mee downe a hill as I was goeing up it ....” The following night, in the clear moon light, he looked out his chamber window and “saw widow Burt upon a graye horse” in the yeard “or one in her shape,” but when he awoke his brother, neither could see her. After his brother was again asleep, “shee appeared to mee in the chamber, & then I tooke upp a peece of a barrill head and threw it at her & as I thinke hit her on the brest & then could see her noe more at that tyme.”<sup>244</sup>

Fifty-year-old Thomas Farrar similarly testified that his daughters were “in former time sorely afflicted and in ther greatest extremety they would cry out & roare & say that they did see goody

Burtt & say ther she is doe you not see her kill her there she is & that they said several times and I have a son now in extreme misery much as the former hath bin and the doctor says he [the son] is bewitched to his understanding.”<sup>245</sup> Farrar’s description of his daughters’ hysterical reactions to their spectral visions of Burt were eerie portends of witch trials yet to come; nonetheless, despite the emotional testimonies, fearsome accusations, and spectral evidence presented against Widow Ann Burt by Reade and the others, there is no indication that she was convicted … amazingly.<sup>246</sup>

Reade’s ways may have won him some allies, but they created enemies as well; indeed, more than one acquaintance threatened to “take the blood” or “knock out the brains” of “docktor Reade.” As early as August 1669, warrants were issued for Concord’s constables to apprehend Robert Williams because “doctor Mr. Philip Read … doth live in fear of his life.” Among several witnesses, Reade’s new father-in-law, Richard Rice, testified that he heard Williams vow to “have the blood of Dr. Read.” Other deponents recalled Williams swearing he would “get a club and … knock out the doctors brans” and the next morning that he had actually gotten a club and vowed to be Reade’s death. The depositions leave only a small clue why Williams hated Reade so much, “Dr. Read had given him such language as that he would not bear it though it cost him his blood.” Williams ran away before a verdict was rendered.<sup>247</sup>

In a different case, Reade claimed that another of his melancholy enemies “had borne him a spleene ever since he came to Concord.”<sup>248</sup> In yet another action, Reade brought a defamation suit against Ambrose Makefasset for saying Reade’s mother “was or is a whore.”<sup>249</sup> What made Reade so difficult to like seemed to have more to do with his social weaknesses than his medical skills. He had a quarrelsome character that found more passionate expression than was usually prudent.

In subsequent trips to Lynn, Reade made no effort to curtail his cantankerous disposition. He and John Gifford, the former agent of the ironworks in Lynn, were bitter enemies. Reade accused Gifford of cheating a relative out of £1000. When chance brought the doctor and Gifford together, epithets of “cheating dog” and “cheating rogue” were vehemently exchanged.<sup>250</sup> Reade added salt to the wound by incriminating that Gifford’s wife, Margaret, was a witch, “for there were some things which could not be accounted for by natural causes,” and that others had been “strangely” and “badly handled by her.”<sup>251</sup>

Near the end of September 1679, John and Margaret Gifford were in Reading at Goodman Clarke’s tavern at the same time as the traveling healer. Reade was in Reading at his usual time of month to see his patients from that area. When John Gifford recognized the voice in the room adjacent to him and his wife to be that of Reade, he went straightway to the doctor and began quarrelling. Reade told Gifford to leave the room because he was attending to some patients, but Gifford refused. The two exchanged threats and demeaning names and stopped short of a fight only because there wasn’t enough space in that room for Reade to wield his rapier. Gifford left the room, but returned again with his wife who had some choice words of her own for the doctor, saying that “she was cleare of that he accused her of and that she should appear one day to be a Child of God when he should not.” The Giffords returned to Lynn where John told some of the townspeople “he had met with the Cowardly Dog Docto<sup>r</sup> Reade … [who] drew his rapier at him … he would make [Reade] Eat the point of his own rapier.”<sup>252</sup> A month passed, but the animosities did not.

On October 31<sup>st</sup>, the antagonists met again, this time on the road to Salem; Reade was traveling towards Salem with a friend and Gifford was riding home from Salem alone. The events that followed depend on the storyteller. Gifford complained to the court of an incensed, murderous doctor who vowed to have his blood:

... [P]erceiving arly Doctor Reades rydeing and comeing tow[ard] him that he rid as if he would overtake me hors and ... when I came up with him I gave him the way, and as i pa[s]sed him he took me by the shoulder to throw me off of my h[orse] the which I recovering as I past from him he Swoare ... he would have the blood of Such a Rogue as I was. w[hen] I was past from him about 3 hors lengths. I espyed him ... after me with his Sward drawne, Bethinking ... he might run me through the back if I kept on ... he

presently made a thrust at me ... which I defended with takeing his Swoard blade in my hand though to the Cutting of me. Upon which he then Lett drive at my head. haveing nothing in my hand to defend myselfe but a small burchin twig he cut me o[n] the Elbow to the bone ... Looking on. afterward w[hen] he went away I espyed him to wipe his Swoarde with [his] handkercheife not in the least Suspecting my selfe [to have been] wounded by him. I rid on my way homewards about a quarter of a mile. In the handling of my bridle I fel[t my] Elbow to give me paine. which I lookeing downward ... I espyed my dublet Cutt and the blood to drop. whereup[on] bethought my Selfe to ride back againe to show Docto<sup>r</sup> R[torn] how he had wounded me. Comeing up to him I oathed to [him] to take notice of it, he then ... Swoar ... he would give me as much more, ... calling m[e] dog Chetheing Rogue beggerly Rogue and the like. He [would] have the blood of me. and forthwith he drew his Swoard ... And made to me. where upon I light off my hors and he lited off his in the meane time Came up a Cart that was belonging to Redding Goeing homewards, ... Docto<sup>r</sup> Read at his parting swareing he should meet with me at one time or another and he would have the blood of me. and then went away.<sup>253</sup>

John Clarke, a Boston surgeon, testified that on the next day, Gifford was brought to him with a large wound and that it had become infected, requiring weeks under Clarke's care before Gifford could go home with medicine and directions for dressing the wound himself.<sup>254</sup>

Reade painted quite a different picture for the court with him as the innocent who was wronged and abused and Gifford as the man possessed:

... I haveing been to dress M<sup>r</sup> Hawkes [of Lynn] his leg as I was goeing to Salem to visit my patients there ... I espieing the said Giffard Comeing from Salem ... as Soon as ... Giffard had espied me he made all speed that his horse cou[ld] make at me struck me with his Elbow in the brest and his fist the face. I haveing my pipe in my Mouth being newly lighted ... which with his blow he struck so far downe my throate that I ... Spit blood ... he also wi[th] a kick broak my shin from the instep to the knee ... [he then said] yo<sup>u</sup> hors Docto<sup>lly</sup> Dog I cannot abate yo<sup>u</sup> the returning violently upon me takeing up stones and Swearing he would knock my braines out with many other thretnings which I will Sware if Calld. Makes me goe in dred of my life....<sup>255</sup>

The court heard these two versions along with counterbalancing witness testimonies. Both men successfully sued each other for assault and were awarded £20 in damages. Both men appealed, but nothing came of it. Two years in the courts had apparently tired out the adversaries and Justice; neither man was ultimately exonerated.

Reade had pressed against the Giffords in another direction during the assault trials by launching a formal complaint against Margaret Gifford for witchcraft. He even accused John Gifford of "haveing Sum familiaritye with Satan or his instruments."<sup>256</sup> The court did not heed the inference about John, but based on Reade's promise of more evidence on Margaret Gifford, she was ordered to appear at the next court three months later. John Gifford tried in turn to sue Reade in Superior Court for slanderously reporting that Margaret Gifford "had bewitched his wife and childe and that Shee should walke with him the sd Read hand in hand flesh, blood & bone in her own person two miles together."<sup>257</sup> The Superior Court acquitted Reade and even though Margaret Gifford never appeared at the county court, she wasn't pursued or tried; the second of Reade's Lynn witches was again forgotten by the courts. Fortunately for Mrs. Gifford, Reade's accusations were about a dozen years too early to ignite local fears; in 1692 witchcraft hysteria reigned in Salem, Lynn's neighbor to the northeast, and many innocent people did not fare nearly so well as Mrs. Gifford and the widow Burt.

The strain of constant financial hardship, coupled with the pressures of trials and the rigors of an itinerant medical practice, manifested themselves in what may have been Reade's greatest temptation: alcohol. Virtually everywhere Reade traveled, people reported occasions of seeing him in an incoherent, drunken stupor. He was seen riding toward Concord in the winter of 1670, swaying to and fro upon his horse, speaking some things madly and swearing by the name of God two or three

times.<sup>258</sup> He was drunk in Charlestown in the late summer of 1669, such that he could not speak rationally.<sup>259</sup> John Buss was in Reade's company at Salem in August 1669, and saw that Reade was incoherent and couldn't ride well. Buss further testified that he saw Reade so drunk at Concord that "he could not goe without stagering or speake rationaly and several other times both at Concord at Woburne & other places, where I accompanied him hee has Drunke to much."<sup>260</sup> Others remembered Reade in Charlestown, swearing, "by y<sup>e</sup> name of god and wishd his soule damd to hell if he went not home y<sup>t</sup> night and [he] went not" because he was drunk.<sup>261</sup> Ann Adams of Cambridge recounted for the court how Reade came into her house one evening near the end of 1669, "much overtaken in drinke, & in such a condition that wee could not get rid of him, but were forsed to entertaine him till the morneing and that he uttered sundry evile & reproachful termes against Captain Gookin" (one of the magistrates who frequently presided in Reade's trials), like "Captayne Hobby Horse," "Captayne Glaze Eyes," and "Captain Clowne."<sup>262</sup>

Phillip Reade did not enjoy the benefit of an ancillary occupation, an exclusively local clientele, or inherited privilege and wealth. While he got mixed reviews from patients, his character was the critical weakness that prevented him from achieving lasting notoriety. He was contentious, opinionated, and fiercely independent, and the flames of all three were fueled by alcoholism. Yet Reade's brand of medical itinerancy was as valid as most others' medical contributions. He attempted to establish a profitable business, serving areas that lacked constant medical support. Unfortunately, the modern concept of medical itinerancy melds all forms of itinerant practice into one sleazy characterization of a traveling charlatan, but this is not a correct or fair assessment. Reade's itinerancy was probationary. He continually visited the same finite cluster of communities that had repeated opportunities to accept or reject his services. He had repeat customers and stood his ground many times in court instead of dodging his accusers. His patients were from all levels of society – a tannery and mill owner, farmers, a cordwainer, and families with servants and slaves. He and his family spent twenty-five years at one residence. All this indicated a degree of commitment entirely lacking in the for-profit-only, predatory itinerants.

A tongue that was often let loose against church and enemies and too often loose for drink sometimes put him outside the law and in conflict with the colony. Yet after each sentence was served and each fine was paid, Read returned to the same towns, taverns, and patients that were his practice. As northeastern Massachusetts became more densely populated with towns, people, and money, probationary itinerants like Phillip Reade were gradually replaced by resident physicians and the predatory itinerant quack, so reminiscent of Europe's mountebanks, who fleeced the locals with worthless nostrums and disappeared before their charade was uncovered.

Phillip Reade's career forced him to wrestle with demons of witchcraft and alcohol during his travels over dozens of miles. A few decades later, another doctor in Lynn traveled thousands of miles while grappling with cannon fire, swashbuckling pirates, and angry oceans. Johann Casper Richter van Cronenshilt had moved to Lynn but doctored among wounded privateering brigands who sailed upon the wild ocean before settling down to the safer, more tranquil role of country physician.



**HOW AND WHY HE CAME TO LYNN** has only been imagined within the billowy mists of family legend. Almost nothing has been documented about his European origin; even his name has endured in a tangle of phonetic variations since he signed it in 1697: "Jhann: Cronenshilt."<sup>263</sup> Various biographies claim he came into the world in 1661, both illegitimately and well-born, in that he had the privilege of attending the College of Leipzig in Saxony (now Germany).<sup>264</sup> The reason he came to the colonies seems even less certain than the spelling of his name: theories include to get away from gambling debts, religious persecution, or even criminal pursuit.<sup>265</sup> The same fog of obscurity carried him to Boston in 1688, but then a documented portion of his life begins, taking on the vivid colors of storybook fiction, all the more amazing because it was true.

If his departure from Saxony was, in fact, because of some roguish behavior on his part, then he was well prepared for some of his earliest colonial doctoring experiences: he served as a ship's doctor and surgeon for two English privateers on the high seas. Court records reveal the seafaring voyages of "Johann Casper Richter Van Cronadshilt of Lynne, Chyrurgeon" who took care of all the sicknesses and wounds among the crews of the privateers *Dolphin* and *Dragon* – "betwixt both Sloopes wee had but one Doctor," wrote one of the captains of the two ships joined in a single mission.<sup>266</sup>

The *Dolphin* and *Dragon* were both sloops, sometimes referred to as "Man of War" sloops, being rigged out with cannons and letters of marque with which they were sanctioned by the British government to fight, capture or destroy, and plunder French ships. Voluminous court records first locate the two ships off the coast of the island of St. Thomas in the Virgin Islands, working in "consortship" to attack and plunder a French ship, a pursuit that ended unsuccessfully. "Johann Cronon: Schilt[,] a Jerman," appears as the surgeon of the *Dolphin* in the West Indies: for long stretches of uneventful ocean, one doctor may have been sufficient, but sickness (especially contagious illness) and battle wounds could produce a sudden influx of patients in desperate need of the one doctor-surgeon.<sup>267</sup> His preparation for the long sea voyages was tantamount, even required by contract; an agreement between the two captains and crews required the doctor to provide his own "Chyrurgeon Instrum<sup>ts</sup>" (only those made of silver or gold were considered acceptable) and a chest "compleatly Fitted with Medisines," and he was required to look after the crews' sick men and those "as may be wounded or maimed for one full month after the arrival in Port," for which he would receive 100 pieces of eight plus his full share of plunder.<sup>268</sup>

The alliance of the two sloops made their attacks even more withering for the victimized enemy; the tandem acted like a team of wolves at sea, circling around their prey then suddenly attacking together.<sup>269</sup> The two sloops finally had a victory on 2 March 1694, taking a French brigantine off Crab Island, then carrying the prize ship to St. Thomas; the plunder was valued at £400.<sup>270</sup> It was a win, but not the booty of their dreams. At the village of Samana, Hispaniola, the two captains wrote up a new mutual alliance with the strategy of finding and plundering "their Majesties Enemies" thousands of nautical miles to the north in the "River of Quebec" – the Saint Lawrence River.<sup>271</sup> By mid-May, the *Dragon* and *Dolphin* were being loaded with supplies and new crews in the important port of Salem, Massachusetts.

The two ship captains were experienced seaman, but the *Dolphin* commander was only twenty-six years old and the *Dragon* captain was just twenty-one; in fact, the *Dolphin* crew averaged just under twenty-eight and the sloop *Dragon*, which had allowed four underaged, runaway shoemaker's apprentices to sign on as crew, averaged twenty-three years old. At a weathered thirty-three years old, doctor-surgeon Cronenschilt was one of the three oldest among both crews.<sup>272</sup>

Apprenticeship of any type was a long, grueling term of servitude for the apprentice as he learned the art and science of his new craft. It was often defined by a seven-year contract of indentured servitude, which started with a fourteen-year-old boy who would be molded into a self-sustaining tradesman at his full age of twenty-one. In the apprenticeship contract entered into by Johann Cronenshilt's young crewmate, Thomas Robinson, his master committed to train the apprentice in the "art Craft or trade of a cordwainer" and to "Instruct him in reading writeing and Cyphering," and he was responsible to find and provide "y<sup>e</sup> said apprentice good and sufficient meete drinke apparrell washing Lodgeing and all other Necessaryes, both in Sickness and in health dureing said term." In exchange the apprentice committed to "larne his art" and faithfully complete his seven-year indenture to his master, obediently and "every where gladly doe" all that he "lawfull commands." He promised to keep his master's trade secrets and

do no Damages to his Said Master nor suffer to be done of others ... He shall not purloine Imbazell wash or spend the moneys or goods of his said Mast<sup>r</sup> nor lend them to any without leave. He shall not committ Fornication nor Contract Matrimony within said terme nor ffrequent Taverns Ordinaryes, nor places of

Gameing Nor absent himself from the Service of his said Mast'. by day nor night  
unlawfully[.]<sup>273</sup>

Seven adolescent years of unswerving obedience, unfailing commitment, and unrelenting restrictions proved too much for young Thomas and his apprenticed compatriots; a privateer's life must have seemed full of excitement and adventure, quite the opposite of a lifetime of drudgery, tied to a shoemaker's bench, confined within a small building – they heard the ocean calling them.

Some of the two dozen men on each sloop may have felt proud to be fighting enemies of the crown, but if so, there were better opportunities for victories in the much bigger, world-class, British naval vessels, rather than the smaller, lighter-gunned but fast vessels in which they were risking their lives. The only certain reason that each member of the *Dolphin* and *Dragon* crews sailed the ocean, hunting for quarry, was for money – booty – treasure chests full of it or that could be gained from the sale of the plunder. Unfortunately, their victories in the North Atlantic turned out little better than in the West Indies; their success was limited more by the fighting between the two captains than by their battles with the French.

Allegations and counter-accusations in court showed the two captains trying to defend their overall lack of success by pointing to the blunders of the other; essentially, the *Dolphin* captain was blamed for overcautiousness and self-interest, and the *Dragon* captain for overzealousness and self-interest – both wanted the plunder but neither trusted the other.<sup>274</sup> The evidence of depositions pointed to a *Dragon* captain who aggressively searched for and attacked French ships and the *Dolphin* captain who fixated on finding the *Dragon* (once the two sloops got separated in a prolonged fog) and land for replenishment of wood and fresh water. He recorded how he sent men up the mast to lookout for the *Dragon* and left a message in a bottle on the shore of one island in the off chance that it may be found by the *Dragon* when it foraged for wood and water.<sup>275</sup> The *Dolphin* captain focused so much on supplies and reuniting with the *Dragon*, that it was alleged his crew called him “a coward to his face,” angering him to the point of firing a “Great Gun” (cannon) which “Crackt his (own) saill.”<sup>276</sup> But the preponderance of depositions were aimed at the *Dragon* captain who had been taken to court by several former crew members, among them the young apprentices and the doctor, Cronenshilt, for reneging on alleged promises to award them full shares of the booty. It was an even more significant share when their biggest prize turned out to be valued at over £14,000 (\$2.8 million USD in 2020); a full share worked out to be £200.<sup>277</sup> Cronenshilt sued for £300 (\$60,000 USD in 2020), including damages.<sup>278</sup>

In the weeks leading up to their first sea battle with the French, the *Dragon* captain sent for Cronenshilt to spend time on his ship because they needed him more; most of the *Dragon* crew was unwell.<sup>279</sup> The *Dragon* added some men while traveling through the “Gutt of Cancer” (the Strait of Canso that separated Cape Breton from Nova Scotia), probably because some of their crew had become incapacitated.<sup>280</sup> (It was important to both crews that unnecessary extra men weren't added to the evenly distributed crews of about two dozen on each of their sloops because more men meant smaller shares for each.) Though formally signed on to the *Dolphin*, the doctor faithfully administered to the crew of the *Dragon* from that point through the rest of the voyage and in so doing, he found himself amid the blood and gore of naval battle.

The *Dragon* and their aggressive captain would twice engage French vessels without the aid of their consort, the *Dolphin*; injuries and deaths occurred during both engagements and Cronenshilt was in the middle of it all. The first victory was against the French fly boat, *St. Joseph*, on 25 June 1694.<sup>281</sup> The *Dragon* captain ordered all of his able-bodied crew on deck to join the fight, even the young apprentice boys whom he had doing “all the slavish worke” of fetching wood and fresh water, washing the crew's clothes and stuffing their pipes with tobacco and lighting them for them, acquitted themselves well in battle.<sup>282</sup> Although the captain had not assigned them guns and ammunition, they got hold of some and fought bravely. Seventeen-year-old Thomas Robinson had “carried himselfe very manly & courageously,” firing two guns in the

same time that some of the men only managed to fire once.<sup>283</sup> When Richard Hart was reloading his gun during the battle, he was shot down. At first the crewmate standing next to him didn't realize he had been shot, so he took the prone comrade by the shoulder and said, "what[?] doe you ly downe to hide your selfe[?] ... the s.<sup>d</sup> Hart giveing some groanes dyed, being wounded through the body."<sup>284</sup>

When the British privateer defeated the French fly boat, the *Dragon* captain instructed surgeon Cronenshilt to go aboard the vanquished prize to look after his men that had boarded and fought on it, being that many of them that were "out of order" (wounded), "which he did."<sup>285</sup> The valuable French boat could be taken to a British port back in New England where it would be sold with its handsome cargo of wines and brandy.<sup>286</sup>

The *Dragon* took a second French ship a month later on July 27<sup>th</sup>.<sup>287</sup> In that action, four of the *Dragon*'s crew were killed and two were wounded in the fight – a quarter of the original crew had become casualties in the one engagement, and Cronenshilt applied his surgical and healing skills to everyone who still had a pulse.<sup>288</sup> The two ships finally being reunited after the second battle, the *Dolphin* captain's quarters became a makeshift hospital and the captain lamented over the loss of his inner sanctum, "my Doc<sup>tr</sup> hath and does take care of his wounded men – which I have taken on board my Vessell and in my Own Cabbin – and Suffered all manner of Stinck & naughtyness therewith."<sup>289</sup> The *Dolphin* captain and various crew members attested to Cronenshilt's skill in "Physick & Surgery," confirming his claim of the "Care[,] paines & Medisines w<sup>ch</sup>. the pet[itioner] did take & expend" upon the captain and crew of the *Dragon* during the whole time of the voyage.<sup>290</sup> The court records don't reveal whether he was awarded the £300, but he made it back alive and decided to henceforth keep his feet on dry land.

With memories of rocking ships and dangerous adventures lingering freshly in his memory, the 33-year-old doctor married 22-year-old Elizabeth Allen in December of 1694, and they settled down in the serene, sylvan setting of her family's property at Lynn's Mineral Spring.<sup>291</sup> The family legend resumes with the story that Elizabeth had been healed by him of some illness and at the end of the year they were married.<sup>292</sup> Cronenshilt was offered an opportunity to sign on as ship's doctor with another boat heading out of Salem for the St. Lawrence in 1695, but he declined the high seas and another privateering adventure, having found safe harbor in marriage and babies.<sup>293</sup> In June 1700, "John Casper Rickter van Cronenshelt of Boston, Phisitian," purchased his mother-in-law's twenty-acre parcel of land in Lynn between Muddy Pond and Spring Pond, "with all the houses, buildings[,] outhouses[,] edifices[,] upland meadow ground[,] woodland high and low[,] ... waters[,] fishings[,] commons of pasture[,] etc., which had been the land his father-in-law, Jacob Allen, had purchased from his father-in-law, John Clifford of Lynn."<sup>294</sup> The doctor and his wife lived by Lynn's idyllic Mineral Spring Pond for a few years, then moved to bustling downtown Boston where they raised their family of five children. In 1705 he purchased a home and land in Boston bordering Scarlet's Wharf.<sup>295</sup> Cronenshilt may have left privateering behind, but the salty air of piracy was always nearby on Scarlet Wharf. Mid-way through 1704, Thomas Quelch and six of his scurvy crew walked down Scarlet Wharf to a waiting ferry boat, which took them to a gallows that had been set up on a nearby sand bar, to be hung for piracy. Thomas Larimore, a former *Dolphin* crewmate and friend of the doctor (he had testified in defense of the doctor's claim for a share of the plunder), had also turned pirate and gotten tangled up with Quelch's crew and the law in 1706. But Cronenshilt went to his grave in 1711 being remembered best for his dedication to healing rather than for the sketchy company he had once kept while living in Lynn.

Like the meteoric careers of Phillip Reade and Johann Casper Richter van Cronenshilt, greater lights and lesser lights from the healing firmament had orbited across Lynn throughout the seventeenth century, appearing and disappearing unpredictably.<sup>296</sup> Midwives, traveling physicians, itinerant charlatans, peddlers of promising panaceas, healing clergy, and local women known for stirring their own pots of curious cures and charms, all played parts in helping Lynn make it to the next sunrise.

## **WITCH DOCTORS**

Daytime in early colonial Lynn meant life. As the sun rose, so did the inhabitants who knew that during those precious hours of light, they had to work for their food and all that ensured their lives. The Bible and their minister had told them that it was only by the sweat of their face that they would get to eat their bread, until they were buried. While the sun ruled the sky, they had to build, fix, farm, travel, hunt, and harvest in order to live another day.

Nighttime turned their lives into a different world. Absolute darkness had filled every crevice of the world they had lived in just hours earlier. Absolute, complete, wilderness darkness. Birds and bees disappeared and became silent, and the darkness was pierced only by the shrill sounds of tree frogs on warm nights, the hoot of owls, and the howl of wolves, hopefully in far distant woods. The fear of Indians, wild animals, and other evil-minded beings hidden in the darkness kept the family gathered together inside the protection of their home rather than outside and alone. The flickering candles and fireplace flames gave opportunity for prayers to be said together and scriptures to be read, if the home was blessed with someone who could read. Yet some of the most spiritual experiences could be felt by taking a few careful steps outdoors to look at the night sky.

Through the black ink of night, the eyes adjusted and beheld a canopy of stars overhead. It was a sparkling, celestial sky, delightful in its beauty and humbling in its vastness; an infinite artwork that could only be created by the Master's hand. It was also comforting in its familiar presence every cloudless night; so much so that patterns could be found in the universe, where in ages long past, ancestors had connected certain stars in their imaginations into the shapes of familiar creatures and mythical marvels. The constancy of the night sky was a great gift and a comfort; it provided a moon by whose phases they could determine when to sow and when to reap, when to hunt and when to take shelter. Their ship's crew had been able to navigate their course to this new home by the reliable North Star; but in that the starry night was a fine artwork painted by the Great Creator of the universe, they also watched for variations in His design. Anything that upset the great heavenly pattern of the night sky became a cause for concern, even fear. In particular, comets were celestial scratches in the cosmic canvas. In 1680 Reverend Increase Mather of Boston preached that these phenomena were bad omens, warning of heaven-sent punishments soon to be inflicted upon sinful mankind; it was a sword of fire in the hand of an angry God:

Do we see the Sword blazing over us? Let it put us upon crying to God, that that Judgement may be diverted, and not return upon us again so speedily. Do we see the Arrows of Pestilence and Death blazing over us? Oh! Pray that the destroying Angel may not be sent to walk in darkness, and to waste [us] at noon day. Doth God threaten our very Heavens? O pray unto Him, that He would not take away Stars and send Comets to succeed them. Pray that the Lord Jesus, who holds the Stars in His right Hand, may continue those in the Firmament of his Churches (the Heaven which his own Hand hath planted) who are indeed Stars, willing to impart the Light which they have received from Christ, unto his People: and that wandering Stars, blazing Stars, seducing Spirits may never come in their room. I am not without fear, that this will at last be the Judgement of God upon New England and upon these Churches. Pray that it may never be.<sup>297</sup>

From the pulpit he delivered a treatise titled *Kometographia, or a Discourse concerning Comets*, in which he reviewed centuries of comet appearances and accompanied each with historic evidence of the devastating events inflicted upon mankind after each became visible in the heavens. After the appearance of a comet in 1607, the prince of Transylvania was poisoned, the Turks attacked Hungary, and there was a war between the Swedes and the Danes.<sup>298</sup> The year 1618 "is famous for Blazing Stars, inasmuch as ... no less then four Comets were observed," and the calamities that followed included a winter drought, an earthquake in Italy that fell upon a town "whereby ... 1,500 persons were crushed to death in a moment," and the Thirty Years' War began, "in which Rivers of Blood were poured forth. No less than six (some say

eight) hundred thousand lives being cut off by the devouring mouth of the Sword.”<sup>299</sup> It was also the year the Reverends Mather, Governor Winthrop, and Reverend Jeremiah Shepard had all concluded that God had turned over New England to the Puritans by sending the plague to kill the Indians. Reverend Mather continued in the same manner to show the after-effects of the comets of 1652, 1661, and 1664, then concluded,

... thus it hath been ever since the World begun, that Comets have never appeared, but soon after, miserable Wars, mortal Diseases, &c. have followed. So that they are preachers of divine wrath, and the consequences of them prove fatal unto some or other, in which respect all ought to walk with an holy fear of the infinite Majesty, who doth whatsoever he pleaseth in Heaven and Earth, in the Sea<sup>s</sup> & in all deep places, and accordingly causeth such tokens to appear in the Heavens when it seemeth good unto him. And whereas, *Droughts, Caterpillars, Tempests, Inundations, Sickneses*, are frequently known to follow upon the appearance of such *Phaenom<sup>na</sup>'s*, I see no sufficient reason why we should not suppose them to be not only signal but causal thereof; and perhaps of *Earth-quakes* also. ... they are signs of such things to follow ... God having ordained them for that end, that so the Inhabitants of the World, when they behold such fearful sights might thereby be awakened unto repentance. ... The merciful and righteous God useth to discharge his Warning pieces, before his Murdering pieces go off. Thrice happy they who take the Warning.<sup>300</sup>

Mather’s interpretations and warnings were shared by secular and religious leaders and many common souls throughout the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The year after a comet appeared in 1667, future governor Simon Bradstreet noted that three of the colony’s ministers had died, and he worried further, “Possibly the death of these precious Servants of Christ might not bee the last thing signefyed by that Blaze or Beam.”<sup>301</sup> Some now unknown individual wrote tremulously on a page in their bible, “A blazing star, at its greatest height, to my apprehension, terrible to behold. It was regarded by most people with fear, as the sign of some great calamity.”<sup>302</sup> Judge Sewall of Salem noted that the comet left “the world in a fearful expectation of what may follow. Sure it is that these things are not sent for nothing .... They are by most thought to be forerunners of evil coming upon the world ....”<sup>303</sup>

Reverend Jeremiah Shepard, the Puritan minister of Lynn from 1679-1720, was no stranger to strange signs and portends; his brother, the Reverend Samuel Shepard of Rowley, was one of the three ministers whose deaths were believed to have been presaged by the comet of 1667 and in Reverend Jeremiah’s ministerial duties, he was in close communion with the Reverends Increase and Cotton Mather of Boston: he not only shared their orthodox Puritan perspective, but also his pulpit when they visited Lynn.<sup>304</sup> Shepard was also close friends with Judge Sewall of Salem who attended his monthly lectures at the Lynn meetinghouse, despairing when he wasn’t able to make it.<sup>305</sup> So it comes as no surprise to find Reverend Jeremiah writing on 3 April 1682 to his stepsister about more strange images in the sky, as Sewall and the Mathers had done:

Moreover at Lynn, after sun down, as it began to be darkish, an honest old man, Mr. Handford, went out to look for a new moon, thinking the moon had changed, when in the west he espied a strange black cloud, in which, after some space, he saw a man in arms complete, standing with his legs straddling, and having a pike in his hands, which he held across his breast; which sight ye man, with his wife, saw, and many others. After a while ye man with his wife, saw, and many others. After a while ye man vanished, in whose [place] appeared a spacious ship, seeming under sail, though she kept the same station. They saw it, they said, as apparently as ever they saw a ship in the harbour w<sup>h</sup> was to their imagination the handsomest of ever they saw, with a lofty stem, the head to the south, hull black, the sails bright. A long and resplendent streamer came from ye top of ye mast – this was seen for a great space, both by these and other of ye same town. After this they went in, where, tarrying but a while, and looking out again, all was gone, and ye sky as clear as ever.<sup>306</sup>

The fact that Reverend Shepard shared the strikingly unusual occurrence in private correspondence to his trusted stepsister, and did so in such great detail, without the slightest bit of dismissiveness or humor, suggests at the very least that he trusted the veracity of the story and wondered not only why it had happened, but what it might mean. Six months later, another huge comet streaked slowly over the world – the one that came to be known (a few decades after this appearance) as Halley’s comet. Whatever Heaven’s purposes behind these signs, Jeremiah Shepard was ready to warn the people of Lynn.

The Reverend Shepard was as zealously driven as any of the ministers leading the souls of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and probably more so than most. Shepard came from a strong Puritan stock, the youngest son of the Reverend Thomas Shepard, who had three sons in the ministry; even his stepfather was a minister. Jeremiah preached with the same intensity as his biological father, who had died when he was just a baby, but he learned about his father’s Puritan passion from what Thomas had preserved in his autobiography. The family patriarch had written that at nineteen, he had undertaken serious study on works about *The Evil of Sin*, *The Terror of God’s Wrath*, *The Day of Death and Judgment* and *The Deceitfulness of his own Heart*, and he also trained under two ministers (“I think, the best Ministers in the World”), who “did open my Heart, and convince me of my Unbelief, and my total Emptiness ... [and] of my Guilt and Filth of Sin,” and to put a higher value on the grace of Christ and loath my self the more ....”<sup>307</sup> Learning about his own wretchedness almost became his undoing:

I was much afryad of death & the flames of God’s wrath ... [and my spiritual inadequacies] did so far trouble me, that I could not read the Scriptures or hear them read without secret & hellish blasphemy, calling all into question... & now the terrors of the Lord began to breake in like floods of fire into my soule; for 3 quarters of a year this temptation did last, & I had some strong temptations to run my head agaynst walls & braine & kill myself ...<sup>308</sup>

With his minister father’s faith supporting his intensity and his minister brother’s death after a portentous comet reinforcing God’s presence and unhappiness, the Reverend Jeremiah Shepard preached Puritan doctrine and values with all the fervor of his soul. In Lynn’s Old Tunnel Meeting House, bolts of Puritan hellfire hurled down from the storm cloud of his pulpit upon the listeners below, hoping to get them to tremble with fear over their sinfulness and to reawaken their need to repent, purify, and follow the Savior:

Thou art ready to drop into Hell every moment: Devils are Preying upon thy Soul: The Shackles of Sins and Lusts, the Chains of Darkness, the Bolts & Irons of a Blind Mind & Hard Heart are upon them. Thou art sinking in the Seas of the Wrath of God; and at present thou hast no hold of any thing, that can Save thee ...<sup>309</sup>

Oh! How solemn a thing it is to think, there are many Believers that never shall be Saved: Not only many Sinners, many Drunkards, many Whore-mongers, Sabbath-breakers, Thieves, Liars, Swearers; many Profane Persons; but many seeming Believers, many Professors, many Church-members, many that seem fair and go far, never shall be Saved.<sup>310</sup>

Shepard was gravely concerned with growing wickedness among the Puritans; as God’s choicest souls, their behavior should have been constantly beyond reproach. “We have been a sinful People,” Shepard declared, “Oh the Lords sparing Mercy in the midst of our Sins, great crying Sins. ... I verily believe, God is more dishonour’d by our Sins, th[a]n by the Sins of any People in the World.”<sup>311</sup> He cautioned his errant Lynn flock, “Take heed of Sensuality and Intemperance, in all the branches of it[:] Unchastity, Gluttony, Drunkenness, *the prevailing Sins of this Land*.”<sup>312</sup>

Puritans did tremble at their own unworthiness, but also at the power and persistence of Satan who attacked their bodies and souls, trying to pull them away from God. Beelzebub was the motivator behind their sinfulness and the instigator behind their sicknesses, doing whatever he could

to make them miserable in body and soul until either or both parts were destroyed. The devil's agents were witches (female) and wizards (male), and they, in turn, controlled cats, dogs, rats, and other vermin and creatures to do their bidding. The army of dark-souled beings focused on tormenting God's choice children, the Puritans, who feared them, their powers, and the devil they served. Consequently, the colonists were suspicious and superstitious about everything odd and unaccountable in their lives and that meant being wary about a lot: sickness that couldn't be resolved by the usual God-given medicines; abnormal births in their families and even among their farm animals; crop blights, droughts, and early frosts; butter that went rancid and milk that soured. The darkness of night was as unsettling and dangerous as daylight had seemed safe and life-sustaining. Being the opposite of good, evil flourished and traveled in a world of darkness. Witches, demons, and others of the dark realm waited for the fire to die in the Puritan hearth and candles to be blown out as the family went to sleep; then they would invade the home in spirit form through any unprotected opening, from the gaping chimney to the tiniest key hole or mouse-chewed tunnel tucked in a corner. An unseen draft that raised goosebumps on the arm or back of the neck may have been just a puff of air, but then again it might be an evil spirit that had gained access to the house – who could know for sure? Did someone in the household become sick shortly thereafter? Why didn't the bread dough rise? What was making noise in the attic?

The colonists, especially the Puritans, were well aware of and concerned about witchcraft. They found its dangers mentioned several times in their bibles, culminating poignantly in Exodus 22:18, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." A witch was a sinister exaggeration, principally of old widow or spinster women who stood over their pot at the fireplace, creating potions from their secret recipes that comprised all sorts of plants and sometimes animal ingredients. In about 1606, when Shakespeare presented the witches of Endor as central characters in Macbeth, they were designed to personify evil, but certainly not to introduce a new concept. Europe had been embroiled for centuries in its own witchcraft inquisition, with tens of thousands of people being executed for the crime, but most of that had occurred between 1570-1630, so witch hunts had actually quieted down significantly when the matter erupted in Salem. There had been a few in the colonies who were executed for witchcraft over the previous seventy years, but the isolated occurrences were dealt with and people moved on with their lives, much like when a single case of smallpox was identified and quarantined, removed from the general population for the good of everyone else. Until Salem, witchcraft had never erupted in the American colonies as an epidemic.

It was inevitable – witches were found among the goodwives and goodmen of original Lynn, or at least such was occasionally claimed to be the case. The earliest accusation of witchcraft leveled at a Lynn resident was against Jane Collins, wife of Christopher Collins. Like many of their townsmen, the Collins were called before courts several times to answer for accusations of improper or criminal behavior. In 1650 Christopher Collins blamed John Ramsdale of stealing his shoes and convinced the constable to join him in searching the accused thief's house. For defaming the good name of Ramsdale, Collins was sentenced to "sit an hour in the stocks at Lynn."<sup>313</sup> In late 1652, Jane Collins was presented to the magistrates for "railing at her husband" and demeaning him as a "gurley gutted divill."<sup>314</sup> Four months later, in March 1653, she was again standing accused, this time of being a witch.<sup>315</sup> Judgement was found in her favor on this count, but fourteen months later in June 1654, the court record stated that she had been languishing in jail upwards of ten weeks on what was apparently another charge of being a witch. The charge was withdrawn.<sup>316</sup> In the decades before the Salem witch trials, accusations were recklessly hurled that one or another person was a witch, but rather than treat the aspersions as indictments of evil transmogrification, the courts usually adjudicated them as slanderous insults, much like the epithets "horse doctorly dog" and "girly-gutted devil."

There was no mention in the court records involving Jane Collins that she was practicing any medicine-making or healing. All who were accused of witchcraft were not necessarily practicing the healing arts, but those who did were easy targets for witchcraft allegations. If they

successfully healed a patient, their achievement could be attributed to other-worldly powers; if the patient died, they could be blamed for intentionally bringing it about by the same devilish means. Women were usually the primary medicine makers and practitioners in the home and neighborhood and that made them susceptible to having their healing skills slandered into witchcraft.

Like the widow Burt, Ann Edmonds' healing skills were challenged as the tools of a witch. In 1657, Ann Martine, a widow from Boston, had married William Edmonds, a Lynn widower.<sup>317</sup> William had received ten acres of Lynn in 1638 and within a few decades was consistently receiving renewals on his license to keep an ordinary, "but not to retail strong waters [intoxicating drinks] within doors to townsmen, only to strangers."<sup>318</sup> It was a full-scale business of its type, even providing lodging for its traveling guests. In addition to helping her husband run the tavern, Goodwife Edmonds provided medical services at the well-trafficked location. She came to be known as "a doctor woman" by some and the reputation of the Edmonds' ordinary consequently expanded into a destination for the thirsty, hungry, tired, *and sick*.<sup>319</sup>

Although she may have been practicing medicine for years before being involved in a legal dispute over her practice, Essex County court records reveal that she was doctoring a young girl as early as February 1657. The complaint was leveled principally over the payment for the cure of Mary Greene, a young girl suffering from what Edmonds diagnosed as the King's Evil in one of the girl's shins.<sup>320</sup> Although the King's Evil was said to be curable by the touch of the king, he was inconveniently back in England, over 3,300 miles away, so the Greenes sought a cure among the local healers north of Boston. The Greene's daughter stayed with a doctor named Thomas Starr in Charlestown, but despite his healing efforts, the open wound continued to fester, so the Greenes brought her to the Edmonds ordinary to see if the woman doctor in Lynn could be any more successful. Ann Edmonds asked Bridgid Huggins, aged forty-four, to look at the child's wound and she reported that it was "in a verry bad condition, both running and raw with corruption, swelling and looking eager and red." Her story was corroborated by Sarah Jenkins, aged forty-three, who reported that the flesh was "all rotten about the sore and stinked."<sup>321</sup> The Edmonds' seventeen-year-old son Joseph agreed that the wound looked "rotten and it Stunke." The squeamish teenager also recalled that while he "did daily see a great care and diligence and paines" taken by his stepmother "about dressing the sore with much tenderness," the stench was so bad "that he was not able to indure it."<sup>322</sup>

Mary stayed at the tavern as Ann Edmonds' patient for about eleven months, during which time the doctress removed a five-inch piece of decaying bone from Mary's shin, applied healing agents to the wound, and administered a special diet to the girl. Ann made sure her young patient had the benefits of fresh meat and greens, even during times of the year when they were "difficult to ataine."<sup>323</sup> Family and neighbors testified to the girl's steady improvement, but when Thomas Starr was told about the child's recovery, the jealous doctor harrumphed that "he would eat a firebrand if she cured it."<sup>324</sup> The crestfallen Starr was not pleased or satisfied with reports that under the care of a competitor (and a woman at that) the leg of his former patient had come to have "very little soreness or pain" and that the girl "could leap about very lively."<sup>325</sup>

In October 1665, a stranger arrived at the Edmonds' ordinary in bad shape. He walked in, sat down, and "sayd nothing a prettie while." He had recently landed off a ship from England, but the traveler was very sick, struggling for every breath, "he blowed [and] fetched his breath very hard." Sarah Hill, a sixteen-year-old beer wench, observed that this stranger whom she was serving was "looking soe ver[y] ill [and] sadly" and she was immediately "affraid of him lest he had the plague being people talked then of as if there were danger of it by persons coming from England." (London had been ravaged in the summer and early fall of 1665 by a plague.) The man wanted lodgings, but Hill encouraged him to go to Goodman Edmond's ordinary because "there was a doctor woman might doe him some Good." The man asked for "a little beer," but every time he took a sip he complained, "oh my head [and] Back." The girl nervously asked the desperately sick customer what ailed him. He sayd he could not tell unless it were the ffeaver" and that he had been sick for about three weeks. Sarah was able to convince the sick traveler to ride in a cart that was going part of the

way towards Goody Edmonds. The poor fellow had to try five or six times just to swing his legs into the cart. The cart driver told Sarah later that he expected the stranger “would never … get out of ye cart againe.”<sup>326</sup>

When the stranger reached the Edmonds tavern, the “doctor woman” refused to provide him medical care. There were several reasons to turn him away. He was apparently too far gone for her to attempt a cure and his condition also seemed desperate enough that if it were the plague or some other loathsome disease, then he was dangerous to the Edmonds family, their ordinary patrons, and Lynn neighbors. There was also the potential liability for the costs of his care. Since the stranger was, at this point, just barely alive and unable to leave or do virtually anything by his own power, William Edmonds and another man named Thomas Stocker loaded him onto Edmonds’ oxcart – not in the cart itself, but this time just straddling over the axletree, lying on his right side with his left arm and right leg dangling towards the ground, with just a little patch of hay for cushioning.<sup>327</sup> They hauled the half-dead man to Thomas Browne, the constable of Lynn, so that the law could take the burden off their hands. Looking at how the man lay, drooped over the axletree, the constable speculated that he was either mad or drunk; Stocker opined that he was bewitched.<sup>328</sup> They got the dying man off the axletree because he no longer could do so himself, and they left him in the constable’s yard, much to the chagrin of the none-too-pleased constable. The stranger finally expired and Constable Brown called together a jury to determine the cause of his death. The jury couldn’t find the cause, but they did note massive bruising and cuts on the corpse’s buttocks and back, which they determined had occurred when he was sprawled over the axletree.<sup>329</sup> The miserable, terminally ill traveler who had been bemoaning the pain in his head and back before being hauled around in oxcarts, had suffered still more from the jarring ride on the axle; he was released from his pains and sickness not by doctors, but by death.

In 1673 a complaint of witchcraft was leveled against Ann Edmonds by her neighbors, the Bennetts. The courts found the accusation groundless and dismissed the charge. The Bennetts, however, were called before the court to answer for their “great neglect of Alice wilson & the son of the sajd Alice wch might occasion their deaths and for burying the child in an obscure and clandestine manner in the Garden of the sajd Samuel Bennet.”<sup>330</sup> The Bennetts had tried to hide the bodies of a mother and child while trying to implicate Ann Edmonds for bad behavior. It isn’t clear whether the mother and child were sick or if Ann had been doctoring either of them, but secrets and suspicions were buried in the Bennetts’ garden. Witchcraft accusations had been hurled at Lynn women for decades: Jane Collins in 1653 and 1654, Ann Burt in 1669, Ann Edmonds, in 1673, and Margaret Gifford in 1680. All had been able to avoid being found guilty of the witchcraft charges, but Lynn bordered Salem, so more indictments of using the black arts were just a witch hunt away.

The witchcraft epidemic that spread outwards from Salem in 1692 was not a sudden attack of fear and mistrust among innocent Puritans living bucolic, virtuous lives. Seventeenth-century life in the Massachusetts Bay Colony was rough and tough. Often the only rewards for hard work and living by strict religious precepts seemed to be illness and death to man and beast, crop failures, interactions with Indians ranging from tenuous to dangerous, and a never-ending litany of bad behavior among colonists towards each other: between husband and wife, parents and children, masters and their servants and slaves, and between neighbors. The quarterly county courts were always busy with dockets full of disagreements, crimes, and misdemeanors, ranging from lying, “folding and frizzling hair,” fornication, smoking, theft, and “peeping in windows,” to fighting, drunkenness, selling strong water to Indians, speaking against leaders, debt, and the beating of servants, children, and spouses … among the many infractions.<sup>331</sup> Witchcraft was not needed as a new problem or a new punishment; the colonists already had plenty of both.

In January 1692, the flames of witchcraft began to smolder: two girls, ages nine and eleven, began exhibiting bizarre behavior and then it seemed to spread to other Salem girls. A Salem doctor named Griggs examined the girls and suggested that witchcraft may explain their convulsive behavior and, therefore, it was beyond his ability to cure them. The symptoms of the Salem girls

continued until late February, when some of them implicated Tituba, a slave, as the source of their bewitching; then the afflicted girls named two others as well. On March 1<sup>st</sup>, Tituba confessed to practicing witchcraft; smoldering burst into flames and the fire was quickly out of control. More girls claimed to be afflicted by witchcraft, more accusations were made, and trials were held against individuals in Salem and beyond, including Lynn. Griggs' assessment that the cause of his patients fits were beyond the ability of medicine to heal had been very similar to Phillip Reade's diagnosis of Sarah Pearson's "unatural" fits. Some of the reasons witchcraft hysteria hadn't erupted back in 1669 seem to have included that Griggs had multiple patients experiencing fits and, unlike Tituba, Ann Burt hadn't confessed to being a witch.<sup>332</sup>

By May, worries had to be heightened if the town constable or the county marshal was seen in the vicinity, since it was well-known by then that they were acting on warrants to arrest individuals for witchcraft; and if either was seen coming your way, he was probably coming for you or someone in your family because the population of Lynn at that time was about 835 souls, for a density of only 23 people per square mile.<sup>333</sup> Essex County Marshal George Herrick had been ordered to ride to Lynn and apprehend 70-year-old Elizabeth Hart and 79-year-old Thomas Farrer, Senior, "whoe Stand charged in behalf of theyr Majestys, with high Suspition of Sundry Acts of Witchcraft" done upon the bodies of girls ages seventeen and thirteen.<sup>334</sup> When the marshal arrived at the doors of their respective farms, it's hard to imagine who was more frightened by the accusations that they possessed dark, demonic powers – the time-worn Hart and Farrer or the marshal.

Elizabeth Hart stood before the court on May 16<sup>th</sup> as she listened to one girl testify against her, "I have often seen the apperishtion of goody heart among the witches" and that "she has hurt me most greviously several times and urgeth me greviously to writ in her book" [to bind the girl's soul to the devil].<sup>335</sup> The willingness of the court to accept the accusers' spectral evidence (seeing apparitions invisible to others and testifying who was hurting them) was what allowed the trials of justice to completely dissolve into exhibitions of hysteria and fear. How in the world could Elizabeth Hart prove she was not doing what they said? Consequently, the 70-year-old woman would be imprisoned for seven months, awaiting her fate. On October 19<sup>th</sup>, her son Thomas made an impassioned plea for the court to drop the charges against his mother and release her from jail.

... his said Mother, being ancient and not able to undergo: the hardship that is inflicted from lying in Miserie, and death rather to be Chosen then a life in her Circumstances, the father of the petition<sup>r</sup> being ancient and decribed was wholly unable to – attend in this Matter and the petition<sup>r</sup> having lived from his childhood under the same roofe with his said Mother he dare presume to affirm that he never saw nor knew any Evill nor Sinfull practice wherein there was any Show of Impiety nor witchcraft by her, and were it otherwise he would not for the world and all the Enjoyments thereof Nurrish or support any creature that, he knew engaged in the Druggery of Satan it is well knoune to all the neighbourhood that the petition<sup>rs</sup> Mother has Lived a sober and Godly life alwise ready to discharge the part of A good Christian and never deserving of Afflictions from the hands of men for anything of this nature ...<sup>336</sup>

Nonetheless, she remained in jail until January 1693, not knowing if her life was over.

Thomas Farrar's day in court was just as terrible as Elizabeth Hart's misery. The same 13-year-old who testified against Elizabeth Hart told the court of 79-year-old Thomas:

... there appeared to me the Apperishtion of an old gray-head man with a great nose[,] which tortured me ... and I asked him what was his name and from whence he came for I would complaine of him: and he told me he came from linne and people used to call him old father pharaoh ... he was a wizzard ... he hath afflected me by times beating me and pinching me and all most Choaking me and urging me to continewally to writ in his book.<sup>337</sup>

The girl's father and another man also testified that they had witnessed Old Pharoah's "hellish temptations by hir loud out cries[:] I will not writ[,] old pharaoh[;] I will not writ in your book."<sup>338</sup>

In days not long past, Thomas Farrer had the honor of being chosen as one of its selectmen, leading the little community and serving on grand juries to ensure the rule of law and protection of the innocent, but now the aged citizen was to languish in a jail cell for five months, awaiting his fate for a crime he did not commit.<sup>339</sup> It's hard to imagine what feelings were running through him as he reflected on being accused of witchcraft, especially given that twenty-three years earlier he had stood on the other side of the court as the accuser, doing his best to condemn the widow Ann Burt of being a witch. On 18 May 1692, Thomas Farrar and Elizabeth Hart were carried to jail on the same wagon with fellow prisoner Roger Toothaker, a physician from Billerica practicing in Salem, who stood accused of using magic to fight magic. He had testified that his married daughter had used a witch bottle to counter the magic of a witch, "Toothaker said that his said daughter got some of the afflicted persons urine & put it into an earthen pot & stopped said pot very close & put said pot very close into a hot oven & stopped up said oven & the next morning said witch was dead"; his wife had testified that he had taught his daughter how to kill a witch. At the Salem witch trials, the accused and their accusers alike feared the reality of witches and the damage they could do.<sup>340</sup>

Lynn Constable Henry Collins was next ordered to apprehend Mary Ireson, the wife of Benjamin, to bring her to court for examination.<sup>341</sup> Just a couple of weeks after Elizabeth Hart and Thomas Farr were in the same court, feebly trying to stand up against the withering recitations about their evil doings to alleged victims, the 38-year-old Ireson was brought into the room when her accusers "fell into a fit"; four girls "fell down when she looke[d] on them," charging that she was afflicting them, then became immediately well again when she touched them several times with her hand. One of the witnesses said Mary had brought the devil's book with her to sign and "if she would not sign it she would *tear her throat out.*" Mary was stunned; she stood transfixed, staring off into space, as sometimes happens when the mind tries to escape the chaos or terror surrounding it. She was asked what she fixed her eyes upon, but she didn't answer; instead, her accusers divined through their spectral vision that "ye black man [the devil] was before her & bid her not confess." The justices and even her uncle urged her to confess and "breake ye snare of ye devil," but Mary responded meekly that she didn't know she was in the snare. Then she asked a question that revealed her total confusion and sense of hopelessness: she asked whether she might be a witch and not know it. The answer was no, so she said she could not confess "till she had more Light" – it seemed there was a part of her so affected by what she witnessed in the girls' statements and actions that she imagined if she could see what they saw, she would have answers for why all this was happening to her.<sup>342</sup> In the few tragic minutes where her purported secret life of witchcraft was being exposed, the poor farmer's wife was trying to understand an invisible world so that her real life wouldn't be torn apart forever.

Over the summer, Salem's witchcraft trials had ignited into full-blown hysteria. The first execution by hanging on Gallows Hill occurred on June 10<sup>th</sup>, followed by five being hung on July 19<sup>th</sup>, five more on August 19<sup>th</sup>, then one old man being crushed under the weight of stones, followed by eight more hangings on September 22<sup>nd</sup>. Four others had died in jail. On October 3<sup>rd</sup>, Sarah Cole of Lynn was hauled away from her husband and two small children to answer the charge of witchcraft. The 47-year-old wife of a barrel maker had bravely come to the defense of an Irish servant of Salem shopkeeper Thomas Maule back in 1681. He and his wife had repeatedly beaten and horsewhipped the girl. Cole confronted Maule and urged him to sell the girl if he was so dissatisfied with her. She also testified that the shoulders of the maid were all black and blue and "that it was a great deal worse down lower on her body."<sup>343</sup> For Sarah's own day in court, she was going to need to draw from that reservoir of strength and resolve.

The list of Sarah's witchcraft activities must have been horribly fascinating for the spectators that crowded into the court room for the trials each day; spectral evidence of all types pointed to just one conclusion – that she must be a witch.

The warrant for her arrest read that she "Greatly & feloniously hurt" a woman in Reading "by witchcraft to her great paine & damage."<sup>344</sup> That complainant swore that Sarah appeared spectrally

before her night and day, threatening that she would cause greater pains than any the accuser had experienced in the past and also that she and her children had heard strange noises outside the house, like the throwing of a stone against the house and creatures crying like cats upon the roof but running up there like dogs or bigger creatures; in similar cases, such banging and noises on the roof and against the house were construed as signs of witch spirits preparing or trying to enter the house through the chimney, door, windows, or other breaches they may find.<sup>345</sup> The noises were fearfully strange, so the complainant concluded that it must have been caused by Sarah Cole, the witch.<sup>346</sup> But those were just the charges that brought her into court; there was much more to come.

Another accuser said that when she and Sarah Cole had had some differences, her cow started acting strangely and when Sarah volunteered to go to the barn to investigate, she heard a great noise up in the scaffolding. Sarah believed the cow was bewitched, but her accuser pinned the blame for the unaccountable noise and badly behaving cow directly on Sarah Cole.<sup>347</sup> Still another witness reported that she saw Sarah going into the woods, accompanied by “a blacke thing of a considerabl bigness goe by hir sid[e] and as soon as Sarah Cole came against a tree that lay upon the ground this blacke thing was gon and be sene no more and Sarah Cole going a litle further turnd hir, face about to me[.] she Claspt hir hands togather and swong them twice overe hir head [and] was gon and I coold se[e] hir no mor.<sup>348</sup> Making herself invisible: the crowd in the courtroom must have gasped at that one.

There was still more. The cow of another accuser stopped giving milk for about a week, until Sarah made a visit to Cambridge; while she was there, the cow resumed giving milk and had done so ever since.<sup>349</sup> A man testified that his Indian pudding of flour and white suet went into the pot white but after Sarah Cole had made some threats to him, the pudding turned red, like blood pudding. He also testified that Sarah had said all Church members were devils and her husband was going to be a devil too.<sup>350</sup>

Even John Cole, Sarah’s husband, testified there were strange things going on at their house, which incriminated his wife. Dogs and cats had started showing up at their house and one night he thought he saw a ball of fire (it was obviously a strange event, but he said nothing else about it). There was also “a great Cat of an unusuall bignes at my door, staring me in y<sup>e</sup> face[.] I pursued it w<sup>ch</sup> went into the stalks near y<sup>e</sup> house and tho it was very calm all the stalks did wave – as if there had been a strong wind.” He had tried to have a family prayer when he heard something like “a great thing flung against the house & on a sudden it was at him & struck him on y<sup>e</sup> head & on one of his sides, and almost beat the breath out of his body,” forcing him to stop praying for part of an hour but oddly, his wife said she wasn’t aware that his prayer had been hindered. He also told the court that he believed his children had been afflicted by witchcraft and for three nights he had not slept at home because of “being so affrighted … to stay or lodge in it being sorely molested always about y<sup>e</sup> dead of y<sup>e</sup> night & was sorely handled last Saturday in his head & belly as if a string had been twisted about his head.”<sup>351</sup>

Unlike the previous Lynn witchcraft defendants, Sarah Cole saw one way out of this mess: to fight fire with fire, creating her own narrative of spectral evidence and implicating that someone else was the witch. It was her turn.

She started out by telling that one night she saw the apparitions of her brother-in-law’s wife come into her house “personally to her apprehension” with three other women and a little girl about ten years old that she didn’t recognize. One of the specters “had a piece of board w<sup>th</sup> nails in it thro the board at the end about a foot long as broad as her hand.” At this point in her spectral vision, one of her own children was “sorely affected at that time, and s’d one of them did strike her on the head w<sup>th</sup> [the said] board”; then the phantom visitors turned sideways and disappeared, which was about midnight.<sup>352</sup>

On fast day, Abraham Cole, her brother-in-law, came for a visit with his wife, whose name also happened to be Sarah Cole. Abraham’s wife made the comment that John and Sarah’s children

were pretty and when she did, they were both taken sick, “the Girle s<sup>d</sup> she saw A. Coles wife afflict her several times, had pins thrust into her, was bit & scratched had a blow on her nose w<sup>ch</sup> caused her nose to run Down w<sup>th</sup> blood ....” The last time her daughter had such fits was when her Aunt Sarah was being brought back to Salem; with her aunt finally gone, the fits stopped.<sup>353</sup>

Sarah also reported that Mary Warren, an 18-year-old servant girl, “being afflicted was brought to Goody Cole [Abraham’s wife], & w<sup>th</sup> her touch was recovered,” apparently either to intimidate or get demonic satisfaction out of demonstrating the power of her witchcraft to both heal and destroy. Sarah had deftly implicated her sister-in-law to the court, intimating that the accusations against Sarah Cole were meant for Sarah, the wife of Abraham Cole, not herself, the wife of John Cole. She made her brother-in-law’s wife a scapegoat in the same way that she had been made a witch.<sup>354</sup>

Other spectral evidence was included in her testimony, but they seemed like disjointed extras with no relevance other than, perhaps, to demonstrate the continuing torments brought upon her by her sister-in-law because she was such a witch. In one such incident, she related that one night while in bed, sorely afflicted, she saw a ball of fire, like her husband had mentioned; she arose to see what was the matter, but before she could get a candle lit, the ball of fire went away. She also saw a dog which she went to strike with a spade but instead was beat down herself, apparently by an unseen force. The dog then “went out at a crack in y<sup>e</sup> side of the house.”<sup>355</sup>

At the end of her testimony she tried one more thing to further dilute and deflect the accusations against her: Even though Puritan ministers didn’t condone any magic, Sarah Cole admitted having some fun, apparently when she was single, with folk magic. She and some others “toyled w<sup>th</sup> a Venus glase & an Egg [to see] what trade their sweet harts should be of.”<sup>356</sup> In this activity, the white of an egg is poured into a glass of hot water, allowed to sit, and then stirred a little; the albumen twists and turns in the water and recognizable shapes are identified in the egg white, much as one does when staring at puffy clouds on a sunny day. The shape is then attributed to the type of trade a future husband would have (a shoe for a cordwainer, a church bell for a minister, a bottle for an apothecary, etc.). The practice of divination of the future by eggs is called oomancy; surely there were women throughout the courtroom who realized they had participated in such innocent magical fun, but that didn’t make them witches, and that was Sarah Cole’s point.<sup>357</sup>

Five days after spectral evidence was used by others to accuse her of witchcraft and by Sarah herself to implicate someone else, the governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony ordered that spectral evidence was no longer to be admitted by the court in witchcraft cases. The spectral evidence that Sarah Cole had created against her brother-in-law’s wife wouldn’t work, but then again, the accusations against her wouldn’t stand, either. Nonetheless, she was sent to jail to wait for a verdict to be rendered; she lingered in jail for the next four months, but it was better than hanging from a tree.

Lynn had still another of its residents brought before the magistrates in Salem on charges of witchcraft; that unfortunate woman was Sarah Bassett. By the time the Salem witch trials had ended, the Bassett family had several accused witches hanging from the family tree, although none ended up swinging from the hangman’s tree. The widow Ann Burt, accused of witchcraft by the traveling physician, Phillip Reade, was on the top branch; she was the grandmother of Sarah Bassett’s husband, William Bassett, junior. William also had two sisters who were accused in the 1692 witchcraft debacle: Mary Bassett (married to Michael DeRich) and Elizabeth Bassett, who was married to John Proctor, yet another in the family’s tree of witches; even three of the Proctor’s children got tangled up in the branches of witchcraft accusations.<sup>358</sup>

Mary Warren, the Proctor’s servant, had shared an interesting detail about Sarah Bassett in her indictment of her master and mistress, the Proctors:

being asked if she knew of any oyntment they had in y<sup>e</sup> house: she s[ai]d her M<sup>rs</sup>  
oynted [anointed] her once: for some ayll [ailment] she had: but it was with

oyntment y<sup>t</sup> [that] came from Mrs Bassits of Linn the coullour of it was greenish[.] she was asked how it smelt: say:d very ugly to her.<sup>359</sup>

Mary's answers to the inquisitor's odd questions inferred that Sarah Bassett engaged in making medicinal products, a skill of self-reliance necessary among Lynn's women in the seventeenth century. Making an ugly-smelling healing ointment would have been among the flimsiest grounds for arrest in all of the Salem court's deliberations during the witch hunt of 1692, but at most, it was the inspiration that brought Sarah to their attention; a month later, she was brought in to answer for her crimes against Mary Walcott of Salem. They charged that she "hath Used practised & Exercised ... Certaine detestable Arts Called Witchcraft & Sorceries Wickedly Mallitiously & Felloniously ... By Which Wicked Arts ... Mary Walcott is Tortured afflicted Tormented Consumed wasted & pined ..."<sup>360</sup> There was never a good time to be accused of witchcraft, but Sarah had the additional challenge of being a few months pregnant. She was tried on May 23<sup>rd</sup> and then sent to prison. It was probably Sarah Bassett's story that Lynn's earliest historian, Alonzo Lewis, had in mind when he wrote, "The mother at midnight pressed her unconscious [sleeping] children to her trembling bosom – and the next day she was standing before a court of awful men, with her life suspended on the breath of imagination – or barred within the walls of a prison, and guarded by an armed man as if she were a thing to be feared."<sup>361</sup> Sarah remained imprisoned for over half a year – the last two trimesters of her pregnancy. During her incarceration, this mother of six had her youngest, a two-year-old daughter, stay with her.

Although all of Lynn's accused witches were members of Jeremiah Shepard's congregation, the minister was once again adamantly outspoken against sin, advocating the destruction of those convicted of witchcraft: "... *Lynn* Priest [Shepard] was one of the forwardest [in the forefront] to have all that by the Specter were accused, to be put to Death ...." Then Shepard, the great defender of heaven and Puritanism and vicious opponent of Satan and sin, found himself accused of witchcraft, having allegedly appeared before his accusers in spectral form, just like the many others who had swung from a rope, been crushed by rocks, or were still waiting their turn while in jail.<sup>362</sup> The absurdity of Reverend Jeremiah Shepard being a wizard was as clearly a fabrication as most of what was before the court without spectral manifestations being allowed as evidence.

By the winter of 1693, the ignominy of Salem witchcraft was over. The colony's leadership had finally stepped in and restored the rule of law over the anarchy of witchcraft hysteria.

Elizabeth Hart and Thomas Farrar were released from jail, their juries refusing to indict either of them because, in the absence of spectral evidence, there was insufficient evidence – in fact, none at all.

The overwhelmed Mary Ireson was also exonerated and lived into the next century.

Sarah Cole was acquitted on 1 February 1693 and could be released from jail once she had paid her fees. Putting her namesake and wife of her brother-in-law under the court's magnifying glass had worked to the extent that Sarah Cole, the wife of Abraham, was subsequently arrested and brought to court in September 1692 on witchcraft charges. Both Sarah Coles were freed, but sitting at the family table together the next Thanksgiving was probably pretty uncomfortable.

Sarah Bassett gave birth to her seventh child less than two weeks after being released from jail. A few years later, she gave birth to her eighth child, naming her Deliverance in gratitude for her release from jail and the nightmare of the witchcraft trials. Her sister-in-law, Elizabeth Bassett Proctor, had shared the experience with her of being pregnant and in prison. In her case, pregnancy had saved her life because she and her husband, John, had both been convicted of witchcraft and were condemned to die. Elizabeth got a temporary stay of execution because of her pregnancy, but while she had stayed alive, her life had been taken from her. John was hung on Gallows Hill and, because she was considered legally dead (sentenced to die after the baby's birth) she could make no claim on their property, which was looted of its possessions and ultimately sold. Happily married and

affluent with a farm and tavern before the witchcraft delusion, she emerged from prison a widowed mother and penniless.

Safely back in Lynn, Elizabeth Hart, Thomas Farrar, Mary Ireson, Sarah Cole, and Sarah Bassett started to put their lives back together again, hoping and praying for a quiet return to the hardscrabble life they had come to miss.

## **HEALERS OF BODY & SOUL**

In times when illness or injury seemed beyond the capabilities of the herb-steeping matron or the local midwife, and no physician was available, families sometimes turned to the community father and savant – the minister. He was usually the most educated in the town if he had been formally schooled for the ministry, and medicine was frequently a small part of the ministerial student's curriculum. He was also the chief intercessor with God who created people's sore trials. The minister was *usually* the undisputed interpreter of scripture and arbiter of divine will, able to determine whether a person's sickness and possibly impending death was a punishment for wickedness or a planned return of the righteous to their satisfied Creator. At the bedside of a sick child or adult who was teetering between mortality, heaven, and hell, a minister brought the hope of spiritual and sometimes physical redemption.

In 1670, a Lynn woman surnamed Mansfield had approached Reverend Increase Mather of Boston for advise on her spiritual condition, which she diagnosed as "not being so cheerful as I ought to be ... when I meet with afflictions."<sup>363</sup> Similarly, the celebrated Reverend Mather had the same concerns about his own spiritual health. He had come to Lynn to cure his physical ailments with a daily dose of water from Lynn's well-known Mineral Springs; his trip was also a spiritual retreat, however, and in his diary, he used the encounter with the Mansfield woman as an allegory for his own need to repent. Mather ruminated in his diary while "at the waters ... under the trees" of how his sinfulness brought on his "Bodily Distempers" and that the "Prayer of Faith [was] the best Remedy [for] his grievous Pangs of Overwhelming Melancholy."<sup>364</sup>

Mather's supplications for spiritual renewal were mixed with prayers for physical rejuvenation: "Though Sin had brought these Distempers on me ... Christ intends to bestow Eternal Glory on My Body as well as my Soul: and therefore He will not deny unto me so small a matter as Bodily Health ...."<sup>365</sup> Reverend Mather had also taken an active step in his physical recovery by imbibing from the Mineral Springs in Lynn. He left with much higher spirits than he found in Goodwife Mansfield, so his prayers and the spring's waters seemed to have the desired effect.

Lynn's second minister, Samuel Whiting, was unable to remove his own physical misery from bladder stones, so Cotton Mather explained that before Whiting died, he had been a paragon of Christian fortitude, "whom I may well call the Angel in the Church of Lyn," humbly submitting to God's will and focusing his prayers on requesting that his condition wouldn't prevent his ability to perform his service as the town's minister:

In the Sixty Third Year of his Age, A.D.1659. he began to be visited with the grinding and painful Disease of the *Stone* in the Bladder, with which he was much exercised, (and the Reader that knows any thing of it, will say it was *Exercise* enough) until he came to be, *where the Weary are at rest* [death]. He bore his Affliction with incomparable Patience; and he had one Favour which he much ask'd of God, that tho' small Stones, with great Pains, often proceeded from him, and he scarce enjoy'd one Day of perfect Ease, after this, until he died; yet it is not remembred, that he was ever hindred thereby one Day from his Publick Services. And whereas it was expected, both by himself and others, that as he grew in Years, the Torments of his Malady would grow upon him, it proved much otherwise; the Torments and Complaints of his Distemper abated, as his Age increased. At length a *Senile Atrophy* came upon him,

with a waiting *Diarrhaea*, which brought *Lynn* into *Darkness*, Decemb. 11. 1679. [the date of his death] in the Eighty third Year of his *Peregrination*.<sup>366</sup>

Mather was doing more than just acknowledging the passing of an admired friend and fellow minister; he was illustrating how Whiting's strong faith and reliance upon God had allowed him to overcome or at least endure the intense pain of his urinary illness. Whiting was the model for Puritan behavior, but as Mather would later explain, many Puritans were using a means of relief from illness and pain that relied on their own devices rather than faith in God.

As Reverend Jeremiah Shepard was nearing the end of his forty-year ministry and the last of his seven decades of mortality, he had been informed that his old friend and congregant lay sick and dying. It was James Taylor, owner of the 600-acre Hammersmith Farm (which included what had been the ironworks), and former treasurer of the Massachusetts Province. Shepard's focus had clearly fixed on concern for the soul of his sick friend, but this wizened minister also observed the physical state of the body, taking his pulse and noting his lack of fever. The old ministering shepherd referred not to Taylor's impending death, but to his "approaching change":

Having information of his dangerous Sickness and approaching change ... in my pastoral and ministerial charge incumbent to visit the sick, I thought it my duty to pay my respects ... to so worthy and good a friend and family and to acquaint myself with the circumstances of his spiritual condition, if I could be in the least serviceable to his soule .... on Friday before his death, I went to his farm house where I found Mr. Taylor in a weak, low and languishing condition, tho at that time (by his pulse and other observations) I found no fever upon him, but the effects discovered in an intermittent fever, which by information I understood to be a fit once in twenty-four hours, keeping its course much like an everyday ague, which by reason of other complicating indispositions of body together with the infirmities of age, rendered his circumstances dangerous. And so it proved eventually, for the third fit after I was with him proved critical and mortal. ... I enquired of him his preparedness for his great change, telling him of another world when he had done with this. He then, without any terror or consternation at the approach of death, exprest his willingness to be at God's dispose (saying, "when it pleaseth God, I am desirous to submit to His will").<sup>367</sup>

The minister's function in a person's physical recovery was principally to teach and encourage personal prayer and reliance upon God for healing. The minister's primary role was to be the community's conscience, preaching fire-and-brimstone jeremiads, as well as to be their good shepherd or cattle drover, as the situation warranted, keeping them on the straight and narrow through life's challenging path. The father and son Mather ministers of Boston had both grown alarmed that fellow Puritans, Heaven's elect, were making dangerously bad choices, trying to take on the fight against evil by using magic themselves. Puritans didn't look to their minister for his intercession on their behalf to fight Satan, like Catholic priests might do through exorcisms. They were on their own to interact directly with God and to fight the devil and his witches who cast spells and curses on members of an unprotected household. Unexplainable illness or one that did not respond to treatment were often considered the work of witches, much as when Phillip Reade accused Ann Burt of bewitching his patient because "there was no Naturall caus for such unaturall fits." Puritans were expected to fight witchcraft through their worship and service to the Lord, but some also practiced their own homemade version of white magic to fight the black magic of witchcraft.

In 1698 Cotton Mather described the Puritan use of apotropaic objects and magical symbolism during the recent past witch trials and intimated that they had been one reason why God had allowed the witchcraft hysteria:

... a time when Scores of poor People had newly fallen under a prodigious Possession of Devils, which it was generally thought had been by Witchcrafts

introduced. It is to be confessed and bewailed, that *many* inhabitants of *New-England*, and Young People especially, had been led away with little *Sorceries*, wherein they *did secretly those things that were not right against the Lord their God*; they would often cure Hurts with *Spells*, and practice detestable Conjurations with *Sieves*, and *Keys*, and *Pease*, and *Nails*, and *Horse-shoes*, and other implements, to learn the things for which they had a forbidden and impious Curiosity. ...

Although these *Diabolical Divinations* are more ordinarily committed perhaps all over the *whole World*, than they are in the Country of *New-England*, yet, [this] being a Country Devoted unto the Worship and Service of the Lord *JESUS CHRIST* above the *rest of the World*, *He* signalized his Vengeance against these Wickednesses, with such extraordinary Dispensations as have not been often seen in other places.<sup>368</sup>

Despite Reverend Mather's admonitions for Massachusetts Puritans to repent of using charms and talismans, evidence remaining in original Lynn shows that many families were discreetly practicing counter-magic to fight off witches and their familiars. Most of original Lynn's seventeenth-century buildings have disappeared; only nine houses are known to have survived (to 2021) since their construction during the First Period (for Lynn, from 1629-1725), but most of them contain marks or objects that are sometimes associated with apotropaic measures. The wary occupants of homes in original Lynn had hexafoils, slash and mesh marks, concentric circles, saltire crosses, and other symbols scratched or drawn into parts of the woodwork, especially around fireplaces, windows, and doorways, to catch and prevent the further invasion of evil into the home and family. It was believed that a witch's spirit would be attracted to or repelled by these protective markings as it flew into the house: hexafoils and burn marks shined in the spiritual darkness, warding off the evil spirits; saltire crosses and Virginum marks prevented the progress of the witch's spirit by invoking the power of the saints and the Virgin Mary; slash marks may have been symbolic gaol bars that trapped the spirits or symbolic pins and nails to impale and bring pain to the spirits flying in; mesh marks snared the evil spirit like a fish in a net; and circles trapped the spirit in their never-ending lines. In addition to marks inscribed on the woodwork, apotropaic objects were also concealed behind walls, ceilings, and floors in some of Lynn's First Period homes.<sup>369</sup> In Lynn's northern village of Lynn End (Lynnfield), single shoes and a possible poppet doll were some of the varied assortment of mundane, trifling items that were sometimes imbued with apotropaic meaning and hidden away, as if to ensure the everlasting obscurity of these largely unspectacular colonial artifacts. Six original Lynn homes were found to have at least seventy-five discernible objects and marks of apotropaic significance.<sup>370</sup> Lynnfield's Tapley House alone had thirty-eight marks on molding over the fireplace lintel and on a threshold casing. Not surprisingly, all six houses had connections to the fear of supernatural evil; each was linked to those accused of or who had grounds to be fearful of witchcraft or other evil.<sup>371</sup>

Some of these marks and objects were placed in seventeenth-century buildings long after their construction but actions taken during the First Period to thwart witches and demons had relaxed over later centuries into superstitions to fight bad luck or encourage good luck. A little girl's shoe and a small bisque doll found in Lynnfield's Hart House is an example of object placement that may have been made to fight evil or simply as a good luck offering. The small shoe was stuffed with paper and the small bisque doll was painted black with a piece of wire strung through the arm sockets and twisted together behind the doll. They were late-nineteenth-century objects placed in the ceiling over an exterior door in the "Beverly jog," which is attached to the broken back saltbox house built in 1672. The jog was built in the early 1700s and was used as the kitchen and had a "birthing room" to the side of the exterior door. Food preparation areas were often apotropaically protected and a birthing room would also be somewhere clearly worth protecting. The paper may have been placed in the shoe to make it seem like a foot was inside it (i.e., to attract evil entities to its human form). If there were African-American people in the house at that time then it could be that the doll represented one of them as a lure or decoy alongside the shoe. Shoes were thought to act as decoys and traps so the addition of the doll may have been to make the decoy element stronger.

The wire could be significant too, due to its metal content, iron being harmful to witches. The nuances aren't all immediately apparent but the location and nature of the objects strongly suggest their use as protection, even at the turn of the twentieth century because superstition dies hard, and the occupants of the locally renowned Hart House were most likely aware of their home's early history: Isaac and Elizabeth Hart built the house and were the original occupants when she was arrested and brought to Salem on the charge of witchcraft in 1692. The Victorian shoe and doll placement may have only been coincidental to the events that had occurred at that house three centuries earlier or they may have been a superstitious legacy.<sup>372</sup>

While it is almost impossible to prove an individual's intention when concealing an object behind the walls, ceilings, or floors of a house, or even who the depositor was and when they placed the item, a particularly early example of a shoe concealment in Lynnfield aligns with the occupants' historical record in such a way that an apotropaic placement theory can be conjectured to illustrate the possibility of fighting witch-induced illness. In the following example a single shoe was found behind the fireplace of the Townsend House, rebuilt in about 1720; the shoe has been expertly dated between 1740-1760.<sup>373</sup>

Deacon Daniel Townsend was born and raised in the Townsend house and it was left to him by his father, who died in 1726. An awareness of the subject of witchcraft was alive in the Townsend home: Sarah Pearson, the first wife of Daniel's father had been the sick young woman who in 1669 was carried to Lynn and allegedly subjected to the evil torments of "an owld wich," while her sister was taken to a doctor.<sup>374</sup> Sarah's sister Bethiah, who had spoken up for Sarah, strongly accusing the witch in 1669, had herself become an accused witch in the Salem trials of 1692, along with her twenty-year-old daughter of the same name. The Townsend family were no strangers to the dangers of witchcraft, from both sides of the fear.

Daniel married Lydia Sawyer who presented him with nine children between 1728-1749. The year 1749 was a difficult one for New England, which suffered from a devastating, deadly drought: crops essential to families and farm animals for food withered and died, then caterpillars and grasshoppers devoured what little remained. Brooks dried up, taking away valuable drinking water and leaving fish to die and stink on the bottom. Thirty-five miles from Lynnfield, a minister in Marlborough wrote, "Air by a long stagnation bec[a]me so putrid and unfit for Respiration, that Mankind were in Danger of being suffocated. In this last Extremity, When every Countenance gathered Paleness, for all Things appeared dark and dismal ... Men stood gazing one on another, wisely inquiring, Wherefore God's Anger burned towards them in such a tremendous Manner!"<sup>375</sup> In the midst of this scorching season, the Townsend family was attacked by death with a vengeance. Although the causes of death are not recorded, the deaths were certain and swift. First, mother Lydia died on the 20<sup>th</sup> of April, less than a month after giving birth to her last child. Then, on the 18<sup>th</sup> of June, two of the children died on the same day: John, at eighteen years old, and Martha, just three years ... and five-year-old Jacob appeared to be on his death bed too, being readied by unseen powers to follow his brother, sister, and mother to the grave.

Father Daniel was desperate to stop death in its tracks and keep his young son alive. The terrible illnesses that had been killing his family were not being stopped or slowed down by whatever medical measures had been taken thus far, so perhaps the echoes of his family's past brushes with the world of witchcraft and evil welled up and he thought, like Puritan ancestors before him, that the illnesses might have been brought on by dark forces while an angry God looked the other way, focusing on the punishment that He had brought on with the drought. Daniel knew the tradition of sympathetic magic, that an old leather shoe takes on the shape of the foot of the person who wore it and, therefore, retained its essence sufficiently to distract a witch's spirit to attack it instead of the sick boy. Daniel took an old shoe that his young son had outgrown (it being obvious that with the death of his wife, there would be no more sons to hand it down to), cut off the front end of the upper, and made a gash inside on the heel. The area cut out above the toe tips may have been to accommodate some foot ailment, but the excision was roughly cut and



**Apotropaic Marks in the Humphrey House, about 1637.** (left): a burn mark of several millimeters depth, centered over the fireplace mantle in the second floor hall. (right): a mesh mark or “demon trap” to the left of the same fireplace. (Author’s photos; courtesy of the Swampscott Historical Society.)



**Apotropaic Marks in the Tapley House, about 1725.** Located over the fireplace lintel in the keeping room. Shown here across the top are two sets of mesh marks or “demon traps,” separated by overlapping concentric circles. Many other less distinguishable marks appear on the lower wood strip below. Unlike the Humphrey House mesh marks, which appear to have been marked with some type of stylus or dull instrument, the Tapley House mesh marks were carved in with a knife. (Author’s photo; courtesy of the Ellis family.)



**Apotropaic Concentric Circles in the Tapley House, about 1725.** Located the Hall door jamb.  
(Author's photo; courtesy of the Ellis family.)



**Apotropaic Shoe Placement in the Townsend House, about 1749.** (two photos above) The single shoe of a small child hidden behind the keeping room fireplace wall. When in use, the two leather tongues would overlap and be held in place by a small shoe buckle. Note leather cut away at the toe tip. (Photos courtesy of the Thompson family.)

very shallow, not likely to allow cramped or pained toes room to have much more freedom; and the gash in the heel would serve no possible remedial purpose for the wearer. Deliberately mutilating the shoe and then hiding it behind the fireplace, the great opening in the house where witches' spirits were believed most likely to enter, was probably a ritual attempt to impair or hurt the witch's spirit attracted to the sick boy's shoe.<sup>376</sup> So he concealed Jacob's old shoe behind the fireplace and hoped and prayed that the shoe, or the medicine, or his prayers would heal his son.

It was not to be, however; little Jacob died two days later, on the 20<sup>th</sup> of June. It seems unlikely that the shoe was left there by builders adding to or remodeling the house at this time, as a general deterrent to evil or ritual for good luck; having lost four of his ten family members in the space of three months, such building changes for a suddenly shrunken family would probably have been the last thing on Daniel's grieving mind. It's also unlikely that he placed his son's shoe behind the fireplace after his death as a memorial to his loss, since no shoes were similarly found for his other son, daughter, or wife who passed in the same tragic time frame as Jacob. Daniel himself died in 1761 of the bloody flux. The shoe stayed where it was put and forgotten, hidden behind the fireplace until more than two centuries later, when in the late twentieth century, the newest homeowner tore down a wall behind the fireplace to make renovations and found the little dried-up leather shoe, caked with dust and sad memories.

Witch bottles (as they have come to be identified in the twentieth century) were another significant witch-fighting tool available to Massachusetts Bay Puritans and there is every reason to believe that the colonists used them; everything about their home area back in England pointed to the creation and use of witch bottles in the colony. Over 100,000 pieces of German stoneware were imported through Holland into Britain by 1600, when the entire population of London was only 200,000.<sup>377</sup> A preponderance of the country's late-seventeenth-century witch bottle finds, not surprisingly, created from Bartmann stoneware jugs from Germany, have been recovered in the southeastern part of England – East Anglia and its surrounding counties.<sup>378</sup> In particular, East Anglian examples having been found within or under houses, pointing to the family's concern and effort to fight witchcraft.<sup>379</sup> Further, the East Anglia region had the most witch hunt activity (300 trials) and executions (100) in seventeenth-century England, and combined with its bordering counties, was also the native land for a majority of the Puritans who emigrated to and created new homes in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. They named their new homes for those they left behind in the region of East Anglia: Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk counties, and the towns of Billerica, Boxford, Cambridge, Chelmsford, Ipswich, Lynn, Haverhill, Topsfield, and Wrentham, to name a few.<sup>380</sup> The Massachusetts Bay colonists had inherited a legacy of witchcraft vigilance, Bartmann jug availability, and witch bottle usage.

Witch bottles could be made from any bottle or jug, but in the late-seventeenth century, when most witch bottles were made and buried, the preferred vessel was Bartmann stoneware, which has been archaeologically found throughout the North American eastern seaboard, from the 1607 Popham Colony in Maine to the 1565 settlement of St. Augustine, Florida. Bartmanns were widely purchased and used in all of the original thirteen colonies, just as they were in Great Britain. Besides their kiln-fired, thick-walled durability, they had the additional advantages for apotropaic purposes of having been decoratively embellished during manufacture with a bearded face and pot belly shape, which gave them anthropomorphic characteristics. The jug became a witch bottle by putting into it some combination of the ill family member's urine, nail clippings, and hair, along with nails and possibly a symbolically heart-shaped piece of fabric pierced with some bent pins. Witch bottles were typically made and buried under fireplace hearths and door thresholds, the most conspicuous openings in the home through which the spirits of witches were most easily able to gain entrance and attack the family members. The rationale for the contents was that the spirit of the witch who was causing illness to the family member would come into the home through its openings, the fireplace chimney or door being the main entry points (the bodiless specters could enter through any opening, including a door's keyhole or even a pinhole); then it would be attracted to the human form of the

Bartmann jug and its pungent contents, confusing the camouflaged “body” for the actual sick person.<sup>381</sup> The spirit would then enter that artificial body to further torment the ill person, but get stuck instead on the nails and pins, trapping it in the sealed bottle and be thrown into tortured agony because of the super-heated and sharp-pointed contents. Placing the bottle in a fire was an alternative to burying the bottle; if the bottle burst in the fire, it was a sign that the witch had been killed; if the tightly sealed cork popped out, however, the witch was understood to have survived (its spirit apparently escaping).<sup>382</sup>

No witch bottles have yet been recovered within original Lynn, but nearby, at least three historical accounts have been found of witch bottles being used in the region around Lynn: in Boston, 1681; Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 1682; and Billerica in 1692.<sup>383</sup> The subject of witch bottles was so strongly addressed by both Mathers, the region’s most renowned ministers, the practices were likely prevalent throughout the Massachusetts Bay Colony.<sup>384</sup> In 1684 Increase Mather preached against the practice of putting the “Urin of the sick stopped in a Bottle, or an Horse-shoe nailed before the door” to make “the Devil and his Witches … power of doing more hurt ceaseth....”<sup>385</sup>

Without doubt, … the devils design … [is] to encourage the prophane impostor to endeavour the removal of disease by … scratching suspected Witches, or stopping Urin in Bottles, nailing of Horse-shoes, &c.<sup>386</sup>

How persons that shall unbewitch others, by putting Urin into a bottle, or by casting Excrements into the fire, or nailing of Horse-shoes at Men’s doors, can wholly clear themselves from being white Witches I am not able to understand.<sup>387</sup>

In 1689, just a few years before Salem ignited with the witchcraft trials, Reverend Cotton Mather similarly warned against the foolhardy use of witch bottle magic by the colonists to fight off a witch’s magic:

… I shall *Relate Something that I do not Approve*; and that is, The *Urinary Experiment*. I supposed the *Urine* must be *bottled* with *Nails* and *Pinns*, and such *Instruments* in it as carry a *Shew of Torture* with them, if it attain its End.<sup>388</sup>

… There are some that make use of wicked *Charms* for the *curing of Mischiefs*. It is too common a thing for persons to *oppose Witchcraft* it *self* with Witchcraft. When they suppose one to be *bewitched*, they do [it] with *Burning*, and *Bottles*, and *Horseshoes*, and, I know not what, magical *Caeremonies*, endeavour[ing to attain] his Relief.<sup>389</sup>

He was still hammering against the apparently persistent use of witch bottles in 1693, immediately after the witch trials were concluded.:

The Devil is pleased and honoured when any of his Institutions are made use of; this way of discovering Witches … that of putting the Urine of the afflicted Person into a Bottle, that so the Witch may be tormented and discovered: the Vanity and Superstition of which practice I have formerly shewed, and testified against.<sup>390</sup>

Tangible snares like witch bottles, horseshoes, human shoes, and symbols scratched into homes and other places were indeed being made to trap or repel incorporeal spirits as they tried to enter homes and barns to sicken and torment family members and even valuable draught animals.<sup>391</sup> Reverend Increase Mather had written that those among the bewitched who tried to regain their health by performing magic (“though ignorantly”) “obtain Health in this way … from the Devil .... Certainly it were better for a Man to remain sick all his days, yea … *he had better die then go to the Devil for health.*”<sup>392</sup> Cotton Mather continuously echoed his father’s earlier thunder, insisting that when the afflicted fought dark magic with their own magic, they were playing with the devil’s fire; even such well-intentioned purposes were poor and dangerous excuses for using magic:



**The Making of a Witch Bottle.** Bartmann jug, about 1650. This stoneware was often used to attract witches in the seventeenth century because of its anthropomorphic features (face on the neck and bulging “belly”). Personal items such as the hair, fingernail clippings, and urine of the victim who had been cursed with sickness by a witch would be put into the jug, along with such items as nails and pins, often purposely bent, and a heart-shaped piece of fabric (reproduction examples of nails pins, fabric heart, hair and nail clippings shown here). The bottle was then corked and buried beneath the hearth or a door threshold. It was believed that the witch in spirit form would be attracted to and enter the jar containing the human elements of the victim whom she was tormenting, then get stuck on the nails and pins and be trapped or tormented in her bladder, in either case causing her to remove the cursed illness from the victim. (Collection of the author.)

*Mark what I say: To use any Remedy, the force of which depends upon the Compact of the Devils with the Witches, is to involve ones self in the cursed Compact ... This may be to heal a Body, but it [will] destroy a soul. These persons give themselves to the Devils to be deliver'd from the Witches. And the people that are eas'd & helped by such meanes, they say, do usually come to unhappy Ends. Let me say as in [the Old Testament] 2. King. 1. 3. Is there not a God in Israel, that you go to Beelzebub? What? will not Prayer and Faith do, but must the Black Art be used against our enemies?"<sup>393</sup>*

It is likewise *too common* a thing in almost *every Disease* to seek an *unlawful Medicine*. Thus for the *Ague*, for the *Tooth-ach*, and for what not? a *Mumbling* of some *words* must be made .... From what can the Efficacy of these *words* proceed, but from the *Consent* and the *Action* of the *Devils?* ...<sup>394</sup>

Now to use a *Charm* against a *Charm*, or to use a Devils *Shield* against a Devils *Sword*, who can with a *good conscience* try? All Communion with Hell is dangerous ...<sup>395</sup>

Belief in witchcraft didn't evaporate in the wake of the Salem disgrace, but awakened by their tragic mistake, Massachusetts and its ministers gradually left wiccaphobia and suspicions behind and began to gravitate towards enlightened, scientific explanations for strange behaviors and conditions.

It was time for moving forward. In 1691, just before witchcraft had ignited Essex county, the colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, and Maine had been joined together as the Province of Massachusetts Bay under a royal governor. The towns were filling in and the countryside was becoming more settled as shiploads continued to arrive and families grew; by 1700 the province had over 55,000 people and inevitably, some prospered as the province built up. Lynn's Quaker community had become prominent and prosperous in developing the town into a shoemaking center.

For those who could afford college, medicine and the ministry were popular professional goals. The Reverend Whiting's son "was intended for a Physician" and he learned about medicine in his freshman year at Harvard College (1679), in addition to courses in logic, Greek, Hebrew, and the Bible, but he decided to become a minister and moved to England.<sup>396</sup>

When Nathaniel Henchman, Lynn's sixth minister, died in 1761, he left an estate worth over £2,500, which meant he had become one of the wealthiest members of the community; appraising his estate took four days. The inventory included a number of looking glasses, cases of glass bottles, and three sets of mortars and pestles, one of brass, one of iron, and the last of medicinal lignum vitae wood, and he had a substantial library worth £58, which might have included some medical texts.<sup>397</sup> His son, also named Nathaniel, went to Harvard and became a doctor at nineteen years old.<sup>398</sup>

Deacons in the Congregational churches often shared the minister's responsibility for visiting the sick, although their medical education was even scantier than that of the minister. John Lewis of Lynn served as a deacon to Reverend Henchman and he clearly had an interest in medicine. He was the same John Lewis who served as a coroner in the Lynn area and he had a son, John, who became a physician in 1744. Along with his library of religious texts, Deacon Lewis owned a copy of *Harvey On Diseases*.<sup>399</sup>

From 1755 to 1777, someone in Lynn End's Second Congregational Church also tried to comprehend the mysteries of illness and death; whether the scribe was a minister or deacon isn't known, but vivid *prima facie* descriptions of death causes appear in the church records, suggesting that they were written by some who had more than just a clerical or spiritual interest in the deaths of their congregants. Those entries include the death of a woman who died of "something that breeds in the brain," another woman who died during labor that was "occasioned by her being put into a room that was newly plastered," and the death of a man who fell off his horse, breaking "his Silver Cord" – all simple and speculative observations, but it was progress; most such unnatural ends had ceased being attributed to witchcraft.<sup>400</sup>

## **EARLY TO RISE: HEALTHY, WEALTHY, & WISE**

John Henry Burchsted was the first of a family dynasty of resident healers in Lynn. He immigrated to the colonies from Silesia (a region currently comprising southwestern Poland and overlapping into Czechia and eastern Germany) and in 1685 he started his practice in Lynn.<sup>401</sup> His homeland was twice-hallowed on his gravestone, suggesting he held his past in esteem, but what would drive this young eastern European healer to travel alone half way across the known world is a complete mystery. Speculation is pointless but understanding his native land may provide some context. When he left Silesia in the early 1680s, it was long into its recovery from the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), a continent-wide battle royal which decimated populations. Silesia was sandwiched between Saxony and the kingdoms of Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary, and felt its share of pain and loss from the decades-long conflict: losing roughly 500,000 people to the war and disease, more than a third of its population. Little but ruins remained for the survivors. Military operations had devastated the Silesian countryside: 36 towns, 1,095 villages, and 113 castles were totally or partially destroyed and the warring armies left many brutal proofs of rape, pillage, and plunder in their wake.<sup>402</sup> Farms were ruined, taxes were higher, and the economy was in crisis. Post-war rulers eliminated more than 500 Protestant churches to force the population's return to Catholicism.<sup>403</sup> By every measure, Silesia had been vanquished by war.

Peace was an illusion. The Ottoman empire had continued its incursion into Europe; several battles were fought during the 1670s in the Ukraine, to the southeast of Silesia, and to its south, fighting had become intense in 1683 as the immense Ottoman army laid siege to Vienna. Yet there was still more the Silesians were fighting. From deep in the Middle Ages up through the early eighteenth century, enemies from both sides of the River Styx seemed to have pursued the Silesians and most of Europe. Amid all the death of wartime and brutal treatment of the living, there was also a fear of the devil and those who did his bidding: witches, sorcerers, and a veritable army of the living dead. Records of church parishes along the borderland of Silesia and Moravia reveal the belief that they were embroiled in supernatural warfare with witches and the dead who were rising from their graves and harming the living. About 400 people, both peasants and wealthy, were executed for witchcraft in Silesia and northern Moravia between 1622-1696; additionally, nearly 400 cases of exhumation and execution (usually by cremation, to ensure death) of corpses have been found in the region's parish records from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Pursuit of dead malefactors increased to a hysterical intensity in the first half of the eighteenth century.<sup>404</sup>

The reasons why John Henry Burchsted came to Lynn may never be known, but there were clearly many problems back home that might have propelled his departure. Both Cronenhilt and Burchsted, Lynn's two seventeenth-century healers from Saxony and nearby Silesia, traveled across the Atlantic Ocean, not as part of a wave of immigrants from their homelands, but as solitary young bachelors, moving half way across the globe and starting their lives anew. In the absence of any documentation, one thing seems clear: the motivations for both healers seem likely to have been more deeply rooted in a need to leave their homelands than a desire to move to a Puritan town in a remote, far-distant colony, thinly settled with English and Indians, that promised more privations than conveniences. Perhaps they heard about and took some comfort in the fact that they were not the first of their kind to leave their ancestral homes in eastern Europe for the completely foreign world of New England; at least three physicians – John Kittridge from Germany, someone surnamed Lodovick, also of Germany, and Balthazar De Wolf of Żagań, Silesia – had disappeared into the distant abyss of the American colonies before Cronenhilt and Burchsted followed the same compass heading to their new lives.<sup>405</sup>

Late in its first century, Lynn still encompassed what would later become Lynn, Lynnfield, Swampscott, Nahant, and Saugus, and Burchsted likely traveled many miles practicing in the several towns nearby his home, as Reade had done. In 1702 he could be found tending Stephen Sewall in Salem, helping him to recover from a serious illness which, given the year, may have been the small

pox. Stephen Sewall had served as the court clerk during the witchcraft trials and his brother Samuel was one of its nine judges; it was Samuel who noted in his diary that his brother Stephen was “very ill” on Monday, February 1<sup>st</sup>, 1702, and that he was being administered to by “Mr. – Burchsted, a German Doctor,” but now, a decade since the witch trials, there was no hint that his brother’s illness nor the doctor’s ministrations harbored the taint of witchcraft.<sup>406</sup> Burchsted had a favorable reputation throughout Essex County and was called upon for consultations; personal shortcomings like moral transgressions might have been purposely overlooked by the town.<sup>407</sup> Such was not the case for William and Johanna Hutchinson of Lynn, who had to present a two-year-old marriage certificate in 1735 to prove to the court that their child was legitimate, and Bethiah Witt, who was found guilty in 1694 of fornication and bastardy because she was unable to remember the name of the minister who married her and her sailor husband.<sup>408</sup> Yet the court never questioned the October 1690 birth of the Burchsted’s son, Henry, just five months after his April wedding to the widow Mary Kirtland; perhaps everyone was just impressed that he was willing to step up as stepfather for his widowed bride’s five children.<sup>409</sup> Burchsted was likely a Lutheran in Silesia, but judiciously attended with the Puritans in Lynn, and received permission to set up a pew box very near the pulpit in Lynn’s Old Tunnel Meeting House in 1696, provided he maintain the portion of the window next to his pew. He also left £40 to the church in his will “as a token of his love.”<sup>410</sup>

Burchsted was just what Lynn needed at the turn of the eighteenth century: someone with appreciable skills as a doctor and also a devout churchgoer; he didn’t raise the hackles of the church or citizenry as Reade had consistently done. Whether he was fluent or used halting English was not documented, and even though his foreign accent caused him to be identified as a German doctor, it didn’t hamper his success. Burchsted did very well for himself and his family in Lynn, becoming a sizeable landowner. He had acreage in what are now Lynn, Swampscott, Saugus, Salem, Revere, and Nahant. Even his ancient slate headstone continues to loom as one of the largest, most finely detailed, and fortunately, still surviving grave markers in Lynn’s Old Western Burial Ground.<sup>411</sup> The stone’s epitaph sang Burchsted’s praises, which included his abilities as a healer and a medicine maker (because his tenure was still long before the first apothecary set up shop in Lynn). Typical of the colonial era, his gravestone reflected the fatalism of the survivors; even a doctor will die, so should they resign themselves to their own inevitable mortality:

Here Lyes Buried y<sup>e</sup> Body  
of Doct<sup>r</sup> JOHN HENRY  
BURCHSTED, a SILESIAN;  
Who Dec<sup>d</sup> Sept<sup>br</sup> XX, Anno Christi  
MDCCXXI AEtatis Suae LXIII  
Silesia to New England sent this Man  
To do their all that any Healer Can.  
But he who Conquer’d all Diseases must  
Find one which throws him down into the Dust.  
A Chymist near to an Adeptist Come,  
Leaves here thrown by his Caput Mortuum.  
Reader, PHYSICIANS Dy as others do;  
Prepare, for thou to this art hastning too.<sup>412</sup>

Nonetheless, this 1721 gravestone was not without its hints of faith in life after death. The phrase, “Here Lyes Buried y<sup>e</sup> Body of ...” was significantly different than contemporary stones that stated only “Here Lies ...”; the latter message was imbued with finality, while Burchsted’s epitaph began with the assurance that *only* his body was buried in the ground, implying the spirit had continued on its journey.<sup>413</sup> Additionally, the message of hope had several other layers encouraging mourners to wipe away their tears.

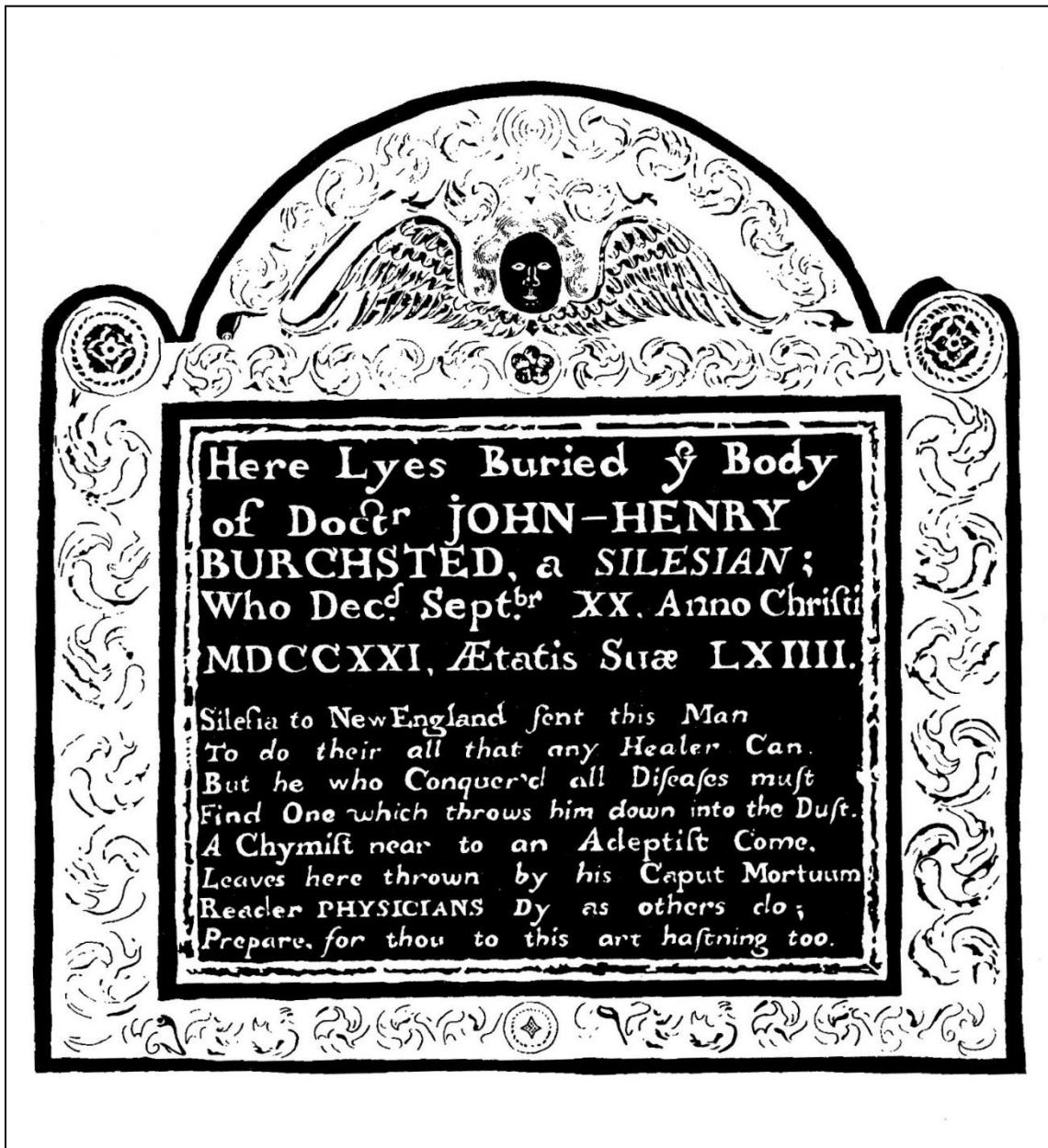
The lifeless gray slab had been chiseled into an ambitious showcase of the stone carver’s art. The poetic, biographical tribute is bordered in elegant swirls of lush vegetation and medallions of



**Gravestone of John Henry Burchsted, 1721.** Note the apotropaic design of concentric circles at the top center of the tympanum over the angel's head. The circular motif is carried throughout the stone's design. The footstone is barely visible behind the junction of the headstone's left shoulder and the tympanum. (Photo courtesy of Sandy M. M.)

life-affirming flowers. In the midst of this paradisical glory is a winged angel in a *de riguer* periwig, hovering in the tympanum, ever-ready to provide Burchsted's spirit an angelic escort to the better world promised by the concentric spheres overhead.<sup>414</sup>

The circles above were loaded with meaning: cosmologically, they represented the sun and heaven welcoming the deceased and, apotropaically, they acted as a trap that provided witches no corner in which to hide, preventing demonic powers from interfering with the spirit's journey to heaven.<sup>415</sup> The whorls of vegetation echoed the message of the celestial circles. Burchsted's second wife, the former Mary Whiting (the granddaughter of Lynn's Rev. Samuel Whiting who had suffered



**Gravestone Rubbing of the Burchsted Stone.** Rubbing created in 1987. As of 2021 the top soil has risen above the bottom row of decorative embellishment and the face of the stone is 80% covered with lichen. This treasure deserves perpetual maintenance and preservation. (Rubbing by the author, about 1987.)

and died from bladder stones), survived him until 1740; interestingly, her grave headstone surmounted by the same concentric circles motif in the exact same position on the stone's tympanum as was done on her husband's stone, even though she died nineteen years later and was buried at the Old Burying Ground in Lexington, seventeen miles away. The selection and placement of concentric circles on both stones seem more likely intentional than coincidental. Perhaps to the very end, John Henry Burchsted and his second wife Mary were both hopeful to reach heaven without any interference from the devil's minions.<sup>416</sup>

Burchsted's *caput mortuum* might have been the next smallpox epidemic since the 1702 wave from which he had helped Stephen Sewall to recover; 1721 was one of the worst years for the

smallpox in the Boston area. A few gravestones away from the Burchsted stone reposed Honorable John Burrill whose headstone reads, “from a contagious sickness”; he had succumbed to the smallpox less than three months after Burchsted’s death.<sup>417</sup>

Bartholomew Jackson, a Marblehead physician, might well have been an apprentice to Burchsted. This would explain the presence of a Bartholomew Jackson “at the house of Doctor Birchstead in Linn” in 1701, who was found guilty of fornication with Elisabeth Ingalls, begetting her with child.<sup>418</sup> If Burchsted did train Bartholomew Jackson, later physician of Marblehead, then surgery was probably part of the training, since Jackson’s estate inventory included “two Surgeons instruments with silber [silver] bows” (amputation saws).<sup>419</sup> There were no opportunities for continued education like medical societies, journals, or schools, so Jackson would have learned the skill from his mentor.

Burchsted had two sons; one died in infancy and the other, named Henry, followed in his father’s footsteps and became a Lynn physician, having probably received his medical education from his father.<sup>420</sup> Aside from training for the ministry at Harvard College, apprenticeship was the only form of education available in the colony during the first half of the century and no medical school was available in the colonies for a hundred years. As a doctor’s apprentice, Henry Burchsted would have bled the patients, pulled teeth, and attended to cases of minor surgery. Apothecary chores such as making pills, mixing ointments, spreading plasters, and grinding bark and roots for the doctor’s medicines was also frequently the apprentice’s responsibility.<sup>421</sup> John Henry Burchsted may have received medical training in Europe before he immigrated, but most doctors of the Massachusetts province taught their apprentices in the same way that they had learned the occupation in their youth: the school of life was an education by seeing and doing; what the apprentice missed, he might never know.<sup>422</sup> The apprentice was often required to do chores for the physician around the house and barn, such as splitting and gathering firewood, in addition to the dreary chores of the trade.<sup>423</sup> Henry surely performed these duties, either in the capacity of an apprentice or as a son.

Henry Burchsted started his own practice around 1710. A glimpse of his early practice in late July 1716 was caught in an affidavit provided by Reverend Jeremiah Shepard as both men, the minister and the physician, briefly consulted on their common concern, the mortally ill James Taylor. Reverend Shepard had returned to Taylor’s house to pray with him. Finding Taylor “much weakened, and, to my apprehension, near to his approaching Change,” and “having committed his Spirit to God that gave it,” Shepard returned to his home on North Common Street.

The next morning his doctor, Henry Burchstead ... passing by my house with a Boy behind him. I called out of my study window. I asked him whether he came from the farm, he answered yes. I asked him whether Mr. Taylor was dead or alive. He said he was dead. I asked him what time he dyed (to the best of my remembrance); he said about the Middle of the Night.<sup>424</sup>

Lynn historian John J. Mangan accurately summarized:

The worthy Dr. Burchstead, Jr., successor to his father in the magical art of healing the sick, and the depository of the family secrets of the entire community entering the west end of the Common in the early morning, after a night spent in assuaging the last hours of Mr. Taylor. Like all the doctors in those days he travels on horseback and behind him sits the boy apprentice, messenger, hostler, compounder of potions, and general valet in ordinary to his master. And as they canter down the northside of the Common they are espied by the pastor of the town, who quickly calls out to the doctor from his study window and arrests his progress to breakfast long enough to inquire after the patient up at the Iron Works.<sup>425</sup>

For the two decades after his father’s death in 1721, Henry was by and large the only physician in Lynn. He probably had to combat epidemics single-handedly, like the smallpox that made its way into town in 1730, a cold epidemic that swept through Lynn and the colonies in 1732, and the throat

distemper contagion that killed six Lynn children in one week.<sup>426</sup> Between 1735–1740, over 1,400 children died in Essex County of the diphtheria-like disease.<sup>427</sup> Henry practiced the standard medical services of the eighteenth-century provincial practitioner, including bleeding, blistering, applying dressings, and administering such medicines as “fever drops,” “hysterick drops,” and “lavinder.”<sup>428</sup>

In 1735 Zaccheus Collins called in the Boston physician Clark to care for his wife’s swelled leg, but this was no slight of his close friend, Henry Burchsted. They had gone fowling together for pigeons and partridges for several seasons; Burchsted sold some cows to Collins and Collins helped to build Burchsted’s house. In 1727 Collins attended the burials of Burchsted’s first wife and four-year-old son and then visited Burchsted and his new bride in 1728. Given his close personal ties to Burchsted, Collins probably called on Clark of Boston in 1735 because Burchsted was on business elsewhere in Essex County. Since Burchsted was Lynn’s only physician at this time, an anxious Collins who had waited 17 days to call a doctor resorted to the more ample supply in nearby Boston (and Clark was also his friend).<sup>429</sup> In 1731 Elizabeth Sibburns was sent to Roxbury, apparently to receive medical aid that Burchsted again could not offer. When he was available in Lynn his services were clearly appreciated: in 1739 the town paid Burchsted £15 for the cure of Jeremiah Tarbox’s hand, yet only seven pounds ten shillings were doled to the indigent patient.<sup>430</sup>

Like his father, Henry Burchsted was a churchgoer and had received permission to erect a seat in the meetinghouse in 1711.<sup>431</sup> He too, was well respected; he was elected to be a Councilor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay in 1741, although for some reason the governor refused to let him serve.<sup>432</sup> Also like his father, Henry came to own land in Lynn and also in Boston and Casco Bay, Maine.<sup>433</sup> He was married twice and several times experienced the helplessness of losing family members. In 1731, four years after his first wife’s death, his second wife’s father, “old Breem,” died in his house. He also was unable to prevent the childhood deaths of three of his own children.<sup>434</sup> Of the eight children who survived him, his 1753 will favored his spinster daughter, Sarah, and a son, Benjamin, who was also a doctor. To Benjamin, Henry bequeathed two-eighths of his estate after Sarah’s portion, and to five other heirs he left each one-eighth, with the exception of his oldest living son, Henry, who received five shillings “with what I have allready Don for him.” At 34 years old, Henry, the son and also a physician, had become well established in his practice, probably with the active support of his father. His half-brother Benjamin was only nineteen when the will was made, and would have been either still apprenticing or just starting out on his own, so his father padded his future with two-eighths of the estate. Father Henry Burchsted died in March of 1755. He left a significant estate worth £782, which included a slave named Sippeo.<sup>435</sup>

The junior Henry Burchsted was the third physician in the Burchsted dynasty, but his claim to fame came from his unique architectural taste:

A whale, seventy-five feet in length, was landed on King’s Beach, on the 9th of December [1755]. Dr. Henry Burchsted rode into his mouth in a chair drawn by a horse, and afterward had two of his bones set up for gate posts, at his house in Essex St. [at the base of High Rock], where they stood for more than fifty years.<sup>436</sup>

These bones, which formed a Gothic arch, were supposed to have been the whale’s jaw bones.

Henry had spent some time living and practicing in Boston in the 1740’s. He was a Boston resident in 1746 when he sold some real estate to a shipwright. In that year it was probably he and not his father who attempted unsuccessfully to cure a sick carpenter of the Boston packet, *Brigantine*.<sup>437</sup> By the time his father died in 1755 the younger Henry had returned to Lynn to practice medicine or at least to investigate the Leviathan cadaver on the beach. The younger Henry died between 1764 and 1770.<sup>438</sup>

In the mid-eighteenth century, the Burchsted tradition of healing in Lynn was accompanied by the short medical careers of one Jonathan Fuller and the progeny of some Lynn religionists, Deacon John Lewis and Reverend Nathaniel Henchman. Deacon Lewis’s son, John, graduated from Harvard College in 1744. By at least 1747 he was living in Lynn and acting as a schoolmaster, while

establishing his practice. He also served the town as a hog reeve in 1753.<sup>439</sup> He hardly had a chance to prove himself as a physician, however, since he died in 1754 at 30 years old. At his death his estate was worth £335.

Jonathan Fuller appears abruptly in Lynn's history with his first marriage in 1749. The marriage lasted only two years before his young wife died in 1751. He married again in Lynn in 1755, but it was his turn to succumb to mortality three years later, in June 1758.<sup>440</sup> An inventory of his personal estate valued his goods at £223. In addition to the standard list of books, looking glasses, bottles, and mortar and pestle, his estate also included a pair of "tooth drawers" and a riding chair and harness that he probably used to travel to his patients.<sup>441</sup>

Reverend Nathaniel Henchman's son and namesake was in the middle of his own short-lived practice when John Lewis and Jonathan Fuller passed away. Nathaniel Henchman was born in 1728 and began attending Harvard at fifteen years old, a normal age for freshmen at the time. He married in Lynn in 1751 and began to teach at the town's school, as had Lewis, until he had built up a medical practice; college graduates were still rare in Lynn and their learning was eagerly put to use for the benefit of the town's children.<sup>442</sup> He was in the town's service from 1756 to 1760 when he cared for the town's quota of displaced Acadians. These temporary residents received the town's help, unlike the local transients, but among the refugees were those that were old, ill, and infirm. Henchman provided medicines and visits to the town's 133 Acadians and his accounts were submitted by the town to the province in 1756, 1757, and 1760.<sup>443</sup>

Some people who needed Henchman's skills were beyond help. In 1758 a man who fell off his horse was tended to for three days at his house, but he succumbed on the third day.<sup>444</sup> Difficult as losing a patient probably was, the experience would prepare him for greater personal loss yet to come.

Henchman's medical abilities won him the respect of Lynn, according to an obituary that eulogized him as "A Gentleman, whose superior Abilities, render'd him not only very useful to Mankind, but greatly indear'd him to all his Friends in Life, and Universally lamented in Death."<sup>445</sup> One of his advocates was Zaccheus Collins. Henchman became the Collins' family physician after the senior Henry Burchsted's death. Zaccheus Collins called on Henchman whenever an illness or injury wasn't remedied by extended rest at home. On Thanksgiving Day in 1761, Collins did not feel well and for the next ten days he recorded in his diary that he wasn't well enough to attend a church meeting or to do chores. He finally called for Henchman who tried to expel the ill humor with some harsh emetic, prompting Collins to record in his diary, "Docter Hinchman Gave me a vomit that tore me all most to pieces." The next day Henchman returned and gave Collins a large pill of some sort "that worked." Actually, the farmer only returned to the same ill health he was in before he called the doctor. For two more weeks he stayed in his house, just walking as far as the doors, while his wife and sons cut and salted pork and shod the oxen.<sup>446</sup> Collins probably didn't fault his doctor and friend for the tough treatment though; medicinally induced vomiting was a standard humoral treatment and Collins still thought highly enough of Henchman to take another bolus the following day.

If the pills Henchman made for Collins were too powerful because of incorrect preparation, it might have been the result of Henchman being emotionally taxed by the combination of his father's imminent death and his powerlessness to alter his father's decline. Henchman lost his father, the Reverend Henchman, ten days after caring for Collins. The minister had made out his will just five days after his son treated Collins, so the reverend's approaching end must have been evident.

Little more than two weeks after recuperating from his Thanksgiving ailment, Zaccheus complained of dizziness and vomiting. It continued into the next day, but this time he would have none of waiting out the illness; the doctor came quickly and administered some pills. Recovery was again slow, lasting another fortnight, but the reports of dizziness and vomiting stopped with the doctor's visit.<sup>447</sup>

Three years passed before Collins had to call on Henchman again. According to his diary, the farmer cut his hand on 9 January 1764. This caused his hand to be “lame,” which again prevented him from doing much work at home or even attending Sabbath or town meetings. On 11 January he went to Henchman “with my hand” and the next day and night “suffered much with my hand.” He continued to stay home with his lame hand up to 30 January, when the doctor cut his finger open, probably to drain the humor and reduce the swelling. On the third and fourth days later, Collins repeatedly lamented of his lameness and itching. He continued lame and missing Sabbath meetings and by 14 February he was clearly despondent, complaining that there was little he could do with his time in his lame condition. From the 17th through the 20th of February, Collins went to Henchman to get the dressing on his hand changed. In this area of his diary appears a marginal notation, “The Docter came to Dress my hand 35 times.” On 21 February Henchman removed a piece of bone out of Collin’s finger. For the next twelve days he went to the doctor’s, then he recorded on the thirteenth day that he was chosen a selectman and Henchman was chosen to moderate the town meeting. Over the next twenty days he recorded visits to the doctor only seven times and Collins increased his activities as he appeared to be finally on the mend. The 22nd of March was his last reference to a visit to the doctor. No more mention was made of his lameness, hand, or finger. As far as Zaccheus was concerned, Henchman’s efforts had wrought the desired effect.<sup>448</sup>

Henchman had dealings with physicians Henry Burchsted, Devereux of Marblehead and Abijah Cheever of Lynn’s West Parish, in that they all owed his estate money. He also teamed with one of the Burchsted brothers and a physician named Cass in the 1760 amputation of a woman’s leg. (She lived for fifteen months after the surgery.)<sup>449</sup> As a pillar of the community, Henchman was asked to serve Lynn in many capacities. In 1760 he worked on a committee to audit the town treasurer’s accounts. From 1761 to 1765, he was selected to the highway committee and was appointed a justice of the peace, the town meeting moderator, the town clerk and treasurer, and one of the selectmen for Lynn. During his tenure as the town clerk, he issued eleven stiff warnings for transients to leave town, including one to Hannah Holder who was living with her grandfather, and another girl who was only 12 years old.<sup>450</sup>

Henchman died in 1767 at 39 years old. The inventory of his estate revealed that he owned “physikel” and divinity books, two cases of bottles, apothecary medicines, surgery instruments, “pots and phials,” and a handgun, sword, and some ammunition, among other items. The estate was valued at £324, revealing a financial success similar to that achieved by Jonathan Fuller and John Lewis, both of whose lives were also cut short.<sup>451</sup>

By the mid-eighteenth century, the inland rural villages of the Lynn township began to produce their own physicians. Abijah Cheever was from the West Parish (Saugus), but for most of his life he practiced in Boston. Samuel Putnam was a physician in Lynn End. He died in 1776, leaving sundry medicines, scales for measuring the ingredients, an “old Tooth instrument,” and several English medical texts.<sup>452</sup> Jonathan Aborn of Lynn End died one year after Nathaniel Henchman and, at 41 years old, his life was nearly as brief as the other Lynn doctors of the mid-century. Aborn died three months before his wife delivered their third child. His estate was valued in the same range as the others, at £366, which included his home lying partly in Lynn End and partly in Reading, as well as acreage in Lynn and Fitchburg. His medical tools were three lancets, one syringe (a clyster), vials, medicines, scales and weights, mortars and pestles, bottles, a pocket case of instruments, and saddlebags that probably held this gear as he traveled on his rounds through Reading and the northwestern part of Lynn.<sup>453</sup> The provincial physician of Lynn made his circuitous rounds on horseback, “with his big saddlebags on each side, stuffed with medicaments – for an apothecary’s shop was as rare as an opera house.”<sup>454</sup> As with other physicians of the time, Aborn also had the respectable balance of “sundry Physical Books” and “sundry Books upon Divinity,” and he owned a slave.<sup>455</sup>



**ANOTHER LYNN ENDER WHO BECAME A PHYSICIAN** was John Perkins. Few of his doctoring years were spent in Lynn End, but the years he practiced there had a strong influence on his later career. By his own account, Perkins had a slender make and valetudinary frame that wasn't suited to the physical exertions of farm life, so his parents put him in a grammar school at age twelve. In 1714, when sixteen years old, he began to read about medicine and healing. In his memoirs he recalled his early medical curiosity in 1715 when a "disagreeable vapour" emanated from a stagnant swamp in Lynn End, accompanied by a mysterious, eerie noise "like the wheting of those large saws ... of Saw mills." As the miasma drifted to the east and northeast of the swamp, most families in its path for a distance of two miles were afflicted by a "malignant fever."<sup>456</sup>

In 1718, at age twenty, Perkins was sent to Boston to apprentice with a doctor by the name of William Davis. He stayed with Davis for only a year before striking out on his own.<sup>457</sup> He started his own practice in Topsfield, but the rural residents clamoring for the fledgling physician unnerved Perkins, "the peoples opinion of my skill ran so high as to put me on close reflection being sensible that I was not equal to it." He recognized that there were "those who knew five times as much as I did, such as Dr. Barry of Ipswitch, Burchsted of Lynn, &c." So the self-effacing Perkins returned to Boston for more tutoring, this time with a healer named Archibald.<sup>458</sup>

In 1721 Perkins again left from under his mentor's wing and decided to carve out a career in York (now part of Maine) because there were no practitioners within 40 miles of the town. In York his skills finally measured up to his clientele's esteem. In his memoirs Perkins recalled a "pleuritic fever" overcoming many new mothers four days after they gave birth. He was afraid to bleed them as he did his other patients given their blood loss of a few days earlier during childbirth. After losing three patients without bleeding them, however, he decided he could do no worse by bleeding other mothers who had the fever. After bleeding the feavered mothers, their pains were relieved, their "pulse grew soft" (the tone of the vascular muscles and blood vessels had become lax, which was desired for a fever), and they "almost universally recover'd. I forget if I lost one," Perkins wrote.<sup>459</sup>

Perkins also took care of several Indian-fighting soldiers in York and Wells. Some suffered from common illnesses, like one of a "Belly-Ake." They called on Perkins from as far away as Wells, fifteen miles northeast of York, because there were no other physicians around. In 1723 Perkins "Under took the Cure of [the] wound" of "William Woodward, a Soldier [who] ... being upon his duty, discharged his Musquet which Splitt & very much broke & Shattered his hand ..." Perkins cured the wound "By the Blessing of God," and submitted a bill of charges to the court for 21 pounds 9 shillings, which he received.<sup>460</sup> Despite his success, Perkins didn't enjoy the remoteness of York and its environs, and the weather was too severe for his frail constitution, so he returned to his birthplace, Lynn End, in 1724 and practiced medicine "in the towns round about" for four years.<sup>461</sup>

During one very hot July of his Lynn End practice, many of his patients had fevers. He found that they were panting while being engulfed by hot and soft feather beds (a situation upon which Perkins observed retrospectively in 1780, "the absurdity which is to this day continued altho' common sense were it at all attended to w[oul]d direct to mattresses as more comfortable & wholesom for sick and well in our violent summers").<sup>462</sup> In the absence of reasonable mattresses, Perkins used a cooling regimen to remove the fire from his fevered subjects.

I ... order'd their Rooms to be sprinkled with cold well water and Vinegar as often as ye floors grew dry, which they found so refreshing that they wd frequently call to have it repeated; besides I order'd green Branches of oak to be set up in ye sides of the Rooms, & a bunch of Bottony hung at their beds head, sprinkled with vinegar, which they could pull with a Thread to Snise to, & order'd fresh Air to be let in & ventilate the room both night and day; & then out of 13 patients I lost but one when otherwise I had been affraid of losing half, so hot was the season.<sup>463</sup>

Perkins' encouragement of ventilation was revolutionary since fresh air was widely believed to promote fever and less than a century earlier, it was feared that opening windows invited the spirits of witches and other devils to fly in and torment the home's inhabitants. Perkins later applied this idea of cooling fevered patients as well to smallpox victims. Perkins believed he was the first physician in the colonies to use the cooling method. His success with it was significant enough to earn a review in the London *Medical Essays*.<sup>464</sup> The case that was reported in the journal was of a woman who, in 1752, was seven months pregnant and had contracted the smallpox.

When the Eruption was compleated fever continued with very freqt & small pulse restlessness watching loathings & nausea, & more or less of Deliria. Now I thought was a fair opportunity to try a practice I imagin'd suitable for such malignant cases, viz., to treat them with light coverings, and free admission of the external Air. Upon which I told her she might lye as cool as [just] the sheet, and by my orders the window was kept up an inch, This was in the fore part of May. Next morning the Wind was at NE thick cloudy, and so cool that I rode with my cloke without being to warm; I found her with the same thin covering which the attendants inform'd had been continued the whole night, & that shee had slept a good deal & quietly; her pulse I found much less frequent & more valid. her nausea was abated, & she took nourishments tolerably well. The attendants were for covering her warmer on which I charged them to let her direct for her self. Next Day all the dissalable Symptomes were gone. She took freely nourishments, & drinks. The freedom of air was continued 8 days & nights after this, & she recover'd without any further ill Symptoms and went out her Time; When She was deliver'd of a healthy well Son....<sup>465</sup>

In 1728 Perkins had gone to Boston "to try my fortune," but he found the Boston physicians "shy of me as one that came to take the bread out of their mouths."<sup>466</sup> He went to London in 1734 to learn about the advantages of Europe's medicine, but he found little that was different from what he already witnessed in Massachusetts, so he returned once again to Boston and remained with little interruption for 40 years until the outbreak of the Revolutionary War.<sup>467</sup> Even during his Boston residency, however, he owned a home in Lynn End and did some healing in the Lynn area. On random occasions from 1742 to 1746 he provided medicines and attended the Collins family of Lynn.<sup>468</sup> When the war began, he returned to his Lynn End home and apparently wrote his memoirs there.

Perkins was an accomplished physician and a serious thinker. One of his favorite amusements was to consider the "nature of things." His notebooks are filled with enlightened attempts to understand the nature of comet tails, rainbows, meteors, and auroras, the origins of pit coal, and the causes of atmospheric and oceanic motion, not on the basis of superstitions that had vainly tried to fill the gaping holes of ignorance during the previous centuries, but through scientific inquiry and reasoning.<sup>469</sup> He was made a member of France's Société Royale de Medecine in 1779.<sup>470</sup> He corresponded with Benjamin Franklin and treated Franklin's sister, Jane Mecom, in Boston. In addition to his homes in Lynnfield and Boston, Perkins owned 150 acres in Hillsborough, New Hampshire. He died in 1781, leaving an estate that included drawers of medicines and vials, surgeon's instruments, a large library, cash in silver and gold, and a slave. The estate was valued at £2,713 (\$620,231 in 2020 USD), a great amount compared to the other Lynn doctors.<sup>471</sup>

The mid-eighteenth century was the most prolific era for the presence of physicians in Lynn since its founding, with six doctors living in town and one more in Lynn End. In addition, traveling healers had continued to make occasional forays into the township at least since Phillip Reade's visits. Significant competition for medical business in this town of about 2,000 must have appeared for the first time during this era and non-resident physicians began showing up with increased frequency. Zaccheus Collins had hunted in 1728 with physicians Clark, of Boston, and Rays, and attended church with a healer Rodman in 1739 and 1745.<sup>472</sup> Lynn sent Elizabeth Sibburns to Samuel Wheat in Roxbury in 1731, but in 1760 Wheat traveled to Lynn in an unsuccessful attempt to revive Moses Chadwell.<sup>473</sup> Also in 1760 the physician Cass assisted Nathaniel Henchman and one of the

Burchsteds in a leg amputation.<sup>474</sup> From the eastern and northern bustling seaports of Marblehead and Salem came other physicians, like Humphrey Devereaux, Jr. of Marblehead who billed a Lynn family for occasional visits and medicines from 1757 to 1767.<sup>475</sup> John Perkins reported in 1756 on the appearance of an “Empirical or as called in the country, a Cancer-Doctor” in Essex County who treated a tumor patient with a caustic. When the quack doctor died, a surgeon operated on the tumor and the patient recovered.<sup>476</sup>

Perkins was the wealthiest and best educated of Lynn’s resident doctors, but he traveled in different circles, working and living most of his life in Boston. Lewis and Henchman went to Harvard, but there had been no improvement in Harvard’s liberal arts curriculum to prepare the student more fully for a career in medicine since Reverend Whiting’s son had attended in 1679. There were, in fact, no medical schools in America until Philadelphia built one in 1765. The Burchsted brothers and their father learned their trade through apprenticeship, and although the educations of Fuller, Putnam, and Aborn are not known, their abilities ranged from bleeding patients and giving enemas to tooth extraction. Their family backgrounds were as varied as their education; among their fathers was a minister, a physician, an innkeeper, a coroner, two farmers, and a deacon. Yet there was little in the public’s eye to distinguish these physicians. They provided common services, which were a little of everything, and common treatments, although one may try to expel an evil humor through bleeding and another might try purging for the same complaint. Aside from Perkins who gained a substantial reputation, Lynn’s mid-century physicians were not distinguished from each other solely by education, medical ability, lineage, or social standing; healers were probably loved and respected or chased away largely on the basis of their bedside manner. A sympathetic ear and a concerned touch were some of the best medicine a doctor (or midwife) could offer.

The provincial doctors of the eighteenth century performed within the acceptable level of the citizen’s limited expectations. On the one hand, Zaccheus Collins only called on a doctor when absolutely necessary. He had the association of several doctors, but endured many fevers, agues, falls, and lameness without sending for them. Perkins scoffed at this self-reliance and suggested that ordinary folk took unnecessary risks by waiting out an illness or trying to heal themselves: “Their own paddling instead of calling a physician in season often puts it out of the power of the best methods to save life.”<sup>477</sup> When physicians were called on (as Clark and Henchman were by Zaccheus Collins), they seemed to satisfactorily heal many patients. Henry Burchsted, Nathaniel Henchman, and John Perkins all had instances of successfully healing their patient’s hands and Perkins cooled many fevered brows. Johan Casper van Cronenhilt cured the woman who became his wife. Moral judgements were hurled at profaners, Sabbath breakers, and fornicators, but the doctors were generally spared. And if patients were lost, it was not by the ineptitude or negligence of the doctors; rather they had submitted to God’s will. The populace understood that doctors couldn’t deter divine destiny; they were expected to lose child patients as they did their own children and even their own lives were ultimately in God’s hands.

Epitaphs and obituaries described Lynn’s colonial physicians with harmonized appreciation: “an eminent and honest physician,” “[did] all that any healer can,” “secured him the love and respect of all who had the happiness to know him as a physician;” “superior Abilities, rendered him not only very useful to Mankind, but greatly indear’d him to all his Friends.”<sup>478</sup>

Lynn’s resident physicians of the eighteenth century were involved with their church and community; even though they sometimes had a practice ranging many miles they were still neighbors, involved with town government, and attending church. They were generally believed to have the healing touch, and in addition were more knowledgeable and financially better off than the average person, so they were respected as pillars of the community and were sometimes asked to teach the town’s children. They were addressed as “Doctor” even though most had no medical degree from London, Leyden, Edinburgh, or any other European medical institution.

The apparent wealth of Lynn physicians, which was greater than the average resident, suggests that a lot of services were performed for a lot of patients who must have trusted them. They made out well financially, especially compared to the shoemakers, farmers, millers, and common laborers that made up the bulk of the town's population. Four of Lynn's physicians were wealthy enough to be slave owners.<sup>479</sup> Because provincial families were often so large, the physician's heirs usually benefited more than the commoner's heirs when a deceased parent's real estate and earthly goods were meted out to so many children and sometimes to orphaned grandchildren. The financial opportunity in healing and medicine-making made the profession attractive, and those who couldn't afford college or European education sublimated their desire by training themselves or being apprenticed in medicine, selling their nostrums, and treating others.

By the second half of the eighteenth century, multiple resident doctors had become fixtures in the town; their extended absences while on rounds or business had to be filled by other healers and their deaths were often shortly followed by the arrival of new permanent doctors. Benjamin Breame Burchsted probably began his practice in Lynn between the time that John Lewis died, in 1754, and his own father's death in 1755. After graduation from Harvard College in 1771, Jonathan Norwood of Lynn began his practice in Maine, but he returned to Lynn toward war's end as the octogenarian John Perkins finished his days on earth. Nathaniel Henchman had died in 1767 and the junior Henry Burchsted died about the same time, leaving more gaps to be filled. John Flagg came to Lynn in 1769, taking over Henchman's and Burchsted's responsibilities as physicians and community leaders. Like Henchman, Flagg was a Harvard graduate and the son of a minister. After his studies in college, he returned to his hometown of Chester, New Hampshire and taught school there for a year. He then went to Andover and apprenticed in medicine under the physician George Osgood. He began his practice in Woburn, where he was married in 1769.<sup>480</sup> Later that year, the Flaggs moved to Lynn where his skills and character were sorely needed to replace the departed Henchman. He served the community in many civil service positions that courageously defied decisions and impositions of Parliament.

Lynn's increasing reliance on physicians in the pre-war years fueled greater expansion of its healer population. In 1771 Lynn's assessor listed six male residents as physicians: John Flagg, Oliver Swane, John Ames, Samuel Putnam, Benjamin Burchsted, and Jonathan Porter.<sup>481</sup> The number of resident physicians wasn't sustained, however; by 1790 only one of these men (John Flagg) was still practicing in Lynn. Swane and Porter had moved to Reading (Swane was no longer listed as a doctor); Burchsted and Putnam had died; and Ames disappeared from all records.

## **ATTACKS & CONVULSIONS**

A disputatious attitude of challenging their world became firmly entrenched in the provinces over the middle decades of the eighteenth century; religion, politics, and even medicine were caught in the turbulence. Reverend Cotton Mather described back in 1698 that heaven's chosen and indisputable Puritans had been challenged by "a more than ordinary Descent upon the Town of Lyn" by Quakers who "suddenly spread there at such a rate as to Alarum the Neighbourhood," but that Lynn's Reverend Jeremiah Shepard was also determined to stop the new religion at their doorstep:

The Pastor of the Church there Indicted a Day for *Prayer with Fasting*, to implore the help of Heaven against the unaccountable Enchantment; and the good People presented accordingly, on July 18, 1694 their fervent Supplications unto the Lord, that the *Spiritual Plague* might proceed no further. The Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ gave a Remarkable Effect unto this holy Method of Encountering the Charms of Quakerism in Lyn received (as I am informed) a *Death-Wound* from that very Day; the Number of Quakers in that Place hath been so far from Increasing, that I am told, it hath since rather *Decreased* notably. Now let other Endangered Plantations go and do likewise.<sup>482</sup>

Mather's hopeful report of a "Death-Wound" to the "Spiritual Plague" of Quakerism in Lynn was premature; by the mid-eighteenth century the Quakers had fortified their ranks and built a meetinghouse in the town. In contrast to his grandfather's contributions and love for the Church of England, Benjamin Burchsted might have become a Quaker, since he appeared as a witness to a Quaker wedding.<sup>483</sup> Anne Hutchinson, Reverend Whitfield, and other religious dissenters and traveling ministers stirred up troubled souls. In 1741 Zaccheus Collins recorded in his diary that there was "Extraordinary Commotions with Respect to Religion ... people meet together & pretend to be lead and gided by the Spirit of god."<sup>484</sup> Many of those who professed Puritanism (as well as those who were Quakers) committed moral offenses for which they were taken to court and still others challenged the church's authority by not attending Sabbath meetings. The laws of the new province allowed for freedom of worship; the hope that Mather and other Puritans like him once had for maintaining a single religious community in the land was being buried. Mather thought that they had partially brought this fate upon themselves; he pointed out that their focus on their own purses instead of their ministers' welfare had already produced disastrous results, "The ungrateful Inhabitants of Lyn, one Year pass'd a Town Vote, That they could not allow their ministers above Thirty Pounds apiece, that Year, for their Salary: And behold, the God who will not be mocked, immediately caused the town to lose Three hundred Pounds [£300], in that one Specie of their Cattel, by one Disaster."<sup>485</sup> Mather was probably referring to the "sore and long continued drought" that occurred in the summer of 1697; it was prolonged enough to prove especially fatal to farm stock of all kinds.<sup>486</sup> It was another evidence of divine retribution for sinful acts – in this case, lack of charity towards God's servant in their midst.

Principles of government had also been challenged privately (and sometimes publicly) for many years, but the dissent had taken on a more public aspect in the mid-1700s. Some watershed events would occur in the early 1770s that brought the colonies and Britain to the inevitable conflict. In 1773 "tea fever" spread throughout the colonies. Lynn manifested its indignation over the Tea Duty in a statement that pointed to the duty as a "fresh proof ... to Deprive us of freedom & Reduce us to Slavery.... Resolved ... we ... will not Suffer any Teas subjected to a parliamentary Duty to be landed or Sold in this town."<sup>487</sup> In 1772 John Flagg was chosen to serve on the concord Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety that communicated with the committees of the area towns "Respecting the Grievances we Do or May Labour under." Flagg and the other Lynn committeemen conveyed the town meeting's vehement opposition to the duty on tea: "... [W]e Stand Redy to assist Our Brthren at Boston ... in Repelling all attempts to Land or Sell any Teas poisoned with a Duty."<sup>488</sup>

The rhetoric continued to burn hot when the incendiary Boston Port Bill (wherein Boston Harbor was closed to all incoming and outgoing vessels) was imposed on the colony's commercial center. In 1774 Flagg was selected to another committee to consider and report on the results of the oppressive Bill, which Lynn saw as a "violent attack of the British Ministry & Parliament" who were "determined ... to make us Subservient to their Own Wicked ambitious & Mercenary Viewes ... it cann Never be Consistent with our Duty to Resign ourselves to Sullen Silence or Contented Slavery."<sup>489</sup>

On the fateful 19th of April 1775, when words gave way to weapons, Flagg joined Benjamin Breame Burchsted and dozens of other Lynn men in the call to Lexington. Early in the day, five militia units from the Lynn area heeded the call to arms in minute-man style. Men of every stripe heeded the call to arms: Theophilus Hallowell was a short man and weighed barely a hundred pounds, but he stood as tall and brave as any other man in his company; and at over sixty years old, Jacob Ingalls was the town's oldest soldier, but he walked and ran every inch as far as the rest of the 247 Lynn men who answered the Lexington alarm.<sup>490</sup> However, two of Lynn's militia men, Abednego Ramsdell and Joseph Richards, had risen early that morning, not to shoot Redcoats in Lexington, but black ducks on Lynn's seashore. As they were returning home with their braces of ducks, Richards' father found them and told them the news. The hunters dropped their quarry and

hastened off towards Lexington. Before they left town, Abednego Ramsdell was cautioned by a local clairvoyant woman that she had seen in vision that he wouldn't return to Lynn. Ramsdell allegedly replied that "he was going in a good cause, and that, if he fell, he would take a redcoat with him." Indeed, his last steps in Lynn were those he was running towards Lexington, heedless of the soothsayer's warning or even of his stockings falling over his shoes.<sup>491</sup>

The twenty-plus mile distance to the conflict took until the late afternoon to accomplish; by that time the British troops were already heading back to Boston via Lexington and through Menotomy (Arlington). Abednego Ramsdell was shot dead in Menotomy by the Redcoats. It was also to be Daniel Townsend's last day on earth. He was one of Deacon Daniel Townsend's children that had survived the family illnesses of 1749, but on this day, he had at last found what would end his life – bullets:

... Timothy Munroe, of Lynn ... was standing behind a house, with Daniel Townsend, firing at the British troops, as they were coming down the road, in their retreat toward Boston. Townsend had just fired, and exclaimed, "There is another redcoat down," when Munroe, looking round, saw, to his astonishment, that they were completely hemmed in by the flank guard of the British army, who were coming down through the fields behind them. They immediately ran into the house, and sought refuge in the cellar; but no cellar was there. They looked for a closet, but there was none. All this time, which was indeed but a moment, the balls were pouring through the back windows, making havoc of the glass. Townsend leaped through the window, carrying the sash and all before him, and instantly fell dead [his body being riddled with bullets]. Munroe followed, and ran for his life. He passed for a long distance between both parties, many of whom discharged their guns at him. As he passed the last soldier, who stopped to fire, he heard the red coat exclaim, "Damn the Yankee! He is bullet proof – let him go!" Mr. Munroe had one ball through his leg, and thirty-two bullet holes through his clothes and hat. Even the metal buttons of his waistcoat were shot off. He kept his clothes until he was tired of showing them. ... The war was now begun in earnest.<sup>492</sup>

Along with Ramsdell and Townsend, William Flint and Thomas Hadley of Lynn were also killed in the fighting of that first day.<sup>493</sup> Flagg and Burchsted served as surgeons that day in Menotomy, but there was nothing they could do for their townsmen. The reality of war had hit home. The next day Flagg sent his wife and daughter to the safety of his father's home in remote Chester, New Hampshire. April 19th was the only day in which either physician participated in the fighting; for the rest of the war they continued their medical practices in Lynn.<sup>494</sup>

As a coastal town so close to Boston, Lynn was fearful of a sea assault by the British. Just two weeks after the April 19<sup>th</sup> engagements, Lynn's selectmen requested of the multi-town Committee of Safety that troops be stationed in Lynn for its safety and to assist in keeping watches.<sup>495</sup> Townspeople carried arms to church, as their Indian-wary ancestors had done in the previous century, ever vigilant to surprise attack. One evening in 1775 a false alarm spread quickly through the town that the enemy had landed on one of Lynn's beaches; "the sick was removd and Whole families fled."<sup>496</sup> It wasn't long after "the shot heard around the world" that concerns for Lynn's safety were quieted and hopes for a quick end to the conflict were opined. In an August letter, a lonely John Flagg asked his wife to return to Lynn:

I cannot be reconciled to live in this solitary manner any longer. Our fears daily lessen, and we feel ourselves almost secure, the noise of cannon and the flames of Buildings set on fire give us but very little disturbance, as we have now been used to them; which would be the case with you in a short time. However, I shall not think of urging of you to return, if it is the least against your inclination, but will submit myself to continue in my widowed state a while longer. We have considerable reasons to hope that the war will cease in a few months. Gage's army is very sickly, and they are almost destitute of every kind of provisions except Pork and Bread.<sup>497</sup>

Although Lynn experienced the war only from a distance, it contributed many sons to the cause. Domingo Martin served for three years as a surrogate soldier “for the people called Quakers.”<sup>498</sup> Reuben Dunnell was killed in the battle of Saratoga.<sup>499</sup> Onesimus Newhall was wounded by grapeshot (a cluster of metal pieces fired from a cannon) that entered his mouth, exited his head underneath his ear, then struck his body again, drilling into his shoulder. Although he was severely wounded, he recovered and continued to serve in the war.<sup>500</sup> Seventeen-year-old Theophilus Farington was taken prisoner when Fort Washington surrendered to the British and Benjamin Lewis was only fifteen when he died on a prison ship during the winter of 1777.<sup>501</sup> The war’s mortal toll was only partly due to wounds received in battle; great suffering and death also came from the privations of prisons, camp life, and hospitals. Abijah Cheever, the physician in Lynn’s West Parish, served as a surgeon’s mate in a military hospital in Boston, and he contracted “a putrid fever” while there. He recovered and was made a surgeon of a 21-gun frigate, which was subsequently captured by the British, and he was made a prisoner of war.<sup>502</sup> Adam Hawkes died of yellow fever while a prisoner of war, leaving a widow and eight children.<sup>503</sup> Joseph Burrill walked four hundred miles from Lynn to the outskirts of New York City in the dead of winter with “clothing scarcely sufficient” to survive and also spent months with General Washington’s camp, suffering from too little food and too much cold, but later told people that the suffering was not too great for the cause of freedom.<sup>504</sup> Lynn volunteer Henry Hallowell reminisced in a post-war account of his extraordinary return to Lynn in 1776 from illness and war. Like Joseph Burrill and many others, Hallowell’s only means of getting to the war was by walking; his journey included encounters with a desperate doctor, ephemeral angels of mercy, and a pox victim. More amazing than his return was his willingness to re-enlist a few months later.

... I got sick [in Trenton, New Jersey] with a fever and in a house lay on the floor where all the company was and after that I got into the garret, where I lay until two men by order of general Putnam took me down to a sloop that was taking in sick and put me in the hole which was full, and one Died that lay by me and was buried.

Scores of us were sent to Philadelphia & six men of Lynn was put into a house that a tory had left and three of sd. men died in that city ... but [I] ... was raised up again, although myself was so low the Doctor gave me a dose to kill or help me in two hours I was informed after I got to walk the room. I heard an officer say that twenty-five from the general [h]ospitall was buried in a Day.

While I was in Phila. Washington took near a thousand of germans holding Christmas eve at Trenton. But respecting my sickness twas in November and December and my Lodging a hard floor and long nights & no Nurse at first and nothing more than the continental allowance for We went so sudden to that city small preparation was made for sick. But providential two women called at the door and found us in poor condition that they went home and sent us sugar & tea and a long narrer bed to rest our heads and shoulders on. My being sick a long time and no clothes to shift for we found our Clothes that year ourselves I got very lowsy and flesh much gone ... in a short time I moved on as strength was given me ... & Begd on my way home people generaly was very kind But some was afraid of me. The people was willing to let me lay by the fire or on wheat straw; on my way I would have gone into a house but they refused my going in But brought me to the Barn some broth thicknd with cabbage. One day I got lost in the jerseys the road being poor and wandering about I at last came to a house and opened the door without knocking and there Lay a woman sick with the small pox. They earnestly requested me to go on and soon found the road the red flag flying. My not having that disorder I was careful what I eat for 14 days, But altho many died on their way home I by the providence of god was preserved and when I go so near home as Chelsea there came a rain from south east and as I had no hat but an old military cap the rain run down my body and I was very sore by reason of Lice. I stopd at Decon Sargent’s barn and formed me a collar of dry seaweed & put it round my neck to keep me more comfortable. Altho I frightened horses that I met that evening after twenty-

seven days got home and my friends Put my old clothes in a swamp at Wood end & I  
got through many trying scenes that year 1776.<sup>505</sup>

Troops often became weak and ill from constant exposure to severe weather, makeshift battlefield conditions, and ill comrades. The pox had been a particularly threatening contagion before, during, and after the war.

Of all the contagious diseases that ran unchecked through the provincial era, smallpox had reaped the worst havoc in European cities and in Boston because of their large, condensed populations. Boston fought the epidemic in 1676, 1689, 1702, 1721, 1729-30, 1752, 1764, and 1776.<sup>506</sup> Lynn suffered from the pox with the same frequency as Boston because of its proximity to the large port town. A few Lynners died of the pox in 1679, 1697, 1721, 1726, 1730, 1752, and 1761 but it never became an epidemic in Lynn mainly because the small, dispersed population had learned the importance of quarantine, inoculation, and staying away from Boston when it was under the pall of smallpox. When Boston lost over 800 to the pox in 1721, only one Lynner was registered as having died from that disease. In 1752, when Zaccheus Collins wrote in his journal that over 3,000 were sick in Boston of the pox, he made no mention of it appearing in Lynn; during that year other epidemics like the throat distemper caught his attention more when writing of the Lynn area. Collins avoided travel to Boston for nine months in 1752 until he was convinced that the danger of infection had passed. Lynn and the other area towns took every measure they could think of to limit smallpox contagion. In 1761 Richard Pratt of Lynn observed warily in his journal that William Loyd and the wife and child of John Downing had all broken out with the smallpox within a few days of each other. In 1774 Pratt again noted the appearance of the pox, this time on Elijah Ingalls' body.<sup>507</sup> Ingalls endured his plague at Widow Tarbox's home, which was immediately quarantined as a pesthouse (a red flag was used to warn passers-by of the danger therein).<sup>508</sup> Because Widow Tarbox's house was sequestered for the protection of the community, the town paid for it to be cleansed early the next year so that she could reinhabit her home. In 1731 Marblehead had banned dogs from its borders because they believed the dogs carried the pox. Lynn followed suit in the same year because many loose dogs had been killing sheep; perhaps Lynn was being overburdened by the outlawed dogs of Marblehead.<sup>509</sup>

Pox hospitals were constructed in Marblehead and Salem in late 1773 to inoculate residents. Inoculations were given by taking pus from the pock of a person who had been infected naturally and inserting it into an incision of the person to be inoculated. Various humoral treatments were used until the pox symptoms disappeared in about three weeks. But the citizens of Salem and Marblehead did not trust the administration and effectiveness of the inoculations; they were suspicious of how much discomfort those inoculated were in and fearful of the contagion spreading in the towns. Four months after their construction, the hospital in Marblehead was torched and the one in Salem was shut down.<sup>510</sup> During the 1764 outbreak, panic-stricken Bostonians moved out of the city to avoid infection and large numbers of those that stayed got inoculated. Zaccheus Collins recorded in his diary that a "number" of the inoculated got well and those who had previously evacuated returned to get inoculated and get on with their lives rather than live in fear.<sup>511</sup>

Lynn's town fathers also believed inoculations protected people from a disease that they may well be exposed to sooner or later. In 1778 they consented to the establishment of pesthouses in the remote reaches of Lynn: the West Parish, Lynn End, and Nahant, where people could get inoculated and wait for about a fortnight to see if their bodies bubbled with a mild response or erupted into the full-fledged disease.<sup>512</sup> During the epidemic of 1777-1778, Benjamin Burchsted led a band of nineteen hardy young men to an isolated house in Marblehead to inoculate them with the pox. A male nurse and a physician named Robert Deaverix were also in attendance. All nineteen survived the inoculation and were given a certificate vouching for their immunity when they should be confronted by "y<sup>e</sup> guards"; apparently the nineteen men were soldiers or planning to be.<sup>513</sup>

Educational opportunities for the study of healing had been few until the Revolutionary War. The wartime operating table and infirmary were compelling, hands-on training grounds for schooled and unschooled healers. Few healers of the colonial and provincial eras had any formal education and even fewer had degrees. European medical schools and American colleges were not affordable for most people, and those who could pay for such an education could do little to improve upon their acquired skills once they were on their own. American medical colleges began cropping up in 1765 and in 1782 Harvard added a medical college, bringing the opportunity for medical studies much closer to Lynn. More and more medical texts were made available from Europe, and professionals added to their libraries. Even laymen often had a book of general medical knowledge or medicinal recipes in their homes. To further promote continued education and to distinguish the professional from the charlatan, the Massachusetts Medical Society was established in 1781.

A hotly challenged element of medical education was anatomical study by the dissection of cadavers; it was repugnant to many colonists as an unholy defilement. Before and after the war, clerics and physicians vied for the corpses of executed criminals. Lynn's own Jonathan Norwood, as an undergraduate medical student at Harvard, was a member of the Spunker Club, an underground anatomical society.<sup>514</sup> In 1773, he was joined by two other Spunkers in unsuccessfully attempting to retrieve the body of hanged burglar Levi Ames. Another group of doctors and a Boston minister also maneuvered for the corpse, but it was the minister who first got the governor to sign the body over to him for proper burial because Ames had supposedly told the minister that he wanted his remains to "be kept from the doctors."<sup>515</sup> Norwood and his team of body snatchers tried to discreetly follow the minister's burial party by boat to Dorchester point, but when the minister's crew left the area, the Spunkers "searched and searched, and rid, hunted, and waded; but alas, in vain! There was no corpse to be found ... [but] We have a [corpse] from another place, so [their instructor] shan't be disappointed...."<sup>516</sup>

Even after the war, after the innocence and mystery of the human body had been exposed, anatomical study was socially unacceptable. In 1788 some boys peeked into a window of a New York hospital and saw four doctors dissecting a cadaver. The word spread quickly and doctors had to flee town and hide in bean barrels and chimneys to avoid the outraged populace.<sup>517</sup> Medical schools, doctors, and even coroners had to tread lightly on anatomical subjects before and after the Revolution, thus making the misery of war a grim opportunity for education.

The war effectively ended with the British surrender at Yorktown, after taking a heavy toll of lives. Of the 168 Lynn men who served in the cause of the Revolution, 56 were killed.<sup>518</sup> The colonists' world had changed dramatically by war's end with a new country being formed that championed the cause of personal liberties. The cycle of a century and a half produced dramatic contrasts to life in the early colonies. With the passage of generations, the fear that comets, auroras, and other celestial phenomena were signs of the coming of a wrathful god evolved into demystified acceptance and scientific descriptions of the unusual occurrences. The frenzy to find evil in one's neighbor had subsided in the last years of the seventeenth century and the desire for a one-religion community continued to be dissolved by dissenters and the influx of other religions, like the Quakers and later the Methodists. Lynn had a Quaker presence as early as 1678, and the Methodists were established in the town by 1791. The apprehensions created by a rigid Puritanism consequently dwindled as the influx of people with disparate views continued unabated, plus peculiar individuals could flourish unhindered by suspicious minds.

In the latter part of the century, one of Lynn's best-known citizens was a fortune-teller who lived on the slope of High Rock; if she lived a century earlier, she would almost certainly have found herself quickly brought before Salem's witchcraft tribunal. The desire to see beyond the veil and into the future has always been an oft-dreamed wish and Moll Pitcher made those wishes come true with what seemed to be an uncanny knowledge of the future.<sup>519</sup> Upon her marriage to Robert Pitcher in 1760 until her death in 1813, she took up fortune telling to add a little income to the family purse. Over the years, a well-worn path was trampled out to the Pitchers' little house. It

stood across the street from the whalebone archway to the Burchsted property. Many slyly inquired for directions to the whalebone landmark to disguise their secret intentions of becoming customers of the fortune-teller rather than the doctor.<sup>520</sup> It was said that thousands had their futures influenced by her predictions, from the “simple rustic from the wilds of New Hampshire” to the “wealthy noble from Europe.”<sup>521</sup> Her reputation grew into one of considerable notoriety, but if she was so successful, it isn’t clear why such a booming business failed to improve her meager lot in life.

Almost as many as sought Moll Pitcher’s predictions wondered from whence they came. She never professed to have special powers and Lynn historians saw her as a woman of extraordinary perception, but not as a preternaturally gifted seer. Indeed, when asked what ticket would win the lottery, she was reported to have said, “Do you think if I knew, I would not buy it myself?”<sup>522</sup> It isn’t clear what prophecies or insights she revealed that gained her such renown, but writers went out of their way to show a bloodline of wizardry, or at least, strange behavior.<sup>523</sup> Some said they had seen her on the top of High Rock and other hills in Lynn, “conversing with beings in the clouds.”<sup>524</sup> Most agreed that Moll’s probes into the future never involved contact with the spirit world or the supernatural in any form. She didn’t resort to the darkened or half-lit rooms favored by the fortune-tellers and mediums that would follow her. The most exotic part of her routine was to scan the bottom of a teacup or perhaps muse over tarot cards, procedures she performed only “to gain time while cautiously watching her visitors for a clue to their history or desires.”<sup>525</sup> Hers was a simple method of soothsaying that pitted her keen perceptiveness against the innocent faith and credulity of the patron.

Lynn’s constantly increasing population made it impossible to continue tight communal knowledge where everyone knew everyone else’s business (perhaps with the exception of Moll Pitcher). The town had grown from just the five families who had settled in 1630 to less than a thousand by 1690, then reaching 2,291 by the first national census in 1790. The growth of Lynn’s inland villages resulted in its division. The community that started as Lynn Village became the town of Reading in 1644 and by 1782, the northern reaches of Lynn that had been known as Lynn End separated into the self-governing district called Lynnfield. The Puritan goal of a colony living unitedly by the same Calvinist values regarding family order and harmony with divinity continued to dissolve like the impossible dream that it always was. Quakers, Methodists, and other faiths continued to infiltrate the colony and towns pursued public offenders who threatened the stability of the community, making private and less troublesome immoral and sinful activities a poor second to a more pressing public agenda. The Sabbath restrictions were more frequently violated in the late eighteenth century as the industrious of Lynn continued to cobble and the indolent opted to catch fish instead of sermons. Sabbath breakers, vagrants, drunks, fornicators, and illegitimacies were less frequently pursued and less severely punished when convicted; Joanna Ramsel in 1782 and even lascivious Desire Thyot in 1770 were fined only £5 for their sexual offences, as compared to those so convicted in the beginning of the century who were fined £40.<sup>526</sup>

Medicine was also caught up in the changing times. Samuel Putnam’s library contained no volumes on religion, but he had a dozen of the contemporary medical works of Europe’s noted medical minds, like Huxham, Boerhave, Harvey, and Quincy. Gone were the days of clerical healers and their progeny, like John Lewis and Nathaniel Henchman, whose libraries were a respectable balance of spiritual and physical healing. An American dispensatory was developing from the combination of traditional European mineral, chemical, and botanical drugs, experimentation with the unique flora and fauna of the New World, and a smattering of Indian cures. Medical elitism accompanied the birth of medical societies and schools in America, and walls and schisms were more pronounced than ever before. The schooled, professional physicians wanted to distinguish themselves from all other forms of healing, including the quacks, self-trained healers, midwives, and other rival notions, and with good reason: competition was increasing. As early as 1737, a letter to the medical society in Boston was pressing for regulation of the medical profession and a requirement that all practitioners be examined by a board of physicians and surgeons. The writer

pointed his finger at “Shoemakers, Weavers and Almanack-makers” for having “laid aside the proper Business of their Lives, to turn Quacks.”<sup>527</sup> With a concentration of shoemakers growing in Lynn for almost a century, perhaps some of them had motivated the writer’s vitriol.

The dust of war had settled in Lynn. Abijah Cheever of the West Parish returned from serving in the Navy and filled John Perkins’ shoes in a Boston practice. The number of Lynn physicians had dipped from six before the war to just John Flagg, Jonathan Norwood, and Benjamin Burchsted in 1781. Flagg, resumed his career as a leader and admired doctor in Lynn for many years. Benjamin Burchsted also continued to doctor Lynners; at his death, the inventory of his shop at home included four dozen bottles, five and a half dozen vials, two cupping glasses, and a mortar and pestle.<sup>528</sup>

Unlike Flagg and Burchsted, however, Jonathan Norwood, the Spunker, was unable to continue his practice into the decade. Early in 1782, coroner Jonathan Bancroft, who was accustomed to seeing victims of drowning on Lynn’s beaches, was assigned to cover Norwood’s unusual death. Norwood was another victim of water, but his life was extinguished in a puddle. *The Salem Gazette*, which usually found little that was newsworthy in Lynn, included a full account of Norwood’s peculiar passing:

At about 8 o’clock, last Saturday evening, the body of Dr. Jonathan Norwood, of Lynn, was found dead in the road, in that town. He is supposed to have fell from his horse a short time before, and being unable to help himself, perished in a puddle of water, where he was found, with his horse standing near him.<sup>529</sup>

Norwood had no children to replace him as a doctor. About this time, however, a stocky stranger who claimed to be a doctor showed up in Lynn; his name was Aaron Lummus.

## Prologue Notes

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1. William Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (London, England: Tho. Cotes, 1634; online at gutenberg.org), pp. “To The Reader” [unnumbered] (scandalous); 19 (Devills), 46 (kill). Wood admitted he never saw a lion in New England, but shared that others had reported seeing the animal on Cape Ann (Gloucester and Rockport, twenty-five miles northeast of Lynn). Still other earlier reports claimed unicorns were to the west, in the area of the Hudson River, and mermaids off Cape Ann and to the east; see Edward Eggleston, *The Transit of Civilization from England to America in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1901; online at webapp1.dlib.indiana.edu), p.15.
  2. See Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Samuel N. Dickinson, 1844), p.58. The account was said to have been related by one of Lynn’s earliest ministers, Thomas Cobbett, in a letter to Rev. Increase Mather. Lewis’s book appears to be the only record of such an incident and letter, but Lewis had repeatedly accessed records that subsequently over time were lost or destroyed.
  3. Alonzo Lewis estimated the total number among the five families to be about twenty people in all. See Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, p.62. Walter Renton Ingalls, in *The Ingalls Family in England and America*; (York, PA: The Maple Press Company, 1930), pp.4-10, carefully and responsibly traces the lives of Edmund and Francis Ingalls, two of Lynn’s founding settlers, and soundly speculates about their travel to Salem on the *Abigail* in the absence of a passenger list for the June to September 1628 voyage.
  4. *True copie of the court booke of the Governor and society of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, manuscript (covering 1628-1646; Boston Public Library, Rare Books Department; online at digitalcommonwealth.org), p.150, par.1092. Lynn historian Alonzo Lewis *The History of Lynn* (Boston: J. H. Eastburn, 1829), p.65, attributes the name change sentence to the date 15 November 1637; the entry appears under “A generall Cort held at Newtowne the 2<sup>nd</sup> day of the ninth moneth 1637,” the record being dated used the Julian calendar. The first use of the name Lynn can be found under the court date 1 August 1637 (“the first of the Sixt moneth called August 1637”), p.143, pars.984-985, when “Lynne” was being assessed for its part of money being raised by the court. Earlier in the same court’s records (p.100, par.213), it is stated that

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- boundaries were being set between Saugus and Salem. Several variations of the name Lynn appear in the records of the colonial court, including Linn, Linne, Lynn, and Lynne; this was true of many words and proper names in the records. Mr. Lewis noted the town in the name change entry as “Lin,” but it is clearly spelled “Lynne” in that record.
5. Lynn’s first two shoemakers were Philip Kirtland and Edmund Bridges, according to Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, pp.89 (Bridges), 91 (Kertland).
  6. Analysis performed by the author (Rapoza) of seventeen colonists whose birthdates or ages at arrival in Lynn as found in Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, pp.60-69.
  7. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, pp.67 (Taylor, Rednap), 63 (Burton).
  8. The date of Wood’s return trip to England is listed in Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, p.46. Some question has been raised as to whether William Wood the author is one in the same with the William Wood of Saugus/Lynn; see Alden T. Vaughan, ed., *New England's Prospect*, by William Wood (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1977), pp.4-6 and compare Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, (Boston: J. H. Eastburn, 1829), pp.61-62. Vaughan makes a good case for Wood’s earlier, pre-book presence in the area of Salem, based on speculations that he had arrived in the area about 1629, four years before his return to England, and therefore was probably attached to the small contingent that had arrived at that time in Salem under John Endecott. While Lewis expressed certainty that the William Wood who returned in 1635 and lived in Saugus/Lynn in the ensuing years was one in the same with the author Wood, Vaughan accepts only that the author Wood may or may not have lived in Saugus and been the returned William Wood of 1635.
  9. William Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, pp.35 (sturgeon), 22 (moose), and 19 (eagle).
  10. William Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, pp.39 (Roxberry), 41 (Medford), and 40 (Boston).
  11. William Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, p.39.
  12. William Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, pp.43-45. Wood’s description of Saugus is by far the longest description of any of the colony’s fifteen settlements; the length and detail of the description lends additional credence to the assertion that the author of *New England's Prospect* was an inhabitant of Saugus, more knowledgeable of and enthusiastic about that town than others in the colony.
  13. Alonzo Lewis and James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Including Lynnfield, Saugus, Swampscott and Nahant* (Boston: John L. Shorey, 1865), p.45.
  14. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.46.
  15. Michael Sparke, *New-England's Plantation or, A Short and True Description of the Commodities and Discommodities of that Country* [transcription of a letter written by Rev. Francis Higginson in the late summer or early fall of 1629] (Washington, DC: P. Force, 1835; online at babel.hathitrust.org), p.11.
  16. Michael Sparke, *New-England's Plantation*, p.6 (emphasis in original).
  17. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, p.69 (fifty), 76 (Winthrop).
  18. Franklin M. Wright, “A College First Proposed, 1633: Unpublished letters of apostle Eliot and William Hammond to Sir Simonds D’Ewes,” (Harvard Library Bulletin. Cambridge, Mass.; online at <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:HUL.InstRepos.42671446>), Vol.8, No.3, p.273. The rich harvest was identified to be from the land of John Humphrey; his property stretched from Lynn’s coast, starting on the east side of Sagamore Hill, near the isthmus to Nahant, and eastward into what would later become Swampscott.
  19. William Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, pp.13-14 (Hearbes); Michael Sparke, *New-England's Plantation*, p.7 (abundance).
  20. Jeremiah Shepard, *God's Conduct of His Church Through the Wilderness, With His GLORIOUS ARM, To make Himself an Everlasting Name*. (Boston: John Allen, 1715; online at [quod.lib.umich.edu](http://quod.lib.umich.edu)), p.4 (emphasis in original).
  21. Jeremiah Shepard, *God's Conduct of His Church Through the Wilderness*, p.27.
  22. Jeremiah Shepard, *God's Conduct of His Church Through the Wilderness*, pp.23-24 (emphasis in original).
  23. Analysis of twenty-eight Lynn estate inventories from the period 1643-1664 performed by the author. See *The Probate Records of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1635-1664*.
  24. *The Probate Records of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1635-1664*, Vol.1, p.45. Nipple shields were used to remedy and protect sore and possibly cracked and ulcerated nipples from irritation against clothing and especially during nursing.
  25. Lead was the more economical material of choice and considered completely harmless – in fact, beneficial – to mother and child.
  26. Analysis of twenty-eight Lynn estate inventories from the period 1643-1664 performed by the author. See *The Probate Records of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1635-1664*.

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27. The items listed were archaeologically recovered from where Jenks blacksmith shop was located on the ironworks site; see Saugus Iron Works: The Roland W. Robbins Excavations, 1948-1953 (William A. Griswold, Ph.D and Donald W. Linebaugh, Ph.D, editors (Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site, 2010; online at nps.gov), pp.173-198. Jenks involvement with the coinage dies is often repeated in general interest websites, but has not been proven by documentary evidence. Jenks received patents from the Massachusetts Bay Colony's Superior Court in 1646 for a labor-saving device using water wheels to finish sharp-edged iron instruments like scythes; and another in 1655 for an invention for use in a saw mill.
28. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, p.147.
29. Analysis of twenty-eight Lynn estate inventories from the period 1643-1664 performed by the author. See *The Probate Records of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1635-1664*.
30. *The Probate Records of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1635-1664*, Vol.1, p.178-181.
31. *The Probate Records of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1635-1664*, Vol.1, p.344.
32. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, pp.7-8. Lewis got carried away in his narrative, implying an omnipresent fear of children being kidnapped by the Indians; while this did occur elsewhere in New England, there is no account of any such incidents in Saugus against the colonists.
33. James Savage, *The History of New England from 1630 to 1649. By John Winthrop, Esq. from His Original Manuscripts* (Boston: Phelps and Farnham, 1825; online at babel.hathitrust.org), Vol.1, p.36.
34. William Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, p.43.
35. Analysis of twenty-eight Lynn estate inventories from the period 1643-1664 performed by the author. Pistols, fowling pieces were also found in some households, and George Burrill, Sr., even had a halberd. See *The Probate Records of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1635-1664* (Salem, MA: The Essex Institute, 1916; online at babel.hathitrust.org), Vol.1.
36. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, p.87.
37. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, p.37.
38. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.332.
39. Michael Sparke, *New-England's Plantation*, p.12.
40. William Wood, *New England's Prospect*, pp.47-48.
41. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, p.22.
42. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, p.169. According to the 29 January 1821 diary entry of Margaret Holyoke, Some wildcats were “seen at Lynn this season owing to extreme [cold]” and one was killed in nearby Reading. See “Diary of Margaret Holyoke, Daughter of Dr. Edward Augustus and Mary (Vial) Holyoke, 1801-1823,” *The Holyoke Diaries, 1709-1856* (Salem, MA: The Essex Institute, 1911), p.172.
43. William Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, p.49.
44. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, p.92.
45. William Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, p.10.
46. William Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, p.10. No records of death in Lynn or Saugus have been located before 1648, based on a search of the *Vital Records of Lynn, Massachusetts*, 2 vols. (Salem, Mass.: Newcomb & Gauss), Vol.2 (1906), and ancestry.com in 2020. Both extract from multiple sources, including church, civil, and family records. Clearly people died between the town’s establishment in 1629 through 1647, but record of those deaths have not yet been located. The oldest gravestone still standing in Lynn has a death date of 1698.
47. William Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, pp.10-11.
48. Richard Frothingham, Jr., *The History of Charlestown, Massachusetts* (Charlestown, MA: Charles P. Emmons, p.1845; online at catalog.hathitrust.org), p.60.
49. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, pp.68-69.
50. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, p.79.
51. *The Boston News-Letter*, week of February 4-11, 1705/6.
52. James Savage, *The History of New England from 1630 to 1649*, Vol.1, p.227.
53. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, p.62.
54. James Savage, *The History of New England from 1630 to 1649*, Vol.1, pp.164-156.
55. Nathaniel Morton, *The New-England's Memorial* (Plymouth, MA: Allen Danforth, 1826), pp.111-112 (none). Brian R. Jarvinen of the National Hurricane Center, retired, provides a fascinating analysis of this early record of a hurricane hitting New England and estimated it to have been a 3.5 on the Saffir-Simpson Hurricane Wind Scale. According to Jarvinen, the hurricane had hit southeastern Connecticut and western Rhode Island with

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- winds estimated at 130 mph, then arced over southeastern Massachusetts, through Boston Harbor, and then passed just south of Cape Ann. See Brian R. Jarvinen, "Storm Tides in Twelve Tropical Cyclones (including Four Intense New England Hurricanes" (unpublished; October 2006; online at aoml.noaa.gov), pp.6-12.
56. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, pp.107-109. Lewis expanded his explanation of Dungeon Rock in Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, pp.243-245. Earthquake activity in New England continued throughout the eighteenth century as well. Colonial Lynn diarist Richard Pratt recorded earthquakes he felt and heard in 1755, 1757, 1759, 1761, and 1768. The one on 18 November 1755 was so severe that the minister delivered a sermon the same day. Pratt noted that the scriptural text for the sermon was Matthew Chapter 7 (which in verse 13 reminded the shaken congregation, "Enter ye in at the strait gate: for wide *is* the gate, and broad *is* the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in therat.") A public fast day was declared on 8 January 1756 "on account of the Earthquake." See Richard Pratt, *Commonplace-Book of Richard Pratt* (Lynn: The Nichols Press, 1900), pp.15 (1755), 16 (1756), 25, 28 (1757), 38 (1759), 45 (1761), and 59 (1768).
57. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, p.46.
58. William Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, p.63
59. *Lynn: its Representative Business Men and Points of Interest* (New York: Mercantile Illustrating Company, 1893), pp.7-8.
60. Alexander Young, *Chronicles of The First Planters of The Colony of Massachusetts Bay, from 1623 to 1636* (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1846), pp.306-307. John Winthrop stated without reserve, "For the natives, they are near all dead of the smallpox ...." See Letter from John Winthrop to Nathaniel Rich, 22 May 1634 (manuscript; Gilder Lehrman Collection, No.GLC01105; online at gilderlehrman.org).
61. Letter from John Winthrop to Sir Simonds D'Ewes, 21 July 1634 (Winthrop Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; online at masshist.org), (natives); (Letter from John Winthrop to Nathaniel Rich, 22 May 1634 (manuscript; Gilder Lehrman Collection, No.GLC01105; online at gilderlehrman.org), (Lord).
62. Increase Mather, *Kometographia. Or A discourse concerning comets; wherein the nature of blazing stars is enquired into: with an historical account of all the comets which have appeared from the beginning of the world unto this present year, M.DC.LXXXIII. : Expressing the place in the heavens, where they were seen, their motion, forms, duration; and the remarkable events which have followed in the world, so far as they have been by learned men observed. : As also two sermons occasioned by the late blazing stars.* (Boston: 1683; online at quod.lib.umich.edu), p.110 (emphasis in original).
63. Cotton Mather, M.A., *Magnalia Christi Americana: or, the Ecclesiastical History of New England, from Its First Planting in the Year 1620. Unto the Year of our LORD, 1698* (London, England: Thomas Parkhurst, at the Bible and Crowns in Cheapside, 1702; online at archive.org), Book 1, p.7 (emphasis in original).
64. Jeremiah Shepard, A.M., *God's Conduct of His Church Through the Wilderness, With His GLORIOUS ARM, To make Himself an Everlasting Name. A SERMON Preached by Order of the Honourable Representatives, of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New-Eng/land. On May the 25th, 1715. Being their Anniversary Day for Election of His Majesties Council for that Province.* (Boston: John Allen, 1715), p.23.
65. Jeremiah Shepard, *God's Conduct of His Church Through the Wilderness*, p.26.
66. Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, Book 3, p.198 (emphasis in original).
67. Archie N. Frost, Clerk of Courts, compiler, *Verbatim Transcription of the Records of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts*, manuscript (Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.), Vol.5, p.62.
68. *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, M.D., editor (Boston: Press of William White, 1854), Vol. 4, Part 1 (1650-1660), p.221. Although the Pequot War was fought between 1636 and 1638, the court responded to Lindsey's petition during their session of 23 May 1655; while it's possible that his injury and subsequent petition occurred in that year, it is more likely that his request was submitted much later or that the court simply took a long time to respond.
69. *True copie of the court booke of the Governor and society of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, 03 October 1639, p.196, par.1767.
70. *True copie of the court booke of the Governor and society of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, 06 July 1642, p.255, pars.2554-2555.
71. *True copie of the court booke of the Governor and society of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, 08 July 1842, p.256, par.2559 (barrel); 29 March 1644, p.289, par.3226 (thirtie); 08 July 1642, pp.257-258, par.2595 (salt peter).
72. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, p.79.
73. *True copie of the court booke of the Governor and society of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, 02 November 1637, p.150, par.1104.

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74. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, p.86.
75. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.220.
76. Philip Cash, Eric H. Christianson, and J. Worth Estes, eds., *Medicine in Colonial Massachusetts, 1620-1820*, (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1980), pp.5-6. See also George H. Martin, "Lynn in the Early Indian Wars," *The Register of the Lynn Historical Society* (Lynn: Lynn Historical Society), No. 14 (1910), especially pp.71-73.
77. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.265, indicated the Indian was hostile. Nathan Mortimer Hawkes suggested the Indian was friendly in "Lynnmere," *The Register of the Lynn Historical Society*, No.16 (1913), pp.110-111.
78. William Wood, *New England's Prospect*, p.53 (Providence); Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Life of Francis Higginson* (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1891), p.67.
79. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Life of Francis Higginson*, p.61.
80. William Wood, *New England's Prospect*, p.53.
81. William Wood, *New England's Prospect*, p.8.
82. Frothingham, Jr., *The History of Charlestown, Massachusetts*, p.27 (Graves); Publications of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Transactions 1910-1911 (Cambridge, MA: University Press: John Wilson and Son, 1912), Vol.13, p.130 (Welde); Letter from John Winthrop to Nathaniel Rich, 22 May 1634 (manuscript; Gilder Lehrman Collection, No.GLC01105), (Winthrop).
83. Michael Sparke, *New-England's Plantation or, A Short and True Description of the Commodities and Discommodities of that Country* [transcription of a letter written by Rev. Francis Higginson in the late summer or early fall of 1629] (Washington, DC: P. Force, 1835), p.9.
84. William Wood, *New England's Prospect*, p.9.
85. Michael Sparke, *New-England's Plantation*, p.10. Higginson's mention of cold complexions was referring to cold as one of the symptoms of bodily humors (described later in this prologue) rather than atmospheric coldness. Prior to the quoted statement, he had just finished describing the suffering of one of his children from the King's Evil (scrofula), stating that the "verie wholesomesse of the Aire ... [dried] up the cold and crude humours of the Body." He was therefore likely describing his son as having a phlegmatic humor, characterized by cold and moisture; New England's air seemed to dry out the boy's bodily overproduction of mucous and to warm him up, restoring humoral balance. Higginson had previously described himself as having an "abundance of Melancholie humours," an imbalance of another of the four humors.
86. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, p.93.
87. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.256.
88. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, p.121. Compare Josiah Bartlett, "An historical sketch of the progress of Medical Science in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, being the substance of a discourse read at the annual meeting of the Medical Society, June 6, 1810, with alterations and additions to January 1, 1813," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society), Vol. 1 of the Second Series (1814), p.109.
89. Michael Sparke, *New-England's Plantation*, pp.9-10.
90. Young, *Chronicles of The First Planters of The Colony of Massachusetts Bay*, pp.325-326.
91. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, p.132. Richard D. Brown, "The Healing Arts in Colonial and Revolutionary Massachusetts: The Context for Scientific Medicine," *Medicine in Colonial Massachusetts*, p.37. For more on the equation of natural phenomena to divine intervention see James H. Cassedy, "Church Record-Keeping and Public Health in Early New England," and Douglas Lamar Jones, "Charity, Medical Charity, and Dependency in Eighteenth-Century Essex County, Massachusetts," both in *Medicine in Colonial Massachusetts*, pp.255 and 202, respectively.
92. Analysis of twenty-eight Lynn estate inventories from the period 1643-1664 performed by the author. See *The Probate Records of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1635-1664*.
93. E. N. Hartley, *Ironworks on the Saugus: The Lynn and Braintree Ventures of the Company of Undertakers of the Ironworks in New England* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), p.199.
94. Accounts current, 1653, *Records of the iron works at Lynn, Mass., 1650-1686* (manuscript, in the collection of the Baker Library Special Collections, Harvard Business School; online at [hollisarchives.lib.harvard.edu](http://hollisarchives.lib.harvard.edu)), MSS:301, L989 Box 1, Folder 9, p.147. An earlier entry acknowledges that "Menn ... Waire [were] sicke at sea"; see Accounts Current, 1651-1652, MSS:301, L989 Box 1, Folder 7, p.97.
95. Russell Leigh Jackson, *The Physicians of Essex County* (Salem, Mass.: Essex Institute, 1948), p.39 (Emory); Norman Gevitz, "Pray Let the Medicines Be Good": The New England Apothecary in the Seventeenth and

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- Early Eighteenth Centuries,” *Pharmacy In History* (1999) Vol.41, No.3, p.89 (Cooke); John Langdon Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts*, 17 vols. (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society), Vol.1 (1873), pp.124-126 (Alcock). Note that the ironworks ledger only identified these three medical men as “Mr. Emory,” “Mr. Coocke,” and “Doctor Alcocke,” but there can be little doubt of their identities as there do not appear to be other apothecaries or doctors in the colony during the time of the record (1653) by those surnames.
96. Accounts current, 1653, *Records of the iron works at Lynn, Mass., 1650-1686*, MSS:301, L989, Box 1, Folder 9, p.147.
  97. Accounts current, 1653, *Records of the iron works at Lynn, Mass., 1650-1686*, MSS:301, L989, Box 1, Folder 9, p.148. E. N. Hartley, *Ironworks on the Saugus*, p.186, pointed out that 272 Scottish indentured servants came to the colony in 1652 but wrote that there was no evidence of an influx from this ship at Hammersmith or Braintree; however, there is a pattern of medical charges shortly after the second ship’s arrival, just as had happened in 1651 with the first shipload. The surgeon is only identified as “ye chirurgionn.” “Goody Burte” was identified in later records as Ann Burt and the widow Burt, known in the Lynn area for providing healing services. See also p.176 for two more instances of charges due to medical needs of the Scots in 1653: for transporting them “to Salem for phissicke” and also to Lynn tavern keeper John Hathorne “fo<sup>r</sup>: y<sup>e</sup>. Scots Expenses in y<sup>e</sup> time of Sickenesse” – most likely providing some rooms for the convalescence and care of some sick workers.
  98. E. N. Hartley, *Ironworks on the Saugus*, p.211.
  99. See E. N. Hartley, *Ironworks on the Saugus*, pp.154, 187-188, 200. Because the extant ironworks records were maintained by John Gifford, who had responsibility for the ironworks at Braintree and Hammersmith, the records are a blend of data from both plants. Hartley explained that it is impossible to provide an exact number on workers at either facility, but he estimated there were about 35 skilled workers between the company’s ironworks at Braintree, and the larger one at Hammersmith, plus the extant ledgers show a high of 58 indentured servants over the twenty-year life of the two facilities. Estimating for Saugus as the larger of the two facilities to have had 60% of the total skilled and unskilled workforce numbers Hartley provided, Hammersmith would have had about 58 resident workers, not including the Lynn townspeople who also provided services. That figure would need to be further expanded for most of Saugus’s portion of 21 skilled workers who were married and had families; Hartley explained that most male workers were married and that families probably averaged five or six children who lived to become adults. Therefore, allowing that 80% (17) of Hammersmith’s portion of 21 skilled workers were married (hence 17 wives) plus an average of 5 surviving children per each married couple (for a total of 85 children), a fair estimate of Hammersmith’s resident population would be 158 workers and their families. The population estimate for Lynn in 1690 was 835; see Harold Arthur Pinkham, Jr., “The Transplantation and Transformation of the English Shire in America: Essex County, Massachusetts, 1630-1768” (1980. Doctoral Dissertations. 2327; online at <https://scholars.unh.edu/dissertation/2327>). Even though the 1690 population postdates the ironworks on the Saugus River by twenty years, the Hammersmith population was 19% of the 1690 population, and probably more like 40%-45% (author Rapoza’s rough estimate from the data provided) when the Scottish indentured workers arrived four decades earlier in 1651, five years after the ironworks opened. (Note that these calculations do not allow for any spouses and families of the indentured servants. Since the investment company that brought them to New England weren’t paying for passage of any but the workers, and the indentured servants were not paid, so could not send money back home for other family members, if there were any. A few spouses, possibly with children, may have paid their own way to join their indentured husbands at Hammersmith, but the records do not cover such individuals and so the possibility of their existence is not allowed in these calculations.)
  100. E. N. Hartley, *Ironworks on the Saugus*, p.186.
  101. Accounts current, 1653, *Records of the iron works at Lynn, Mass., 1650-1686*, MSS:301, L989, Box 1, Folder 9, p.147.
  102. Accounts current, 1653, *Records of the iron works at Lynn, Mass., 1650-1686*, MSS:301, L989, Box 1, Folder 9, p.148.
  103. Dow, *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts*, Vol.1, p.271 (silver lace); p.274 (boots); p.272 (hood).
  104. Dow, *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts*, Vol.1, p.130. Turner’s sentence was revoked but the reason was not stated; some powerful evidence or person must have come to his rescue.
  105. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, p.64.
  106. *True copie of the court booke of the Governor and society of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, 1640-1646* (manuscript, in the collection of the Boston Public Library, Rare Books Department; NB: The true date range of this manuscript is 1628-1646; online at: [digitalcommonwealth.org/](http://digitalcommonwealth.org/); 30 May 1631, p.52, par.90).

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107. *True copie of the court booke of the Governor and society of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, 03 July 1632, p.64, par.174.
  108. See Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, between pp.278 and 279, for an illustration of the Old Tunnel Meeting House, which was built in 1682, with the multi-use stocks in the foreground. Stocks were used in Lynn during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
  109. The use of “Mr.” (Master) before the surname usually referred to the oldest man in the family; plus George Burrill’s three sons were just young boys in 1638. The need for Keys and Newhall to split their time in the stocks between two locations usually meant that each party was from one of those locations or the crimes were perpetrated in both locations. In this case, Keys was likely from Cambridge and Newhall from Lynn.
  110. George F.(Francis) Dow, editor, *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts*, 9 vols. (Salem, Mass.: Essex Institute, 1911-1975; online at [salem.lib.virginia.edu](http://salem.lib.virginia.edu)), Vol.1, p.8 [26 June 1638].
  111. Obadiah Oldpath (pseudonym of James R. Newhall), *Ye Great and General Courte in Collonie Times* (Lynn: The Nichols Press, 1897), p.51. Also see Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, p.86.
  112. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, p.116.
  113. James Savage, *The History of New England from 1630 to 1649. By John Winthrop, Esq. from His Original Manuscripts* (Boston: Thomas B. Wait and Son, 1826; online at [babel.hathitrust.org](http://babel.hathitrust.org)), Vol.2, p.46.
  114. James Savage, *The History of New England from 1630 to 1649*, Vol.2, p.45.
  115. *True copie of the court booke of the Governor and society of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, 10 March 1642, p.246, par.2479.
  116. James Savage, *The History of New England from 1630 to 1649*, Vol.2, p.45 (foul); *True copie of the court booke of the Governor and society of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, 10 March 1642, p.246, par.2480 (sentenced).
  117. *True copie of the court booke of the Governor and society of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, 10 March 1642, p.246, par.2481.
  118. *True copie of the court booke of the Governor and society of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, 10 March 1642, p.246, par.2482.
  119. *True copie of the court booke of the Governor and society of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, 10 March 1642, p.246, par.2483 (Hudson); James Savage, *The History of New England from 1630 to 1649*, Vol.2, p.48 (lashes).
  120. *Records of Ye Towne Meetings of Lyn, 1691-1701/2*, 7 vols. (Lynn: Lynn Historical Society), Part 1 (1946), pp. 40, 41, 47, 53, 56; *Record of Ye Towne Meetings of Lyn, 1701-1717*, Part 2 (1951), pp. 42, 78; *Records of Ye Towne Meetings of Lyn, 1717-1730*, Part 3 (1956), p. 85.
  121. *Records of Ye Towne Meetings of Lyn*, Part 2, p. 13.
  122. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, p.153.
  123. Records of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, manuscript (Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.), Vol.1, p.92.
  124. Records of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, Vol.6, pp.305, 443.
  125. Records of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, Vol.7, July 1766.
  126. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, pp.335 (80,000), 585 (2,200). The population of Lynn during the 1765 colonial census of Massachusetts was listed as 2,198 in *History of Lynn*, but as 2,208 in J. H. Benton, Jr., *Early Census Making in Massachusetts, 1643-1765* (Boston: Charles E. Goodspeed, 1905), p.103.
  127. Advertisement, *The Boston Evening-Post*, 7 January 1765 (online at [masshist.org](http://masshist.org)).
  128. Zaccheus Collins, Diary, 2 vols., manuscript (covering 12 March 1725/1726 - 21 November 1769, microfilm at the Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.), Vol. 1, 10 October 1745, 7 November 1746; Vol.2, 1 August 1751, 11 May 1754, 28 October 1768.
  129. Cassedy, “Church Record-Keeping and Public Health in Early New England,” *Medicine in Colonial Massachusetts*, p.254.
  130. *Records of Ye Towne Meetings of Lyn*, Part 6, p.18.
  131. *Records of Ye Towne Meetings of Lyn, 1742-1759*, Part 5 (1966), p.18.
  132. The “sick poor” are well-defined and discussed by Jones, “Charity Medical Charity, and Dependency in Eighteenth-Century Essex County, Massachusetts,” *Medicine in Colonial Massachusetts*, pp.203-204.
  133. For the original town ruling on vagrants, see *Records of Ye Towne Meetings of Lyn*, Part 1, p.50.

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134. *Records of Ye Towne Meetings of Lyn, 1730-42*, Part 4 (1964), pp.4-5. Records of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, Vol. 5, p.98.
135. *Records of Ye Towne Meetings of Lyn*, Part 3, p.68.
136. *Records of Ye Towne Meetings of Lyn*, Part 6, p.89.
137. *Records of Ye Towne Meetings of Lyn*, Part 4, p.12.
138. *Vital Records of Lynn*, Vol.2 (1906), p.589 lists Elizabeth Sibburn's death.
139. *Records of Ye Towne Meetings of Lyn*, Part 5, p.3.
140. *Vital Records of Lynn*, Vol.1, p.555 lists the death of Thomas Norris in 1773. *Vital Records of Lynn*, Vol.2, p.279 lists his marriage to Martha Potter in 1755 and her birth (p.330) in 1723. Based on her birthdate, Thomas can be assumed to be her contemporary; for argument, born about 1720. He would then have been about 22 years old when asked by the selectmen to do the job "if he lived another year." He obviously wasn't old and, if he was ill at the time of his appointment (which is unlikely, since they wouldn't appoint a person to office who was desperately ill), he recovered and lived 31 years more, which years included marriage and fatherhood. Death was accepted as an integral and unscheduled part of life in early Lynn.
141. J. Worth Estes, "Therapeutic Practice in Colonial New England," *Colonial Medicine in Massachusetts*, p.311.
142. Robert R. Victor, "Medicine and Public Hygiene," in Claude M. Fuess, ed., *The Story of Essex County* 2 vols. (New York: The American Historical Society), Vol.2 (1935), pp.843-1844. Collins, Diary, Vol.1, 15-19 July and 18-19 August 1740.
143. Quantitative analysis by the author (Rapoza) of 1,606 death causes listed in *Vital Records of Lynn*, Vol.2; cholera infantum is listed on 47 occasions as the cause of death (13% of deaths whose causes were listed).
144. Gene W. Boyett, "Aging in Seventeenth-Century New England," *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (Boston: New England Historical Genealogical Society), Vol. 134 (July 1980), pp.181-182.
145. Epitaph of Joseph and Burrill Hart on a slate stone in the Old Western Burial Ground, Lynn; observed by the author on 13 September 1987. Upon the founding of the Eastern Burial Ground in the mid-1830s, this cemetery, originally referred to as the Old Burying Ground became identified as Old Western Burial Ground and as the Western Burying Ground. It is identified throughout this work as the Old Western Burial Ground.
146. J. Worth Estes, "Medical Skills in Colonial New England," *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (Boston: New England Historical Genealogical Society), Vol.134 (October 1980), pp.274-275.
147. Gene W. Boyett, "Aging in Seventeenth-Century New England," pp.181-182.
148. C. Helen Brock, "The Influence of Europe on Colonial Massachusetts Medicine," *Colonial Medicine in Massachusetts*, p.107. Governor Winthrop wrote back to England in 1634 for "Coporous white and green: and 2 or 3 li. of Paracellus plaister and some E: [East] indian Bezoar"; see Letter, John Winthrop to John Winthrop, Jr., 10 October 1634 (manuscript, Winthrop Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; online at masshist.org).
149. Dr. Samuel Abbott Green, *History of Medicine in Massachusetts - A Centennial Address* (Boston: A. Williams & Co., 1881), p.24.
150. Rebecca S. Tannenbaum, *The Healer's Calling: Women and Medicine in Early New England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), p.41.
151. J. Worth Estes, "Medical Skills in Colonial New England," p.262.
152. Rebecca S. Tannenbaum, *The Healer's Calling*, p.8.
153. Benjamin Woolley, *Heal Thyself: Nicholas Culpeper and the Seventeenth-Century Struggle to Bring Medicine to the People* (New York, HarperCollins Publishers Inc., 2004), p.139.
154. Robert Boyle, *Some Considerations Touching the Usefulness of Experimental Naturall Philosophy* (Oxford, England: Henry Hall, 1663; online at babel.hathitrust.org), p.157 (emphasis in original).
155. *The Angel of Bethesda*, Gordon W. Jones, M.D., editor (Barre, Mass., American Antiquarian Society and Barre Publishers, 1972), p.127.
156. Dr. Samuel Abbott Green, *History of Medicine in Massachusetts*, p.21.
157. Robert Boyle, *Some Considerations Touching the Usefulness of Experimental Naturall Philosophy*, p.153.
158. Article, "Examples of Great Medicines drawn from unpromising Bodies," *The Boston Gazette, or Weekly Advertiser*, 18 December 1753, which quoted from Robert Boyle, *Some Considerations Touching the Usefulness of Experimental Naturall Philosophy*.
159. Dr. W. W. Bauer, *Portions, Remedies, and Old Wives Tales* (New York: Doubleday, 1969), p.79.

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160. Dr. W. W. Bauer, *Portions, Remedies, and Old Wives Tales*, p.80.
161. George E. Gifford, Jr., “Botanic Remedies in Colonial Massachusetts, 1620-1820,” *Medicine in Colonial Massachusetts*, p.265.
162. George E. Gifford, “Botanic Remedies in Colonial Massachusetts,” pp.265, 267.
163. John Josselyn, *New England’s Rarities Discovered* (Boston: William Veazie, 1865), p.52.
164. John Josselyn, *New England’s Rarities Discovered*, p.81 (emphasis in original).
165. John Josselyn, *New England’s Rarities Discovered*, p.54.
166. John Josselyn, *New England’s Rarities Discovered*, p.49.
167. David King, medicinal recipe, “Ointment for Rumatic pains,” manuscript, 10 April 1836. (Collection of the author: Rapoza.)
168. Nicholas Culpeper, *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis; or, the London Dispensatory* (Boston: John Allen, 1720), p.48 (coral); 28 (true-love); online at collections.nlm.nih.gov.
169. Joseph Blagrave, *Blagraves Astrological Practice of Physick* (London: S. G. and B. G. for Obad. Blagrave at the Printing Press in Little Britain, 1671; online at wellcomecollection.org), pp.154-155 (emphasis in original). Note that the heel of the horseshoe is two ends of the shoe, which often ended in a short turn of the metal at a ninety-degree angle. The placement of horseshoes, witch bottles, and other apotropaic objects and symbols over, under, or otherwise near the entry points of homes may have been intentionally in the similitude of the biblical Passover account of marking the lintel and two side posts of the door with a bunch of hyssop dipped in the blood of a sacrificed lamb so that God would pass over the home and not destroy the first-born son inside. See Exodus 11:4-6; 12: 7, 12-13, 21-23. The Bible was often the basis of their recommended behavior and actions.
170. Brearley was identified as William Brearley, Rector of Clipstone in Northamptonshire from 1660-1667 in Ralph Merrifield, *The Archaeology of Ritual Magic* (New York: New Amsterdam Books, 1988), p.171. Merrifield concludes that the account Brearley related probably occurred sometime during the second quarter of the seventeenth century.
171. Joseph Glanvil, Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles II. And F.R.S., *Sadducismus Triumphatus: Or, A full and plain Evidence, Concerning Witches and Apparitions* (London: originally released in 1681) 4<sup>th</sup> edition (1726; online at google.com/books), p.334-335.
- Another well-detailed early eighteenth-century manuscript description of witch bottle is found in the September 1701 instructions for a woman of Cornwall, England: “For Thamson Leverton on Saturday next being the 17th of this Instant September any time that day take about a pint of your owne urine and make it almost scalding hot then Emtie it into a stone Jugg with a narrow Mouth then put into it so Much white Salt as you can take up with the Thumb and two forefingers of your lift hand and three new nails with their points down wards, their points being first made very sharp then Stop the mouth of the Jugg very close with a piece of Tough cley [clay] and bind a piece of Leather firm over the stop then put the Jugg into warm Embers and keep him thare 9 or 10 days and nights following so that it go not Stark cold all that mean time day nor Night and your private Enemies will never after have any power upon you either in Body or Goods, So be it.” The manuscript note is online at grumpyoldwitchcraft.com. Other seventeenth-century examples of witch bottle use can be found in William Drage, *Daimonomageia. A Small Treatise of Sickneses and Diseases from Witchcraft, and Supernatural Causes* (London, England, J. Dover, 1665; online at wellcomecollection.org), p.21, and *An Account of the Tryal and Examination of Joan Buts, For being a Common Witch and Inchantress, before the Right Honourable Sir Francis Pemberton, Lord Chief Justice, at the Assizes holden for the Burrough of Southwark and County of Surrey, on Monday, March 27. 1682.* (London, 1682; online at quod.lib.umich.edu).
172. Joseph Glanvil, *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, p.334-335.
173. See especially Brian Hoggard, *Magical House Protection: The Archaeology of Counter-Witchcraft* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2021), p.301 for some of the potentially apotropaic symbols and objects found in Massachusetts homes during the first decade and a half of the twenty-first century. South of Boston, these have included concealed shoes found in the ceiling and next to the chimney of the Fairbanks House (c.1637-1641) in Dedham, the oldest standing house in Massachusetts, and a concealed knife and a “daisy mark” (hexafoil) on an entry post to the right of the original front door of a home in Marshfield. West of Boston have been found a “mesh mark” in a Newton attic; two dried cats under the floorboards in Shutesbury; and antique shoes concealed within the central chimney of a 1755 house in Northampton. Ongoing research and artifact recoveries are constantly being added to the internet on this subject; for more on recent apotropaic finds in New England, see www.apotropaicos.co.uk and M. Chris Manning, “The Material Culture of Ritual Concealments in the United States,” *Historical Archaeology*, September 2014, Vol.48, Issue 3, pp.52-83.

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174. LaRoy Sunderland, *Book of Health for the Million with Practical Remarks on Bathing, Diet, Exercise, Disease and the Water Cure* (Boston: White & Potter, 1847), p.13. Sunderland recited the crab cure as a specimen of what he called the “rank nonsense, glaring absurdities, and disgusting ignorance of the medical profession” over the two centuries prior to his 1847 book. He found the crab cure in *Sketches of Imposture, Deception and Credulity* (London: Bradbury and Evans, Printers, 1837), p.347, but no further attribution for the cure is cited in this reference.
175. Transference recipe/instructions, manuscript, undated. (Collection of the author: Rapoza.) While the author of the instructions was not listed, the name, address, and office hours of Dr. W. J. Wilson of Toronto, Canada, are listed. W. J. Wilson was a prominent and apparently very well educated and respected physician in Toronto from at least the late 1880s through the early 1910s. There is nothing on the piece of paper that connects the transference instructions to W. J. Wilson, other than both possibly being written by the same person and with the same pen. Wilson’s career in no way suggests he would have believed in or given instruction to practice such a homemade, magical recipe. Apotropaic protection expert Brian Hoggard shared the following insights about this piece of ephemera, “... it sounds like a healing charm .... There are quite a few charms which involve pinning things to trees or taking out a plug and putting something in, or burying in the ground near a large shrub or plant. The idea being that as [the] plant grows it absorbs or takes away the disease.... It’s a good fit with that kind of charm.” (Correspondence, Brian Hoggard to Andrew Rapoza, Conroe, TX, 24 January 2021.) It should also be noted that human hair seemed to be an important weapon in folk magic: the crab cure, the unidentified cure noted above, and witch bottles all involved use of human hair. The crab cure and witch bottles also utilized human nail clippings. Witch bottles and other bottled charms also went a step further, often adding human urine, nails, pins, sometimes teeth or animal bone fragments, and/or other items to the bottle’s contents. Witch bottles served the same purpose for the home that gargoyles served for European cathedrals – to keep witches and evils from entering and injuring, sickening, or tormenting the occupants.
176. George E. Gifford, “Botanic Remedies in Colonial Massachusetts,” p.269.
177. John Josselyn, *New England’s Rarities Discovered*, p. 49.
178. John Josselyn, *New England’s Rarities Discovered*, p.334.
179. John Josselyn, *New England’s Rarities Discovered*, p.84.
180. John Josselyn, *New England’s Rarities Discovered*, p.77.
181. John Josselyn, *New England’s Rarities Discovered*, p.53.
182. John Josselyn, *New England’s Rarities Discovered*, p.43 (emphasis added).
183. Obadiah Oldpath (pseudonym of James R. Newhall), *Lin: or Notable People and Notable Things in the Early History of Lynn* (Lynn: George C. Herbert, 1879), p.239. The Armitage name does appear in early colonial records of the Saugus plantation, but Deborah Armitage has not been found among the known family members. The problem presented by historical fiction without documentation is the inability to discern historical fact from the fiction woven around it. Since Newhall and his predecessor, Alonzo Lewis, didn’t mention a Deborah Armitage in any of the four Lynn histories they produced, Newhall was likely creating the character of Deborah Armitage to illustrate the type of early colonial herbalist that has been described in other sources.
184. Obadiah Oldpath, *Lin: or Notable People and Notable Things in the Early History of Lynn*, p.240.
185. Obadiah Oldpath, *Lin: or Notable People and Notable Things in the Early History of Lynn*, pp.240-241.
186. Obadiah Oldpath, *Lin*, pp.459-460. This account is based on a real colonial midwife, Jane Hawkins, but the place of her residence is believed to have been Boston (but hasn’t been definitively documented in colonial records), so Newhall was taking liberty associating Jane Hawkins with Lynn in his historical fiction; in fact, his details about her life and character, between the two times she is mentioned in court records of 1638 and 1641, are apparently all fiction. James Savage, *The History of New England from 1630 to 1649*, Vol.1., recorded that the real Jane Hawkins had delivered, in early 1638, a deformed stillborn baby of Mary Dyer, wife of William Dyer, milliner, of Boston (p.248). In this account the baby was described by John Winthrop as a “monster” that had “a face, but no head ... over the eyes four horns, hard and sharp, two of them were above one inch long ... the nose hooked upward; all over the breast and back full of sharp pricks and scales, like a thornback,” among a number of other deformities (p.261). Winthrop also recorded that Hawkins was known for giving “oil of mandrakes and other stuff” to young women “to cause conception; and she grew into great suspicion to be a witch ....” (p.263); this is what Newhall was referring to as a love potion.
187. *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, Vol. 4, Part 1, p.224.
188. Obadiah Oldpath, *Lin*, p.369. This woman is identified as “Dame Ramsdell,” among whose many children, one Zephaniah was mentioned by name. Although Lewis and Newhall included several examples of early colonial Lynn inhabitants by the Ramsdell surname, they had no mention of a Dame Ramsdell or Zephaniah Ramsdell in their histories, nor has record of either name been found thus far in colonial records.

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189. Rebecca S. Tannenbaum, *The Healer's Calling*, p.38, suggests that abortions were probably practiced with more frequency than can be determined by a study of official records because abortifacients were sometimes used to restore a menstrual cycle that seemed blocked, not recognizing it to actually be a pregnancy before the fetus had begun to show any movement.
190. Charlotte Gregg Borst, "Midwives in Early New England, 1620-1820: From Healer and Community Authority to Quack and Outsider" (M.A. thesis, Tufts University, 1977), p.18.
191. Charlotte Gregg Borst, Midwives in Early new England," pp.22, 50; Jones, "Charity, Medical Charity, and Dependency," p.207.
192. *Vital Records of Lynn*, Vol.2, p.477, which was taken from Pratt, *Commonplace-Book of Richard Pratt*, p.10 (14 May 1755).
193. Zaccheus Collins, Diary, Vol.1, 25 September 1731.
194. Charlotte Gregg Borst, *Midwives in Early New England*, pp.56, 109.
195. Charlotte Gregg Borst, *Midwives in Early New England*, p.66. This is not to suggest there was no moral outrage at fornication and bastardy. Diarist Zaccheus Collins was convicted for fornication without bastardy implications; see Records of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, Vol.4, p.61 (26 December 1721). William Hutchinson ad his wife Johanna were also accused of fornication and of bastardy. They had to produce their marriage certificate dated November 1733 in order to prove the legitimacy of their acts and child (the child was born in November 1734); the case was dismissed. See Records of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, Vol.4, p.389 (8 July 1735).
196. Article, "Queer Notion," *Lynn News*, 23 February 1858 (sighting "some of the old records still extant in the city clerk's office, of this city"). White wedding dresses were a nineteenth-century development, eventually taking over the purity aspect that earlier had been attributed to blue dresses.
197. Charlotte Gregg Borst, *Midwives in Early New England*, p.61.
198. Records of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, Vol.3, pp.92-93.
199. Records of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, Vol.3, pp.187-188.
200. Records of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, Vol.4, pp.132, 134.
201. Records of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, Vol.3, p.357.
202. Melinde Lutz Sanborn, *Lost Babes: Fornication Abstracts from Court Records, Essex county, Massachusetts, 1692-1745* (Derry, NH: 1992), p.32.
203. Records of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, Vol. 7, July 1770 .
204. "An Act Relating Unto The Office and Duty of a Coroner," *The Charters and General Laws of The Colony and Province* (Boston: T.E. Wait and Co., 1814), p.347.
205. Records of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, Vol.5, p.17; see also Vol.7, July 1764, May 1774.
206. Files of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, manuscript (Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.), No.3520.F.16.
207. "An Act Relating Unto The Office and Duty of a Coroner," *The Charters and General Laws of The Colony and Province*, p.347.
208. The twelve jurors and their signatures are listed in Frost, *Records of the Quarterly Courts*, Vol.15, p.72. Occupations of seven are listed in Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, pp.119, 153, 185, 186, 190, 234. Probate estate inventory records for Thomas Browne, Thomas Coldham, William Clarke, and Richard Haven list no books or medical supplies. No such records exist for the other jurors.
209. "The Office and Duty of a Coroner," pp.348-349.
210. Frost, *Records of the Quarterly Courts*, Vol.9, p.141.
211. Dow, *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts*, Vol.9, p.141.
212. Pratt, *Commonplace-Book of Richard Pratt*, p.68 (22 March 1772 [Johnson's] and 28 March [Newhall's]).
213. Pratt, *Commonplace-Book of Richard Pratt*, p.68 (30 April, 1 and 2 May 1772).
214. Pratt, *Commonplace-Book of Richard Pratt*, pp.68 (15 and 24 May, 2 Jun 1772) and 69 (21 July 1772).
215. Pratt, *Commonplace-Book of Richard Pratt*, pp.69 (25 July 1772) and 71 (25 July 1773).
216. Zaccheus Collins, Diary, Vol.1, 30 September 1735, 6 November 1739.
217. Zaccheus Collins, Diary, Vol.1, 9-10 November 1744.
218. Zaccheus Collins, Diary, Vol.1, 12-16 June 1747.
219. Zaccheus Collins, Diary, Vol.1, 8 July 1730.

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220. Zaccheus Collins, Diary, Vol.1, 18 October - 11 November 1735.
221. Zaccheus Collins, Diary, Vol.1, 21-31 August 1739.
222. Zaccheus Collins, Diary, Vol.1, 7 January 1737.
223. The Blew Anchor Tavern was a landmark of considerable importance to colonial travelers, being located between Boston (9 miles) and Salem (5 miles) on the Boston road. Specifically, it was at the intersection (as of 2021) of Ballard, Lincoln, and Chestnut streets in Saugus. According to Newhall's highly fictional history, a sign swung from "the gnarled old tree in front, proclaiming it to be the "'Blew Ankor,' which name was further verified by the representation of an anchor [painted] in sky blue on a field of flaming red." See Oldpath, *Ye Great and General Courte in Collonie Times*, p.29. At least in this statement, his Oldpath narrative of 1862 is somewhat corroborated by what he writes in his 1864 update to *History of Lynn*, p.495: "This tavern ... at one time flourished under the sign of an anchor, painted in bue, with the inscription 'Blew Anchor.'"
224. *True copie of the court booke of the Governor and society of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, 1 March 1630, p.50, par.66.
225. For a complete biography of Reade, see Andrew V. Rapoza, "The Trials of Phillip Reade, Seventeenth-Century Itinerant Physician," Peter Benes and Jane M. Benes, eds., *Annual Proceedings of the Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife (1990): Medicine and Healing* (Boston: Boston University, 1992), pp.82-94.
226. Quaboag from John Pynchon, *Account Books 1651-1705*, 3:3, quoted in Louis Roy, *Quaboag Plantation Alias Brookfield* (West Brookfield, Mass.: 1965), pp.122-23; Norwalk and Brookhaven from Archibald C. Weeks, comp., *Brookhaven Town Records* (New York: Wright, 1924), Vol.1, p.101.
227. References to his father from Middlesex County Court Records, manuscript (Massachusetts State Archives, Dorchester, Mass.), Folio 53: Letter of Rev. Joseph Estabrooke, 20 June 1670; Certificate of Haynes, Baker, et al, no date; Reade's marriage from George E. McCracken, Ph.D., "Dr. Philip Reade and His Earlier Descendants," *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (1958), Vol. CXII, p.121.
228. James Savage, *A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England up to 1692*, 4 vols. (Boston: Little, 1860-1862; online at babel.hathitrust.org), Vol.4, p.552. Thomas Wilkinson of Billerica was discounted from prominent practice when he was censured in 1676 for "practising chirurgery and physic contrary to the law."
229. T. B. Wyman, *Abstracts of Middlesex Court Files 1649-1675*, manuscript, 1667-8-1 and 1669-4-16.
230. Middlesex County Court Records, Folio 46: Warrant, 31 March 1670.
231. Suffolk County Supreme Judicial Court Files, manuscript (Massachusetts State Archives, Dorchester, Mass.), Folio 2025: Deposition of Phillip Reade, 5 November 1679.
232. Suffolk County Supreme Judicial Court Files, Folio 2025: Deposition of Phillip Reade, 5 November 1679 (emphasis added).
233. Middlesex County Court Records, manuscript (Middlesex County Court House, Cambridge, Mass.), Folio 116: Attachment, 23 September 1669.
234. Middlesex County Court Records, Folio 116: Attachment, 23 September 1669 (emphasis added).
235. Charlotte Greg Borst, "Midwives in Early New England, 1620-1820, p.61.
236. Essex County Court File Papers, manuscript, 46-25, Attachment, 6 July 1686, and Marhsall's Return, 7 July 1686 (Essex County Courthouse, Salem, Mass.). Classification and uses of medicines from J. Worth Estes, "Therapeutic Practice in Colonial New England," Cash et al, pp.364-83; George M. Gould, M.D., *A Pocket Medical Dictionary* (Philadelphia: Blakiston's, 1910), and Leaman F. Hallett, "Medicine and Pharmacy of the New England Indians," *Massachusetts Archaeological Society Bulletin* (Attleboro, Mass., 1956), pp.47-48.
237. Middlesex County Court Records, Folio 56: Deposition of Thomas Wheeler and Jonathan Prescott, no date.
238. Middlesex County Court Records, Folio 56: Deposition of David Fiske, 13 April 1670; Deposition of Thomas Wheeler, 13 April 1670.
239. Supreme Judicial Court Files, manuscript (Massachusetts Archives at Columbia Point, Boston, Mass.), No.1052: Deposition of Susanna Gleison, 5 September 1671.
240. Dow, *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts*, (1669), Vol.4, p.207.
241. Dow, *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts*, (1669), Vol.4, p.209. It is interesting to note that all of what Sarah Pearson was alleged to have said about her experience with Widow Burt came from the depositions of her mother and sister; there is no record of Sarah giving her own deposition. Perhaps her "condiccion" and "unaturall fits" had temporarily emotionally disabled her from presenting coherent testimony or she might have been otherwise prevented from giving her testimony because it would have contradicted her mother and sister, and been more favorable to the woman who had treated her?

242. Dow, *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts*, (1669), Vol.4, p.207.
243. Dow, *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts*, (1669), Vol.4, pp.207-208.
244. Dow, *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts*, (1669), Vol.4, p.207. A common element of witch lore was that they had “familiars” cats, dogs, and other animals that did their bidding, like spying for them.
245. Dow, *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts*, (1669), Vol.4, p.209.
246. An inventory of her estate was taken on 18 March 1672-3, which suggests that she survived the 1669 witchcraft charges and died about three years later. See Dow, *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts*, (1673), Vol.5, p.204. Note that she signed her will with her mark, which strongly suggests she was illiterate, unlike her husband, who was at least able to autograph his will.
247. Middlesex County Court Records, Folio 48: Warrant, 27 August 1669; Deposition of Richard Rice, no date; Deposition of John Baker, no date; Deposition of John Buss, 1669; Deposition of John Farwell, 29 August 1669; Bondsmen’s petition, 5 October 1669.
248. Middlesex County Court Records, Folio 53: Deposition of John Hayward, 21 June 1670.
249. Middlesex County Court Records, Folio 67: Attachment to Ambrose Makefasset, 20 May 1674.
250. Files of the Suffolk County Supreme Judicial Court, manuscript (Massachusetts State Archives, Dorchester, Mass.), No.2025: Deposition of John Dammond, 16 December 1679.
251. Middlesex County Court Records, Folio 88: Declaration of Phillip Reade, no date.
252. Files of the Suffolk County Supreme Judicial Court, No.2025: Deposition of John Dammond, 16 December 1679. Middlesex County Court Records, Folio 88: Deposition of Sarah Hawks and Joseph Trumble, 16 December 1679.
253. Middlesex County Court Records, Folio 88: Declaration of John Gifford, 5 November 1679. Sections in brackets fall beyond a torn edge of the page.
254. Middlesex County Court Records, Folio 91: Deposition of John Clarke, 20 July 1680.
255. Middlesex County Court Records, Folio 88: Declaration of Phillip Reade, no date. Sections in brackets fall beyond a torn edge of the page.
256. Middlesex County Court Records, Folio 88: Declaration of Phillip Reade, no date.
257. Middlesex County Court Records, Folio 88: Declaration of Phillip Reade, no date.
258. Files of the Suffolk County Supreme Judicial Court, No.1052: Deposition of Cyprian Stevens, 13 April 1670.
259. Files of the Suffolk County Supreme Judicial Court, No.1052: Deposition of John Heyward Sr., 13 April 1670.
260. Files of the Suffolk County Supreme Judicial Court, No.1052: Deposition of John Buss, 13 April 1670.
261. Middlesex County Court Records, Folio 53: Deposition of Francis Dudley, Ephraim Roper, and Thomas Wheeler, no date.
262. Files of the Suffolk County Supreme Judicial Court, No.1052: Deposition of Ann Adams, 15 April 1670.
263. Deed of Sale by Elizabeth Allen to Phillip English, 12 July 1697 (original in the collection of the Phillips Library, Peabody Essex museum, MH15.B18.F1\_doc3). Cronenshilt cosigns “in the Bihalf of my wife Elizabeth Allin,” who was the daughter of the seller.
264. As often happens with family genealogies, unsubstantiated details enthusiastically fill in the large gaps between birth, marriage, and death dates: Some of the information may be based in truth, but without documentation, such statements remain as unreliable as the speculative tidbits dreamed up in family legends and oral histories. Harriet Ruth Waters Cooke, *The Driver Family: A Genealogical Memoir of the Descendants of Robert and Phebe Driver, of Lynn, Mass.*, (New York: John Wilson and Son, 1889), p.268, identifies Cronenschilt with elements of his given and surname starting with the more Germanic “K” rather than “C” and “von” rather than “van” but cites only an unpublished manuscript for documentation. Similarly, various online genealogical and general information websites state that genealogy states he was illegitimate, christened on 22 June 1661 at Tomaskirsche in Leipzig, stood only five feet tall, and was known to speak Latin, German, and English, travelled in England and Ireland, and enjoyed discussing philosophy - but cite no corroborating documentation. There may be some truth in these statements, but they will need documentation to become trusted as fact.
265. Attempts by author to prove Leipzig, Germany, residence and/or education for Cronenshilt proved fruitless. The City Archives of Leipzig (email correspondence: Barbara Schwarz to author, 4 June 2021), State Archives of Saxony in Leipzig (email correspondence: Katrin Heil to author, 14 May 2021), and University of Leipzig (email correspondence: Josephine Thiele to author, 11 May 2021) all found no record of Johann Casper Richter van Cronenschilt by any spelling of the surname. Theile pointed out that during World War II, many of

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- the old records were destroyed or went missing; therefore, the absence of proof cannot rule out his residence in Leipzig or attendance at its university.
266. Sheriff's Warrant (Boston, 18 MAR 1695; Lynne – emphasis added) and Deposition of Erasmus Harrison (Boston: 19 MAR 1695; betwixt); both in Suffolk County (MA) court files, 1629-1797, Case 3101, (on familysearch.org); see also Deposition of Abraham Samuel (Boston: 04 APR 1695), Case 3101.
267. Deposition of Erasmus Harrison (Boston, 19 MAR 1695), Case 3101. See also Deposition of Christopher Weeks & Richard Nulande (Boston: 04 APR 1695), Case 3101.
268. Articles of Agreement between Captain and Crew – Erasmus Harrison, Captain of the Brigantine Mary, Suffolk County Court (MA) court files, 1629-1797 (Boston: 01 MAR 1694), Case 3123 (on familysearch.org).
269. See Articles of Agreement between Captains Glover & Harrison (Salem: 20 MAY 1694), Case 3123 and Testimony of Erasmus Harrison, Captain of the Sloop Dolphin (Boston: 14 SEP 1694), Case 3123.
270. Deposition of Erasmus Harrison (Boston: 14 SEP 1694), Case 3123.
271. Deposition of Erasmus Harrison (Boston: 14 SEP 1694), Case 3123.
272. Deposition of Erasmus Harrison (Boston, 19 MAR 1695), Case 3101 (26); Anna Glover, *Glover memorials and genealogies: an account of John Glover of Dorchester, and his descendants, with a brief sketch of some of the Glovers who first settled in New Jersey, Virginia, and other places* (Boston: D. Clapp & Son, 1867), p.275 (21). Of the approximately four dozen crew distributed equally between the two sloops, the various depositions and other documents constituting Case 3101 and 3123 list the ages for sixteen total (eight of each of the *Dolphin* and *Dragon* crews). *Dragon* captain Robert Glover and ship doctor Cronenschmidt were the other two whose ages were located in the previously stated sources. Among the 60<sup>th</sup> of the crew whose ages are not identified, there certainly could have been some more individuals of ages greater than the averages demonstrated among the 40% that are identified, but the consistency of ages identified suggests a pattern that was likely consistent among the entire crew list of both vessels: young men were sailing these two privateers.
- It should be noted that the 1661 birthdate for Cronenschmidt has not yet been proven and other sources, like Russell Leigh Jackson, *The Physicians of Essex County*, p.34, place his birthdate at 1644. If this is correct, he was 50 years old, not 33, when on the privateer voyage with the *Dolphin* and *Dragon*, and therefore old enough to be the father of most of the crews.
273. Indenture of Thomas Robinson, Suffolk County (MA) court files, 1629-1797 (Boston: 16 DEC 1691), Case 3123.
274. Although characterizations of their commands can be found in many of the court documents, see especially the statements of the two captains about each other: Narrative of Robert Glover (Boston: 10 NOV 1694) and Deposition of Erasmus Harrison, Captain of the Sloop Dolphin (Boston: 14 SEP 1694), both in Suffolk County (MA) court files, 1629-1797, Case 3123.
275. Deposition of Erasmus Harrison (Boston: 14 SEP 1694), Case 3123.
276. Narrative of Robert Glover (Boston: 10 NOV 1694), Case 3123.
277. Statement of Prize Value, Suffolk County (MA) court files, 1629-1797 (Boston: 02 APR 1695), Case 3123. [NOTE: All inflation calculations in this book were found and calculated online at in2013dollars.com, an excellent CPI inflation calculation tool.]
278. Sheriff's Warrant (Boston: 18 MAR 1695), Case 3101.
279. Deposition of Abraham Samuel (Boston: 04 APR 1695), Case 3101.
280. Narrative of Robert Glover (Boston: 10 NOV 1694), Case 3123.
281. Narrative of Robert Glover (Boston: 10 NOV 1694), Case 3123
282. Narrative of Robert Glover (Boston: 10 NOV 1694), Case 3123 (all); Deposition of Samuell Ruggles (Boston: 30 APR 1695), Case 3101 (slavish); Deposition of Abraham Samuell (Boston: 30 APR 1695), Case 3123 (pipes).
283. Deposition of Samuel Clough, Suffolk County (MA) court files, 1629-1797 (Boston: 02 APR 1695), Case 3123.
284. Deposition of Edmund Quash, Suffolk County (MA) court files, 1629-1797 (Boston: 01 MAY 1695), Case 3123.
285. Deposition of Thomas Larrimore (Salem: 20 MAR 1695), Case 3101 (out); Deposition of Erasmus Harrison (Boston: 19 March 1695), Case 3101 (which).
286. Admiralty Court: Condemnation of fly boat called St. Joseph, Suffolk County (MA) court files, 1629-1797 (Boston: 1694), Case 3123.
287. Narrative of Robert Glover (Boston: 10 NOV 1694), Case 3123.

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288. Narrative of Robert Glover (Boston: 10 NOV 1694), Case 3123.
289. Deposition of Erasmus Harrison (14 SEP 1694), Case 3123.
290. Sheriff's Warrant (Boston: 18 MAR 1695), Case 3101.
291. *Vital Records of Lynn*, Vol.2, p.110.
292. Waters Cooke, *The Driver Family*, p.268.
293. Joseph B. Felt, *Annals of Salem* (Salem, MA: W. & S. B. Ives, 1849), Vol.2, p.245.
294. Indenture (Lynn: 20 JUN 1700), Massachusetts Land Records, 1620-1986, Vol.18, pp.206-207 (online at [familysearch.org](#); emphasis added). The land transfer was also an indenture, further committing Cronenshilt to provide his mother-in-law £2 each year for the remainder of her life, and keep for her "one cow[,] one horse[,] and six sheep[,] and provide ... sufficient cordwood at her door convenient for one chimney winter and summer, plus one convenient roome rent[-]free in said housing dureing the said terme of her naturall life."
- James R. Newhall speculates that he never practiced in Lynn, but he doesn't explain the reason for his speculation. (See James Robinson Newhall, *Centennial Memorial of Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Embracing an Historical Sketch, 1629-1876* [Lynn: Thomas B. Breare, 1876], p.28.) The fact that Cronenshilt was listed of Boston when purchasing the land in Lynn suggests that his medical practice was based out of Boston in 1700 at the time of Lynn his land transaction, but the family legend that he doctored the young Salem woman who became his wife in late 1694, coupled with the record of his doctoring Stephen Sewall in Salem in 1703 point to him having a practice in the Lynn area during 1694-1705. As had been amply demonstrated by Phillip Read who lived in Concord, and the occasional appearance of Boston-based doctors practicing in Lynn, the travel distance from Boston to the Lynn area was well within reasonable travel distance for a doctor with a horse. His first property purchase in Boston was not until 1705, so he may, indeed, have moved his family to Lynn to his first purchased property then back to Boston a few years later.
295. Land Sale (Boston: 15 OCT 1705), Massachusetts Land Records, 1620-1986, Vol.24, pp.122-123. In this record, Cronenshilt was called a surgeon.
296. Another person employed in the healing arts named Wauldren (Waldrone) appears to have entered and exited Lynn's history in the same moment of time: in 1693 some Lynn property was referred to by Lynn selectmen simply as the "farm that was Doctor Wauldrens." *Records of Ye Towne Meetings of Lyn*, Part 1, pp.23, 26. Dr. Wauldren may have been a reference to Isaack Waldron who in 1676-77 was an apothecary located in Boston who was fined £20 for mischarging several people and complaining against one of the magistrates in his trial. The court was moved by his appeal for forgiveness and reduced his fine back to £5. Lynn's William Bassett was one of the plaintiffs in the original trial against Wauldren. Records of the Court of Assistants of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, 1630-1692 (Boston: The County Court of Suffolk, 1901), Vol.1, pp.88-90 (apothecary); 78 (Bassett). He had died in Boston by April 1685, so if the Boston apothecary and Lynn's property owner was the same man, he apparently owned land in Lynn while he was alive; whether or not he lived there or it was an investment is unclear. No evidence has been found for a doctor of divinity surnamed Wauldren in the Massachusetts Bay Colony during the century, so the title apparently referred to the healing arts and Isaack Waldron is the only man in the colony so surnamed that would appear to have been the person being described in Lynn's town meeting record.
297. Increase Mather, *Heaven's alarm to the world. Or A sermon, wherein is shewed, that fearful sights and signs in heaven, are the presages of great calamities at hand. Preached at the lecture of Boston in New-England; January, 20. 1680* (Boston: 1682; online at [quod.lib.umich.edu](#)), pp.34-35.
298. Increase Mather, *Kometographia. Or A discourse concerning comets*, p.107.
299. Increase Mather, *Kometographia. Or A discourse concerning comets*, p.110.
300. Increase Mather, *Kometographia. Or A discourse concerning comets*, pp.132-136.
301. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.257.
302. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.276. In order to write his histories of Lynn, Alonzo Lewis had carefully gathered personal information from many early records belonging to the town offices and families of Lynn; his inclusion of this bible page entry suggests it came to his attention from the bible of a Lynn resident.
303. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.276.
304. Interactions between the Puritan ministers in the colony, through visits, meetings, and correspondence, seemed to be frequent. Cotton Mather came to Lynn and preached in Lynn on at least one occasion in 1694 (and probably more), and Increase Mather spent a week, including Sunday, in Lynn in 1701. See John J. Mangan, *Life of Rev. Jeremiah Shepard: Third Minister of Lynn, 1680-1720* (Lynn: privately printed, 1905; online at [google.com/books](#)), pp.34 (Cotton) and 34-35 (Increase). Cotton also recorded in his diary that he and his father and Increase also spent the first half of August 1693 in Lynn, preaching on two successive Sabbaths; during which fortnight Cotton also "enjoy'd many happy Hours in the Countrey-Retirements of the Fields ...";

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- see “Diary of Cotton Mather, 1681-1708,” *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*. Seventh Series – Vol. VII: (Boston: Published by the Society, 1911), p.69.
305. From Judge Samuel Sewall’s diary, “Thorsday, May 6, 1686. ... ‘Twas Lecture-day at Lin too and is so once a Moneth, but we have miss’d both: And indeed my wives painfull Flux such, that had we known of Lin Lecture before past the Place, could not have took it.” See “Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674-1729,” Vol.1, p.135, *Massachusetts Historical Society, Volume 5* (Boston: University Press, 1878).
306. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.278.
307. Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, Book 3, p.85.
308. *The Autobiography of Thomas Shepard* (Boston: Pierce and Parker, 1832; online at [babel.hathitrust.org](http://babel.hathitrust.org)), pp.23 (I did therefore), 25 (trouble).
309. Jeremiah Shepard, *A Sort of BELIEVERS Never Saved, OR, The Danger of Miscarrying, in Point of SALVATION; by a false Ineffectual Faith; A Faith having no Root* (Boston: B. Green, 1711; online at [quod.lib.umich.edu](http://quod.lib.umich.edu)), p.64. It was written on the title page that this discourse was “Preached at Lynn, in the County of Essex, N[ew]. E[ngland]. By J. SHEPARD.”
310. Jeremiah Shepard, *A Sort of BELIEVERS Never Saved*, p.63.
311. Jeremiah Shepard, *A Sort of BELIEVERS Never Saved*, pp.27 (sinful), 32 (believe).
312. Jeremiah Shepard, *A Sort of BELIEVERS Never Saved*, p.31 (emphasis added).
313. George F. Dow, *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts*, Vol.1, p.196 [1650].
314. George F. Dow, *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts*, Vol.1, p.274 [1652].
315. George F. Dow, *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts*, Vol.1, p.276 [1653].
316. George F. Dow, *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts*, Vol.1, p.348 [1654].
317. *A Report of the Record Commissioners, Containing Boston Births, Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths, 1630-1699* (Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, City Printers, 1883), p.62 (online at [familysearch.org](http://familysearch.org)), lists the marriage occurring on 1 September 1657. According to this source, it was apparently a double wedding; William’s daughter Mary married Phillip Hutchins on the same day and by the same minister as were William and “Ann Martine, widow.”
318. George F. Dow, *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts*, Vol.3, p.428 [1667].
319. George F. Dow, *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts*, Vol.3, p.298 [1666].
320. Essex County Court File Papers, manuscript (Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.), No.5-141-1: Deposition of Anthony Crosbee, 27 (1) 1660.
321. Essex County Court File Papers, manuscript (Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.), No.5-141-3: Deposition of Brigid Huggins, 6<sup>th</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> mo 1659 and No.5-143-2: Deposition of Sarah Jenkins, 24-2-1660.
322. Essex County Court File Papers, manuscript (Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.), No.5-139-4: Deposition of Joseph Edmons, not dated.
323. Essex County Court File Papers, No.5-139-4. Rebecca S. Tannenbaum, *The Healer’s Calling*, p.108, pointed out that the rest of the family probably had to live off of salted pork and dried vegetables during the winter.
324. Essex County Court File Papers, manuscript (Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.), No.1-106-1.
325. Rebecca S. Tannenbaum, *The Healer’s Calling*, p.123. According to <http://www.jimsancestry.net/Green.htm>, Mary Greene went on to marry in 1678 and have four children.
326. Essex County Court File Papers, manuscript (Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.), No.11-60-2: Deposition of Sarah Hill, 30<sup>th</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> 1665. In a later document (No.11-59-1, the coroner’s jury report, 28 October 1665), the stranger was identified as Richard Brear of Exeter, England.
327. Essex County Court File Papers, manuscript (Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.), No.11-60-1: Deposition of John Hathorne, dated “28 of 65.”
328. Essex County Court File Papers, manuscript (Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.), No.11-60-4: Deposition of Thomas Browne, 23 November 1665.

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329. Essex County Court File Papers, manuscript (Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.), No.11-59-1: Report of the Coroner's Jury in the case of Richard Brear of Exeter, 28 October 1665.
330. *Records of the Court of Assistants of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, 1630-1692* (Boston: The County Court of Suffolk, 1901), Vol.1, p.11.
331. See under "Crimes, misdemeanors, etc.," in the index of George F.(Francis) Dow, *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts*, Vol.8 (1680-1683). The list in this volume is typical and consistent with the breadth and scope found in the other seven volumes.
332. There have been many positions taken by capable historians regarding the reasons that the witchcraft hysteria at Salem in 1692 had grown so quickly and extensively out of control; the theories range from misogyny to xenophobia to ergot poisoning. While some or all of these elements may have fanned the flames, it's important to recognize that the confession of witchcraft by one of the accused, plus the influence of group dynamics between the several girls, were clearly significant contributors to the experience at Salem in 1692 that were absent in the situation at Lynn in 1669.
333. The population estimate for Lynn in 1690 was 835; see Harold Arthur Pinkham, Jr., "The Transplantation and Transformation of the English Shire in America: Essex County, Massachusetts, 1630-1768" (1980. Doctoral Dissertations.2327; online at <https://scholars.unh.edu/dissertation/2327>). Lynn in 1690 comprised what later was divided into Lynn, Lynnfield, Saugus, Swampscott, and Nahant; combined square miles = 35.4 (see en.wikipedia.org for each town's land area).
334. Elizabeth Hart was listed "about thirty-five years" in March 1658 and her husband, Isaac Hart, was "about 45" (therefore he was about 83 during the 1692 trial); see George F. Dow, *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts*, Vol.2, p.129 [1658]. She was listed as born in 1622; see Godfrey Memorial Library, comp.. *American Genealogical-Biographical Index [AGBI]* (Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 1999; online at search.ancestry.com), Vol.88, p.166.
335. "Ann Putnam, Jr. v. Elizabeth Hart," 16 May 1692 (manuscript; Essex County Court Archives, Salem – Witchcraft; online at salem.lib.virginia.edu), Vol.1, No.203.
336. "Petition of Thomas Hart," 19 October 1692 (manuscript; Suffolk Court Files, Massachusetts Archives Collection, Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, MA; online at salem.lib.virginia.edu), Vol.135, No. 62.
337. "Deposition of Ann Putnam, Jr., Thomas Putnam and Robert Morrill v. Thomas Farrer," 16 May 1692 (manuscript; Essex County Court Archives, Salem – Witchcraft; online at salem.lib.virginia.edu) Vol.2, No.114.
338. "Deposition of Ann Putnam, Jr., Thomas Putnam and Robert Morrill v. Thomas Farrer," 16 May 1692 (Essex County Court Archives, Salem – Witchcraft) Vol.2, No.114.
339. *Records of Ye Towne Meetings of Lyn*, Part 2, p. 93 (Quaker); George F. Dow, *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts*, Vol.8, p.41 (selectmen, [1680]); pp.187, [1681], 318 (grand [1682]).
340. "Examination of Martha Emerson," 23 July 1692 (manuscript; Suffolk Court Files, Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, Judicial Archives, Massachusetts State Archives. Boston, MA; also online at salem.lib.virginia.edu), Vol.32, Docket 2708, p.32. In this examination, Martha Emerson [daughter of Roger Toothaker] was told by the court that her father had said he had taught her how to kill a witch by putting the afflicted person's urine in a tightly corked earthen pot and then putting the pot in a hot oven; Martha confirmed that she had indeed save the afflicted person's urine in a glass container, but no other details are recorded about transferring those contents into a sealed pot and putting it in the oven; but it was probably a repetition not deemed necessary in the transcript, given the rest of her testimony. Martha's mother testified that Roger had spoken to Martha about killing a reputed witch and "that they used to read many historyes, especially one book that treated of the 12 signes [possibly about how to recognize a witch or the 12 signs of the zodiac, used for counter-magical purposes, like how to fight a witch] from which book they could tell a great deal." See "Examination of Mary Toothaker," 30 July 1692 (manuscript; Suffolk Court Files, Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, Judicial Archives, Massachusetts State Archives. Boston, MA; also online at salem.lib.virginia.edu), Vol.32, Docket 2713, p.50.
341. "Warrant for apprehension of Mary Ireson and Officer's Return," 4 June 1692, (manuscript; Essex County Court Archives, Salem – Witchcraft; online at salem.lib.virginia.edu), Vol.2, No.18.
342. "Examination of Mary Ireson," 6 June 1692, (manuscript; Rare Books & Manuscripts, Boston Public Library, MA.; online at salem.lib.virginia.edu) MS Ch K 1.40, vol.2, p.210 (emphasis added).
343. George F. Dow, *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts*, Vol.8, p.225 [1691].

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344. “Warrant for apprehension of Sarah Cole, Summons for Witnesses, & Officer’s Return,” 3 October 1692, (manuscript; Dept. of Rare Books and Manuscripts, Boston Public Library, Boston, MA.), MS CH K 1.40, Vol.1, p.88.
345. Sarah Cole’s testimony of hearing a stone thrown against her house and loud noises on the roof was similar, on a smaller scale, to the account of an all-out assault of “stones, bricks, and brick-bats of all sizes” being thrown at a tavern “by an invisible hand,” believed to be by witchcraft “and maliciously perpetrated by an Elderly Woman, a Neighbour suspected, and … formerly detected for such kind of Diabolical Tricks and Practicces,” in Great Island (currently New Castle), New Hampshire, in 1682. The author, Richard Chamberlain, secretary of the colony of New Hampshire, recognized there were others “of the Opinion that there are such things as Witches, and the Effects of Witchcraft, or at least of the mischievous Actions of Evil Spirits; which some do as little give Credit to, as in the Case of Witches, utterly rejecting both their Operations and their Beings,” but he bore witness to the strange attack by unseen forces that he and others accounted for by witchcraft. See R.[Richard] C.[Chamberlain], *Lithobolia: or, the Stone-Throwing Devil. Being an Exact and True Account (by way of Journal) of the various Actions of Infernal Spirits, or (Devils Incarnate) Witches, or both; and the great Disturbance and Amazement they gave to George Waltons Family, at a place call’d Great Island in the Province of New-Hantshire in New-England, chiefly in Throwing about (by an Invisible hand) Stone, Bricks, and Brick-bats of all Sizes, with several other things, as Hammers, Mauls, Iron-Crows, Spits, and other Domestick Utensils, as came into their Hellish Minds, and this for the space of a Quarter of a Year*, (London, England: E. Whitlock, 1698; online at [w3.salemstate.edu](http://w3.salemstate.edu)).
346. “Complaint of Mary Brown of Reading,” 1 October 1692, (manuscript; Suffolk Court Files, Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, Judicial Archives, Massachusetts State Archives. Boston, MA; also online at [salem.lib.virginia.edu](http://salem.lib.virginia.edu)), Vol.32, Docket 2712, p.49.
347. “Deposition of Mary Eaton, Sr. vs. Sarah Cole,” 3 October 1692, (manuscript; Suffolk Court Files, Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, Judicial Archives, Massachusetts State Archives. Boston, MA; also online at [salem.lib.virginia.edu](http://salem.lib.virginia.edu)), Vol.32, Docket 2712, p.48.
348. “Deposition of Elizabeth Wellman v. Sarah Cole,” 3 October 1692, (manuscript; Suffolk Court Files, Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, Judicial Archives, Massachusetts State Archives. Boston, MA; also online at [salem.lib.virginia.edu](http://salem.lib.virginia.edu)), Vol.32, Docket 2712, p.48.
349. “Deposition of Abraham Wellman v. Sarah Cole,” 11 January 1693, (manuscript; Suffolk Court Files, Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, Judicial Archives, Massachusetts State Archives. Boston, MA; online at [salem.lib.virginia.edu](http://salem.lib.virginia.edu)), Vol.32, Docket 2712, p.49.
350. “Deposition of John Brown v. Sarah Cole,” 11 January 1693, (manuscript; Suffolk Court Files, Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, Judicial Archives, Massachusetts State Archives. Boston, MA; online at [salem.lib.virginia.edu](http://salem.lib.virginia.edu)), Vol.32, Docket 2712, p.49.
351. “Deposition of John Cole v. Sarah Cole,” 3 October 1692, (manuscript; Suffolk Court Files, Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, Judicial Archives, Massachusetts State Archives. Boston, MA; online at [salem.lib.virginia.edu](http://salem.lib.virginia.edu)), Vol.32, Docket 2712, p.49.
352. “Examination of Sarah Cole of Lynne,” 3 October 1692, (manuscript; Suffolk Court Files, Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, Judicial Archives, Massachusetts State Archives. Boston, MA; online at [salem.lib.virginia.edu](http://salem.lib.virginia.edu)), Docket 2712, p.49.
353. “Examination of Sarah Cole of Lynne,” 3 October 1692, (Suffolk Court Files, Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, Judicial Archives), Docket 2712, p.49.
354. “Examination of Sarah Cole of Lynne,” 3 October 1692, (Suffolk Court Files, Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, Judicial Archives), Docket 2712, p.49.
355. “Examination of Sarah Cole of Lynne,” 3 October 1692, (Suffolk Court Files, Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, Judicial Archives), Docket 2712, p.49.
356. “Examination of Sarah Cole of Lynne,” 3 October 1692, (Suffolk Court Files, Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, Judicial Archives), Docket 2712, p.49.
357. Alonzo Lewis recited another instances of women playfully using witchcraft; although Reverend Thomas Cobbet that it mentions practiced as a minister in Lynn, contextually this entry points to the incident occurring in his subsequent pastoral location, Ipswich: “Some women of his neighbourhood were one day attempting some trick of witchery, when their minister appeared. ‘There,’ said one of them, ‘we can do no more; there is old crooked back Cobbet coming.’” (Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, p.105.)
358. The three Proctor children accused of witchcraft were Benjamin (son of John and stepson of Elizabeth), William, and Sarah (both children of John and Elizabeth). One of the charges against William was that he had almost murdered Mary Warren by inflicting pain in her bones and her insides, and Elizabeth Booth said she “saw him twist and pinch puppets (small dolls made to represent a person; actions performed to it were

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- supposed to be magically transferred to the subject) this very day," causing her afflictions. See "Examination of William Proctor," 17 September 1692, (manuscript; Suffolk Court Files; online at salem.lib.virginia.edu), Vol.32, Docket no.2706, p.29.
359. "Examination of Mary Warren," 21 April 1692, (manuscript; Essex County Court Archives, Salem – Witchcraft; online at salem.lib.virginia.edu), Vol.1, nos. 113 & 114.
360. "Examination of Mary Warren," 21 April 1692, (Essex County Court Archives, Salem – Witchcraft), Vol.1, nos. 113 & 114.
361. Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, p.182.
362. Thomas Maule, *Truth held Forth and Maintained, According to the Testimony of the holy Prophets, Christ and his Apostles recorded in the holy Scriptures. With some Account of the judgments of the Lord lately inflicted upon New-England by Witch-craft*, (New York: William Bradford, 1695; online at digital.library.cornell.edu), pp.182 (emphasis in original). Maule, a Quaker, referred to Shepard as a Priest as a defilement of his role as a minister.
363. Nathan Mortimer Hawkes, "Lynnmere," p.106.
364. Nathan Mortimer Hawkes, "Lynnmere," p.106.
365. Nathan Mortimer Hawkes, "Lynnmere," p.105.
366. Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, Book 3, pp.34 (Angel; emphasis in original), 158 (In the Sixty; emphasis in original).
367. John J. Mangan, *Life of Rev. Jeremiah Shepard*, pp.44-46.
368. Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, Book 2, p.60 (emphasis in original). In his comments here, Mather also laid blame upon the growing popular adherence to fortune-telling, singling out by example, the 1684 publication, *Delights for the Ingenious*, by which "the Minds of many had been so poisoned, that they studied this *Finer Witchcraft*, until, 'tis well, if some of them were not betray'd into what is Grosser, and more Sensible and Capital." Getting people to stop their use of symbolic objects and actions to fend off witchcraft was a confusing message to preach to a people who had for centuries witnessed churches demonstrating the same willful use of faith-based symbolism, including the transubstantiation of blessed wine and bread into the blood and body of Christ and such clerical blessings as those given to farmers' ploughs to fishing boats. See Matthew Champion, *Medieval Graffiti: The Lost Voices of England's Churches*, (London, England: Ebury Press, 2015), p.26.
369. These definitions and apotropaic meanings of the protective marks relies heavily on the excellent explanations and descriptions by Brian Hoggard; see *Magical House Protection: The Archaeology of Counter-Witchcraft*, especially pp.74-104. The additional interpretation of slash marks (a series of multiple parallel lines of the same length) as possible goal (jail) bars, is contributed for consideration by author (Rapoza).
370. Only nine First Period (1629-1725) houses are known to remain within the boundaries of what originally constituted Lynn, Massachusetts, in the seventeenth century: five Lynnfield buildings: the Henfield House (c.1667), the Hart House (c.1672), the Timothy Munroe (c.1690), the Townsend House (c.1720; erroneously identified as the Capt. Flint House; ownership of this property by Daniel Townsend, senior, has been substantiated through real estate record research by the current owner, William Thompson, Esq., and confirmed by the author), and the Joseph Tapley House (c.1725); two Saugus homes: the Appleton House (c.1681) at the Saugus Ironworks, and the Boardman House (c.1692); one Swampscott home: the John Humphrey House (c.1637); and the Joseph Newhall House in Lynn (c.1705); but none are known to remain in Reading (now Reading and Wakefield) for the period 1629-1644 (the year it was separated from Lynn) or in Nahant. The many renovations all of these buildings have undergone over the four centuries of their existence have likely destroyed or discarded most of the carved symbols and mundane objects (like old shoes, witch bottles, horseshoes, and even animal skeletons) that may have been uncovered but not recognized for their historical significance; nonetheless, a survey performed by the author in 2021 located the following protective marks and objects from the properties listed above from original Lynn. (Seven of the nine First Period homes have been personally examined and researched by the author. The Joseph Newhall House and the Timothy Munroe Houses were not surveyed, but have been thoroughly renovated and modernized during the late-twentieth century: at one time the Newhall House had become a dental business and the Munroe House has also been transformed into professional offices. Also, the Second Parish Meeting House in Lynnfield has been highly modified and modernized; at one time the first floor [which was a First Period meeting house] became a fire station with firefighting vehicles. It has not been included in this tabulation of the nine First Period domiciles.)

**Protective Objects found:**

- **Appleton House:** none.

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- **Boardman House:** 2 iron door hinges in the hall with a bull horns motif; half of an ox shoe on an external door of the lean-to addition.
  - **Hart House:** girl's shoe, c.1890, and bisque doll torso painted black, c.1890, both found in the ceiling over exterior door.
  - **Henfield House:** none.
  - **Humphrey House:** 1748 British half penny in wall.
  - **Tapley House:** none.
  - **Townsend House:** young boy's shoe, c.1740-1760, found behind the fireplace wall, 1723 Hibernian half penny found on a beam behind a wall. After three housefires since its original construction in 1654, (the third fire occurring in 1708, reconstruction believed to be complete about 1720), the coin may have been placed during the fourth home reconstruction as a foundation sacrifice to protect the home from further harm. Other finds of note in the ceilings and walls included, a child's eighteenth-century crutch, and pages of a Bible, either purposely torn up or possibly shredded by rats.

**Protective Marks found:**

- **Appleton House:** 1 hexafoil ("daisy wheel") symbol on the fireplace lintel.
- **Boardman House:** 2 circles, 2 sets of mesh marks, 2 Marian marks, 5 saltire crosses, 1 butterfly mark, and at least 14 vertical slash marks; all marks are incised on the fireplace lintel of the hall room.
- **Hart House:** 4 sets of mesh marks; 3 saltire crosses, and 3 sets of vertical slash marks. All incised marks are on the door leading to the cellar. An iron shed door handle has five saltire crosses engraved on it, but while it is a First Period handle, it was added by a restoration builder.
- **Henfield House:** no protective marks have been found in this house because it has been highly restored and modernized; they may exist on the original surfaces, but covered by centuries of varnish and paint.
- **Humphrey House:** 1 burn mark, 1 set of concentric circles, 4 sets of mesh marks; all found above and to the left of the fireplace in the 2nd floor parlor and three mesh marks were on in the parlor's door frame. The burn mark is centered over the fireplace and is covered by a wall clock at the present time.
- **Tapley House:** 1 burn mark, 1 butterfly mark, 15 circles (some stand-alone, some overlapping, and two sets of concentric circles), 12 sets of mesh marks, 2 VV (Virgo Virginum) marks, 1 Marian mark, 1 saltire cross, 5 sets of vertical slash marks. Most of the mesh marks, slashes, and circles were incised over the fireplace in the parlor. A single set of concentric circles (and another large circle) are on the doorframe leading out of the hall room to the porch. Mesh marks were also incised on a cross timber of a second-floor bed chamber door. The VV mark is incised within the burn mark, which is nearly centered over the fireplace in the parlor. The saltire cross appears on the iron exterior door knocker.
- **Townsend House:** No protective marks have been found in this house because it has been highly restored and modernized, but see Protective Objects above.

Despite restoration and modernization, six of the eight houses (75%) still standing within original Lynn have a total of 74 discernible protective objects and/or marks. Eleven instances of carpenters' marks (made by a race knife) were also discovered in the Boardman, Henfield, and Humphrey houses.

371. All six First Period homes in which protective (apotropaic) objects and/or marks have been found (and also the Henfield House, in which no apotropaic evidence has yet been found) are linked to those accused of or who had grounds to be fearful of witchcraft or other evil:

**Links to Witchcraft or Other Evil:**

- **Appleton House** (ironmaster's house, Saugus Iron Works): Ann Burt, who in 1651 provided medical services to the Hammersmith community at the Iron Works, was later accused of witchcraft; also Margaret Gifford, wife of John Gifford, agent of the Saugus Iron Works, was accused of being a witch in 1680.
- **Boardman House:** A house for the Scottish prisoners of war who were bound to serve on the Hammersmith farm at the Saugus Ironworks and were exposed Ann Burt and Margaret Gifford.
- **Hart House:** Elizabeth Hart, wife of Isaac Hart, builders and together the original occupants of this house, was arrested for witchcraft in 1692.
- **Henfield House:** From 1710 to 1734, the home was lived in by James and John Pearson, the brother and nephew of Sarah Pearson, who as a young girl had been brought in 1669 to the widow Ann Burt, the "old witch," for cure.
- **Humphrey House:** The home wherein evil acts were repeatedly perpetrated upon the daughters of the absent homeowners during the early 1640s.

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- **Tapley House:** Nathaniel and Elizabeth (Corning) Hayward built the Tapley House. They had raised their family in Salem Village during the era of its witch trials, but their own childhoods had been experienced in neighboring Beverly. Elizabeth was the daughter of Ensign Samuel Corning who was a Beverly selectman in the 1670s.

In 1846 an item in the *Salem Register* described very unusual, supernatural events occurring very near the Corning family's Hull Street home, on Grover Street in Beverly. One story was of a large number of black cats that tormented a man with their caterwauling "for some deed of darkness he had done"; he was only able to pacify them by psalm singing. When the man died, "these supposed agents of the other world ... completely covered his coffin; and upon being disturbed, all made their exit up the chimney, bearing, as was supposed, the spirit of their victim with them." Another "eccentric" individual on Grover Street was also described; he practiced "witchcraft and superstition .... Among other things, he kept by him the hand taken from the corpse of a first-born male child, in which he contended he could place a light of the most brilliant character and carry it anywhere, unperceived by anyone except himself."

During the same discussion as these two stories of the supernatural, the article included a description of the Corning family home; the First Period garrison-style ("with its upper story jutting out over the low part") house was remembered for "some curious relics of rude painting and carving of the olden time with[in] the house." The Cornings had painted and carved protective marks in their house in the late 1600s, apparently of sufficient number and prominence to be recalled a century and a half later. Married and with a family of their own, Nathaniel and Elizabeth (Corning) Hayward purchased the property in Lynnfield and, at some point in the early to mid-1700s, they or their children built the "Tapley House" and carved "curious, rude" marks in that house as well; the Salem witch trials had passed, but fear of supernatural evil had not. See Letter to the Editor, *Salem Register*, 30 April 1846.

- **Townsend House:** The family home of the first-generation descendants of Sarah Pearson who had been brought to the widow Ann Burt, "the owl'd wic'h," in 1669.

372. Interpretation of the shoe and doll midden in the Hart House was provided courtesy of Brian Hoggard. (Correspondence, Brian Hoggard to Andrew Rapoza, Conroe, TX, 16 March 2021.)
373. Dating the shoe found at the Townsend House is by the courtesy of D. A. Saguto, Calceologist, Master Boot & Shoemaker, emeritus, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; currently Project Director, Vasa Museum, Stockholm, SE (Correspondence between Al Saguto and Andrew Rapoza, February 2021.)
374. Charles Hervey Townshend, *The Townshend Family of Lynn, in Old and New England, Genealogical and Biographical* (New Haven, CT: Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor, 1882, 3rd Edition; online at babel.hathitrust.org), p.84.
375. Reverend Aaron Smith, fourth minister of the congregational church in Marlborough, MA, 15 June 1749, as quoted in Levi A. Field, *An Historical Sketch of the First Congregational Church in Marlborough, Mass.* (Worcester, MA: Henry J. Howland, 1859; online at google.com/books).
376. See Jessica Costello, "Tracing the Footsteps of Ritual: Concealed Footwear in America," *Historical Archaeology*, (2014), Vo.48, No.3, p.40, "Concealed footwear that shows evidence of cutting may support this theory of shoes concealed to overcome bewitchment."
377. This statement is frequently repeated in general information websites but the original source has not been located; see for example <https://historicjamestowne.org/collections/artifacts/material/frechen/>
378. Bartmann (German for "bearded man") stoneware was a product of Germany, in the area of Cologne. It is interchangeably referred to as a jug and a bottle, but strictly speaking (by virtue of the wide body, narrow mouth, and handle), it is a jug. It is more often referred to in Great Britain as a Bellarmine bottle or jug, in the belief held by some that the facemask on the bottle was meant to represent medieval Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino; however, for consistency, the Bartmann stoneware used as a witch bottle is referred to in this book as a Bartmann jug.
379. See Freya R. Massey, "Ritualisation and Reappropriation: Special Deposits and Ritual Activity in Domestic Structures in Early Modern England," doctoral thesis (University of Sheffield, England: Department of Archaeology, September 2014), p.21. London examples were different from those in East Anglia in that they were recovered from external contexts, like ditches, mill streams, and the Thames River. See Ralph Merrifield, *The Archaeology of Ritual Magic*, p.163-168.
380. The preponderance of East Anglian witch bottle finds was described in Ralph Merrifield, *The Archaeology of Ritual Magic*, p.167, 173-174. Per online general information sources, there were about 300 witch trials and 100 executions in East Anglia and neighboring counties between 1645-1647, a steep and sudden increase in such activity compared to the first four decades of the century.

The migration of Puritans from England's East Anglia region to the Massachusetts Bay Colony is covered in David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp.31-36. Fischer explained that about 60% of the immigrants to Massachusetts came

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from the region of East Anglia (Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire) and what was defined in 1643 as the “Eastern Association” of counties: East Anglia plus Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and Lincolnshire, plus parts of Bedfordshire and Kent. Of the 59 adult colonists identified by Alonzo Lewis to have settled in Lynn during its first two years of European occupation (1629-1630), the birthplace of 19 were identified by a combination of Lewis and ancestry.com and of those, 12 (63%) were from East Anglia and the surrounding Eastern Association counties. Also note, however, that of the 24 birthplaces identifiable for the 64 settlers arriving during the subsequent immigration from 1631-1640, only 25% were from the Eastern Association, suggesting that the town of Lynn (and probably the Massachusetts Bay Colony generally) was attracting settlers from a widening cross-section of England (research and analysis of the author: Rapoza); see Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, pp.60-73.

Merrifield notes an East Anglican example of a witch bottle found buried on the inside of the threshold at the Old Plough Inn in King Street, King’s Lynn, the community for which Lynn, Massachusetts was named, in honor of its minister, Rev. Samuel Whiting, native of King’s Lynn, who arrived in 1636 (Lewis, p.101); Richard Hood, also of King’s Lynn, arrived in 1640 (Lewis, p.111).

- 381. John Hale, Pastor of the Church of Christ in Beverly, *A Modest Enquiry Into the Nature of Witchcraft, and How Persons Guilty of that Crime may be Convicted: And the means used for their Discovery Discussed, both Negatively and Affirmatively, according to SCRIPTURE and EXPERIENCE* (1697) (Boston: B. Green and J. Allen, 1702; online at google.com/books), p.46 (keyholes, pinholes).
- 382. Hundreds of witch bottles have been found buried and hidden throughout Great Britain and a half-dozen examples have thus far surfaced in the mid-Atlantic and northeastern colonial regions of the United States, but none yet in New England; however contemporary descriptions by seventeenth-century, Boston-based theologians, Increase and Cotton Mather, and evidence of the activity produced during the Salem witch trials of 1692 further substantiate the existence and use of witch bottles in the Massachusetts Bay Colony during the latter part of the seventeenth century.

The bottle’s attractiveness to witches was said to be further enhanced by the use, when available, of Bartmann jugs (also referred to, especially in British literature, as Bellarmine). These extremely popular pieces of kiln-fired, salt-glazed stoneware were manufactured in the hundreds of thousands in Europe throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Mid-seventeenth-century pieces exhibiting a scowling, angry face were especially popular for use as witch bottles, although Bartmann jugs with other expressions were also used (see David Gaimster, *German Stoneware 1200-1900: Archaeology and Cultural History* [London, England: British Museum Press, 1997], p.140).

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century examples of Bartmann stoneware jugs have been found throughout the American colonies, an especially large quantity having been retrieved at Jamestown, Virginia, and other examples being found at the Popham Colony (current-day Phippsburg) in Maine; at Portsmouth and on Smuttynose Island in New Hampshire; Providence, Rhode Island; and Sandwich, Plymouth, and Boston, Massachusetts. Five stone jugs were itemized in the seventeenth-century inventories of Thomas Wilkes, Benjamin Mountjoy, and Hugh Laskin, all of Salem, Massachusetts, and at least five more “stone bottles” (possibly also Bartmann jugs) were itemized in the inventories of Richard Bartlett, Newbury; William Partridge, Salisbury; and Thomas Antrum, Salem; all in Massachusetts in the early colonial era, 1635-1681 (See George F.[Francis] Dow, editor, *The Probate Records of Essex County, Massachusetts* [Salem, MA: Essex Institute, 1916-1920; online at ancestry.com], Vols. 1 and 2).

Witch bottles continued to be made in the eighteenth-century American colonies and the nineteenth-century United States, but examples found to date have been in glass bottles of various forms, glass having become far more abundantly available and less expensive than stoneware and imported Bartmann jugs falling out of favor as local potteries and glass houses emerged throughout the colonies. Despite the widespread evidence of Bartmann fragments found throughout the American colonial zone and the many Bartmann witch bottles found in Great Britain, examples of Bartmann jugs used as witch bottles have not yet been recovered in the U.S. as of 2020, even though they were certainly used as such. Intact examples would have had to avoid destruction by root growth, deep freezes, increasing ground compaction, and excavation, as well as building renovation and demolition. Such whole examples may have been recovered but not recognized for their symbolic conversion to apotropaic use, since little had been known about witch bottles until the late-twentieth century. Curiosity as to the sound of contents in a sealed Bartmann would most likely cause the curious finder to open the bottle and empty the contents; finding rusty nails, hair, and possibly foul-smelling liquid would likely have resulted in discarding the contents and rinsing out the bottle. Glass examples of witch bottles have had a better chance of recovery and recognition because their contents could be seen.

- 383. Richard Chamberlain, *Lithobolia: or, the Stone-Throwing Devil*, related an account from Portsmouth of the afflicted child’s mother throwing fireplace embers on the child’s urine, the reverse of throwing a bottle of the urine in the fire – conceptually the same intent but in reverse order – it caused the suspected witch to come into the house, looking “very strangely.” The incident is also mentioned in Richard Godbeer, *The Devil’s Dominion: Magic and Religion in Early New England*. (New York, NY.: Cambridge University Press, 1992)

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p.45-46, along with the use of a witch bottle at Boston in 1681. Robert Blair St. George, *Conversing by Signs: Poetics of Implication in Colonial New England Culture*. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), pp.193-195, also recites the Portsmouth account, along with the Toothaker's witch bottle use in Billerica in 1692. Cotton Mather also described the use of another witch bottle in Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1689; see Cotton Mather related another instance of what he referred to as "the Traditionall Experiment of Botteling urine"; this instance being done on behalf of a bewitched man at Northampton in western Massachusetts. See Cotton Mather, "Witchcrafts and Possessions," *Memorable Providences Relating to Witchcrafts and Possessions. A Faithful Account of many Wonderful and Surprising Things, that have befallen several Bewitched and Possessed Persons in New England* (Boston: 1689; online at babel.hathitrust.org), pp.60-61.

There are at least three reasons why no witch bottles have yet been identified in Massachusetts, including Lynn: (1) As Chamberlain described, witch bottles were sometimes put into a fire after their creation, with their destruction the hoped-for result; (2) witch bottles not relegated to the fire were buried in the earth under hearthstones and thresholds and consequently have not yet have been discovered or may have been destroyed during the ancient home's demolition or renovation, or through pressure exerted by subterranean ground shifts, freezing groundwater, and tree root growth (and, as time continues to pass and fewer structures continue to exist, there is less and less likelihood of intact examples being found); or (3) when they have been found with stopper intact, curiosity about the contents encouraged their removal by being shaken or poured out, since its potential significance as a witch bottle was not known or recognized. Also note that the preferred orientation of a buried witch bottle is upside (cork end) down which could also allow some or all of the contents to come out if the integrity of the stopper was not maintained.

- 384. See Richard Godbeer, *The Devil's Dominion*, p.45-46 (Boston), and Robert Blair St. George, *Conversing by Signs*, pp.193-195 (Portsmouth, Billerica).
- 385. Increase Mather, *An Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences Wherein an Account is given of many Remarkable and very Memorable Events which have hapned this last Age, Especially in New-England* (Boston: Samuel Green, 1684; online at quod.lib.umich.edu), p.266.
- 386. Increase Mather, *An Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences*, p.269.
- 387. Increase Mather, *An Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences*, p.279.
- 388. Cotton Mather, "A Discourse on Witchcraft," *Memorable Providences Relating to Witchcrafts and Possessions. A Faithful Account of many Wonderful and Surprising Things, that have befallen several Bewitched and Possessed Persons in New England* (Boston: 1689; online at babel.hathitrust.org), p.61 (emphasis in original).
- 389. Cotton Mather, "A Discourse on Witchcraft," *Memorable Providences Relating to Witchcrafts and Possessions*, p.25 (emphasis in original).
- 390. Cotton Mather, "Wonders of the Invisible World: Being an Account of the Tryals of Several Witches, Lately Executed in New-England" (Boston: 1693; online at google.com/books), p.265.
- 391. Many other devices have been described as apotropaic, including horse skulls, mummified cats, written charms, sieves, knives, and more. For a comprehensive review, see Brian Hoggard, *Magical House Protection: The Archaeology of Counter-Witchcraft*.
- 392. Increase Mather, *An Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences*, pp.266-267 (emphasis in original).
- 393. Cotton Mather, "A Discourse on Witchcraft," *Memorable Providences Relating to Witchcrafts and Possessions*, pp.25-26 (italicized emphasis in original; underscored emphasis added).
- 394. Cotton Mather, "A Discourse on Witchcraft," *Memorable Providences Relating to Witchcrafts and Possessions*, p. 26; (italicized emphasis in original).
- 395. Cotton Mather, "A Discourse on Witchcraft," *Memorable Providences Relating to Witchcrafts and Possessions*, p. 26; (italicized emphasis in original; underscored emphasis added).
- 396. Eugene D. Russell, "Harvard College and Lynn in Colonial Times," *The Register of the Lynn Historical Society* (Lynn: Lynn Historical Society), No.16 (1912), pp.77-78.
- 397. Probate Records of Nathaniel Henchman, manuscript (Essex County Registry of Probate, Salem, Mass.), No.13035; see estate inventory.
- 398. Russell, "Harvard College and Lynn in Colonial Times," p.90.
- 399. Russell, "Harvard College and Lynn in Colonial Times," p.89. Probate Records of Deacon John Lewis, No. 1767; see the estate inventory.
- 400. Survey of death records of the First Congregational Church, Lynnfield, Massachusetts performed by courtesy of Brenda Brigham, Church Historian, 20-26 October 1986.

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401. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, p.271. John Henry Burchsted served as a witness on 22 February 1687 to the signing of a will by James Bill Senior of “Pudden Point” (Winthrop), nine miles south/southwest of Lynn; see Probate Records of James Bill, manuscript (Suffolk County, Massachusetts Probate Records, 1636-1899; online at ancestry.com), p.230.
402. Gabriela Wąs, “Śląsk we właniu Habsburgów,” in “Historia Śląska,” Marek Czapliński, editor (Wrocław, Poland: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego 2002), p.173.
403. Wąs, “Śląsk we właniu Habsburgów,” p.174
404. Daniel Wojtucki, PhD, “‘The Living Dead’ ” in Modern Era Parish Records in Silesia and Moravia, *Krakowskie Studia z Historii Państwa I Prawa* 202; 13 (3), s.273-287.
405. Kittridge and Lodovick were listed in C. Helen Brock, “The Influence of Europe on Colonial Massachusetts Medicine,” *Medicine in Colonial Massachusetts: 1620-1820* (Boston, MA: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1980; online at colonialsociety.org), 132 (Kittridge), p.134 (Ludovick). Brock also cites another German physician, Francis Gahtman, p.127, who settled in Salem Mass., by at least 1689, at virtually the same time as Cronenshilt. De Wolf is found in Miloslav Rechcigl Jr. *Beyond the Sea of Beer: History of Immigration of Bohemians and Czechs to the New World and Their Contributions* (Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2017), pp.9, 52, 96.
406. “Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674-1729, Vol.2, 1699-1714,” *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (Boston: University Press, 1879), Vol.6, Fifth Series, p.72.
407. Winthrop Alexander, comp., “Dr. John Henry Burchsted of Lynn, Massachusetts and his Descendants,” manuscript (Lynnfield Public Library, Lynnfield, Mass., 1924), p.3.
408. Records of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, Vol.5, p.389 (William and Johanna Hutchins); Vol.1, p.75 (Bethiah Witt).
409. At the time of Mary’s marriage to John Henry Burchsted, her children by her previous marriage to Nathaniel Kirtland were aged two to thirteen years (Nathaniel, 13; Mary, 10; Priscilla, 7; Elizabeth, 5; and John, 2). See *Vital Records of Lynn*, Vol.1, p.228. Nathaniel Kirtland died intestate and probated on 24 January 1690, see Sanborn, Melinde Lutz. *Essex County, Massachusetts Probate Index, 1638-1840*. Salem, MA, USA: Essex County. Henry, born in October 1690, might have been conceived by Nathaniel Kirtland just before his death; if so, then John Henry Burchsted accepted Nathaniel’s child as his own and gave him the Burchsted name. There were no other children during the union of John Henry and Mary before Mary’s death. Candidly, another possible motivation for marrying a widow with five and possibly six children was that Nathaniel Kirtland left his widow Mary with an estate of £292; see *Kirtland-Mabie: A Family Descent*, Albert W. Curtis, compiler (Syracuse, NY: 1915), p.19.
- James Newhall stated in his *Centennial Memorial of Lynn*, p.27, that John Henry Burchsted had two sons who became physicians, “one of whom became a surgeon in the British navy.” Unfortunately, he didn’t cite his source to prove this statement which has consequently mystified all subsequent genealogists and historians, including this author (Rapoza). It should be assumed to be incorrect until proven otherwise.
410. *Records of Ye Towne Meetings of Lyn*, Part 1, p.43. Rev. Richard O’Hara of the First Congregational Church of Lynn told the author in a 6 June 1986 telephone conversation that the church still owns the four-piece set (one large, covered tankard, one smaller uncovered tankard, and two beakers, one with a handle) and stored it in a bank vault in Boston. The pieces bear the hallmark of American silversmith Andrew Tyler of Boston, MA (see americansilversmiths.org). Using the gift, the church purchased four pieces of silver communion ware four days after his death, and had them inscribed in honor of their generous benefactor: “The Gift of John Henry Burchsted Physician to the First Church of Christ in Lynn Sep<sup>t</sup> the 25<sup>th</sup> 1721.”
411. Until 1720 the Old Western Burial Ground was the only cemetery in Lynn and called simply “The Burying Ground.” The first burial on these grounds took place in 1637 (article, “SCRAPS OF HISTORY,” *Daily Evening Item*, 10 February 1891), but the oldest extant stone is dated 1698, which was that of John Clifford, the grandfather of Burchsted’s first wife, Mary Rand.
- Burchsted’s gravestone was carved by either Nathaniel or Caleb Lamson (probably the latter) of Charlestown, Mass., who, along with their father Joseph (who died in 1722) constituted a prominent family of gravestone carvers of the period; “Charlestown” is engraved on the footstone, as it is for Hon. John Burrill’s footstone in the same cemetery. The main reason for the structural integrity of a Colonial gravestone of usually fragile slate composition is that Burchsted’s three-foot-tall headstone is over five inches thick – that, plus a lot of luck. In mid-2021 it was about 90% covered with damaging lichen growth, obscuring most of the inscription and graphics.
412. Epitaph of John Henry Burchsted, on a slate stone, in the Old Western Burial Ground, Lynn; studied by the author on multiple occasions from 13 September 1987 through 2021.

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413. The slight difference in gravestone inscription language was pointed out in James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life* (New York: Doubleday Dell Publishing Group, Inc., 1996), p.98.
414. The winged cherub style and layout of the Burchsted stone carving is extremely similar to the Lamson-carved stones for John Burrill in Lynn (1721), Jonathan Phillips in Charlestown (1722), Daniel Rogers in Ipswich (1723), Sarah Fullam in Dedham (1724), Sarah Burchsted in Lynn (1727), Lucy Remington in Cambridge (1743), and William Grimes in Lexington (1766). See Farber Gravestone Collection, American Antiquarian Society online at lunacommons.org.
415. The few existing headstones in Lynn's Western Burial Ground between the oldest in 1698 and 1721 do not exhibit hexafoils as appear on many gravestones in Essex, Middlesex, and Suffolk counties, but the headstone of John Henry Burchsted does display the concentric circles, a device with apotropaic significance, as described in Brian Hoggard, *Magical House Protection*, pp.96-97. The concentric circles motif was used on several of the eighteenth-century headstones in the same cemetery. Another apotropaic motif on some of the same cemetery's headstones (although not on Burchsted's) was the mesh mark (Hoggard, p.91).
416. The concentric circles motif was used by multiple stone carvers, including the Lamsons, on gravestones north of Boston. The headstone of "Mary Burchstee" (John Henry Burchsted's widowed second wife) in Lexington may also have been carved by the Lamsons. There is no existing documentation explaining how the carver chose which objects/symbols to include on stones and whether those choices were sometimes or ever requested or dictated by the family members paying for the work to be done. In that concentric circles were just one of many symbols employed on gravestones, use of the same symbol and its placement in the exact same position at the top center of the tympanum on the gravestones of a husband and wife 17 miles and 19 years apart, seems more likely to have been intentionally specified by the customer than coincidentally chosen by the carver.
417. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.319. See also a notice of Burrill's death in the *Boston News Letter*, 13 December 1721.
418. Records of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, Vol.3, pp.92-93.
419. Probate Records of Bartholomew Jackson, (Essex County Probate Court, Salem, Mass.), No.16718; see the estate inventory.
420. *Vital Records of Lynn*, Vol.2, p.445, lists the death of John Burchsted, son of John Henry and Mary, on 12 March 1704/5 at 6 months old. The fourteen-year gap between sons Henry (born 1690) and John (1704) strongly suggest that John was born of John Henry Burchsted's second wife, Mary Whiting, which marriage date has not yet been located. No stones have been located for Burchsted's first wife or his son John.
421. Dr. Samuel Abbott Green, *History of Medicine in Massachusetts*, p.81.
422. Ola Elizabeth Winslow, *A Destroying Angel, The Conquest of Smallpox in Colonial Boston* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974), p.3.
423. Dr. Samuel Abbott Green, *History of Medicine in Massachusetts*, p. 81.
424. John J. Mangan, *Life of Rev. Jeremiah Shepard*, p.47. Shepard's reminiscence incorrectly identified the doctor as Henry Burchsted, Jr.; the physician Henry Burchsted was the first by that name, son of John Henry Burchsted, physician; Henry had a son named Henry Jr. in 1719, after the date of Shepard's account.
425. John J. Mangan, *Life of Rev. Jeremiah Shepard*, p.48. Mangan incorrectly assumed that Burchsted would still be referring to the former Hammersmith farm, where Taylor lived, as the Iron Works. The forge had been abandoned, by 1670, almost a half century before Burchsted tended Taylor and fifteen years before Burchsted's father had landed in the Massachusetts Bay Colony.
426. *Vital Records of Lynn*, Vol.2, p.459 (smallpox; the victim was Peleg Cogdell); Alonzo Lewis, *History of Lynn*, p.158 (cold epidemic); Collins, Diary, Vol.1, 15-19 July, 18-19 August 1740 (throat distemper).
427. Robert R. Victor, "Medicine and Public Hygiene," p.845.
428. May L. Sheldon, "Early Lynn Physicians," manuscript (Lynn Museum and Historical Society, 1904), p.7.
429. The illness of Collins' wife in Collins, Diary, Vol.1, 18 October - 4 November 1735. In the same volume also see the highlights of the Burchsted-Collins relationship: 8-10 December 1727; 28 March 1728; 21 June 1728; 9, 21 October 1728; 28 November 1728; 18, 30 June 1729; 11 November 1729; 9-12 October 1732.
430. *Records of Ye Towne Meetings of Lyn*, Part 4, p.66.
431. *Records of Ye Towne Meetings of Lyn*, Part 2, p.62.
432. Winthrop Alexander, "Dr. John Henry Burchsted," p.5.
433. Winthrop Alexander, "Dr. John Henry Burchsted," p.6.

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434. John T. Moulton, *Record of Intentions of Marriage of the City of Lynn* (Salem, Mass.: Salem Press, 1879), p.4 lists Collins' first marriage, to Mrs. Sarah James of Lynn. The second marriage, to Mrs. Anna Brame Alden on 27 May 1728 listed in Winthrop Alexander, "Dr. John Henry Burchsted," p.6. The death of Collins' father-in-law and one of his own children are listed in Collins, Diary, 29 May 1731; 9, 12 October 1732.
435. Probate Records of Henry Burchsted, manuscript (at Essex County Probate Court, Salem, Mass.), No.4020; see the estate inventory and will.
436. Alonzo Lewis, *History of Lynn*, p.164.
437. *Massachusetts Bay Acts and Resolves* (Boston: Wright & Potter, 1902), Vol. 13 [1746-1747], p.651.
438. Winthrop Alexander, "Dr. John Henry Burchsted," p.11.
439. John Langdon Sibley, *Biographical Sketches*, Vol.11 (1960), p.432. The mid-century influx of healers in Lynn was consistent with the pattern occurring throughout the Massachusetts Bay Colony; see Eric A. Christianson, "The Medical Practitioners of Massachusetts, 1630-1800: Patterns of Change and Continuity," *Medicine in Colonial Massachusetts*, p.39.
440. Fuller family marriage and death records in *Vital Records*, Vol.2, pp.145, 482.
441. Probate Records of Jonathan Fuller, manuscript (Essex County Probate Court, Salem, Mass.), No.10389; see the estate inventory.
442. John Langdon Sibley, *Biographical Sketches*, Vol.17 (1975), p.163.
443. Massachusetts Archives Collection, 328 vols., manuscript (Massachusetts Archives at Columbia Point, Boston, Mass.), Vol.23, p.150 (21 June 1756), p.491 (1 November 1757); Vol.24, p.426 (9 December 1760).
444. Zaccheus Collins, Diary, Vol.2, 7-9 January 1758.
445. John Langdon Sibley, *Biographical Sketches*, Vol.17, p.163
446. Zaccheus Collins, Diary, Vol.2, 3 November - 29 December 1761.
447. Zaccheus Collins, Diary, Vol.2, 17 January - 31 January 1762.
448. Zaccheus Collins, Diary, Vol 2, 9 January - 22 March 1764.
449. Probate Records of Nathaniel Hinchman, manuscript (Essex County Probate Court, Salem, Mass.), No.13036; see the list of creditors. Collins, Diary, 10 July 1760; the amputation was the collective effort of "Docter Cass, Docter Hinchman & Docter Burchsted" and Zaccheus Collins. In the absence of anesthesia, the extra men were probably necessary just to hold the unfortunate woman still.
450. *Records of Ye Towne Meetings of Lyn*, Part 6, pp.13, 32, 39, 44, 47, 51, 55.
451. Probate Records of Nathaniel Hinchman; see the estate inventory.
452. Probate Records of Samuel Putnam, manuscript (Essex County Probate Court), No.23106; see the estate inventory.
453. Probate Records of John Aborn, manuscript (Essex County Probate Court), No.166; see the estate inventory.
454. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, p.220.
455. Probate Records of John Aborn; see the estate inventory.
456. John Perkins, "Dr. John Perkins 1777-1780, Memoirs of His Life, Writings & Opinions," manuscript (American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.), p.1. His recollection of a malignant miasma is on a loose, unnumbered octavo. Perkins' mysterious saw mill noise was probably the shrill sound of the cicada, which is often heard during the warm and dry New England summer months.
457. John Perkins, "Memoirs," p.1.
458. John Perkins, "Memoirs," pp.1-2.
459. John Perkins, "Memoirs," pp.2, 62.
460. *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts* (Boston: The Massachusetts Historical Society, 1924), pp.17, 23, 127, 141, 152-153.
461. John Perkins, "Memoirs," p.2.
462. John Perkins, "Memoirs," p.63.
463. John Perkins, "Memoirs," p.63. To sneeze (in the quotation, Snise") was a therapeutic measure designed to remove excess phlegmatic humors to restore humoral balance. Other bodily evacuations – urination, defecation, vomit, and perspiration – were more options similarly encouraged as the case required.
464. John Perkins, "Memoirs," p.66.
465. John Perkins, "Memoirs," pp.66-67.

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466. John Perkins, "Memoirs," p.2. He apparently met with resistance from the citizens of Boston as well; Cotton Mather pitied him for being imprisoned for debt. See Wooley, *Heal Thyself*, p. xxxiii.
467. John Perkins, "Memoirs," pp.2-3.
468. Article, "Early History of Lynn, No.13," Lynn Scrapbooks, Vol.2, p.17, 17 November 1882; no newspaper attribution. The Scrapbooks are a collection of newspaper clippings at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society. Article title, newspaper attribution, and date are not regularly noted on the clippings.
469. John Perkins, "Memoirs," p.3. Also see John Perkins, "Miscellania No.1," manuscript (American Antiquarian Society, Worcester).
470. C. Helen Brock, "The Influence of Europe on Colonial Massachusetts Medicine," *Colonial Medicine in Massachusetts*, p.137.
471. Probate Records of John Perkins, manuscript (Essex County Probate Court, Salem, Mass.), No.21351; see the estate inventory.
472. Zaccheus Collins, Diary, Vol.1, 28 November 1728 and 4 November 1735 (Clark); 21 June 1728 (Rays); 9-12 June 1739 and 27-30 February 1745 (Rodman).
473. Probate Records of Moses Chadwell, manuscript (Archives of the Supreme Judicial Court, Boston, Mass.), No.4844; see list of debts against estate.
474. Zaccheus Collins, Diary, Vol.2, 10 July 1760.
475. Article, "Early History of Lynn, No.13," Lynn Scrapbooks, Vol.2, p.17, 17 November 1882; no newspaper attribution.
476. John Perkins, "Memoirs," p.197.
477. John Perkins, "Memoirs," p.58.
478. John Flagg, obituary, *The Independent Chronicle: and the Universal Advertiser*, 30 May 1793 (eminent); epitaphs of John Henry Burchsted (healer) and John Flagg (respect), both engraved on slate stones in the Old Western Burial Ground, Lynn; observed by the author on 13 September 1987; Nathaniel Henchman in John Langdon Sibley, *Biographical Sketches*, Vol.17, p.163 (superior).
479. Henry Burchsted owned the slave Sippeo; see Winthrop Alexander, "Dr. John Henry Burchsted," p.10; John Aborn owned the slave Caesar; see *Vital Records*, p.621. John Perkins owned the slave "Cegear"; see Probate Records of John Perkins, estate inventory. Abijah Cheever of Lynn's West Parish (later Saugus) also owned slaves; see *Lynn in the Revolution*, Howard Kendall Sanderson, comp., 2 vols. (Boston: W. B. Clarke Company), Part 2 , p.250.
480. Eugene D. Russell, "Harvard College and Lynn in Colonial Times," *The Register of the Lynn Historical Society* (Lynn: Frank S. Whitten), No. 16 (1913), p.91. Nathan Mortimer Hawkes, *Hearths and Homes of Old Lynn* (Lynn: Thos. P. Nichols & Sons, 1907), pp.109-110. John Langdon Sibley, *Biographical Sketches*, Vol.15 (1970), p.149.
481. *The Massachusetts Tax Valuation List of 1771*, Bettye Hobbs Pruitt, ed. (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1978), pp.84-94. Comparison was made to the original manuscript version at the Massachusetts State Archives. The 1978 published version incorrectly transcribed the abbreviations for Deacon and Doctor. Pruitt lists ten Lynn doctors in the 1771 valuation, but four of these were actually deacons.
482. Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, Book 7, p.100 (emphasis in original).
483. Winthrop Alexander, "Dr. John Henry Burchsted," p.13.
484. Collins, Diary, Vol.1, 30 September and 18-20 October 1741.
485. Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, Book 3, p.158 (emphasis in original).
486. *Magnalia Christi Americana* covered the period 1620-1698; the drought occurred during the summer of 1697. See also Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.298.
487. *Records of Ye Towne Meetings of Lyn*, Part 7, p.17.
488. *Records of Ye Towne Meetings of Lyn*, Part 7, p.17.
489. *Records of Ye Towne Meetings of Lyn*, Part 7, pp.23-24.
490. Howard Kendall Sanderson, *Lynn in the Revolution*, Part 2, pp.292 (Hallowell) and 314 (Ingalls).
491. Howard Kendall Sanderson, *Lynn in the Revolution*, Part 2, pp.412-413.
492. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, p.214; Howard Kendall Sanderson, *Lynn in the Revolution*, Part 2, p.445 (riddled).

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493. Burchsted and Flagg both served in Captain Farrington's company of minutemen. Burchsted's military service listed in Jackson, *Physicians of Essex County*, p. 21. Flagg's service listed in John Langdon Sibley, *Biographical Sketches*, Vol. 15, pp.49-50.
494. Howard Kendall Sanderson, *Lynn in the Revolution*, Part 1, p.43.
495. *Records of Ye Towne Meetings of Lyn*, Part 7, p.31.
496. Howard Kendall Sanderson, *Lynn in the Revolution*, Part 1 (1909), p.149.
497. John Langdon Sibley, *Biographical Sketches*, Vol. 15, p.49.
498. Howard Kendall Sanderson, *Lynn in the Revolution*, Part 2, p.352.
499. Howard Kendall Sanderson, *Lynn in the Revolution*, Part 2, p.264.
500. Howard Kendall Sanderson, *Lynn in the Revolution*, Part 2, p.391.
501. Howard Kendall Sanderson, *Lynn in the Revolution*, Part 2, pp.268 (Farington) and 333 (Lewis).
502. Howard Kendall Sanderson, *Lynn in the Revolution*, Part 2, p.251.
503. Howard Kendall Sanderson, *Lynn in the Revolution*, Part 2, pp.298-299.
504. Howard Kendall Sanderson, *Lynn in the Revolution*, Part 2, pp.241-242.
505. Howard Kendall Sanderson, *Lynn in the Revolution*, Part 1, pp.156-158.
506. Josiah Bartlett, "Medical Science in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," p.109.
507. Pratt, *Commonplace-Book of Richard Pratt*, pp.43 (Loyd and Downing, under the dates 27 Jan 1761 and Feb 1761) and 73 (Ingalls, under the date 15 May 1774).
508. *Records of Ye Towne Meetings of Lyn*, Part 7, pp.27, 29. The red flag is not specified in the description of the Tarbox house as a quarantined site, but is well-documented as a standard quarantine measure in many colonial documents.
509. Robert R. Victor, "Medicine and Public Hygiene," p. 836. Lynn's dog law stated in *Records of Ye Towne Meetings of Lyn*, Part 4, pp.9-10.
510. J. Worth Estes, "Medical Skills in Colonial New England," *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, p.268. Winslow, *A Destroying Angel*, pp.90-93. Gerard H. Clarfield, "Salem's Great Inoculation Controversy, 1773 & 1774," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* (Salem, Mass: Essex Institute), Vol. 106 (October 1970), especially pp. 284-294. George H. Billias, "Pox and Politics in Marblehead," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, Vol. 92 (1956), especially pp.45-54. Robert R. Victor, "Medicine and Public Hygiene," p.841. Zaccheus Collins, Diary, Vol. 1, 9 February 1731.
511. Zaccheus Collins, Diary, Vol. 2, 21 January, 16, 22, and 31 March 1764.
512. *Records of Ye Towne Meetings in Lyn*, Part 7, p.53.
513. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, pp.342-343.
514. John Langdon Sibley, *Biographical Sketches*, Vol. 12 (1962), p.566.
515. Albert Matthews, "Notes on Early Autopsies and Anatomical Procedures," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts: Transactions 1916-1917* (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1918), pp.287-288.
516. Albert Matthews, "Notes on Early Autopsies and Anatomical Procedures," p.287.
517. Otto L. Bettmann, *A Pictorial History of Medicine* (New York: Dover Publications, 1942), p.227.
518. Lewis and Nehwall, *History of Lynn*, p.349. It is not clear to this author (Rapoza) why Sanderson claimed 274 Lynners went to battle on 19 April 1775, while Lewis and Newhall claimed the total number serving in the Revolution from Lynn was 168; as it the intention of this prologue to simply to reflect the combination of sacrifice, injury, and death experienced by Lynn men serving in the war, the wide disparity in number participating is only being conveyed here and will not be resolved in this book.
519. The desire for foreknowledge of the future as in Parsons Cooke, *Necromancy; or A Rap for the Rappers* (Boston: Congregational Board of Publication, 1857), p.21; James R. Newhall, *An Account of the Great New England Witchcraft* (Salem, Mass.: G. W. & E. Crafts, 1845), p. 34.
520. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn* (Boston: J. H. Eastburn, 1829), pp. 207-208.
521. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p. 375.
522. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p. 375.
523. Ellen M. Griffin, *Moll Pitcher's Prophecies* (Boston: Eastburn, 1895), pp. 3-4.
524. Ellen M. Griffin, *Moll Pitcher's Prophecies*, pp. 4, 155-156.

525. Ellen M. Griffin, *Moll Pitcher's Prophecies*, p. 4 (darkened); Clarence W. Hobbs, *Lynn and Surroundings* (Lynn: Lewis & Winship, 1886), p. 57 (scan).
526. Records of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, Vol. 8, July 1782 (Johanna Ramsdell); Vol. 7, July 1770 (Desire Thyt).
527. Dr. Samuel Abbott Green, "The History of Medicine in Massachusetts: The Centennial Address," Annual Oration 1881 (online at massmed.org).
528. Estate Inventory of Benjamin Br[eame] Burchsted, late of Lynn, Physician, deceased, *Massachusetts, Essex County, Probate Records* [Supreme Judicial Court of Essex County, Massachusetts], 27 September 1785; online at ancestry.com.
529. Obituary of Jonathan Norwood, *The Salem Gazette*, 21 March 1782.

❖ Chapter 1: 1782-1809 ❖

## Small Doses of Antipathy

*... the healing art has scarcely been necessary – Were people always as free from the evils on which the faculty depend for their support, as at present, we must inevitably STARVE!*

Daybook of James Gardner, doctor  
Lynn, Mass., April 1795

**C**itizen patriots thronged to cheer their heroes when General George Washington and the Marquis de Lafayette paraded through post-war Lynn, but no one lined the streets to welcome Aaron Lummus.<sup>1</sup> This solitary stranger rode into town in 1782 without fanfare, took up a room at Widow Ruth Johnson's tavern on the common, and opened his medical bags to the townspeople.<sup>2</sup> Constables still chased transients and the poor out of Lynn but Lummus wasn't a danger to the town's purse because he arrived at the opportune moment with a needed occupation.

Aaron Lummus moved to Lynn from a village in Ipswich called the Hamlet (in 1793 it became the town of Hamilton). He was the seventh of nine children, born in 1757 to farmer John Lummus and his wife, Hannah.<sup>3</sup> John had a considerable farm with over 400 acres on which he grew crops and cared for a small herd of cows, a flock of sheep, and a pen of swine. Upon his death in 1785, his will parceled out the property between his four sons with benevolence, if not equality, “share & share a-like saving to my sd eldest Son John one Hundred Pounds thereout more in Value ... than either of the other three.”<sup>4</sup> All three of Aaron's brothers followed their father in the farming life but some other music stirred Aaron's soul; early in life he had expressed an inclination towards medicine. Perhaps it was the curiosity of having families of “bleeders” (hemophiliacs) in the little Hamlet as he grew up, or perhaps it was the influence of the Lummus's parish minister, Reverend Manasseh Cutler.<sup>5</sup> While the village physician was off saving patriot lives during the Revolution, Cutler had taken on the physical ministrations of the congregation in addition to their spiritual needs. He also became nationally recognized for his knowledgeable works on botany.<sup>6</sup>

It was with Cutler that Lummus commenced the study of medicine. His medical apprenticeship concluded with the renowned Bunker Hill surgeon, Thomas Kittredge of Andover. It was said of Kittredge that “he had more natural skill as a surgeon than any other man in the country.”<sup>7</sup>

Anyone would have been hard-pressed to find two more skilled and complimentary preceptors in New England. With an education in surgery, botanical remedies, and general medicine, Lummus was as well prepared for his own practice as most other area physicians of the time, but Ipswich was not the place to post his shingle. In 1782 Ipswich was a thriving township, already noted for its lace and fishing industries. By 1790 there were 601 houses in Ipswich, containing 4,562 residents.<sup>8</sup> The good-sized population had already attracted a sufficient number of physicians by 1782. Six men lived and practiced medicine in Ipswich and one of these had a fourteen-year-old son whom he was grooming in the healing arts for the not-so-distant future.<sup>9</sup> These healers gave Ipswich an average doctor/client ratio of one practitioner for every 100 households, or 760 residents in 1782 (and of course only a small, reluctant percentage turned to a doctor within the course of a year). Lummus's presence would have tipped the ratio in Ipswich to one physician per 652 citizens. He could not parlay his medical apprenticeship into an apothecary business either, because Ipswich was also

endowed with at least three retailers of drugs and patent medicines.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, remaining in the village of his youth would have brought him into a contest for clients with his mentor, Reverend Cutler. While still considering a town in which to set up shop, Lummus likely read the unusual obituary in the 21 March 1782 edition of the weekly *Salem Gazette*, the only Essex County newspaper readily available in Ipswich at the time.

Jonathan Norwood's obituary read like a "help wanted" ad to the eager apprenticeship graduate. With Norwood's death Lynn had lost one of its three physicians, and the vacuum thus created justified the appearance of another physician without unduly challenging the town's other practitioners. In addition to having only two doctors left, Lynn had no apothecary shops or medicine retailers. Lynn's 1790 population was 2,291 inhabiting 300 houses; with Lummus replacing Norwood as the third doctor, the ratio was still a comfortable one healer to 764 people.<sup>11</sup> While Lynn had a smaller population than Ipswich, Lummus's opportunity for an estimable clientele and successful business clearly existed in the town that mourned the passing of one of its physicians.

The best way for Lummus to receive the patronage of Norwood's former patients was to locate where the deceased doctor had practiced. Consequently, Lummus set up shop on North Common Street, just as Norwood had done. This was also a shrewd business decision on Lummus's part since Flagg and Burchsted lived off Boston Street, at the other end of the small community.<sup>12</sup> Lummus had started a practice in their town, but at least not in their backyards.

If Lummus had been tentative about his Lynn decision, he had opportunities to return home in 1784 and 1785. In 1784 the venerable Ipswich doctor Joseph Manning died, leaving the door open for Lummus to return home. Lummus's father died the next year, leaving him over 100 acres of land with which he could reestablish his home.<sup>13</sup> But his choice of Lynn had proven sufficiently comfortable and a few months later in 1785, his value to Lynn increased again when another physician, Benjamin Breame Burchsted, also passed on, leaving Lummus and Flagg the only resident physicians.

Flagg had no reason to feel threatened by Lummus's quiet, unheralded appearance at Widow Johnson's tavern. Flagg, after all, enjoyed the post-war laurels of a patriot in addition to his reputation as a popular physician with an established clientele from thirteen years of service to Lynn. He had the distinction of being admitted to the nascent Massachusetts Medical Society in 1786, when it had only seventy members.<sup>14</sup> Flagg and Lummus were both limited in their medical education to apprenticeship (although Flagg had received a general education at Harvard) but Flagg had the added advantage of over a decade's experience in healing. He was further distinguished from the newcomer by his civil service career. The governor honored him in 1776 to be one of the first justices of the peace in the state of Massachusetts, in which capacity he served for a dozen years.<sup>15</sup> When Lummus arrived in Lynn, Flagg was also serving as treasurer for the town and continuing to express his political opinions on the Committee of Safety.<sup>16</sup> Outspoken in his medical opinions as well, he wasn't afraid to sign a petition to the governor supporting the creation of the unpopular smallpox hospital on Cat Island in Salem Harbor in 1774.<sup>17</sup> John Flagg was a pillar of the community and as such was unshaken and perhaps even mildly amused by the appearance of another young physician with a background so much like his own.

Resplendent in the customary ribbon-tied cue, knee breeches, and buckled shoes, Lummus began to practice medicine in his adopted town.<sup>18</sup> After a few years it came time to consider a family. He married Eunice Coffin of Gloucester in 1786 and their marriage brought forth ten children between 1787 and 1804, of which eight reached their majority; one died a week after birth and the other died at twenty years old.<sup>19</sup> Lummus had long since moved out of Widow Johnson's tavern; in 1801 he purchased four acres of land between Market and Pleasant Streets that contained a two-story house, corn barn, woodshed, pig house, and privy. He bought the property from a bankrupt Benjamin Alley for \$2,700, but had to borrow \$2,500 of the purchase price from a hometown friend, Robert Dodge of Hamilton.<sup>20</sup> Even though Lummus took three years to pay off the loan instead of the stipulated one, Dodge was lenient. The lane that led from Market Street to the new Lummus house was later

named “Tremont Street” by Lummus’s youngest child who, “thinking it a fine thing to give it a Boston name,” wrote the name on a shingle and nailed it in a location for all to see. The doctor instructed the housekeeper to tear down the sign but the child wasn’t willing to have his fancy denied, so put the sign up again. This battle of wills repeated several times with the young boy proving the more tenacious of the two. The name of Tremont Street is all that survives as a reminder of the Lummus property.<sup>21</sup>

The bedlam that can well be imagined was attendant in a home with nine children plus their friends was effectively controlled by Lummus. “Oftentimes we became too numerous for the doctor,” recalled one of the young playmates in later life,

and he had a way of clearing his premises of outsiders that was very effectual. He made no talk about it, but would commence walking towards us, putting out his hook, that he drew teeth with – a significant exercise that needed no explanation, but a method that relieved him from intruders at short notice.<sup>22</sup>

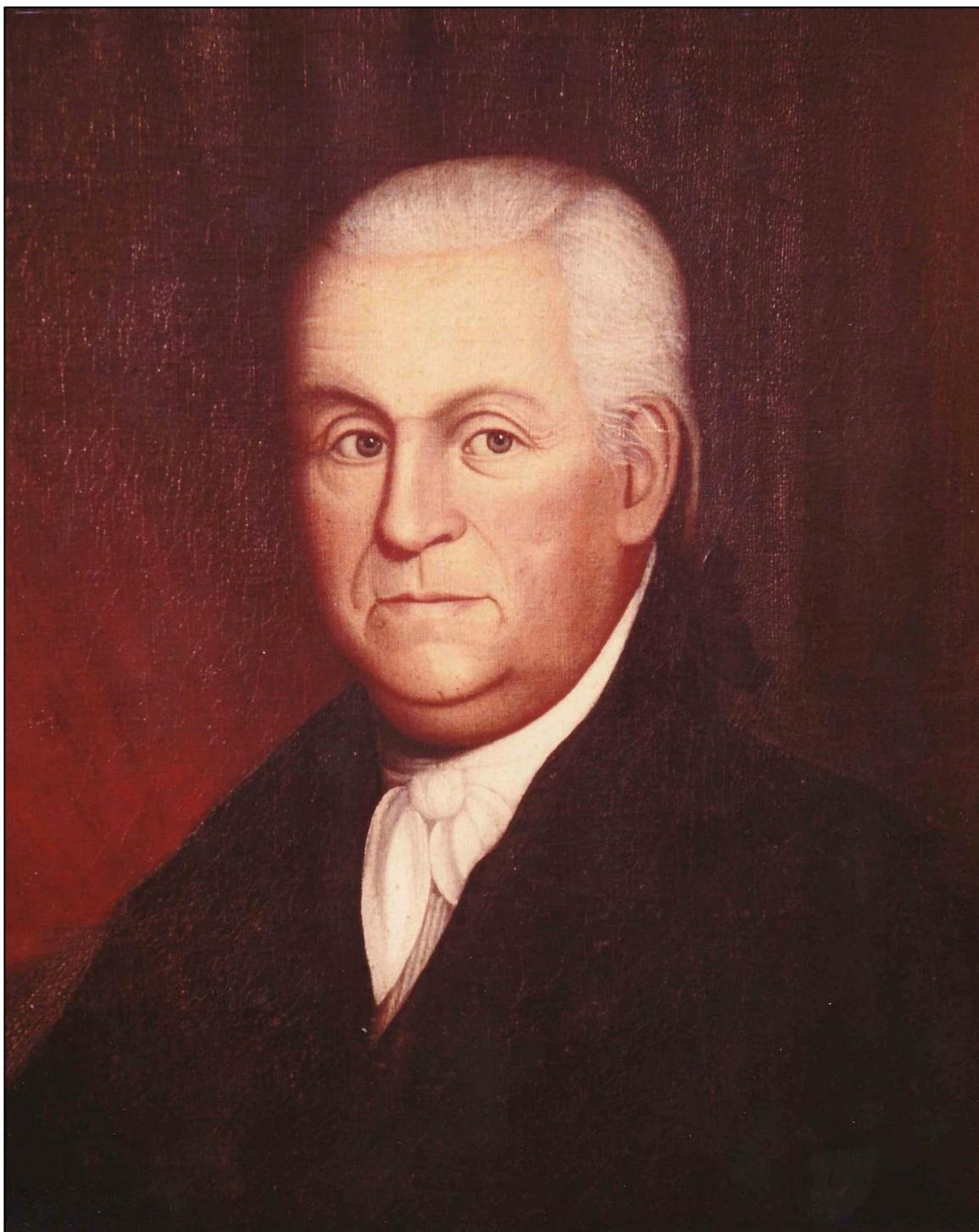
## **APPRENTICED EDUCATION IN PRACTICE**

Lummus also used his tooth extractor, or turnkey, to the purpose for which it was designed. Tooth pulling was, at twenty-five cents a tooth, the only dental service he provided. Up through the middle of the nineteenth century, dentistry was practiced by doctors as one of their many sidelines, and when a tooth ached, extraction was virtually the doctor’s only recourse.<sup>23</sup> Early-century memories of tooth pulling terror lingered long after the tooth was removed:

... the village doctor ... lean[ed] back upon the forceps, and tug[ged], and jerk[ed], and saw[ed] like a man trying to rein in a runaway horse. Your grandfather grasped the arms of the chair in which he was imprisoned, and squeezed them until his joints cracked, in order to keep from yelling. But the agony kept getting worse and worse. The victim was sure he was going to die – when, all of a sudden, the top of his head came off with a roar; the planetary systems rushed together in one vast cosmic salad, and lifting his bewildered eyes for a moment to the disembodied source of his misery [the removed tooth], the patient leaned over and discharged a pint of blood into the dentist’s basin.<sup>24</sup>

Sometimes the tooth was in advanced decay and came out effortlessly, to the delight of doctor, patient, and on-lookers; other times the tooth was actually healthy and would break or come out with great pain and perhaps even a portion of the jawbone. The reaction of the children to Lummus’s “hook” was also indicative of adults’ anxiety and reticence to request this dental panacea. Lummus recorded in his daybook of 1821-1826 that he pulled out an average of seventeen teeth with his trusty turnkey each year, but this represented only one percent of all his patients. The other ninety-nine percent either had healthy teeth or, more likely, suffered in silence. Asa Breed was the rare exception, submitting to the doctor’s turnkey for the extraction of ten teeth in one sitting.<sup>25</sup>

Lummus was in demand for every type of medical crisis. He was called on to set broken bones, remove growths, make and dispense medicines, calm seizures, expel worms, cool fevers, balance humors, invigorate the weak, and deliver babies. Almost every day Lummus was called on for a combination of skills. In the summer of 1821 he attempted to revive the drowned son of John D. Atwill.<sup>26</sup> Earlier that year he anointed a child’s burns with olive oil.<sup>27</sup> He spent five hours of one night tending to Ezra Collins, giving him cathartics and an enema.<sup>28</sup> Another patient had a gangrenous wound that he tried to cleanse with a bottle of mercurial tincture; for still another he excised a surface tumor.<sup>29</sup> A child patient of Lummus wrote in later life that as he had been “often troubled with bilious attacks,” his father called upon “our family doctor” (Aaron Lummus) to prescribe for his condition; consequently when the doctor “called upon mother for ‘a little warm water in a teacup and some sugar’, I knew what to expect - nothing short of an emetic.”<sup>30</sup> Lummus’s services to Lynn were as varied as the pathologies he had to confront.



**Aaron Lummus, Lynn Physician.** Painting, about 1820s, probably by the celebrated itinerant portrait artist Joseph Wheeler. Just visible is the hair descending in a cue from the back of his head, tied off with a black bow behind his neck. (Courtesy of David Lummus.)

Most of his tools and methods were the same as Lynn physicians of decades before him but the area he served was much smaller. He had some patients in Saugus and Salem and one in Chelsea but the preponderance of his customers were in the villages that made up Lynn: there was John Stone at Black Marsh, Edmund Lewis and Jacob Rhodes at Graves End, the Williams and Alley families of Wood End, William Stone the brick maker at Johnson's Corner, John Shaw the Quaker at Pudding Hill, Noah Hill at Chase's Mill, and Caleb Johnson at Nahant. He doctored wherever doctoring was needed, tending Nathaniel Farrington in a pasture and bleeding Lewman Gee at the dye house.<sup>31</sup> The only section of Lynn that he shied away from was the neighborhood that extended along Boston Street from the Saugus River through Mansfield End, where John Flagg lived. Only a handful of patients each year were from West Lynn. On average Lummus attended 7.85 people each day.<sup>32</sup>

Except for limiting his practice almost exclusively to Lynn, Lummus placed no restrictions on who made up his clientele. Although Lummus's evangelistic son referred pejoratively to his father's religious predilection as belonging to Nicodemas's society, Lummus's nonsectarian attitude enabled him to extend "the hand of friendship and charity to the respectable of all denominations, who in return regarded him with equal charity and friendship."<sup>33</sup> Consequently, he delivered the children of William Estes, a Quaker farmer, and administered drugs to Theophilus Hallowell, a Congregational deacon, as well as treating Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians. He doctored without respect to wealth or social standing: William Stone, brick maker, and Jacob Chase, glazier; James Lakeman, manufacturer of ladies' shoes, and Ezra Collins, selectman; Josiah Newhall, director of the Lynn Mechanics Bank, many widows, and some of the few blacks in Lynn.<sup>34</sup> In 1798 Lynn's town treasurer paid Lummus \$10.53 "for doctoring old Bristol (former slave of Deacon John Burriage) from the first day of January til he died."<sup>35</sup> The town also paid Lummus on many occasions "for doctoring sundry poor persons."<sup>36</sup> Some took on cordwaining for additional income, like Benjamin H. Jacobs, who was also a constable and undertaker for the town.<sup>37</sup>

There was little cash changing hands for goods and services in the face of Lynn's depressed economy and a national shortage of coinage. Lummus had no other choice than to accept bartered goods and services for his healing efforts. By far the most common form of payment to him were the food products of farms and home gardens, such as corn, butter, raisins, flour, and potatoes. Lummus's charge for providing medical services to George Munroe was offset by Munroe's bill for Lummus's purchase of milk.<sup>38</sup> In addition to foodstuffs, Lynners paid the doctor with buttons, silk, yarn, and ticking, a new pump, washtubs, soap, forty-nine pounds of candles, and five loads of manure. Others squared their accounts with their labor, like Amos Stickney, who repaired Lummus's light stand for a fifty-cent credit.<sup>39</sup> Josiah Breed and Joseph Holt worked together one early December day preparing the Lummus's winter firewood supply; Holt sawed nine loads of wood for fifty-eight cents a load, and Breed split the nine loads of wood, but was credited only fifty cents per load.<sup>40</sup> Four or five men worked a dollar off their accounts with a day's labor in Lummus's cornfield each planting season and also when the weeds were high. Although a day's labor made only a small dent in most patients' bills, cordwainer Nathan Ramsdell and laborer Moses Conner took frequent advantage of this particular no-cash alternative to bill payment.<sup>41</sup> The labor of a season brought stock raisers small rewards as well, with Lummus crediting 110 pounds of beef at \$6.60 (6 cents/pound), 273 pounds of pork (likely an entire butchered hog) for \$18.42, and 10 dozen eggs for a dollar.

Lummus had not been unfair about the value he placed on the goods and services that his patients rendered to clear their bills. He appraised a higher value to the manure a patient bartered than the price he paid for a load he bought outright. He paid more for six bushels of corn than he charged for delivering a baby. He had to earn the fee for a tooth pulling to pay for the mending of an old pair of shoes and the equivalent of six extractions paid for a pair of new "walking shoes."<sup>42</sup>

The lack of a vibrant economy meant that most sought out the doctor's services only when they were desperate, and desperation didn't guarantee remuneration. When he started his career in Lynn, Lummus was at his most benevolent. He charged a meager thirteen shillings six pence for five years of medical services to the Collins family from November 1783 to December 1788, and he didn't

demand that bill until 1792, nine years after the first services had been provided.<sup>43</sup> By 1810 he was suing several Lynners for “value received” against promissory notes that had been neglected for as short a period as six months.<sup>44</sup> In 1821 he was forced to attach a twenty-percent surcharge on bills for the delivery of babies that went unpaid for sixty days. (Deliveries brought the highest fees Lummus charged and therefore were most important for him to collect; he charged five dollars for a delivery and six dollars if the bill was not paid in sixty days.<sup>45</sup>)

It was just as much a question of survival for Aaron Lummus as it was for the cordwainers. He had to provide for a wife and their many children and fell short on his debts, too. He was also sued for nonpayment on promissory notes; in October 1810 he was ordered to pay \$609 in damages and court costs for defaulting on a loan; a large amount for Lummus since on an average week he earned only \$50 (and few of those who paid, paid cash).<sup>46</sup> On one occasion he paid his own son with promissory notes for a second-hand chaise (\$57) and a seven-year-old bay mare (\$100).<sup>47</sup> When he needed large amounts of cash, he mortgaged his home and land, as he had when he purchased the property. He borrowed \$1,000 from Reverend Osgood of Medford in May of 1811, putting his property up for collateral; perhaps this loan was in part to pay the October 1810 defaulted note damages.<sup>48</sup> Shortly after borrowing from the minister, he turned again to his old friend Robert Dodge for yet more money. After five years, Lummus had repaid only a quarter of the note and this time Dodge was not forgiving; he sued Lummus and won.<sup>49</sup> Still later, in 1816, he borrowed \$875 from another son, again posting his property as collateral and promising repayment in one year. Six years later his son acknowledged payment was complete.<sup>50</sup> Upon Lummus's death, thirty-three claims were made for outstanding debts against his estate.<sup>51</sup>

With so few patients paying cash and so many not paying at all, Lummus also resorted to home-based alternative sources for income. He grew barley on his property and sold it for fifty-five cents a bushel and the barley straw for twenty cents a bed sack. He also sold hay and sometimes the milk from the family cow that he pastured in Nahant. When items he accepted as a patient's credit were in excess of his family's needs, he sold the surplus for a modest profit. He sold veal that he credited at seven cents per pound for one cent more per pound; pork that he accepted at six and three-quarter cents per pound he sold for seven cents.<sup>52</sup>

The most ambitious effort to supplement his income came from a two-story building he constructed around 1804 along the Market Street edge of his land.<sup>53</sup> The first floor had two rooms. The front room was initially rented to the town for a primary school for boys; girls were taught separately on the second floor.<sup>54</sup> The back room on the first floor was Aaron Lummus's doctor's office and training ground for his sons. In 1810 he began his own apothecary shop in part of the building (probably reclaiming the front room on the first floor from the primary school, which in the same year had its own building about one hundred yards away). His oldest son, John, probably assisted a great deal in running the apothecary shop as would sons Edward, George, and Thomas in the years ahead.<sup>55</sup> From this office-apothecary complex, Aaron Lummus treated some patients, gave advice, and prepared and dispensed medicines he prescribed from his own supply. Having the luxury of his own store of drug stock, he sometimes dispensed quantities of medicinal ingredients, as when he gave Isaiah Breed twelve packages of medicines and Samuel Mulliken six packages.<sup>56</sup>

The building's second floor had one large room that he rented out to public and private organizations. He had dearly hoped to rent out that room to the Mount Carmel Lodge of Masons that had formed on 1 June 1805 and for which he served as treasurer. The masons tried out Lummus's hall for three weeks in October 1806. While meeting there on the 22nd they voted on his offer to loan the room to the lodge for thirty-six dollars per year but the members ultimately rebuffed his proposal, fifteen to four.<sup>57</sup> The lodge was still searching for a better meeting hall in 1807, so a committee examined “Brother Lummus's Hall” once again, as well as the Lynn Academy. They determined that the Lynn Academy was “more central and much the largest,” not to mention that it was offered to the lodge for only twenty dollars per year. The lodge couldn't vote quickly enough to move their furniture into the Academy and put curtains in the windows.<sup>58</sup> Lummus's Hall stayed empty and left its owner,

still the lodge's treasurer, without that needed revenue plus twice spurned by his "brothers" of the lodge.<sup>59</sup> Lummus, like his building, apparently fell outside of the part of town where the Masonic sun shined, so he stopped going to meetings. The bylaws stated that "any member absenting himself from the Lodge six regular meetings [held monthly] successively shall be considered as having withdrawn from the Society" and for six months the lodge had not seen its treasurer.<sup>60</sup> At the 1 June 1808 meeting of the lodge, a committee was appointed "to visit Br. A. Lummus treasurer to know what excuse he may make for his non-compliance with the duties of his office." Whatever its report, Lummus never returned and a new treasurer was elected to fill his term.<sup>61</sup> Lummus's hurt feelings serendipitously paved the way for his future success as a physician in Lynn.

Through the combination of cash and bartered payments, the sale of products from his shop, land, and animals, and the receipts from his building rentals, Lummus appeared to achieve a greater degree of prosperity than most fellow Lynners whom he served. Although his debts were larger than the average cordwainer, he also had more cash on hand to purchase such niceties as a \$10 looking glass, a \$17 bureau, a \$10 card table, and a \$4 light stand, all made of mahogany, two rocking chairs, six "fancy" bamboo chairs, and one marble-topped, painted table; and all this was bought at the same time.<sup>62</sup> He had added a barn, a second corn barn, and the store to his property; the store alone was valued at \$500.<sup>63</sup> But his limited financial success was only on the surface; even greater indebtedness dogged him to the grave.

No one could blame the doctor for trying every possible means to collect his fees but there also could be no surprise that Lynn's cordwainers, farmers, and laborers avoided the doctors and their charges whenever possible. Just as many families cut their food bill by cultivating large gardens, growing fruit trees, and raising a hog for meat, their depressed economic circumstances forced them to care for their own health needs as the generations before them had done. Lummus was busy enough, tending to a full slate of fifty-plus patients a week and rarely taking a day off, but he doctored barely eight percent of Lynn's population in a typical year. The people that did avail themselves of his services were seen by him an average of eight times a year.<sup>64</sup> Some only called on Lummus for their crises, like the birth of a child, but most relied on him to rescue them from seasonal sicknesses that wouldn't yield to their home treatments. When they couldn't throw off the illness on their own, they looked to the doctor to perform heroically, if not miraculously.

## ***SEASONS OF SICKNESS***

The seasons in Lynn have been remembered for singular, extraordinary occurrences. The terrible lightning of July 1803 killed Miles Shorey and his wife, Love, but left the baby in her arms and sixteen others in their Boston Street home, untouched.<sup>65</sup> A total eclipse of the sun in June 1806 caused several residents to faint and many others to grasp the nearest objects for support.<sup>66</sup> Although such curious abnormalities caused some human misery, the punishment of seasonal extremes caused many more Lynners to suffer each year. On 7 July 1811, the temperature rose to 101° in the shade. Seventy-year-old John Jacobs foolishly labored in the sun-drenched salt marsh and was fatally overcome by the heat.<sup>67</sup> Nineteen years earlier, twenty-nine-year-old Joshua Howard had been similarly employed on the marsh; he sought relief in the water, but was "immediately chilled and drowned."<sup>68</sup> A drought that lasted from mid-June to mid-July in 1784 was grave news for Lynn's farmers who were already staggered by the post-war depression but it also meant the residents were without the nutritive advantages of many staple fruits and vegetables until the following year.<sup>69</sup> Just the opposite weather happened in 1795: starting again in mid-June, steady rains fell for half the days over the next ten weeks. By July an alarming outbreak of "cholera and bilious evils" occurred, probably because of a bacterial infection that spread through the saturated water table.<sup>70</sup> Complaints of dysentery and diarrhea were expected to accompany the changeable weather of early and late summer, and in the fall such problems were often teamed with fevers. A German doctor touring the new country wrote in 1781 that the diseases and fevers of the fall emanated chiefly "because of

increasingly foul and stagnant waters, especially in marshes and less offsetting vegetable kingdom activity to clear the air.”<sup>71</sup> Lynnrs were well aware that they were virtually surrounded by the marshes of the coast and Saugus River and the swampy borders of Flax, Sluice, and Floating Bridge ponds, and they complained most often of ill health in the fall.

New England's winter weather was the deadly opposite of its hot summers. A freak snowstorm in May 1812 left eight inches on the region as it was blossoming into spring.<sup>72</sup> The cold of winter lowered resistance to chest infections, like pneumonia and the flu, and the snow put an additional burden upon the doctors. For four days in early February 1811, a blizzard hit Lynn, leaving drifts of more than fifteen feet. The snow on Market Street in particular was so deep in places that shovelers tunneled through the snow on the street, leaving snow arches for carriages to pass under.<sup>73</sup> During this storm a request came from Essex Street for Aaron Lummus's medical skills. Undaunted by the effects of the storm, “he strapped on his snowshoes, and stalked off over the drifts, while the snow shovelers watched him with admiring interest until he was out of sight.”<sup>74</sup> Lummus's inspiring dedication to his patients was memorialized in a poem:

Twice twenty years or more, this firm and bold  
Opposer of disease hath held his post.  
In storm and raging tempest, day and night,  
In cold and heat, or wet or dry; the calls  
Alike of human suffering heard.  
Like faithful sentinel who scans the foe,  
While others sleep' and inch by inch his ground  
Disputes, or warns the camp of danger near.<sup>75</sup>

Lynnrs needed their physicians to act heroically whether they were facing snowstorms or the impending death of a patient. Lummus and Flagg were relied on to quickly assess the patient's symptoms, evaluate their significance with respect to the patient's medical history, prevailing illnesses in the community, and the humoral imbalance in relation to the season, and to administer medicines and therapies that realigned the humors. In the winter, warming drugs offset the body's disposition towards the phlegmatic and melancholic temperaments that slowed down the blood, body, and spirits. The combination of springtime's moisture and summer's heat was sometimes thought to cause overexcitement of the blood and necessitate bleeding the patient to reestablish the tender humoral balance once more.<sup>76</sup>

In 1800 few diseases were clearly distinguished by their symptoms; medical wisdom most often pointed to symptoms as the actual illnesses. Warmth, cold, moisture, dryness, bumps, sores, and other symptoms that the physician could detect at the bedside were attributed to the excesses or deficits of particular humors. When doctors resorted to bleeding, emetics, cathartics, blisters, and the like, their design was in part to correct the imbalance. Doctors and patients could be satisfied that these treatments had corrected the visible problems yet be totally unaware that the actual illness was still raging within. If nature, in its course, removed the sickness, it most often did so in spite of rather than because of the humoral treatments of the physician. Some problems that had nothing to do with humors (such as fractures, burns, etc.) were easier to detect and treat, but since they were, Lummus was seldom called on for such problems; people tried to take care of themselves whenever possible. Lummus didn't seem averse to helping laymen help themselves, however; in fact, his most frequent medical service was his advice. In one year he offered advice as all or part of his charge to twenty-seven percent of the patients he saw.<sup>77</sup>

Lummus was not reticent to treat with medicines. He used a wide variety of healing agents and potencies to suit his purposes. He most frequently resorted to cathartic and emetic preparations to cleanse the system and balance the humors. Most of these medicines, like ipecac, aloes, tartar emetic, rhubarb, and jalap, could, in very small quantities, force a quick and dramatic emetic or purgative conclusion. He also used a powerful cathartic called calomel (mercury chloride) regularly, but not frequently, which was just as well for his patients. Large amounts of calomel would produce the

desired explosive cathartic response but would also cause profuse salivation. Continuous doses eventually caused mercury poisoning which, according to the severity of the poisoning, could cause loss of teeth, destruction of the mouth's mucous tissues, and even loss of parts of the tongue, palate, and jaws.<sup>78</sup> Lummus also used caustic plasters to raise a blister (by causing a second-degree burn) and draw out pus from the system, which was considered a sure sign of healing. He sometimes used opium and liquid laudanum (alcoholic extract of opium) as sedatives and painkillers for tooth extractions, women in labor, and the general discomfort associated with serious illness.

Although Lummus didn't enjoy the advantages of attending educational meetings and commiserating over medical advances with members of the Massachusetts Medical Society, he did have a subscription to the *Medico Chirurgical Review* and probably the *Boston Medical Intelligencer*.<sup>79</sup> In addition, he frequently took the opportunity to consult with other physicians over some of his and their difficult patients. The list of those with whom he discussed his patients included medical society members (even though the Massachusetts Medical Society regulations forbade the consultations of Society members with nonmembers), physicians from neighboring towns, nurses who assisted him, and even his two sons who became doctors. In these ways he continually added to his apprenticed education and introduced some of the medical discoveries of the last few decades into his practice when it seemed practicable. He knew that cinchona (Peruvian bark, or quinine) had been proven effective against malarial fever so he used it under the popular misconception that it would be beneficial for all fevers. He also used the relatively new medicine called digitalis and something he called "cardiac powders" to stimulate and strengthen the heart.<sup>80</sup>

In addition to practicing humoral medicine and innovating with new remedies, Lummus apparently tinkered in his office and developed some of his own favorites. He relied heavily on a myrrh mixture that he compounded and sold by the bottle.<sup>81</sup> He also dispensed many boxes of "pectoral pills" and doses of "jaundice bitters," both which could have been his own preparations or from the burgeoning patent medicine market; for example, the jaundice bitters might have been *Wheaton's Jaundice Bitters*, which in Lummus's era were "so eminently useful for removing all Jaundice and Bilious complaints."<sup>82</sup> He wasn't averse to selling proprietary remedies. On 22 March 1823 he sold Mary Harden thirty-eight cents worth of *Liquid Embrocation or Whitwell's Opodeldoc*, a commercial liniment "for gout, rheumatism, and muscular problems."<sup>83</sup>

Lummus no doubt read and heard about Benjamin Rush, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and America's first physician of world renown, who believed that all illness stemmed from a single cause: hypertension of the blood vessels. Rush advocated a depletive therapy of bloodletting and purging the system with harsh emetics and cathartics to strengthen the tissue of organs and nerves in the body. Lummus certainly knew about and used the harsh purgatives, like calomel, but he used bloodletting very sparingly – on only one percent of his patients.<sup>84</sup> Bloodletting was performed with leeches, lancets, scarifiers, and bleeding cups. Two "cupping glasses" were in the estate inventory of Benjamin Breame Burchsted, the last of the Burchsted healers in Lynn. Healers and their patients contributed equally to the "heroic" label that historians have given to humoral and tonal medicine. The physicians were heroic in their dedication to public health against all odds, seasons, and sicknesses, while their patients were heroic in their submission to the dangerous drugs, bloodletting, blistering, and other harsh methods that were used to save them.

In spite of all the drama and heroic interplay between doctor and patient, the physicians' bedside manner may have been the most effective remedial agent of all. John Flagg succumbed in 1793 to "the fatigues of an extensive circle of practice and the exposures incident which brought on the 'pulmonary consumption'"; he was only forty-nine years old.<sup>85</sup> On the monument erected to his memory, his medical skills were admirably eulogized but the epitaph's praise focused on his character. There was eternal promise for a mortal life so nobly lived:

This Monument  
is inscribed to the memory of  
John Flagg, Esq.  
In whom  
remarkable temperance, uniform prudence,  
unaffected modesty, affectionate humanity,  
and diffusive benevolence  
shone conspicuous  
among the Virtues which graced his character,  
endeared him to his Family & Friends  
and secured him the respect and love  
of all who had the happiness to know him.  
As a PHYSICIAN,  
His skill was eminent,  
and his practice extensive and successful.  
To DEATH,  
whose triumph he so often delayed and repelled,  
but could not entirely prevent,  
he at last himself submitted,  
on the 27th day of May 1793, in the 50th year of his age.  
“Heaven now repays his virtues and his deeds  
and endless life the stroke of death succeeds.<sup>86</sup>

Flagg left behind his wife, one daughter, a house, barn, chaise house, four acres of land, and sixty-one former patients and associates who owed him money.<sup>87</sup> His spouse and daughter took over his real and personal estate, and James Gardner, his son-in-law of one year, took over his patients. Gardner was the first of the new breed of American professional physicians to practice in Lynn and as such was Lummus's antithesis.

## ***PROFESSIONAL MEDICINE COMES TO LYNN***

James Gardner was born in 1763 in Charlestown; he was six years younger than Aaron Lummus. Gardner was the last of Henry Gardner's twelve children; Henry died at sixty-six, when James was only nine months old.<sup>88</sup> Henry had been a farmer of substance and owned a slave. In his will he distributed his farm and various parts of his personal property to his three oldest sons. Baby James was not bequeathed land but he was promised £150 inheritance when he turned twenty-one.<sup>89</sup> The extended Gardner family of Charlestown and Woburn was an aristocracy of professionals, Harvard graduates, clergy, and government luminaries. James' cousin Henry was the first treasurer of the state of Massachusetts and Henry's grandson would become governor of the state two decades after James' death. Two other first cousins, Samuel Gardner and Joseph Gardner, both thirty-five years older than James, were physicians. Samuel died when James was seventeen and Joseph passed away when James was twenty-six; in the absence of a father's influence, either or both of these physicians could have played a part in his inclination towards medicine and in his apprenticeship. Probably the most influential member of his family, however, was John Flagg, who was Gardner's first cousin (once removed) in addition to later becoming his father-in-law.<sup>90</sup>

Although only a boy during the Revolution, Gardner demonstrated his patriotism. Family legend assures posterity that Gardner “had the proud distinction of bearing the first gun fired for liberty, at the Battle of Lexington”; he would have been only twelve years old. The legend continues that his mother melted down her pewter dinnerware to form musket balls for him.<sup>91</sup> He experienced the hardships of the winter in Morristown, New Jersey, and finally his service ended in January 1781 with him a veteran of war at nineteen.<sup>92</sup>

Like many in his family, Gardner attended Harvard College. When he reached his majority, he probably applied some of his inheritance to his education. He graduated Phi Beta Kappa in 1788 with an A.B. and in 1792 with a bachelor's degree in medicine and the distinction of being one of the first ten graduates from Harvard's new medical school.<sup>93</sup> The degree requirements were two years' apprenticeship with a reputable practitioner, attendance at two courses on each branch of medicine, a passing grade on the final exam, and delivering and defending a dissertation.<sup>94</sup> Gardner took pride in his education and clearly felt a great kinship with fellow physicians who attended Harvard. In his daybook he referred to himself and his professional brethren as "the faculty."<sup>95</sup> One of his few and favorite diversions during his medical career in Lynn was attending his alma mater's annual commencement in July; he seldom missed the event.<sup>96</sup>

There were probably several factors in Gardner's decision to move to Lynn after his graduation. First, there was his cousin John Flagg who was ailing with consumption (tuberculosis). Gardner could ease his cousin's burden by assisting him with his practice while starting his own. Both physicians recognized that Flagg would probably not survive the illness, so Gardner could slowly assume Flagg's practice. But perhaps the most important motivation behind Gardner's move to Lynn was that love was brewing between him and Flagg's daughter Susanna. Gardner began his practice in Lynn on 19 May 1792; he and Susanna were married on 28 February 1793; Flagg died three months later on the 27<sup>th</sup> of May.<sup>97</sup>

When starting his medical practice in Lynn, Gardner seemed somberly aware of the difficulties that would come before him. He set aside the first page of his daybook for some inaugural thoughts and poignant reminders to himself. He wrote dramatically in grand, feather-quilled, swirling flourishes: "The WORLD was BEGUN MAY 19 1792," then added, "We just begin to live – then die! Be prudent of all time, for none has ought to spare," and a poem, "As hoary Winter soon succeeds the Spring / So Age pursues our youth, on rapid Wing / We just begin lifes portion to enjoy / When Life itself declares that life's a Toy. / A few unheeded steps on such a stage / Will plunge us into misery's abiss." With these sobering thoughts in mind, Gardner left the Flagg's house for the first time to confront his destiny in Lynn.<sup>98</sup>

During the first several months of Gardner's residence in Lynn (while Flagg was still alive), his practice was predictably modest. He doctored only 198 patients in over seven months (May through December) for an average of under two patients a day; in the same seven-month period that followed his father-in-law's death a year later, Gardner tended to 2,025 patients, an average of almost ten patients each day. His account book had several instances of post mortem payments made to him and Mrs. Flagg by Flagg's former patients, most of whom subsequently became Gardner's patients.<sup>99</sup>

Gardner started his medical career in Lynn ten years after Lummus had arrived on the opposite end of town. By staying with the Flaggs on Marion Street and working with John Flagg, Gardner was introduced to the West Lynn families that ranged from Dye House Village to the West Parish (Saugus). At the time of his arrival, Boston Street was the main route from Boston to Salem and was consequently the center of population and activity in Lynn. Mansfield End, where the Flaggs were located, was the hub of West Lynn, with its tanneries and grist mills along Strawberry Brook, the town's first post office (1793), and most of Lynn's wealthy and powerful men, including Amariah Childs, Jacob Newhall, Colonel James Robinson, James Newhall, and Honorable Joseph Fuller.<sup>100</sup> After Flagg's death, Gardner and his bride moved out of the Flagg home, but wisely stayed in this prosperous neighborhood, locating on Bridge Street. More than half of Gardner's service was rendered in house calls, but very few were at any considerable distance. Physicians from nearby towns gave assistance to Lynners but their own towns were getting more densely populated as well, so there was increasingly more to keep them at home and less to pull them away. Gardner made occasional visits to patients in Malden, Chelsea, Lynnfield, and Danvers and added fees for the longer commute, which gave most residents their motivation to use the medical talents residing in their own towns.<sup>101</sup>

Like Lummus, Gardner took care of male and female, young and old, and was probably asked occasionally for advice on ill horses and farm animals as well (as when he charged James Robinson ten cents for camphor for his horse).<sup>102</sup> He was called on by members of every religion, profession, financial standing, and political persuasion that was represented in Lynn at the time, including former slaves Hannibal Lewis, Bristol Black, and Black Reading, and former slave owner, Thomas Cheever; Reverend Andrew Nichols, a Methodist minister, and Reverend Thomas C. Thatcher, a Congregational minister; John Adam Dagyr, Lynn's most celebrated shoemaker who died penniless; Jacob Newhall, tavern keeper at the Blew Anchor; Robert, John, and Ruth Alley Pitcher, Moll Pitcher's husband and children; and Desire Thyon, whose reputation for wantonness had been questioned in 1770. He also drew some blood from Miles Shorey, who six years later would have his life snuffed out by lightning.<sup>103</sup> Gardner had patients all over Lynn but the majority were from Boston, Holyoke, Federal, Mall, and Waterhill streets. He took care of many cordwainers and manual laborers, but where his home neighborhood had a higher percentage of the town's first families and business leaders, his clientele leaned toward the affluent. He received substantially more cash payments for his services than Lummus did, although he still received a significant portion of his income in goods and services. A few of the foodstuffs he received as credit included half a cuttlefish, fifty sprigs of asparagus, Souchong tea, chocolate, a peck of cranberries, brandy, a goose, and a dark red cow. He also accepted wood, linen, buttons, candles, a trunk, a seventeen-volume encyclopedia, and many pairs of shoes. Benjamin Parrot worked off some of his indebtedness by making Gardner a pair of satin slippers.<sup>104</sup> He credited a horseshoe at twenty-five cents, thirty apple trees at nine dollars, and a new saddle at twelve dollars. Gardner usually credited a day's labor on his land at one dollar but he valued a day of wood chopping at only five cents and harvesting the hay on his salt marsh in the hot summer sun at only fifteen cents a day. On a number of occasions unused portions of medicines were returned and quantities of fresh medicines were sometimes picked up by the patient (probably through an arrangement with Gardner) when they were in or near Boston.<sup>105</sup>

There were, of course, a certain number who had no cash, goods, or skills with which to repay Gardner. In 1797 he showed how moved he was by the circumstances of the town's poor when he wrote of "a visit to the gates of Poverty to Job Collins' house ... where was to be seen the very preeminence of Misery."<sup>106</sup> When the town wouldn't pay for his services to the poor, he charged the destitute patient a reduced rate. Some, like Grimes Tufts, he forgave, "Died much worse than nothing So this is paid of course," but others were not forgiven.<sup>107</sup> Like Grimes Tufts, Moses Mason owed Gardner one dollar, but died before he paid off his debt; Gardner wrote that Mason's account had been paid by him having "gone to Satan \$1."<sup>108</sup> Even with a little more wealth resident in his overall client list than Lummus's clients had, Gardner had to squeeze blood from every rock and insist on his just due. Some tried to slip out of their responsibilities, like the estate administrator who owed Gardner nine dollars, but paid only one dollar and "huckled me out of the rest."<sup>109</sup> Such experiences caused Gardner to be implacable and unrelenting in his pursuit of payment for his services. A cordwainer recalled that Gardner "stopped by once in a while with his sulky" at the shoe manufactory, "but seldom alighted if he wished to dun anybody. The man had to go to the door whoever he was. Yet at other times the doctor would go in and be very affable for a few moments."<sup>110</sup>

Gardner worked constantly and fussed about the cost of goods, "This day to Boston town we went and all our money there we spent."<sup>111</sup> His trips to Boston usually involved buying goods, as when he "went to Boston to get stuff," and on another occasion to buy liquors.<sup>112</sup> To offset his expenses, Gardner worked through weekends, holidays, the days of his children's births and deaths, and even when he wrote in his daybook that he was "Sick! Sick! Sick!"<sup>113</sup> Although he complained that men and boys at play in the town had "terribly violated" a fast day, he worked on that day, visiting Danvers to dress a wound and pull a tooth.<sup>114</sup> Gardner tried hard to stay busy and guarantee an income from his medical practice but the townspeople didn't always cooperate by being sick. In 1800 he was doctor to barely seven percent of Lynn's population.<sup>115</sup> When all was well, Gardner worried. In 1796 he wrote, "On the whole there is little business for us & of course little distress by sickness

Doct <sup>r</sup> . Aaron Lummus <sup>M.D.</sup> Died at Lynn	
5 <sup>th</sup> Day January A.D. 1831 Aged 78 yrs —	
he was an Eminent Physician, his death very much lamented.	
Doct <sup>r</sup> . James Gardner Died	Elijah Downing Esq. —
at Lynn 26 <sup>th</sup> Day December 1831. A much respected Friend	
(Aged 69 yrs —)	Spouse, Departed this life
He also was an Eminent Physician	Tuesday morning —
	August 14 <sup>th</sup> 1838 —
Mr Charles Newhall (the	Aged 61 yrs
man I served my apprenticeship	
(etc.) died October 11 <sup>th</sup> 1817 Aged 65 yrs	Mary Tuttle
The body is in a fit. at the Barn,	Died at Lynn
was carried to the house and	Sep 23. 1840
wife had departed.	Aged 44 years.
Dr Thomas Rhodes (the oldest	Deacon Asa Rhodes
Man in Town) Born at Lynn	Died at Saugus April 1.
March 24. 1748. Died	April A.D. 1822.
Feby 9 <sup>th</sup> 1838 Aged 90 yrs	Aged 93 years
He died at his house, without any	
Rev Thomas J Alexander	the oldest man in Saugus
one of 2 Christian Church at	
Lynn Died April 2. 1838 —	Widow Mary Hetchings
the 24 <sup>th</sup> years of his age	Died at Lynn May 1.
Doct Charles O. Barker	Aged 82 yrs
Died at Lynn on Tuesday	
January 8. A.D. 1843. —	Rev. Mr Gray Street, pastor
44 years	of the Unitarian Church in Lynn
	Died at Charleston July 15. 1843
	Aged yrs

**Dearly Departed.** Written on the back of what appears to be the back of a bible dictionary (probably the final section of a large bible), an anonymous author made this record of early- to mid-nineteenth century deaths of Lynn residents. Filled with personal details about the deceased entrants, it was more than the traditional register of key life event dates in a family bible; it is a memorial of those who had impacted the author's life. Aaron Lummus, James Gardner, and Charles Otis Barker, all Lynn physicians, found their places in this record. Lummus was eulogized as, "an Eminent Physician, his death very much lamented." (Collection of the author: Rapoza; shown on black background.)

among the people.”<sup>116</sup> A particularly healthy solstice lasted from February 1794 to April 1795. At first only a few cases of disease were occurring but by late summer Gardner was noting that there had been “no prevailing disease,” and “unusual health has prevailed.” In December Gardner recorded that the season had been “very pleasant & the people very healthy.” February, March, and April 1795 were the three slowest months Gardner had gone through since his father-in-law died and he had taken over the business in 1793. He wrote in February 1795 that health had never been more perfectly enjoyed and in March he managed to thinly veil his frustration, “very healthy have been the people of this town.” Finally in April 1795 the distraught physician openly lamented the loss of patients to a plague of health:

Never was this place more free from every kind of disease than at & thro' the whole month. Scarce one single acute disease has happened in Town. A few Chronic complaints have been in our neighborhood. But in the whole, the healing art has scarcely been necessary – Were people always as free from the evils on which the faculty depend for their support, as at present, we must inevitably STARVE!<sup>117</sup>

“The resources of a farm,” Benjamin Rush advised medical students, “will prevent your cherishing, even for a moment, an impious wish for the prevalence of sickness in your neighborhood.”<sup>118</sup> Fortunately, Gardner had heeded Rush’s advice and let his property and wits help him through the healthy times. He sold beef, veal, beans, and onions from his land and hay from his salt marshes, and he rented out the marshes as well. He had the luxury of transportation, which many did not, so he rented out his sleigh in the winter and his wagon, chaise, and a horse in the warm weather. On one occasion the sleigh’s curtain was returned damaged; Gardner charged the borrower an additional ten cents for its repair.<sup>119</sup> He also taught school for a few seasons to small numbers of children and perhaps apprenticed Aaron Newhall and John Brideen in the medical arts; he gave them both a certificate of training and Brideen later established himself in Lynn as an undertaker.<sup>120</sup> Gardner also dealt in fairly large quantities of shoes for income. On one occasion he traded a saddle for eighty-five pairs of “good florentine shoes.”<sup>121</sup> He made a careful accounting of his sale of Florentine shoes to Joel Newhall in 1797: “31 pr blk Florentine shoes, 2 pr blk Morocco shoes, 6 pr blue Florentine shoes, 4 pr Fancy Florentine shoes, 7 pr yellow Florentine shoes – \$31.80,” which averaged to sixty-four cents a pair.<sup>122</sup> On another occasion he sold 125 pairs of shoes to one buyer.<sup>123</sup>

Given the continued absence of specialists and his continued need for income, Gardner practiced the same wide range of healing services as the Lynn physicians who preceded him. From 1792 to 1801 he saw an average of 5.67 patients each day of the week, delivering their babies and pulling teeth, setting broken bones, bleeding with the lancet and scarifier, blistering with plasters, and compounding and administering medicines. He also advised one percent of his patients on how to heal themselves. In an average month, Gardner saw 167 men, women, and children, opened 7.3 abscesses, delivered 3.5 babies, and bled one person. He was called on to pull 3.33 teeth each month, and on one occasion installed tin fillings.<sup>124</sup> There was no question that there were people in dire need of dental care, like Daniel Williams, who had “a very dirty mouth in deed,” but only searing pain seemed to get them in the mood for a tooth pulling.<sup>125</sup>

Desperation created by an emergency or by anxiety about the unknown was the catalyst that made Lynn’s residents call on physicians. The family of drowning victim Joshua Howard was clearly desperate when they called on Gardner to attempt “to raise him from dead.”<sup>126</sup> Ben Chase surely spent several tense minutes while Gardner salved and applied dressings to Chase’s scalded child.<sup>127</sup> More anxious moments were passed while Gardner removed a bone from Ezekiel Moulton’s throat, a hook from James Fern’s finger, and a kernel of corn from the nose of Abijah Ramsdel’s child.<sup>128</sup>

Bears and wolves had been vanquished in previous centuries but nature still had surprises for Lynn residents. The more insidious attacks scared some as much as if they had seen the legendary lions and devils in Lynn’s woods. In many cases it was James Gardner to the rescue. In the summer of 1796 a “lobster frolic” brought on several cases of food poisoning. The ill had “profuse vomitings with pain & relaxed bowels – A large dose of jallap & [tartar] emetic soon worked a cure.”<sup>129</sup> Later

that summer one of Gardner's patients was bitten by a black spider that, it was thought transmitted a troublesome virus to the salivary glands. Gardner took credit for taming the infection with "mercurials and the Bark [Peruvian bark]."<sup>130</sup> In the fall Gardner was called on by a panicky family to save them from a trespasser in their tea. Gardner took precautions against any possible consequences by dosing the family with an emetic that provided family members relief of mind as well as stomach; he wrote in his daybook:

A family were much alarmed after breakfast one day on finding a small animal called a Knute or Nute boiled soft in the tea Kettle. My advice was asked, & the result was the safest step would be to restore the repast to the proper vessel. Accordingly they all who had partook of the tea took a luncheon of Ipecac. – No evil consequences ensued.

Is this animal poison?<sup>131</sup>

In the winter Gardner saw many of his patients suffering from pulmonary infections that he categorized as catarrhs. Pneumonia, influenza, pleurisy, and colds all exhibited the phlegmatic characteristics that Gardner associated with an overabundance of that humor. Gardner wisely believed that if patients kept warm and dry they would endure through the winter humors, but those "who were more bold in their conduct, were severly punished" by even more serious illness.<sup>132</sup> He tried blisters and bleeding to draw out the infection and reduce internal discomfort, but found the former much preferable of the two: "the pain was troublesome in the sternum & pleura – Vesication was early and repeatedly applied & with happy success. This is generally to be attempted, for I believe the lancet does as much hurt as good [in pulmonic trouble]."<sup>133</sup>

Winter made the body sluggish. As the warmer months arrived, the stagnant system needed to be cleansed and rejuvenated. Gardner used venesection (bloodletting) and tonics to clean and tone up the system. March through July was the bleeding season for Gardner; during those months he bled three times as many people as he did the rest of the year.<sup>134</sup>

As summer turned into autumn, it made sense to Gardner and his contemporaries that bilious evils would emanate from the warm stench of swamp air, yellow bile's counterpart in nature. Dysentery, diarrhea, and cholera morbus were the prevailing illnesses of this season, occurring in all ages and sexes. Gardner's general plan of treatment was first "to assist the struggle of nature" by small doses of ipecac, rhubarb, jalap, and calomel, all of which produced the desired cathartic effect (and calomel was also a diuretic), but often to no conclusion; "they all operated as was designed only I did not cure," wrote Gardner.<sup>135</sup> In these difficult cases he next applied large doses of mercury and jalap, rhei (rhubarb), or castor oil (ol ricini), which was intended not only to purge the system but strengthen it via the stomach and nerves. The strong emetics threw the stomach into violent spasms that were considered a sign that the medicine reached the stomach and was bringing new strength to it. That vitality would be passed on, it was believed, through the nerves to the whole body, which was exactly what a person needed after dysentery or incessant diarrhea had drained his energy. Tonics were then used to continue restoring the patient's strength.<sup>136</sup>

Gardner used over 170 drugs with purposes ranging from the removal of warts to the cure of syphilis. He used copious quantities of mercury and opium to stimulate the salivary glands in severe cases of sore throat, and cantharides, the powder of Spanish flies, to raise blisters. His selection of drug potency was based on the severity and type of illness and on the condition and age of the patient. Potency ranged from snuff and harmless aurantium cortex (orange rind and juice) to mercury, lac ammonium (ammoniated milk), and ol terebinth (turpentine). Cathartics, tonics, and emetics accounted for over sixty percent of all the medication Gardner used. Those he resorted to most frequently were: cascara (powdered root of croton eleutheria, 6.57%), rhei (5.39%), serpentina (root of Virginia snakeroot, 4.16%), Peruvian bark (an astringent, 4.12%), dulcified spirits of nitre (nitrous acid in alcohol, 4.11%), camphor (extract of cinnamonum camphora, a narcotic, 3.79%), calomel (3.14%), liquid laudanum (a narcotic, 3.53%), various bitters (2.77%), and elixir vitriol (sulfuric acid in wine with cinnamon and ginger, 2.76%).<sup>137</sup> Gardner often compounded drugs from his supply into

the medicines his patients needed. Bitters were particularly likely to be an eclectic combination of ingredients. In one instance he mixed calomel, cascara, and aurantium cortex; another time he combined ipecac, calomel, saturnia (lead acetate in water), chalybeate (iron tartrates in wine), and sugar to make the mixture at least a little less offensive.<sup>138</sup> In addition to vegetable, mineral, and chemical ingredients, Gardner's extensive pharmacopeia included a small number of commercial medicines: *Wheaton's Bitters*, *Winter's Bark*, and *Gould's Opium* were proprietary preparations that he used in his practice.<sup>139</sup>

Non-medicinal treatments such as catheters, setons, tapping, and electricity were also used by Gardner. He "electrified" Captain Joseph Stocker and Sally Atwill with some sort of galvanic device in 1794 and Content Phillips in 1795.<sup>140</sup> Electricity was used to stimulate the nerves and bring vitality to the system. Gardner's use of it about a dozen times over three months and then only once more in the next six years suggests that he had probably borrowed the electrifying unit from one of his professional brethren and experimented with it or wasn't very impressed with the results.

Gardner used the same principles of healing on himself and his own family as he exercised with his patients. He assisted his wife with the births of their children in 1794, 1796, and 1798. When he was sick on one occasion, he gave himself an emetic. Another time he had diagnosed himself as suffering from diabetes, "which produced much weakness." He dosed himself with an astringent that had the desired effect and he declared himself cured. He tried to use medication only when he felt circumstances dictated its use.<sup>141</sup> He dispensed an average of less than one drug per patient and, in fact, refrained from issuing any drugs to a third of all his patients.<sup>142</sup>

Those with delicate constitutions, like children and the elderly, received moderated doses and potencies when circumstances allowed. Mustard seed taken in molasses, for example, was "a more delicate mode of treatment" than jalap for an emetic reaction.<sup>143</sup> Gardner also combined mercury and opium for throat inflammations in such quantities "as would moderately stimulate the salivary glands ... as long as the inflammation continued;" children, however, received only a watered down, boiled version "most likely to set agreeably."<sup>144</sup> Gardner directed much of his attention to children because they were the prime targets for illness and premature death. "A pulmonic disease by the name of Enfluenza has afflicted many people," Gardner recorded in 1799, "some adults have labored with it, but mostly small Children."<sup>145</sup> In August 1794 Gardner wrote, "diarrhea and the cholera morbus were very frequent ... several children were bro't very low." In 1796 children were barraged with sickness, "Some Measles & hooping Cough have afflicted children together with worms."<sup>146</sup> Given the frequent and merciless attacks of sickness on youth, Gardner sometimes felt compelled to use harsh measures, even on the smallest children:

One case of cynanche trachealis [sore throat] occurred & proved fatal. Death closed the scene in 26 hours after the attack. The mode of treatment was a puke with squills. This was repeated once in an hour or two during the continuance of the disease. The throat was viscicated [blistered] externally, to no purpose. Venisection was attempted without success ... the patient ... was 2 years old.<sup>147</sup>

Not surprisingly, some children refused the well-intentioned misery of the doctor's treatments. During the fall of 1795 when dysentery was rampaging through Lynn, one three-year-old boy "refused to take anything that was offered ... and he died."<sup>148</sup>

The high incidence of childhood illnesses resulted in high child mortality. In both 1800 and 1810, children from birth to ten years old made up thirty-one percent of the population but only thirteen percent lived on to be in the ten to sixteen age group.<sup>149</sup> Gardner struggled against these odds and credited himself with more successes than losses: "Several children have been effected by cholera and bilious evils; none were carried off by it under my Care."<sup>150</sup>

Gardner seems to have been quite proud of his skills, reminding himself in his daybook of his successes. During occasions of illness, Gardner wrote such phrases as, "I have not lost one of my patients," to reassure himself that his treatments and choices of medicine were correct and his

knowledge of medicine was sovereign, at least in Lynn.<sup>151</sup> He saw his mission in town as more than simply healing others; he wrote as if he were in a war, locked in combat with a dangerous enemy. Illness was more than an impedance to health; patients were the objects of its “attack” and the number of “prisoners to this enemy was very great,” many of whom “fell victim to its relentless rage.” Those patients who contracted illness “were severely punished by … the evil” and “none have conquered.”<sup>152</sup> Fighting such an awesome foe was very difficult, even with Gardner’s self-confidence and range of services.

Although he was no stranger to losing patients to death, he was acrimonious towards the uneducated laymen and women when their healing efforts also yielded poor results. Some men and more women were paid for watching after the sick through their illnesses and assisting the doctor in a number of support roles. Ephraim Breed was so paid by the town in March 1794 for the care of “an old Negro man by the name of Bristol.”<sup>153</sup> These services were more than most men had done in previous centuries but for women it was another step down from recognition and legitimacy as healers. As the eighteenth century rolled into the nineteenth, the midwife’s role had diminished somewhat. Birth bed confessions were less important in paternity suits, so a midwife’s value to the courts was negated. Doctors’ routes were more localized, so pregnant women could rely on them more and consequently had less need for an old neighbor to assist them. Doctors were also training and schooling in most areas of health care, while midwives’ skills were handed down through oral tradition and limited in scope and depth according to their mentor’s knowledge and their own experience. There was still a need, however, for people to remember and follow the physician’s instructions in his absence and to assist him occasionally when he was with the patient; thus many women were acting in the capacity of a nurse rather than a midwife; no longer the center of attention in the court or the birth chamber, but relegated to the background and subjugated to the physician’s instructions. In June 1796 Gardner showed his impatience with a nurse and patient who jointly made a fatal mistake by not following his instructions. It was “the inattention of the patient & the ignorance of the nurse” that caused the patient’s death:

I directed the [lime water] & gave directions agreeable to rule. Instead of adding 6 quarts water, she [the nurse] put only 3 & left it only an hour or two to agitate & subside. The process was therefore unfinished & the patient was presented with a glass of white-wash, or a glassful of about the consistence & colour of cream. The effect was to excoriate the mouth, fauces, esophagus & stomach, was immediately rejected by the former & again spread over the uncoated fibres of the three latter. This threw the patient into the most distress<sup>g</sup> agitation conceivable – & in fact had a tendency to render more unpleasant, & really to shorten the evening of life that which was before very fast declining.<sup>154</sup>

## **THE ATTRACTION OF OPPOSITES**

Not quite a year later, Gardner was again taking condescending swipes at a nurse but this time his wrath spilled onto a doctor as well – his cross-town rival, Aaron Lummus:

One puerperal case (under Lummus) proved fatal. The particulars I know not. Some are (it was a twin case) thirty one hours passed between the two births. Was this right? 'Tis said a violent debility ensued & no fever, but I suppose it was a genuine Puerperal Fever. I passed the house every day but saw no windows open, & very little air admitted. Another highly putrid case of his terminated fatally the 7th day. I saw this patient on the 4th day. There appeared to be a want of air, cleanliness, & attention both in the nurse & Physician.<sup>155</sup>

It was a scathing commentary on the nurse, but a damning condemnation of Lummus. In one sentence Gardner had accused Lummus of lacking three things in which physicians should pride themselves: medical knowledge, personal habits beyond reproach, and genuine concern for the patient. Gardner never had a kind word for Lummus and painted an image in his daybook of a

competitor who was an incompetent doctor: “Of my patients which have been attacked two have died one of a Pleuro pneumonia. She was neglected by Lummus till dangerous.”<sup>156</sup> Gardner mentioned Lummus frequently in his daybook, but refused to refer to him as “Dr. Lummus” as he did, for example, with “Dr. Stone” of Danvers and “Dr. Deaverix” of Marblehead. Gardner often matched his successes to Lummus’s failures to emphasize his superiority as a physician: “Several instances of Dysentery have occurred in town ... several ... have been exercised within my circle; but all of both ages have survived. Lummus has lost one or two children....”; “... [N]one ... under my care proved fatal. Lummus lost one.”<sup>157</sup> As with the fatal puerperal case, Gardner sometimes second-guessed Lummus’s diagnoses or treatments. In January 1795 Gardner wrote, “Lummus lost one of an unknown disease. I believe an erysipalatus....”<sup>158</sup> Three months later he was opining again, “Lummus has lost two patients, as is said, of a Quinsey, & one of an unknown disease tho’ I called the latter a slow nervous fever – The patient died from debility & nothing else.”<sup>159</sup> Gardner was once called in to work on one of Lummus’s patients, but even his efforts couldn’t save the man. Gardner knew that he, too, was far from able to guarantee health and life but he was relentless in his pursuit of Lummus. On 17 January 1796, Gardner was shocked to learn how unprepared his rival was to deliver babies. He wrote, “Sent Lummus obstetric instruments!! He has None!” Gardner cloaked the reason for his horror in Latin: “*Ad exonerandum Lydiam Mansfielensem apud carnem*” (translated loosely, “For delivering Lydia Mansfield while she was still alive.”).<sup>160</sup> Apparently it was a problem delivery that Gardner felt required instruments to be concluded successfully; Lydia Mansfield might not have survived the birth – or Lummus. In November of the same year, Gardner again worked on one of Lummus’s patients and murmured with implication in his notes,

I was called to one of Lummus’ patients laboring with an anasarca et hydrocele – The scrotum was amazingly enlarged – so were also the legs thighs & abdomen. I made a puncture in the scrotum which discharged in the space of 3 hours lvijj [4 quarts]. Water. It afforded a temporary relief. It however collected again soon & in a few days a Sphacelus [death of body tissue] of the abdomen took place, which terminated fatally on the 4<sup>th</sup> day.<sup>161</sup>

The patient was Thomas Cox, the 65-year-old veteran and one of Newhall’s Minute Men during the Revolutionary War.<sup>162</sup> Whether Cox would have survived if he had been treated differently or earlier, and by Gardner instead of Lummus, had become moot questions; Cox was buried alongside his patriotic comrades in arms in the Old Western Burying Ground and, more than a century later, a veteran’s stone was placed to mark his grave.<sup>163</sup>

In 1797 another man moved to Lynn, claiming to be a doctor. His name was Rufus Barrus and he and Gardner crossed paths a couple of times in their practices. In the few mentions of Barrus in his daybook, Gardner also refused to acknowledge the newcomer with the title of “Doctor,” but made no other comment about Barrus; His eyes were always on Lummus. He knew he had to keep his attention on Lummus because the town of Lynn had already divided its allegiance between him and Lummus. Barrus had no chance to break into the clientele of the small town sufficiently to sustain himself and his family, so he moved on to Boston in 1807 and later to Roxbury, leaving James Gardner and Aaron Lummus alone to lock horns in Lynn.<sup>164</sup> Nathaniel Peabody and William Parsons were both Lynners who became doctors during this period but they also decided to practice elsewhere, possibly for the same reason as Barrus.<sup>165</sup>

As Gardner and Lummus passed through the first decade of the nineteenth century, vested interest in Lynn seemed to be their only common ground. Gardner considered himself the superior physician, but despite his family connections, educational advantage, medical society affiliations, and professional pride, his practice was barely different from Lummus’s and apparently not judged to be any better by most Lynners. Gardner saw an average of 5.67 patients per day. His client list was made up of seven percent of Lynn’s population. Lummus saw 7.85 patients per day, and eight percent of the town. The amount of medication they issued to their patients was almost identical: Gardner gave 48% of his patients one drug per visit, 20% received two or more drugs, and 32% received no

drug treatment; Lummus distributed 46%, 22%, and 32%, respectively. On average, Gardner issued .92 medicinal elements per patient per visit and Lummus .89; both men would have been hard-pressed to point to the other for overdosing patients. Gardner and Lummus both used mainly cathartic, tonic, and emetic preparations. Gardner performed more surgical treatments, such as opening abscesses and applying dressings, and he pulled more teeth in a year (Gardner averaged forty per year, Lummus twenty-seven). Lummus bled his patients more (twenty-eight times a year as compared with Gardner's twelve) and was much more apt to give his advice (to 27% percent of his total patients compared with Gardner's 1%). The most surprising statistic, given Gardner's outrage over Lummus's obstetrical procedures, is that Lummus delivered far more babies each year (an average of 134) than did Gardner (42 deliveries).<sup>166</sup> Charles Lummus claimed in his 1820s newspaper that one doctor in Lynn was delivering more babies than the other five physicians in the town put together – his father, Aaron, was that doctor (although he did not always exceed the cumulative total of all other physicians in town). In 1826, for example, Lummus delivered 118 of the 250 babies born in Lynn.<sup>167</sup>

Lummus was never offered and never sought to belong to the Massachusetts Medical Society.<sup>168</sup> Gardner relished the opportunity and followed his father-in-law's example by gaining admission in 1803 to the still young medical society. He was the perfect candidate: a Harvard College graduate with a medical degree, eleven years' experience, apprenticeship, connections to an early member of the Massachusetts Medical Society (John Flagg), and an enthusiastic supporter of the society's purpose:

Dear Sir,

Yours of 18th instant informing me of the honor done me by the Massachusetts Medical Society in electing me a member, has been duly received. It is a circumstance, to me, extremely flattering & an honor, which I do most cordially accept. Wishing that the interest & utility of the institution may be promoted, I have the honor to be very respectfully

Your humble Servant  
James Gardner<sup>169</sup>

Two years later, the Essex South Medical Society was created by ten physicians from the southern part of Essex County (none were from Lynn). Gardner gained admission to this district society shortly after its creation and served as its treasurer from 1806 to 1808.<sup>170</sup>

One of the purposes of the Massachusetts Medical Society, according to its founders, was to have “a just discrimination ... between such as are duly educated, and properly qualified for the duties of their profession, and those who may ignorantly and wickedly administer medicine....”<sup>171</sup> With his Harvard education and medical society affiliations, James Gardner was the standard-bearer of professional medicine in Lynn. He observed the lay practice of his competitor with condescension and disdain. In his own practice he relied on a strictly orthodox collection of medicines and sometimes experimented with newer treatments, like electricity, but always within the bounds of professional propriety. He pledged his allegiance to professional dignity, standards, and fraternity.

Lummus was not a champion of non-professional medicine and didn't appear to be contemptuous and zealously opposed to Gardner and all for which he stood. Lummus was simply one of that alternative breed of American healers without classroom training and professional society membership, who exercised the freedom to practice their professions and live as they wished without the manacles of regulations, standards, or licensing. In a land that for almost two hundred years had been devoid of such limitations on medicine, but steeped in traditional attitudes towards homemade remedies and healing, constraints on the practice of medicine made as little sense to the common man as they would have if imposed on blacksmiths, farmers, or fishermen. To many, such rules smacked of the self-serving suppression of tyrannous authority from which they had just gained their freedom.<sup>172</sup> Lummus was remembered to have become “very much discouraged at the lack of success of his methods” and this frustration seems to have caused him to consider all possibilities in medicine.<sup>173</sup> Even his sons' attitudes towards medicine reflected the open-minded influence of their

father: two attended medical schools, became doctors, and joined the medical societies; three others sold patent medicines; and one was apprenticed to a druggist, gave it up and became a preacher, and still later sold his deceased father's medicinal preparations.

Lummus resorted to a combination of emetics, steaming, and the use of myrrh, which were key elements of the new Thomsonian method of healing (the first prominent organized alternative to professional "heroic" medicine), but he used it so few times, he was doing nothing more than experimenting with a new idea as Gardner had done with electricity. Lummus occasionally discussed cases with Gardner and other members of the medical societies but he also freely dialogued with non-professional healers like himself. He consulted with Nathan Richardson of Reading, creator of the popular botanic proprietary, *Richardson's Sherry Wine Bitters*.<sup>174</sup> Lummus used medicines and techniques of his own choosing, which, as it turned out, were not outlandish or dramatically different from Gardner's choices (although how the drugs were used might have been quite different). Lummus and Gardner were philosophical opposites but the differences in their medical practices blurred in their patients' eyes. Zaccariah Atwill didn't seem to care if he got an emetic from Gardner or Lummus – he went to both; so did Thomas Bowler, David Tufts, Jabez Hitchings, Thomas Raddin, Samuel Mulliken, and many others. The widow Ann Merriam was cared for by Lummus in 1790 and Gardner in 1794 and even by Rufus Barrus in 1802.<sup>175</sup> When Gardner and Lummus were healing the sick, the differences between them were not easily discerned but they were clearly visible to every Lynner that followed town politics. Gardner was a Federalist, Lummus was a Jeffersonian Republican, and each man drew much of his patient base from those who favored his politics.

Most merchants, shoe manufacturers, and businessmen of West Lynn, as well as prominent Quakers and Congregationalists, were in the Federalist camp.<sup>176</sup> Gardner fit the Federalist image well. He would become a stockholder in Lynn's first bank, vice president of the Institution for Savings, and president of Lynn's Mutual Fire Insurance Company.<sup>177</sup> Most of Lynn's Masons were probably Federalists too. They were distrusted by the Republicans because of their exclusive fraternity and secretive practices behind curtained windows. Gardner was a Mason; in fact, he was the Mount Carmel Lodge's secretary when Lummus was its treasurer.<sup>178</sup> But while Lummus left the lodge in a huff and never looked back, Gardner remained a faithful Mason and by 1810 was Deputy Grand Master of the 2nd District of Massachusetts Masons.<sup>179</sup> During Gardner's first years in Lynn, the Federalists controlled town politics. They appointed and elected their friend Gardner to serve on all sorts of committees and town offices. In his career as a public servant, Gardner served on a committee to establish a new two-story almshouse, and on committees for road repairs, the school, auditing the town's records, and fish catches. He was also one of the overseers of the poor and served on the board of health. He was a fire warden, town meeting moderator, and the town treasurer from 1797 to 1803.<sup>180</sup> In 1800, when Federalists were solidly in control of the town's politics, the Federalist candidate for governor won 113 votes, the Republican got 68, and one admirer even voted for Gardner.<sup>181</sup> By 1804, the Republicans had taken control; their gubernatorial candidate got almost twice as many votes as the Federalist candidate, and Gardner was displaced as the town's veteran treasurer by none other than Aaron Lummus.<sup>182</sup>

The Republicans were made up largely of shoemakers, farmers, and Methodists, most of whom were heavily concentrated at Woodend and in the Market Street area of Aaron Lummus. In simplest terms, the contest between Lynn's Federalists and Republicans was the capitalists versus the laborers, the aristocracy versus the commoners. The Republicans believed hard work was the only legitimate route to wealth and a stable society. Monopoly, exclusivity, and special privilege were repudiated.<sup>183</sup> In these respects, the Masons and the Massachusetts Medical Society seemed to Republicans as extensions of Federalist and old monarchical efforts to keep the working man away from his just due.

Lummus was a devoted Jeffersonian Republican. In 1804 he celebrated the presidency of Thomas Jefferson by naming his youngest child Thomas Jefferson Lummus. In addition to being made the town's treasurer once again in 1808, Lummus was also put on a committee to consider a building for the town's ammunition and in the fall meeting was made moderator of the town

meeting.<sup>184</sup> Town politics were being controlled at this point by the Republicans but Gardner and the Federalists were not docile in defeat. They scrapped with the Republicans in the following years to regain lost seats in town and state government and numbered among their successes making Gardner a moderator of town meetings in 1805 and 1806.<sup>185</sup> National issues dominated local politics and in 1808 Jefferson imposed the Embargo Act to the cheers of Republicans and the horror of Federalists. The Republicans felt that it was a matter of national pride that U.S. ships not trade with foreign countries that had been pirating and destroying U.S. ships; Federalists felt that the interests of commerce had been sacrificed unduly. Ships rotted at dock and the price of goods soared. Lynn's Federalists were less than enthusiastic about seeing the town affirm the national policies and the dominance of Republicans by electing three more of them to be district representatives, so in the May 1808 town meeting, Gardner and the Federalists tried to circumvent majority sentiment with their own style of democratic process.

In the May election, just after the town clerk recorded, "Votes Brought in for Representatives is as follows," great confusion ensued in the crowded meeting hall, likely incited by the Federalists, and it was decided that the people should go outside onto the common where there was plenty of room to organize into groups for counting votes. But the Republicans had been hoodwinked: a portion of the Federalists, Gardner among them, stayed behind in the meetinghouse and conducted their own mock election. Gardner acted as moderator, and "abusing his office of Justice of the Peace," swore in one of his Federalist cohorts as town clerk and had him record, "Voted that the Town Send no Representatives the ensuing year." Gardner and others were prosecuted for their hijinks but they were exonerated on a technicality. The Federalists' actions didn't seem to be taken too seriously by most Republicans. When they reconvened in the townhouse their legal votes were recorded on the next page after the sham election. The legal town clerk recorded no outrage, and business went on as usual, with Gardner giving a report later in the same meeting on enlarging the poor house.<sup>186</sup> By the November 1808 town meeting, Gardner was the legal town meeting moderator once again.<sup>187</sup>

Although Gardner's actions were probably only a display of his humor, it was a gallows humor. As with his medical career, his political career was respected enough that he could certainly be considered successful but he never was able to finish off the competition. No matter how much Gardner tried, always convinced that his way was right, there was his archrival, Lummus, keeping pace – and sometimes even doing better. In 1823 Gardner received 263 votes to Lummus's three to become one of the overseers of the poor but the victory over his lifelong foe was overshadowed by Lummus's election that same day as a senator from Essex County. Lummus received 589 votes in Lynn and 4,594 votes countywide to be elected as one of six state senators on the Republican ticket.<sup>188</sup> Gardner was not impressed by Lummus's election or his politics, so he ran against him the following year. Even another mock election wouldn't have slowed down Lummus and his party: Lummus was the highest vote getter in Lynn's 1824 election with 627 votes; Gardner was the lowest with 269. Lummus went on to receive 5,314 votes throughout the county and win another year as senator.<sup>189</sup> Although Lummus had arrived in Lynn an unknown with no chance for the grand welcome General Washington received a few years later, his stature had risen steadily in the community and when another American war hero, the Marquis de Lafayette, came to Lynn some four decades after Lummus's arrival, Lummus was selected as one of the town's leading citizens to serve on the official reception committee.<sup>190</sup>

Even in death, Gardner and Lummus were equal (they both died in 1831 with debts exceeding their assets) but Lummus had a personal impact on Lynn that would last for many years.<sup>191</sup> Most of his children would remain in Lynn and become pillars of the community; some of them would carry on their father's legacy of searching for the most effective medical solutions. Citizens of Lynn who were unrelated to Aaron Lummus named their children in honor of the popular Lummus family; three of them were named for Aaron himself: Aaron Lummus Holder, Aaron Lummus Lewis, and Aaron Lummus Oliver.<sup>192</sup> Despite any objections Gardner might have raised, town records always referred



**Bad Blood.** (left to right): Leech transport (with replica leech inside), spring lancet in open carrying case, and bleeding cups, all early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Both cups are pontiled; the older one is in the foreground, made of thicker and aqua glass; the other is clear glass. The transport is clear, ribbed glass with open pontil. At only 2.375" tall and 2.75" body diameter, the leech transport container is clear, ribbed glass with open pontil. Healers took it with them, covered in fabric and tied under the flanged lip when traveling to patients. Another popular method of bleeding patients was the spring lancet, named for the spring action that made the sharp steel blade pierce the skin when the trigger was pulled. (lancet of brass and steel; wooden case with leather-covered exterior and chamois-lined interior. (All collection of the author.)

to Lummus as “Doctor.” He was memorialized as an “eminent physician and chirurgeon” in his obituary:

Few of the inhabitants of Lynn, at any period of its history, have been more generally respected while living, or more sincerely regretted when dead.... The inhabitants of Lynn, and the adjacent towns who, for nearly half a century, have received his unremitting and generous services, in their hours of sickness and distress by day and night, know well how highly to appreciate his memory, and will long regret the wise dispensation which prevented his visits to their dwellings.<sup>193</sup>

Lummus was especially appreciated by the family and friends of the sick: “his services in his profession were peculiarly acceptable to that portion of the community, from whom the sick generally receive the most delicate attentions, and the most generous sympathy.”<sup>194</sup>

Gardner was remembered with a calculated respect more than the endearing terms used on Lummus: “He courted no popularity that was inconsistent with justice and ... was only unpopular for being just.... His fellow townsmen will regret the loss of his ability, capacity, firmness and decision of character.”<sup>195</sup> Gardner’s personal influence on Lynn’s health and politics effectively ended with his death. A number of his children moved to Virginia and succeeding professional physicians offered no homage or debt of gratitude for this pioneer of professional medicine in Lynn.<sup>196</sup> He was remembered by all as successful by every measure of life but he seemed to harbor the one secret regret that he had been unable, as Lynn’s ensign of professional medicine, to see Lummus’s non-professional medicine fail. If professional medicine was the key to Lynn’s health, there were just too many freethinkers, self-dosers, and critics already in this Pandora’s box than could be locked up. The contest in which Gardner and Lummus had spent a lifetime engaged was really just beginning.

## ***PORTEnds OF THE NEW CENTURY***

Lynn had wallowed in economic stagnation for a century while most other Essex County coastal towns took advantage of more commodious natural surroundings and prospered. By the onset of the nineteenth century, Lynn's shoe industry had gained solid footing. William Rose's establishment of the town's first morocco leather manufactory in 1800 was especially well suited to the production of ladies' soft leather shoes.<sup>197</sup> Lynn's population increased twenty-one percent over the decade 1790 to 1800, from 2,291 to 2,774, and despite the national depression that was spurred by the Embargo Act, by 1810 the 4,077 population was seventy-eight percent higher than twenty years earlier, although it was still lagging behind its sisters by the sea.<sup>198</sup> Lynnfield had been distinguished as an autonomous district in 1782 and the commonwealth's censors tabulated its population separately. The West Parish was still counted as part of Lynn but its desire for separate status was close behind Lynnfield. Lynnfield was made a separate town in 1814 and Saugus was incorporated in 1815.<sup>199</sup>

As Lynn came closer to assuming its final boundaries, it showed characteristics of growth and development as a town in its own right. Some of those features included the establishment of the town's first post office in 1793 in Mansfield End, the first public hall in 1795, also in Gardner's neighborhood, and the town's purchase of its first fire engine in 1796.<sup>200</sup> Hopes never died for the establishment of other successful industries in Lynn, so the manufacture of snuff was started in a mill on the Saugus River, a salt works at the foot of Market Street, and a silk business was begun but all had short lives while cordwaining plodded along as the cornerstone of Lynn's economy.<sup>201</sup>

In 1803 the Boston-Salem Turnpike connecting the two major ports was completed. Before this time, travel from Lynn to either of these two towns was "tedious, both as to the consumption of time and the wear and tear [on] horses and vehicles."<sup>202</sup> It replaced the old Boston Road that ran through Mansfield End and Dye House Village as the main route for transportation and commerce; consequently, the center of Lynn's activities started to shift southward from Gardner's neighborhood to the common's west end. In the turnpike's inaugural year, the Lynn Hotel was built at the junction of the common and the turnpike to accommodate travelers. Shortly after the Lynn Hotel opened its doors, the Anchor Tavern's doors were permanently closed.<sup>203</sup> Two years later wealthy citizens built the private Lynn Academy on the western end of the common.<sup>204</sup> The post office also moved down to the new hub of activity.

While the town's growth represented potential for some, it still wasn't stimulating enough for others. In 1808, Benjamin Merrill was the first attorney to establish in Lynn and he found it "very pleasant and easy." He wrote to a friend that the inhabitants were "very peaceful and during my residence in that town there never was an action tried in Courts, in which either party was an Inhabitant of Lynn." And that was the problem. Lawyers thrived on conflict like doctors did with sickness. Although Lynn was nestled between busy Salem and Boston, Merrill described it as an "insulated ... frontier town," and he felt stifled by the "want of Society." He finally left in 1811 because he estimated that "almost certainly ... business would never increase so as to afford sufficient to maintain a family."<sup>205</sup> Similarly, Rufus Barrus abandoned his medical practice in Lynn for Boston about the time that another healer, Peter Gilman Robbins, was arriving from Plymouth to practice medicine in Lynn.<sup>206</sup>

Archelaus Putnam also moved to Lynn in 1809, hoping to benefit from the town's growth. He had been tending his brother's general store in Danvers New Mills, having an agreement with his brother that he could sell in the shop for his own profit items that his brother did not. After three years of this arrangement, however, he decided to give up being an assistant shopkeeper, "considering the few hopes of success in it."<sup>207</sup> He gave some thought to becoming a printer and later to trying his fortune at sea but his fickle dreams then quickly changed again to thoughts of becoming an apothecary.

In truth, he had little experience compounding medicines for his brother's store. He mentioned only one time each in his diary of making lozenges and a "diet drink of 18 or 20 different kinds of roots and herbs" when he was seventeen and then a few months later of inoculating himself with the cowpox virus, followed the next month by inoculating thirteen others out of his own arm.<sup>208</sup> He treated his own earache by applying roasted onions and almond oil.<sup>209</sup> He was so impressed by "some very useful information" in a book on the secrets of alchemy that he copied the whole thing.<sup>210</sup> With this simple knowledge and experience he felt sufficiently ready for embarking upon his own apothecary business and when he received the tacit encouragement of friends and family to do so, he became excited, writing in his diary, "My mind was transported."<sup>211</sup> He had hoped to set up shop in South Danvers, but found it was already served by an apothecary and there were two shops in Marblehead, his second choice. Then he was told of the prospects for such a business in Lynn. He heard that a man named Purinton had gone to Lynn five or six years earlier (1803-1804) and built an apothecary business that did quite well and then sold it to William Oliver.<sup>212</sup>

So on 19 May 1809, Archelaus Putnam rode his horse down the rough road to Lynn, "if a road it might be called," to size up the opportunity for himself. He registered at the Lynn Hotel, got some oats for his horse, then took a walk down to William Oliver's on the opposite end of the common. He went into the apothecary shop "with the pretense of buying lozenges, but nothing more than to see how it looked," and Putnam apparently felt he could best this competition.<sup>213</sup> In less than three weeks he moved from dream to reality. Packed with furniture, medicine, and a stone mortar, Archelaus Putnam left the home of his youth for Lynn at age twenty-two. Aaron Lummus had probably experienced many of the same emotions, hopes, and misgivings when he had entered Lynn twenty-seven years earlier, at age twenty-five. Archelaus wrote in his diary:

4. [June] I am now on the verge of leaving Danvers New Mills, my birthplace & Abode, where I was nursed and nourished & spent my life. ... To be transplanted into an untried soil where it is doubtful if I shall take root & live, much more grow & flourish. ...

Lynn, June 5. I arrived here in the chaise accompanied by Mr. Black [his brother-in-law] about ½ past 9 A.M., took some punch at the hotel & bated horse. Took a walk around to see the people in the neighborhood, asked the probable success of the Apothecary business, some thought 'twould do well, some said different. ... Till this moment of [Black's] departure, I had mustered resolution enough to encounter the disagreeable sensations of leaving my native home[;] at the word, "good-bye" my firmness failed me and the secreted tears flowed copiously from my eyes, nor could I resist the unwelcome emotions till my resolution once more assisted my legs to move & reconnoiter the vicinity. ... Now I was alone unknown and surrounded by strangers.<sup>214</sup>

While he was having a counter built for his shop, he busied himself by ordering a pharmacopeia, compounding medicines, preparing his mortar, pricing his merchandise, and writing some notices for distribution "to let people know I am here."<sup>215</sup> He met the town's three doctors, Gardner, Lummus, and Robbins, and was encouraged at his prospects to do business with each.<sup>216</sup>

Almost as quickly as his dream had become a reality, reality crumbled his dreams. The cost of freighting his medicine order from Salem was too high. The cost of the new sign for his shop was also too high.<sup>217</sup> He went on an errand and missed out on a number of customers; he lamented in his diary, "just so it is when I go away."<sup>218</sup> By October he thought about cutting leather for shoes during the big stretches of time between customers.<sup>219</sup> He also hired himself out glazing windows.<sup>220</sup> In late November he found himself "in a melancholy situation." A new competitor set up shop across the street from him and was determined to sell goods more cheaply. The fledgling apothecary despaired, "The prospect here has become dismal. People here in general are poor, workers at the shoe business depend on their employers for support and very few people are sick, hence I have no sale for medicine."<sup>221</sup>

The town that had warmed his hopes six months earlier turned a cold shoulder to his disappointment; he left Lynn on 24 January 1810, in the middle of a snowstorm. Aaron Lummus had

been able to make a life in Lynn, but Archelaus Putnam could not. Four months later, Putnam returned to Lynn to sell off his medicines and furniture to none other than Aaron Lummus on a note for \$430; Lummus then used these items to start his own apothecary. Putnam also sold his dyewoods and hardware to Aaron's son, John.<sup>222</sup>

The health of Lynn's residents may have been a little better at the start of the nineteenth century than it had been in the past as Archelaus Putnam observed in 1810, but every sickness was still a cause for a family to despair and every death an unbearable sadness. The painful memories of Beulah Purinton's death in 1801 caused her husband Abijah to grimace when he heard his sister suffering from the same symptoms, "our Deare Sister Abby is Very sick, shee is much as Beulah was the Latter Part of her sickness. Shee has a Very hard Cough & sick at her Stomach ... It is not in my Power to describe to you how I feale, espeshally a[t] Night to heare Poor sister Cough & Peuke. It seems to Rub upon the Wound at my Heart ..." Beulah had died two years into their marriage and just five months after the birth of their only child, baby Beulah.<sup>223</sup> Death was no easier for the elderly to face, even though they had already been blessed with many decades of life. In 1799 the 66-year-old Samuel Jenks tried to bolster the courage and faith of his 64-year-old sister, Sarah Sargent, who had apparently been struggling with a combination of poor health and some fear of her approaching death:

My Dearest Sister

... after those distressing tryalls, that you have past through so lately, Cannot you discern the Gracious hand of a good God in thus assisting you through this scene of Trouble. & although we are often call.<sup>d</sup> to mourn let us never indulge a thought of Murmering ... my dear Sister I hope & trust that your Cheif Treasure is in – Heaven. & as these your Earthly Comforts are removeing there may it move & more ingage your heart & Desires to be there also where trouble & Sorrow shall forever cease & God himself shall wipe away all tears from your Eyes[.] my dear Sister I Cannot but think that you have but a few more weary steps to take before you will be safety landed there ... I Remain your affectionate Brother Sam<sup>1</sup> Jenks<sup>224</sup>

Child mortality still raged out of control but more mothers were surviving childbirth. In 1799 Gardner noted the deaths of two of his female patients during childbirth, both from a uterine hemorrhage; one mother was delivering her sixth child. Yet the percentage of Lynn females in the early years of childbearing (16-25 years) rose a dramatic 136% from 1800 to 1810. The increase in the number of younger Lynn women was the largest increase in that age group out of all twenty-three towns in Essex County; next was Newburyport at thirty-nine percent. Gardner's knowledge of obstetrical instruments might have caused some of the improvement in the statistics but Lummus's popularity for midwifery might suggest he was the hero. The Lynn women of older childbearing age (26-45 years) rose eighteen percent during the same period; this was well below the increases enjoyed by the rest of the census age groups for the town but they nonetheless had undergone the third largest increase for that age group in the county over the decade; Newburyport was second at twenty-one percent and Salem had grown by fifty percent.<sup>225</sup>

The use of the cowpox vaccine for the prevention of smallpox got off to a very rocky start in the area, but eventually was accepted as another medical improvement at the start of the nineteenth century. James Gardner had successfully inoculated Lynners with smallpox matter in 1792, another year that the epidemic had hit Boston. After inoculating his patients Gardner returned to attend to them for as long as eighteen days until they were over the illness and ready to return from the "Pest House."<sup>226</sup>

When an epidemic crisis broke out in Marblehead during October 1800, Gardner was quick to respond to the call for help. In that year the pox was again general throughout the area. On 9 June 1800 Ipswich selectmen ordered certain people who might be exposed to the smallpox to go to the house of John Lummus (Aaron Lummus's brother) for inoculation.<sup>227</sup> In early October, Elisha Story, a Marblehead physician, received from a son he had sent to London some of the cowpox virus that he had heard was so effective against smallpox. English physician Edward Jenner had discovered

that a vaccine of cowpox was less virulent and dangerous but just as effective against smallpox as human pox matter. Story inoculated his family of eight and some friends with the kine pox matter; “contrary to my expectations,” wrote Story in an explanatory letter to the Massachusetts Medical Society after the disaster, the vaccine “produced the fatal disease the smallpox … in the first instances it appeared very mild and it was the opinion of the Medical Gentlemen who saw the Patients at that time that it was an intermediate disease between the Kine & Small pox, at least, that, was their opinion then.”<sup>228</sup> It was soon clear that the virus provided was the genuine smallpox and the contagion spread quickly throughout the town. Gardner came to Marblehead’s aid in mid-November when the smallpox was spreading through the town. He remained for five weeks and assisted Story in inoculating 800 people out of the 3,000 inhabitants and 150 strangers. Gardner wrote that 150 had the natural disease (i.e., from contagion, not inoculation). Of those 150 who were infected, Gardner recorded that fifteen had died, while forty-eight of those who had been inoculated died, for a total of sixty-three deaths by the pox in Marblehead in the space of two months.<sup>229</sup>

Lynn was in an uproar over the nearness of the dreaded disease that seemed to be running amuck in Marblehead. The town paid John Phillips to fence off the road to Marblehead during the outbreak and had a “smoak house” built for those who were suspected of being exposed to the virus.<sup>230</sup> When Gardner was heading for Marblehead, Lynn’s selectmen were considering the motion of a number of the towns inhabitants “to see if the town will agree to building a hospital at [the] house of Captain Joseph Johnson of Nahant with [the] purpose of inoculating for the small pox,” but fears ran too high that another inoculation fiasco could occur and even Johnson’s home on remote western Nahant was too close to home. The selectmen voted against the pox hospital on Nahant, and Lynn prayed that their fences and smokehouse would protect them from an epidemic.<sup>231</sup> Asa Newhall’s family became infected but the selectmen took measures to ensure that the family did not spread the pox. When a beleaguered Gardner returned from Marblehead he found that in his absence “it has been very healthy in Town.”<sup>232</sup> Tragedy had struck, however, while Gardner was valiantly trying to save Marblehead: his own three-year old daughter Susan had succumbed to the dreaded pox.<sup>233</sup> The cowpox vaccine remained an object of suspicion and ridicule for many decades following the Marblehead debacle.

Amid the uncertainty of life and the difficulties of living it, people pursued amusements and diversions from reality. Drinking reached across every class. Some people were organizing “lobster frolics,” as Gardner had noted, some with more enjoyable results than others. In 1800 James Robinson, the postmaster, displayed an elephant in his chaise house – the first pachyderm in town and in the United States.<sup>234</sup> More would lumber through Lynn in the years to come as part of traveling menageries and circuses; the area between Mansfield End and Pine Hill would become known as Circus Field. In the same year, the town’s first dancing school opened.<sup>235</sup> Also in that year Captain Johnson built a hotel on the western end of Nahant for the recreation and enjoyment of Nahant’s peculiarly healthful sea breezes. The Lynn Hotel was taking care of the turnpike traveler’s basic needs but Johnson’s Hotel on Nahant was designed to cater to the fancies of the wealthy of Salem and Boston who felt the need to refresh themselves from the urban life; after all, their towns were clamoring with 12,000 and 39,000 residents, respectively, and Nahant was an unspoiled oasis.<sup>236</sup> Johnson’s hotel burned down in 1803, however, and the affluent were adrift, but they would soon be invited back to Lynn to the pond that had refreshed and renewed another important Bostonian, Increase Mather, over one hundred years earlier.

## Chapter 1 Notes

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1. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn* (Boston: J. H. Eastburn, 1829), pp. 183 (Washington; came to Lynn in 1789), 223 (Lafayette; came to Lynn in 1824). Lewis also briefly mentioned that Lafayette stopped in a Saugus tavern on the way to somewhere else in 1789 (later corrected by Newhall to be 1788) but there is no indication that his arrival at the tavern or in the area was expected or planned for as a formal reception of him by Lynners. On the other hand, Washington's 1789 arrival and Lafayette's 1824 visit were big events for Lynn and many townspeople came out to see and cheer for the two war heroes of the new nation.
  2. Article, "Dr. Aaron Lummus and His Family," Lynn Scrapbooks; no newspaper attribution or date. The Scrapbooks are a collection of newspaper clippings at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society. Article title, newspaper attribution, and date are not regularly noted on the clippings.
  3. Lucinda M. Lummus, "Dr. Aaron Lummus," manuscript (1904, at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), pp.1-2.
  4. Probate Records of John Lummus, manuscript (at the Essex County Probate Court, Salem, Mass.), No.17348; see the will.
  5. Lucinda Lummus, "Dr. Aaron Lummus," pp.2-3, represents that Aaron's younger brother, Porter, also became a physician but she did not cite her source and appears to be incorrect. The 1850 federal census lists him as a farmer as were all his sons. (*Population Schedules of the Sixth Census of the United States, 1850*: Springville, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, p.4, dwelling 42.) The family genealogy also makes no suggestion of Porter pursuing medicine; see George Harlan Lewis, "Edward Lumas of Ipswich, Mass., and Some of His Descendants," Essex Institute Historical Collections, Vol.53, p.151. James R. Newhall, *The Essex Memorial for 1836: Embracing a Register of the County* (Salem, Mass.: Henry Whipple, 1836), pp.113-114, explains that the hemophiliacs had been in Hamilton for generations before the book was published.
  6. Thomas Franklin Waters, *Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay*, 2 vols. (Ipswich, Mass.: Salem Press), Vol.2 (1905), p.295.
  7. Thomas Francis Harrington, M.D., *The Harvard Medical School, A History, Narrative and Documentary, 1782-1905*, James Gregory Mumford, ed., 3 vols. (New York: Lewis Publishing Company), Vol.1 (1905), p.56. Lummus's apprenticeship under Cutler and Kittredge listed in Lummus, "Dr. Aaron Lummus," p.3.
  8. *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States taken in the Year 1790 - Massachusetts* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1973).
  9. Joseph B. Felt, *Ipswich, Essex, and Hamilton* (Cambridge, Mass.: Charles Folsom, 1834), p.269. In addition to Rev. Cutler, Felt lists Joseph Manning, John Manning, John Calef, Wallis Rust, and Josiah Smith as healers practicing in the Ipswich area during the late 1770s and early 1780s.
  10. Joseph B. Felt, *History of Ipswich*, pp.264, 267, 268, lists Mr. Jewett, Joseph Gowen, and Josiah Lord as Ipswich apothecaries. Jewett and Gowen are specifically mentioned as having sold such patent medicines as *Turlington's Balsam of Life*, *Dr. Hill's Balsam of Honey for Consumption*, and the *Anodyne Necklace for Teething Children*.
  11. *Population Schedules of the First Census of the United States, 1790*: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts. Barnes Riznik, *Medicine in New England, 1790-1840*, Old Sturbridge Village Booklet Series (Old Sturbridge, Inc., 1969), p.6 put the physician-to-population ratio at a range from 1:300 to 1:400. But J. Worth Estes, "Therapeutic Practice in Colonial New England," *Medicine in Colonial Massachusetts, 1620-1820*, Philip Cash, Eric H. Christianson, and J. Worth Estes, eds. (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1980), p.297, found the ratio in southeastern New Hampshire towns during the last quarter of the eighteenth century at about 1:1,000. Clearly the more potential patients and fewer competing healers in a given region, the better the odds of a physician's success.
  12. Lummus's first Lynn residence at Window Ruth Johnson's Tavern and his first residence as a married man (in a house on the south side of the Lynn Common), listed in Lummus, "Dr. Aaron Lummus," p.3; Jonathan Norwood's residence listed in John Langdon Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University in Cambridge, Mass.*, 17 vols. (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society), Vol.12 (1962), p.566. Flagg's Marion Street residence listed in Eugene D. Russell, "Harvard College and Lynn in Colonial Times," *The Register of the Lynn Historical Society*, (Lynn, Mass.: Frank S. Whitten), No.16 (1913), p.91. Burchsted's residence on Boston Street between Wyman and Flint listed in Russell Leigh Jackson, *Physicians of Essex County* (Salem, Mass.: The Essex Institute, 1948), p.21.
  13. Probate Records of John Lummus, No.17348; see the will.
  14. *A Catalogue of the Honorary and Past and Present Fellows 1781-1931* (Boston: The Massachusetts Medical Society, 1931), p.88. Harrington, *The Harvard Medical School*, pp.61-62. Massachusetts Medical Society

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- Records of the Council, 1786, manuscript (at the Francis Countway Library, Boston), in Volume 1, p.30, includes the recommendation by Dr. Isaac Rand and Dr. Simeon Tufts of John Flagg for society admission.
15. John Langdon Sibley, *Biographical Sketches*, Vol.15 (1970), p.50.
  16. Flagg was listed as a treasurer from 1781 through 1783 in *Records of Ye Towne Meetings of Lyn 1771-1783*, 7 vols. (Lynn: Lynn Historical Society), Part 7 (1971), pp.76, 80, 85, 87. His service on the Committee of Correspondence, Inspection and Safety started in 1772 and is recorded through 1783 in the same volume, pp.8, 23, 24, 26, 37, 44, 52, 58, 67, 77, 81, 88.
  17. Article, "A Narrative of the Late Disturbances at Marblehead," *Salem Gazette*, 22 February 1774.
  18. Article, "Dr. Aaron Lummus and his Family," Lynn Scrapbooks; no newspaper attribution or date. A portrait of Aaron Lummus shows his hair pulled back, especially behind his left ear, suggesting the presence of a cue. In 1988 the portrait was in the possession of David E. Lummus, Dothan, Alabama.
  19. Aaron Lummus, *The Life of Aaron Lummus* (Portland, Me.: Francis Douglas, 1816), p.8.
  20. Essex County Deeds, manuscript (at the Essex County Registry of Deeds, Salem, Mass.), Vol.169, p.83: "Benjamin Alley to Aaron Lummus" and pp.83-84: "Aaron Lummus to Robert Dodge, Esqr.,"
  21. Article by J. P. Boyce, "THOUGHTS OF FORMER YEARS. Number Three," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 April 1882.
  22. J. P. Boyce, "THOUGHTS OF FORMER YEARS. Number Three," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 April 1882.
  23. James Thomas Flexner, *Doctors on Horseback* (New York: The Viking Press, 1937), p.316.
  24. Article, "Old-Fashioned Tooth-Pulling," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 March 1890.
  25. Aaron Lummus, Daybook, manuscript (covering 1 January 1821 - 31 December 1826, at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society). It is the only daybook of Aaron Lummus in the repository. Statistical analysis of Lummus's daybook performed by the author (Rapoza). Asa Breed's extraordinary dental visit recorded in Lummus, Daybook, 15 August 1822.
  26. Aaron Lummus, Daybook, 23 August 1821. There is no indication in the record whether the attempts to revive Atwill's drowned son were successful.
  27. Aaron Lummus, Daybook, 7 March 1821.
  28. Aaron Lummus, Daybook, 15 and 18 January 1821.
  29. Aaron Lummus, Daybook, 21 September 1821 (gangrene); 22 June 1821 (tumor).
  30. J. P. Boyce, "THOUGHTS OF FORMER YEARS. Number Three," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 April 1882.
  31. Aaron Lummus, Daybook, 7 January 1821 (Nathaniel Farrington); 9 September 1821 (Mr. Gee; identified on 15 October 1821 as Lewman Gee). Visits to non-domestic locations were seldom recorded in Lummus's daybook, suggesting their novelty even to him.
  32. Aaron Lummus, Daybook; statistical analysis performed by the author (Rapoza).
  33. Aaron Lummus, *The Life of Aaron Lummus*, p.9. Obituary, *Lynn Mirror*, 22 January 1831.
  34. Aaron Lummus, Daybook. (Some of the following were treated by Lummus on more occasions than the date listed.) See 24 March 1823 (Estes); 4 February 1821 (Halowell); 7 October 1821 (Stone); 5 July 1821 (Chase); 22 January 1821 (Lakeman); 15 January 1821 (Collins); 10 February 1821 (Newhall); 8 June 1821 (Widow Robinson), 3 September 1821 (Widow Alley), 26 September 1821 (Widow Lydia Moulton), 26 July 1821 (Widow Brimblecom), and 1 August 1821 (Widow Sally Ramsdell).
  35. Town Treasurer's Account Book, manuscript (covering 1790-1801; at the Lynn City Hall), p.155: October 1798.
  36. Town Treasurer's Account Book, p.67: 24 March 1792 - 1 September 1793.
  37. Charles F. Lummus, *The Lynn Directory and Town Register for 1832* (Lynn: George Lummus, 1832), pp.16, 19, 52.
  38. Aaron Lummus, Daybook, 26 March 1821.
  39. Aaron Lummus, Daybook, 22 May 1821.
  40. Aaron Lummus, Daybook, 11 December 1821.
  41. Aaron Lummus, Daybook; see for example 14 May and 28 - 30 June 1821.
  42. Jonathan Boyce, Account Book, manuscript (covering the Lummus account from 1803-1805; at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), pp.32-33, reference Lummus's account with Boyce and specifically the cost of \$1.50 for the new pair of shoes. By comparison, Lummus's standard charge for extractions was 25 cents each; see Lummus, Daybook, 11 April and 22 August 1821.
  43. Article, "Early History of Lynn, No.13," Lynn Scrapbooks, Vol.2, p.17, 17 November 1882; no newspaper attribution.

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44. Lummus won five cases of default on promissory notes from William B. Alley, cordwainer; John Hawkes, Jr., of Lynnfield, laborer; Richard Pratt, Jr., cordwainer; Asa Sweetser, laborer; and Rufus Leathe, cordwainer; see Records of the Court of Common Pleas, manuscript (at the Essex County Clerk of Courts Office, Salem, Mass.), Vol.29, pp.108-109 (Alley, Hawkes, Pratt), 291-292 (Sweetser, Leathe).
45. Aaron Lummus, Daybook, 29 and 30 November 1821. Next to Lummus's \$5 debit notation for his assistance in a birth was added, “\$6 after 60 days.” He wrote the same note several times more before and after this date. Ironically, Lummus’s charge to deliver babies was the same as the cost for a coffin. See Article, “Town Affairs,” *Lynn Mirror*, 7 April 1827.
46. Records of the Court of Common Pleas, Vol.29, pp.315-316: “Abraham Foster vs. Aaron Lummus.”
47. John Lummus, Receipts, manuscript (both dated 25 September 1823; at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), for payments made by Aaron Lummus.
48. Essex County Deeds, Vol.193, p.128: “Aaron Lummus to Rev. David Osgood.”
49. Records of the Court of Common Pleas, Vol.42, pp.448-449: “Robert Dodge v. Aaron Lummus.”
50. Essex County Deeds, Vol.211, p.4: “Aaron Lummus to Aaron Lummus, Jr.”
51. Probate Records of Aaron Lummus, manuscript (at the Essex County Registry of Probate, Salem, Mass.), No.17340; see the claims of creditors.
52. Aaron Lummus, Daybook, 7 April 1821 (barley); 29 March 1821 (veal purchase price); 14 April 1821 (veal sell price); 19 May 1821 lists Lummus's purchase and sell price for pork.
53. Alonzo Lewis and James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Including Lynnfield, Saugus, Swampscott and Nahant* (Boston: John L. Shorey, 1865), p.513, described the edifice as a “small wooden building.”
54. Article, J. P. Boyce “THOUGHTS OF FORMER YEARS. Number Four,” *Daily Evening Item*, 25 April 1882.
55. Once Aaron's youngest son, Thomas, finally started out on his own as an apothecary, Charles placed an ad in his newspaper for the hire of a young teenage boy to tend the office of their seventy-two-year-old physician-father (Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 14 March 1829). In Lummus, Daybook, 15 February 1821, Aaron Lummus wrote, “Medicine delvd out of Shop.” On 28 November 1823 he “washed the shop & furniture.” Also see his notations regarding the issuance of “prescriptions” on 19 and 26 February 1821.
56. Aaron Lummus, Daybook, 13 June 1822 (Breed) and 6 June 1822 (Mulliken). As his sons matured and went their separate ways and other apothecaries set up in town, Aaron's apothecary business faded or died. He never advertised in his son's newspaper, from its beginning in 1825 to his end in 1831.
57. Records of Mount Carmel Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, Lynn, Mass., manuscript volume (covering 1 June 1805 – 29 December 1855), pp.38-39. (Collection of the author: Rapoza.)
58. Records of Mount Carmel Lodge, p.60.
59. Other opportunities eventually came along for his hall's use. Alonzo Lewis paid an average of seventy-five cents a week to use Lummus's hall for seventy weeks between 1819 and 1821. (Lummus, Daybook, 8 April 1821). Lummus rented Lewis the hall on the second floor between 29 March 1819 to 9 February 1821. For six of those weeks he charged one dollar per week but for 64 weeks he charged 75 cents per week. On the last day of rental, Lummus made a marginal note, “Alonzo Lewis Removes the Library from the Hall.” In 1818 Richard Hazeltine purchased from Lewis one three-dollar share in “the First Lynn Social Library” (Richard Hazeltine, Daybook, manuscript [covering 3 May 1817 - 26 January 1822; at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society], 6 January 1818. See also, Notice, “Lynn Social Library,” *Lynn Mirror*, 20 March 1830.) Lummus also rented the second floor in 1823 to the Reading Society, a precursor to the Circulating Library, which was also housed there later in the decade (Lummus, Daybook, 28 May 1823), lists the rental of the hall to the Reading Society at \$10 per quarter. Lummus's son Charles published Lynn's first newspaper, the *Lynn Weekly Mirror*, on the second floor. Advertisement, “The Arcade,” *Lynn Mirror*, 27 December 1829, states that the Circulating Library was located in the building underneath the printing office.
- In the 1820s Charles Lummus operated a store on the first floor of his father's building that provided a eclectic combination of books, stationery items, toiletries, patent medicines, personal notions, and musical instrument supplies. He campaigned lightly in his newspaper for his store to be known as the Arcade but the distinction did not seem to catch on, nor did he likely expect the designation to gain currency among the townspeople. (Advertisement, “The Arcade,” *Lynn Mirror*, 3 January 1829.)
60. Records of Mount Carmel Lodge, p.21 (bylaws).
61. Records of Mount Carmel Lodge pp.65.
62. John Lummus, Receipt, manuscript (at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), for payments made by Aaron Lummus, 27 November 1812.
63. Probate Records of Aaron Lummus, No.17340; see the estate inventory.

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64. Aaron Lummus, Daybook; statistical analysis performed by the author (Rapoza). In 1821, for example, Lummus had 2,846 patients, but that number represented only 347 individuals whom he saw an average of eight times each over the course of the year. Lynn's population in the 1820 federal census was 4,515; see *Population Schedules of the Fourth Census of the United States, 1820*: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts. Thus Lummus's 1821 patient base equaled only 7.69% of the town's total population for that year.
  65. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, pp.196-197. The baby's hair was scorched and her fingernails were slightly burned; others in the house were stunned, but not injured.
  66. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, pp.200-201.
  67. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, p.204.
  68. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, p.225.
  69. Alonzo Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.351.
  70. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.359.
  71. Dr. Johann David Shoepff, *The Climate and Diseases of America*, Dr. James Read Chadwick, trans. (Boston: H. O. Houghton & Co., 1875; from work published in Erlangen, Prussia, 1788), pp.16-17.
  72. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Samuel n. Dickinson, 1844), p.235.
  73. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, p.204.
  74. Article, "Dr. Aaron Lummus and his Family," Lynn Scrapbooks; no newspaper attribution or date.
  75. The poem appeared as part of Lummus's obituary in the *Lynn Record*, 26 January 1831.
  76. J. Mackenzie, M.D. *Advice to the People in General with Regard to Their Health* (London), Vol.2 (1767), pp.233-236.
  77. Aaron Lummus, Daybook, 1821; statistical analysis performed by the author (Rapoza). Of 2,846 patients seen by Lummus in 1821, 769 of them received advice from him. Gardner listed "advice" in his daybook, while Lummus listed it as a consultation ("cons") with him.
  78. J. Worth Estes, *Dictionary of Protopharmacology, Therapeutic Practices, 1700-1850* (Canton, Mass.: Science History Publications, U.S.A., 1990), p.34. Sarah Stage, *Female Complaints, Lydia Pinkham and the Business of Women's Medicine* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1979), p.49.
  79. Probate Records of Aaron Lummus, No.17340; see the estate inventory, listing his debt to the publishers of the *Medico Chirurgical Review* for \$20.00. Since Charles Lummus quoted both the *Review* and the *Boston Medical Intelligencer* with frequency, the latter was probably also readily available to him in his father's office.
  80. Aaron Lummus, Daybook, 6 February 1821 (cinchona); 3 January 1821, 19 January 1822 (digitalis); 15 October 1822 (cardiac powders).
  81. Aaron Lummus, Daybook. There are many instances of Lummus using his myrrh mixture; see for example 11 January 1821.
  82. Aaron Lummus, Daybook. Lummus started using pectoral pills a great deal in March 1821. There were also many instances of him dispensing jaundice bitters; see for example 4 February 1821. By comparison, Wheaton's Jaundice Bitters were advertised in the *Lynn Mirror*; see 1 November 1828 and 31 January 1829.
  83. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 14 April 1827.
  84. Aaron Lummus, Daybook; statistical research performed by the author (Rapoza).
  85. John Langdon Sibley, *Biographical Sketches*, Vol.15, p.50. Obituary, *Salem Gazette*, 28 May 1793.
  86. Epitaph of John Flagg on a slate stone in the Old Western Burial Ground, Lynn; observed by the author on 13 September 1987.
  87. Probate Records of John Flagg, manuscript (at the Essex County Probate Court, Salem, Mass.); No.9556; see the will and estate inventory.
  88. *Descendants of Richard Gardner of Woburn of the Name of Gardner* (Boston: Geo. C. Rand and Avery, 1858), pp.8-9.
  89. Probate Records of Henry Gardner, manuscript (at the Middlesex County Probate Court, Cambridge, Mass.), No.8856, 8858; see the will.
  90. Mary Caroline Phillips Bennett, "Sketch of the Life of a Revolutionary Soldier, James Gardner, M.D.," *The Register of the Lynn Historical Society*, No.25, Part 2 (September 1931), p.105. *Descendants of Richard Gardner*, p.4.
  91. Mary Caroline Phillips Bennett, "Sketch of ... James Gardner, M.D.," p.106.
  92. Mary Caroline Phillips Bennett, "Sketch of ... James Gardner, M.D.," p.106.

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93. Thomas F. Harrington, *The Harvard Medical School - A History Narrative and Documentary, 1782-1905*, James Gregory Mumford, ed., 3 vols. (New York: Lewis Publishing Company), Vol.3 (1905), p.1449.
94. Josiah Bartlett, "An historical sketch of the progress of Medical Science in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, being the substance of a discourse read at the annual meeting of the Medical Society, June 6, 1810, with alterations and additions to January 1, 1813," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society), Vol.1 of the Second Series (1814), p.116.
95. James Gardner, Daybook, 2 vols., manuscript (covering 19 May 1792 - 31 December 1800; at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society). For reference to the faculty and Gardner's self-inclusion among them, see the monthly summaries at the end of April 1795 and June 1796.
96. In the seven years from 1794 through 1800, Gardner only neglected mentioning the Harvard Commencement in 1796, although he also wrote in 1800 that he could not go to it. See James Gardner, Daybook, 16 July 1794, 15 July 1795, 19 July 1797, 18 July 1798, 17 July 1799, and 16 July 1800. Mary Bennett stated that if his professional duties allowed, Gardner never missed going to the annual commencement exercises of his alma mater (see Bennett, "Sketch of ... James Gardner, M.D., p.106); based on the above survey of Gardner's early daybooks, his loyalty to Harvard appears genuine and sustained, as Bennett inferred. His dedication was that much more remarkable on 18 July 1798 when he noted both the college's commencement and the birth of his third child; one wonders which he attended!
97. *Descendants of Richard Gardner*, p.13.
98. James Gardner, Daybook. All of the prefatory material described was written on the first page of the first volume.
99. Statistical comparison of Gardner's practice from May through December for 1792 and 1793 was performed by the author (Rapoza). James Gardner, Account Book, manuscript (covering 1792 - 1810; at the Peabody Essex Museum; dates are sometimes included with the entry). His account book lists several overpayments of "Dr. Flagg's bill" that were made to him or Mrs. Flagg. Most of these former Flagg patients became Gardner's patients, including Micajah Burrill, 29 January 1795 (p.54), William Ramsdell, 1794 (p.80), Benjamin Phillips, 1794 (p.60), Joel Newhall, 1794 (p.74), and William Carriage, 1796 (p.43).
100. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*. Amariah Childs was the first president of the Lynn Institution for Savings and celebrated chocolate manufacturer with mills on the Saugus River at Boston Street. He lived on Boston Street, nearly opposite Bridge Street (p.415). Jacob Newhall was the proprietor of the Blew Anchor tavern on Boston Street just west of Amariah Childs's chocolate manufactory (p.495). Colonel James Robinson was the first postmaster in Lynn, appointed in 1795, and representative of Lynn to the state legislature from 1796-1802. He lived at the northeast corner of Boston and Federal Streets (pp.397, 579). James R. Newhall, *Proceedings in Lynn, Massachusetts June 17, 1879* (Lynn: Lynn Record, 1880). James Newhall was one of the first three justices of the peace for Essex County under the state government. He was also one of few shoe manufacturers at the turn of the nineteenth century who employed as many as three journeymen. His house was on Boston Street opposite Summer Street (p.90). Honorable Joseph Fuller served six terms as Lynn's representative to the state. He was also the first president of the Lynn Mechanics Bank. He had a house off Boston Street east of Cottage Street (p.94).
101. James Gardner, Daybook. Gardner's average cost per patient was thirty-nine cents; out-of-town visits to such patients as Stephen Grover (6 October 1798) and James Blodget (21 January 1800), both of Malden, and Jo. Wait of Chelsea (18 April 1798) each incurred charges of a dollar or more. On 4 September 1797 Gardner charged Thomas Douty a whopping \$3.50 for mending his broken arm; he normally charged fifty cents for this service but his travel to Douty's Danvers home by night brought the surcharge. Night travel took up valuable sleep time and day travel took up time that could have gone to earning more fees. For example, on 26 April 1798 Gardner rode from Boston to Groton – a full-day activity that covered a distance of thirty miles. On 27 April he proceeded from Groton to Westford (eight miles in three and a half hours), and then from Westford to Lynn, a six and a half hour ride covering twenty-seven miles.
102. Aaron Lummus, Daybook, 31 December 1795.
103. James Gardner, Daybook. (Some of the following were treated by Gardner on more occasions than the dates listed.) See 22 August 1797 (Lewis); 27 July 1794 (Black); 26 January 1797 (Reading); 16 March 1800 (Cheever); 13 March 1800 (Nichols); 21 August 1795 (Thatcher); 30 September 1797 (Dagyr); 24 September 1794, 28 February 1795, and 21 March 1796 (Robert, John, and Ruth Pitcher, respectively); 15 April 1797 (Thyot); and 11 August 1797 (Shorey).
104. James Gardner, Account Book, see under 1795, pp.49-50.
105. James Gardner, Account Book. On a few occasions in 1794, James Newhall purchased medicine from a Doctor Bartlett in Charlestown for James Gardner (pp.44-45). Similarly, John L. Johnson purchased medicine in Boston and Salem for Gardner (p.76).
106. James Gardner, Daybook, 15 January 1797.
107. James Gardner, Account Book, 1793, pp.15-16.
108. James Gardner, Account Book, 1801, pp.8-9.

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109. James Gardner, Account Book, 23 December 1796, pp.82-83.
  110. Article, Lynn Scrapbooks, Vol.12, p.61; no newspaper attribution, title or date.
  111. James Gardner, Daybook, 5 January 1796.
  112. James Gardner, Daybook, 25 May 1798; 1 August 1797.
  113. James Gardner, Daybook, 12 February 1799; in spite of his illness, he still saw two patients on that day.
  114. James Gardner, Daybook, 5 April 1798.
  115. James Gardner, Daybook; statistical research by the author (Rapoza). In 1800 Gardner tended to 2,318 patients; in that year, the population of Lynn was 3,305; see *Population Schedules of the Second Census of the United States, 1800: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts*. Gardner actually saw only 209 different people in 1800, or 6.32% of the town's population, but most were seen on multiple occasions and therefore entered into the daybook several times.
  116. James Gardner, Daybook, summary for June 1796.
  117. James Gardner, Daybook, summary for April 1795.
  118. Paul Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1982), p.65.
  119. James Gardner, Daybook, 29 December 1796.
  120. James Gardner, Daybook, 8 October 1793 (Newhall), 16 October 1793 (Brideen). C. F. Lummus, *The Lynn Directory and Town Register for 1832* (Lynn: Geo. Lummus, 1832) p.42.
  121. James Gardner, Daybook, 7 December 1795.
  122. James Gardner, Daybook, 29 October 1795.
  123. James Gardner, Daybook, 21 December 1795.
  124. James Gardner, Daybook; statistical research by the author (Rapoza). Over the eight full years covered in his daybook (1793-1800), Gardner tended 15,836 patients, dispensed 14,632 medicinal ingredients, opened 88 abscesses, delivered 331 babies, pulled 320 teeth, bled on 96 occasions, and gave advice 184 times.
  125. James Gardner, Daybook, 20 August 1796.
  126. James Gardner, Daybook, 10 August 1792.
  127. James Gardner, Daybook, 12 March 1794.
  128. James Gardner, Daybook, 9 June 1798 (Moulton); 26 June 1795 (Fern); 25 September 1799 (Ramsdell).
  129. James Gardner, Daybook, monthly summary for July 1796.
  130. James Gardner, Daybook, monthly summary for August 1796.
  131. James Gardner, Daybook, monthly summary for October 1796.
  132. James Gardner, Daybook, monthly summary for March 1794.
  133. James Gardner, Daybook, monthly summary for March 1797.
  134. James Gardner, Daybook; statistical research by the author (Rapoza). The eight-year (1793-1800) cumulative monthly totals for bleeding by Gardner were: January, 2; February, 5; March, 9; April, 12; May, 14; June, 19; July, 16; August, 4; September, 5; October, 6; November, 6; December, 2.
  135. James Gardner, Daybook, monthly summary for October 1799.
  136. J. Worth Estes, *Dictionary of Protopharmacology*, pp.164, 166. The importance of blood vessel and nerve strength is detailed in J. Worth Estes, "Patterns of drug usage in colonial America," *New York State Journal of Medicine*, Vol.87, January 1987, pp.38-40.
  137. Comparative statistical analyses of the daybooks of Aaron Lummus and James Gardner by the author (Rapoza). Gardner used 184 types of drugs between 1792-1801; he used cathartics in 24.15% of all doses during this time; tonics in 22.81%; and emetics for 13.58%. By comparison, Lummus used cathartics 27.98% of the time, tonics 11.92%, and emetics 9.38%. His favorite drug choices were: calomel (5.33%), rhei (4.56%), dulcified spirits of nitre (3.88%), a myrrh mixture of his own composition (2.96%), seneca (seneca snakeroot, 2.92%), cortex angostura (the bark of *Cusparia angostura*, 2.70%) columbo (powdered root of *Swertia caroliniensis*, 2.41%), cortex peruviana (powdered bark of *Cinchona officianalis*, 2.03%), cascarilla (1.61%), and opium (1.48%). Definitions and therapeutic actions of medicinal ingredients from Estes, *Dictionary of Protopharmacology*, p.41.
  138. James Gardner, Daybook, 9 August 1796 (orange bitters); 25 July 1797 (sweetened bitters).
  139. James Gardner, Daybook, 2 June 1796 (*Wheaton's Bitters*); 2 September 1796 (*Winter's Bark*); and 28 September 1793 (*Gould's Opium*).
  140. James Gardner, Daybook, 23 December 1794 (Stocker); 22 and 25 December 1794 (Atwill); 8 January 1795 (Phillips).
  141. James Gardner, Daybook, 26 October 1799 (emetic); monthly summary for May 1794 (astringent).

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142. James Gardner, Daybook; statistical research by the author (Rapoza).
143. James Gardner, Daybook, monthly summary for December 1795.
144. James Gardner, Daybook, monthly summary for August 1795.
145. James Gardner, Daybook, monthly summary for April 1799.
146. James Gardner, Daybook, monthly summary for August 1794.
147. James Gardner, Daybook, monthly summary for February 1796.
148. James Gardner, Daybook, monthly summary for September 1795.
149. *Population Schedules of the Second Census of the United States, 1800*: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts lists 16% of the males (449) and 15% of the females (406) in Lynn under age ten, while the ten to sixteen age group was only 7% (207) male and 6% (175) female. The trend continued in 1810 with 16% males (632) and 15% females (602) under age ten, but only 7% males (291) and 7% females (290) in the ten to sixteen age group. See *Population Schedules of the Third Census of the United States, 1810*: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts.
150. James Gardner, Daybook, monthly summary for July 1795.
151. James Gardner, Daybook, monthly summary for August 1795.
152. James Gardner, Daybook, monthly summaries for August 1795 (attack); February 1794 (prisoners/enemy); October 1796 (victim/rage); March 1794 (punished/evil); and March 1797 (conquered). Also note the monthly summary for December 1793, "Many, very many were the objects of its attack and numbers were victims to its ravages."
153. Town Treasurer's Account Book, March 1794.
154. James Gardner, Daybook, monthly summary for June 1796.
155. James Gardner, Daybook, monthly summary for March 1797.
156. James Gardner, Daybook, monthly summary for January 1795.
157. James Gardner, Daybook, monthly summaries for September 1794 and August 1794, respectively.
158. James Gardner, Daybook, monthly summary for January 1795.
159. James Gardner, Daybook, monthly summary for March 1795.
160. Translation courtesy of Professor John Shea, Department of Classical Studies, Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Mass.
161. James Gardner, Daybook, monthly summary for November 1796.
162. The gravestone of Thomas Cox, Old Western Burial Ground, lists Thomas Cox as a Lieutenant, but James Gardner's daybook listed him as Captain.
163. Despite referring to Cox has Lummus's patient, Gardner had, in fact, doctored him previously. See James Gardner, Daybook, 11 April 1794.
164. *The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar* (Boston: Manning and Loring, 1807), p.165, lists Barrus on Fifth Street in Boston. In the 1809 edition he was listed as relocated to No.16 Prince Street, Boston; p.164. A copy of the 1809 edition located at the Francis Countway Library shows Barrus's name bracketed in ink with several other healers, with the contemporary marginal notation, "Quack Doctors." In Probate Records of Rufus Lincoln Barrus, manuscript (at the Suffolk County Probate Court, Boston, Mass.), No.262, p.49, Barrus's 1829 will lists him residing in Roxbury, Norfolk County and practicing in Boston. Although regarded by the Massachusetts Medical Society as a quack, he had a healthy respect for the tools of his profession, as evidence by his will; in it he left his surgical instruments to a son, "to be delivered to him by my Executors, as soon as in their judgement, he shall be qualified to use them."
165. Massachusetts Medical Society Records of the Council, manuscript, 4 February 1808 (at the Francis Countway Medical Library, Boston, Mass.), records the approval of "Nathaniel Peabody, A.M." into the society. He had studied under Drs. John Jeffries, Rufus Wyman, and Samuel Manwaring. Jackson, *The Physicians of Essex County*, p.88 lists William Parsons as the surgeon's mate on the USS Constitution.
166. Comparative statistical analyses of the daybooks of Aaron Lummus and James Gardner by the author (Rapoza). While there may be some inequities inherent in the comparison of doctors' daybooks from practices over twenty years apart, the similarities in several statistics suggest the two practices can be fairly measured against each other. The two doctors' patient bases consisted of analogous population samples from the same town and were similar in size: 6.32% of Lynn's 1800 population (209 patients) for Gardner and 7.69% of Lynn's 1820 population (347 patients) for Lummus. Additionally, several of these were patients of both doctors, further suggesting common denominators in the physicians' practices.
167. *Lynn Mirror*, 10 January 1829, indicates 250 births in Lynn in 1826; Lummus, Daybook, 1826 bears record of 118 of these births. Previous years showed similar demand of Lummus during childbirth: 145 (1822), 143 (1823),

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- 139 (1824), and 113 (1825). While his son may have slightly exaggerated his service, Aaron Lummus was obviously the most sought after Lynn physician in obstetrical matters during the 1820s.
168. An examination of the Massachusetts Medical Society Records of the Council reveals no effort on Lummus's part to apply for membership. These volumes list membership applications accepted and rejected.
169. James Gardner, Letter to Doctor Joseph Whipple, in "Documents Illustrative of the Early History of the Massachusetts Medical Society," manuscript (at the Francis Countway Library, Harvard University Medical School, Boston), Vol.3, 24 May 1803.
170. Walter L. Burrage, *A History of the Massachusetts Medical Society, with Brief Biographies of the Founders and Chief Officers, 1781-1922* (Norwood, Mass.: The Plimpton Press, 1923), p.331.
171. Paul Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine*, p.46.
172. James Harvey Young, *The Toadstool Millionaires, A Social History of Patent Medicines in America Before Federal Regulation* (Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press, 1961), pp.21, 55-56, establishes a progression in popular American medical attitudes from medical nationalism, established at the end of the American Revolution, to a medical democracy in Jacksonian America that allowed citizens the freedom to choose medical solutions.
173. *Municipal History of Essex County in Massachusetts*, Benj. F. Arrington, ed., 4 vols., (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company), Vol.2 (1922), p.697.
174. Consultations with Richardson in Lummus, Daybook, 9 June and 1 November 1823. Richardson's medicine as listed in Samuel Adams Drake, *History of Middlesex County, Massachusetts* (Boston, MA: Estes and Lauriat, Publishers, 1880), Vol. II, p.406.
175. Town Treasurer's Account Book, 5 July 1790, p.18 (Lummus); February 1802, p.219 (Barrus); James Gardner, Daybook, 22 January 1794 (there are also several instances of Gardner caring for the Widow Merriam after this date).
176. Paul G. Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers*, p.40.
177. Mary Caroline Phillips Bennett, "Sketch of ... James Gardner, M.D.," pp.106-107.
178. Records of Mount Carmel Lodge, p.60. Gardner and Lummus were chosen to be Secretary and Treasurer, respectively, of the Mount Carmel Lodge from its organization in 1805 and they served together until the end of 1807. Gardner then declined being a candidate once again for secretary (pp.58-59) but he remained an active member and participated in other capacities. Lummus was again elected to be treasurer in 1808 but he did not serve and instead left the Masons altogether.
179. Mary Caroline Phillips Bennett, "Sketch of ... James Gardner, M.D.," p.107. See also Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine*, p.57.
180. Records Book of Lynn, manuscript (covering 1782-1813; at the Lynn City Hall); page numbers and dates are not consistent. See p.166 (1798, almshouse); p.239 (1803, roads); p.516 (1812, school); pp.239 (1803, also March 1805, 1806, 1808, all as moderator); pp.147 (6 March 1797), p.158 (5 March 1798), p.211 (1802), p.276 (1803, all as treasurer). *Mirror*, 15 March 1828 (audits). Records of the Town of Lynn, manuscript (covering 1822-1835; at the Lynn City Hall); page numbers and dates are not consistent. See 11 March 1822 (fish, overseers of the poor, board of health, and fire warden).
181. Records Book of Lynn, p.185 (1800).
182. Records Book of Lynn, p.249 (1804).
183. Paul G. Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers*, pp.30-32, 40-41, 48.
184. Records Book of Lynn, p.253 (1804, ammunition); p.266 (15 November 1804, moderator).
185. Records Book of Lynn, March 1805, 1806.
186. Records Book of Lynn, p.367 (2 May 1808) contains the bogus entry. Records of the Supreme Judicial Court, manuscript (at the Essex County Clerk of Courts Office, Salem, Mass.), Vol.D, pp.282-283, "Commonwealth v. Gardner et. al.," indicted Gardner and other Federalist conspirators of unlawful assembly and disturbing the elective process "to the injury of the order and purity of elections and against the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth"; it was also an "evil example to others." See also, Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, pp.202-203.
187. Records Book of Lynn, November 1808.
188. Records of the Town of Lynn, p.28 (1823). *Salem Gazette*, 3 June 1823.
189. Records of the Town of Lynn, p.60 (1824). Governor's Council Records, manuscript (covering 1822-1825; at the Massachusetts State Archives, Dorchester, Mass.), Vol.41, p.319 indicates 5,001 of the 10,001 votes cast were needed for election. Neither Gardner nor Lummus ran for senator in 1825.
190. Article, "Dr. Aaron Lummus and His Family," Lynn Scrapbooks; no newspaper attribution or date. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.353 (Washington; in 1789), 388-389 (Lafayette; in 1824). Lewis, *The History of*

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- Lynn*, p.223 mentions Lafayette was in fact “introduced to many gentlemen and ladies” during the ceremonies at the Lynn Hotel; this privileged reception group was likely the one which included Lummus.
191. Probate Records of James Gardner, manuscript (at the Essex County Probate Court, Salem, Mass.), No.10629 and Probate Records of Aaron Lummus, No.17340; see the estate inventory and claims of creditors of both.
  192. *Vital Records of Lynn, Massachusetts*, 2 vols. (Salem, Mass.: Newcomb & Gauss), Vol.1 (1906), pp.193 (Holder), p.235 (Lewis), p.304 (Oliver).
  193. Obituary of Aaron Lummus, *Lynn Mirror*, 22 January 1831.
  194. Obituary of Aaron Lummus, *Lynn Mirror*, 22 January 1831.
  195. Obituary of James Gardner, *Lynn Mirror*, 31 December 1831.
  196. Two of Gardner's children from his first marriage, the two from his second marriage, and at least two of the seven from his third marriage moved to the Richmond area in Virginia. See Mary Caroline Phillips Bennett, “Sketch of ... James Gardner, M.D.,” p.107.
  197. Paul G. Falter, *Mechanics and Manufacturers*, p.16.
  198. *Population Schedules of the First Census of the United States, 1790*: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts. *Population Schedules of the Second Census of the United States, 1800*: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts lists the total population as 2,837, but a recount shows it to have been 2,774. *Population Schedules of the Third Census of the United States, 1810*: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts lists the total population as 4,087, but a recount shows it to have been 4,077.
  199. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, p.212.
  200. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, p.225 (post office). Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.359 (public hall, fire engine).
  201. Warren Mudge Breed, “Some Abandoned Industries of Lynn,” *The Register of the Lynn Historical Society*, Vol.14 (1910), pp.184-186, 192, 196-197.
  202. B. F. Newhall, Article, “Sketches of Saugus - No.XLI,” *Lynn Reporter*, 14 July 1860.
  203. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, p.198 (Lynn Hotel); Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.497 (Anchor Tavern).
  204. Paul G. Falter, *Mechanics and Manufacturers*, p.47.
  205. Benjamin Merrill, Salem, Mass., Letter to Aaron Hobart Junior, Esquire, Attorney at Law, Abington, Mass., manuscript, 5 October 1811 (Aaron Hobart Collection Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, New York; Matthew Adams Digital).
  206. Robbins was accepted into the Massachusetts Medical Society while living in Lynn; see Massachusetts Medical Society Records of the Council, Vol.2, p.39. Intensity in local politics was another sign of the times for the town and Robbins was quickly caught up in the fray. Robbins' mark in Lynn's history was made by his political rather than medical contributions. On 4 July 1806 the bitterly divided Republicans and Federalists celebrated the nation's independence separately. The Federalists assembled at the 1111st meetinghouse for the Independence Day address while Republicans met at the Methodist meetinghouse for an oration by Robbins. The Republicans then dined at the Lynn Hotel and the Federalists ate nearby at the Lynn Academy. (Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, p.201.) Robbins continued with a career of public service; he joined one of the fire companies from 1808 through 1812, was appointed one of six hog reeves in 1808, and was made town meeting moderator in 1809. (Records Book, manuscript [covering 1782-1813] at the Lynn City Hall), 1808, 1809, p.356, and 1812, p.479 [fire ward]; 7 March 1808, p.355 [hog reeve]; April 1809, p.409 [town meeting moderator]). By the July 4th celebration in 1810 tensions between the political parties had eased sufficiently for Robbins to deliver the Independence Day oration to “cordially united” parties. (Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, p.234.) Robbins stepped down from the speaker's podium after this diplomatic triumph, but continued his medical practice in Lynn until about 1818. (Robbins' wife died on 26 March 1812; see *Vital Records of Lynn, Massachusetts*, 2 vols. (Salem, Mass.: Newcomb & Gauss), Vol.2 (1906), p.582. Robbins may have lived in Lynn until just before 1820. He was listed as a Justice of the Peace in Lynn in *The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar* from 1811 through 1820 (see especially the 1819 and 1820 editions, pp.43 and 42, respectively) but he was married a second time in Roxbury in December 1818 and was listed as living in Roxbury in the 1820 federal census. See *Vital Records of Roxbury, Massachusetts*, 2 vols. (Salem, Mass.: The Essex Institute, 1926), Vol.2, p.393 and *Population Schedules of the Fourth Census of the United States, 1820*.) One of Robbins' bills to the family of Jonathan Richardson survives, showing he provided the Lynn family medical services and products from 1810 to 1817. See P. G. Robbins, invoice, manuscript (covering 15 May 1870 to 1 January 1817; at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society). Both of Robbins' sons entered the ministry but at least one, Reverend Chandler Robbins, showed some medical interest, writing two medically-related tracts: *Remarks on the Diseases of Literary Men* (Boston: Cummings, Hilliard, and Co., 1825), which considered the many infirmities fomented by sedentary occupations, and A

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*Discourse Delivered Before the Humane Society of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts* (Boston: Thomas Fleet, 1796), which proposed shacks along the Massachusetts shoreline for the benefit of drowning and shipwreck victims.

207. “Diary of Archelaus Putnam of New Mills,” *The Historical Collections of the Danvers Historical Society* (Danvers, Mass., Newcomb & Gauss, 1917), Vol.5, p.63, 23 April 1806 (agreement). “Diary of Archelaus Putnam of New Mills,” *The Historical Collections of the Danvers Historical Society* (Danvers, Mass., Newcomb & Gauss, 1918), Vol.6, p.11, 18 March 1809 (hopes).
208. “Diary of Archelaus Putnam of New Mills,” *The Historical Collections of the Danvers Historical Society* (Danvers, Mass., Newcomb & Gauss, 1916), Vol.4, p.60, 27 August 1805 (lozenges); p.56, 25 May 1805 (diet drink); p.57, 26 June 1805 (himself); p.58, 9 July 1805 (thirteen).
209. “Diary of Archelaus Putnam of New Mills,” Vol.5, p.51, 7 September 1806.
210. “Diary of Archelaus Putnam of New Mills,” Vol.5, p.67, 29 August 1808.
211. “Diary of Archelaus Putnam of New Mills,” Vol.6, p.14, 15 May 1809.
212. “Diary of Archelaus Putnam of New Mills,” Vol.6, p.15, 19 May 1809. William Oliver was born in 1774 and was eleven years the senior of Stephen Oliver. See the Family Group Record of Henry Oliver and Ruth Newhall at [www.familysearch.org](http://www.familysearch.org).
213. “Diary of Archelaus Putnam of New Mills,” Vol.6, p.15, 19 May 1809.
214. “Diary of Archelaus Putnam of New Mills,” Vol.6, p.16, June 4-5, 1809. Putnam mentioned in his diary a “private alphabet” code he devised for pricing or perhaps to remind himself of his cost in each of his products. He used the surname of his landlord, B-U-R-C-H-S-T-E-A-D, which was a mix of ten unique letters, perfect for assignment to numbers one through ten (zero). Thus, he could price a dollar pectoral syrup as BDD or a twenty-five-cent plaster as UH.
215. “Diary of Archelaus Putnam of New Mills,” Vol.6, p.16, 5 June 1809 (counter); p.17, 6 June 1809 (pharmacopia) and 14 June 1809 (notices, mortar, medicine), and 15 June (pricing).
216. “Diary of Archelaus Putnam of New Mills,” Vol.6, p.19, 24 June 1809 (Lummus); p.17, 15 June 1809 (Gardner); and p.18, 28 June 1809 (Robbins).
217. “Diary of Archelaus Putnam of New Mills,” Vol.6, p.18, 29 June 1809.
218. “Diary of Archelaus Putnam of New Mills,” Vol.6, p.18, 30 June 1809.
219. “Diary of Archelaus Putnam of New Mills,” Vol.6, p.21, 10 October 1809.
220. “Diary of Archelaus Putnam of New Mills,” Vol.6, p.22, 25 November 1809.
221. “Diary of Archelaus Putnam of New Mills,” Vol.6, p.22, 25 November 1809.
222. “Diary of Archelaus Putnam of New Mills,” Vol.6, p.23, 19 June 1810.
223. Abijah Purinton, Lynn, Mass., Letter to Samuel Wing, Sandwich, Mass., manuscript, 20 June 1803. (Collection of the author: Rapoza.) The infant Beulah’s birth (26 May 1801) is documented in *Vital Records of Lynn*, Vol.1, p.334; the death of her mother Beulah (3 September 1801) is in Vol.2, p.572.
224. Samuel Jenks, Cambridge, Mass., Letter to Mrs. Sarah Sargent, Lynn, Mass., manuscript, 12 April 1799 (Collection of the author: Rapoza.) Births of Samuel (1733) and Sarah (1735) Jenks in *Vital Records of Lynn*, Vol.1, p.363.
225. *Population Schedules of the Second Census of the United States, 1800: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts*. *Population Schedules of the Third Census of the United States, 1810: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts*. Statistical analysis of census records by the author (Rapoza). By comparison, the total population of the town increased by 44% over the same period and 46% for females of all age groups combined. The data is interesting but other information would be necessary to prove that the population increase for Lynn females of child-bearing years had improved simply because of improved obstetric care. Other health factors as well as employment opportunities might also account for the influx to the town during the period 1800 to 1810.
226. James Gardner, Daybook, 19-24 November 1792.
227. Thomas Franklin Waters, *Ipswich and Massachusetts Bay*, 2 vols. (Ipswich, Mass.: Salem Press, 1905), pp.196-197.
228. Elisha Story, Letter to Dr. Joseph Whipple, in Documents Illustrative of the Early History of the Massachusetts Medical Society, manuscript (at the Francis Countway Library, Harvard University Medical School, Boston), Vol.3, 4 May 1801.
229. James Gardner, Daybook, monthly summary for December 1800.
230. Town Treasurer’s Account Book, p.198, 26 February 1801; p.236, 6 February 1804.
231. Records Book of Lynn, p.196, November 1800.
232. Records Book of Lynn, p.196, November 1800. James Gardner, Daybook, monthly summary for December 1800.

233. *Vital Records of Lynn*, Vol.2, p.484.
234. The elephant appeared in Lynn in 1800, according to Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.262. Richard Flint, “Entrepreneurial and Cultural Aspects of the Early-Nineteenth-Century Circus and Menagerie Business,” Peter Benes, and Jane M. Benes, eds., *Annual Proceedings of the Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife (1984): Itinerancy in New England and New York* (Boston: Boston University, 1986), p.133, states the first elephant in the United States was brought in by Captain Jacob Crowninshield of Salem, Massachusetts, but was last seen at Savannah, Georgia in March 1799. Newhall's citation either updates the account of this unnamed elephant or the animal appeared in Lynn closer to its arrival in 1796.
235. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.359.
236. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, pp.362, 365. Johnson's Hotel was built in 1800.

❧ Chapter 2: 1810-1819 ❧

## Crutches and Lame Excuses

*This day I am 27 years old. I have through God's goodness been spared in life and health another year....*

Diary of Joseph Lye, cordwainer  
Lynn, Mass., 20 March 1819

**W**ater meant life, so generations were guaranteed to live in Lynn. It was a resource everywhere within the town's boundaries, with the ocean to the south, the Saugus River to the west, and a string of ponds to the north and east. Not enough power could be generated from these sources to attract many mills or manufactories, but there was water nonetheless; cool and fresh water from several ponds and brooks that laced through the town, irrigating farmlands, slaking the thirst of farm and draft animals, and finding favor with some of the human population as well. Natural springs complemented the ocean, ponds, and waterways, like jewels on a watery necklace. The springs punctured the landscape of old Lynn, further quenching residents and occasionally claiming the devotion of some who believed they were healed by a swallow of the subterranean nectar. There are few recorded instances of travelers, like Increase Mather, or Lynn residents seeking health from Lynn's springs but the reputation that surrounded a few fountains developed, nonetheless. The first chronicled experience with a spring in Lynn actually noted some negative results: one hot day in August 1682, Noadiah Russell went to what he called "Lynnsspring" for a drink of its water. By his own account, he drank too much of the cold water, "set[ting] myself in an ague," which recurred for several days following the episode.<sup>1</sup>

A "never-failing spring of good water" emerged in the middle of Market Street in front of Aaron Lummus's property and was harnessed as a fountain for the neighborhood and thirsty horses and cattle.<sup>2</sup> Several springs dotted James Gardner's Boston Street neighborhood, spouting into the middle of the road and even into the basement of a home. Gardner acquired the rights to try to control one local spring for commercial use, provided it was still available to the locals for their use and consumption.<sup>3</sup> There were "boiling" springs amid a cluster of willow trees off Holyoke Street and in Saugus Center. Another spring, with mineral content, was in Saugus near the Malden line.<sup>4</sup> There were several springs in Nahant of which one, North Spring, was particularly esteemed for its very cold water and medicinal properties. One Nahant man with a violent fever asked for water, "which as usual in such cases was denied him," but when an opportunity arose, he ran half a mile to North Spring, drank copious amounts of its water and immediately recovered.<sup>5</sup>

The most famous medicinal spring in the Lynn area was at Spring Pond. The pond water had a reddish tinge from the iron content of a spring on its southern border. (At least two and possibly several emanations existed in close proximity, flowing irregularly; this would account for the inconsistent pluralization of "spring" over the years. Most sources have described the aggregate as one spring.) The spring was known as Red Spring and the Twin Springs, but to most it was the Mineral Spring. (Noadiah Russell may have been referring to this spring when he spoke of "Lynnsspring.") Sulfur was also supposed to be present, compounding with the iron to provide what some believed were "good effects in scorbutic and pulmonary affections"; others suggested it for "cutaneous affections and internal complaints;" some for its aperient qualities; and still others

claimed was a cure for general debility.<sup>6</sup> In short, it was Nature's liquid panacea for the believer but the faith of Lynn apothecary Archelaus Putnam had apparently not been strong enough. In July 1809 he drank five full tumblers of the "red spring" but the water only succeeded in making him "squeamish and sick."<sup>7</sup>

On 6 March 1810, eight Salem businessmen and Salem doctor Joseph Osgood joined together to form the Lynn Mineral Spring Corporation. The property surrounding the springs was purchased and in June the corporation voted to construct a building on the grounds next to the springs. Subsequent votes added bathhouses, an icehouse, barn, and woodshed, and other outbuildings necessary to support the hoped-for clientele.<sup>8</sup>

The corporation was able to meet in the new hotel for the first time on 24 July 1811. The proprietors were "well satisfied with the internal management of ... the House," and voted that the hotel should be pronounced ready for the "reception of company" in the Salem and Boston papers.<sup>9</sup> The grand opening announcement promised a paradise for the infirm, the weary, and the disconsolate:

The Proprietors of the L[ynn] M[ineral] S[prings Hotel] inform the public, that their House is now open for the reception of Company. They flatter themselves, that the pleasantness of the situation, the Mineral qualities of the water, the salubrity of the air, together with good entertainment, will offer a sufficient inducement to invalids and those who wish recreation to favor them with their company.<sup>10</sup>

The hotel was located between the old Boston road and the new Boston-Salem Turnpike, convenient to travelers on both routes, yet well hidden from the traffic in a romantic, unsullied, wooded lakefront retreat. It was, in fact, so secluded that it was ultimately forgotten by all but its stewards. In an 1830 letter, Rebecca Barton, the innkeeper's wife, related to her mother that their isolation was overcome by the family circle, "... [O]ne would naturally suppose that living as we do, so far from neighbours &c. it would be dreary and lonesome but I assure you we find it far different for we have our own little family around us and every thing to make us comfortable, and above all, contentment, without which even the splendour of Palaces dazzle in vain."<sup>11</sup>

Although the alleged medicinal value of the mineral spring was clearly a factor in the launching of this corporate venture, the initially strategic location and varied adult amusements were strongly weighed in the decision to build. Entertainment included boating, fishing, and fowling.<sup>12</sup> But the triple attractions – health, amusement, and location – did not receive equal attention or consistent emphasis in descriptions and advertisements of the hotel. For decades, the Lynn Mineral Spring Hotel seemed to be searching for its own identity.

In its first decade, the hotel was consistent in its promotion of the mineral spring as the central attraction. In 1820, a bathing house was highlighted, which offered mineral, shower, steam, and common bathing; however, for amusement, those who wished to "drive dull care away" were offered fishing tackle, good boats, and a beautiful countryside, with "berries and fruits in abundance."<sup>13</sup>

As the hotel was entering its second decade, trouble was already brewing. In 1823, Samuel Roles, a new innkeeper, was having great difficulty paying his rent to the corporation. He was sued for nonpayment, and subsequently left the hotel.<sup>14</sup> Many men served as innkeeper of the hotel but it was difficult to keep one for a long time. In 1828, another new innkeeper opened the hotel with exuberant advertising, but unlike a decade earlier, there was no mention of the springs and their advantages. Pleasure had become preeminent at the hotel: "All things [are] in good order for amusement ... the bar is furnished with the choicest liquors."<sup>15</sup> Hotel management was wise to promote the liquor since visitors who sought health benefits from the spring had begun to doubt its powers. In 1824 eighteen-year-old Mary Jane Mudge quenched only her curiosity when she drank from the spring. Remaining suspicious of the water's healing powers, she wrote in her journal,

"Hearing much of the mineral springs, we visited them this morning and drank some of the water. I thought I felt better afterwards but perhaps it was only conceit."<sup>16</sup>

Liquor advertising had not produced immediate results so in 1829 the Lynn Mineral Spring Corporation installed still another innkeeper and again changed the direction of promotional efforts. All references to alcohol were eliminated and renewed emphasis was again put on the salubrious qualities of the mineral springs and baths. Light duty was given to the other amusements, which had been reduced in the advertising to fishing and boating. The thrust was to regain the interest and patronage of the genteel classes in Boston and Salem: "the urbanity of the attendance recommend this as a desirable retreat from the dust of the city."<sup>17</sup> In June 1832, the *Boston Masonic Mirror* observed there was "fine fishing in the pond, and ... the Bowling Alleys and Billiard Tables are highly spoken of by connoisseurs in such matters," plus the establishment's "ample accommodations" were as good as "any similar establishment in the neighborhood of the city [Boston]; and at a much less cost than at Nahant or Saratoga."<sup>18</sup> The healthful waters were always mentioned in period descriptions about the springs, but they were little more than a bland aperitif; the main course was all of its other enjoyments.

Try as they might to dignify the hotel's amusements, location, and health benefits, the hotel's marketing and management had been uneven for decades and the resulting success had also been mixed. The weary traveler and the upper-class Bostonian could perhaps relax and enjoy the resort's privacy but the hedonistic customer could interpret the hotel's seclusion as an opportunity to enjoy coarse amusements and behavior in secrecy. Even the hallowed benefits of the mineral spring came under attack. In 1833, the Massachusetts Medical Society asked Richard Hazeltine, a Lynn physician, to furnish an account of the spring. Hazeltine, a severe and morally rigid man, was not known for his diplomacy:

The "Mineral Spring" in this town, I believe, is only a bait to induce idlers to visit the Hotel that stands within a few rods of it. I have never understood that the water of the said spring has excited the attention of anyone either with a view to its analysis or its sanative qualities; indeed, I suspect its mineral impregnations, if it possesses any, are so small as to be totally unworthy of notice.<sup>19</sup>

His biting critique spilled over to the hotel itself:

I have very seldom been at the place; and have felt no disposition to go, since I was called there in a professional capacity twelve or thirteen years ago, and under circumstances then the most appalling of any that I have met with: it appeared to me a hell in miniature.<sup>20</sup>

The town newspaper responded incredulously, citing statements by a writer for the *Boston Traveler* and the editor of the *Lowell Journal* wherein both claimed they could produce testimonials of the spring's medicinal benefits. He quoted the *Journal* as saying, "Dr. Hazeltine must either be grossly and culpably ignorant of the Lynn Mineral Spring water, or he has perpetrated a libel on the hotel...." The newspaper's editor also suggested that a scientific analysis of the water might have been performed but no results were available.<sup>21</sup> None of the rebuttals salvaged the reputation of the hotel and the spring.

In its denouement, the Lynn Mineral Spring Hotel had surrendered itself to become a playground for less dignified activities, like card playing, horseracing, trysts, and drinking.<sup>22</sup> While the legendary benefits of the spring lived on for a few more years, the baths (which seem to have become the most accepted application of the spring's water) had been forgotten. The town's directory of 1841 lists three baths in Lynn, none of which were associated with the Lynn Mineral Springs.

Even stripped of its salubrity and gentility, the hotel still had patronage. One recollection of the hotel on the day before Thanksgiving in 1843 recounted two or three hundred men engaged variously in shooting turkeys, hens, and geese, playing cards, and being "charged with old-

fashioned punch.”<sup>23</sup> The weak medicine of the mineral spring had given way to strong punch as the beverage of choice at the Lynn Mineral Spring Hotel.

## **RUM & OTHER TRADITIONS**

The appetite for alcohol surprised no one. It came from an age-old tradition that encouraged the quaffing of wine, ale, stout, flip, blackstrap, rum, grog, and the like on virtually every occasion. Liquor was the drink for every dinner; the reward after militia musters and fire drills; an exhilarant at birthdays, weddings, and July 4th festivities; the accelerant for coarse songs and raucous behavior during fishing parties and hunting expeditions; an excuse at pig killings; and an agitator at town meetings and elections. During town meetings, makeshift “refreshment stands,” consisting of boards slung across two flour barrels, were set up outside Lynn’s meetinghouse, offering liquors for every taste and intensity of political fever. Participants in town meetings and at elections were infused with patriotic zeal at the stands and, over the course of the day, differences in politics, fueled by alcohol, sparked several fights.<sup>24</sup> Before some town meetings, the Democrats would “secure ‘Uncle Joel,’ an imbecile,” in the attic of Robinson’s bakehouse,

feasting him upon gingerbread and blackstrap [rum]. At the appointed hour [the inebriated, mentally challenged] Uncle Joel would be taken to the Town House ... and surrounded by a bodyguard to prevent the opposite party [the Federalists] from securing his vote. [Joel would then] pass it into the hand of the chairman of the Board of Selectmen, when three cheers would go up, indicating that his vote was the pivot upon which the success or failure of the government would turn.<sup>25</sup>

In the shoe shops, shoemakers enjoyed a respite from labors with a drink of blackstrap at 11:00 a.m. and 4:00 p.m. and apprentices sometimes snuck some of their master’s rum when he was out of the shop.<sup>26</sup> The small grocery stores were well-stocked with rum, gin, and wine, and sweetened cordials of anise seed and snakeroot were peddled on street corners for those whose delicate health prevented them from enjoying the stronger stuff.<sup>27</sup>

The tradition of heavy alcohol consumption went back to Europe, where water was considered an unsafe and distasteful drink.<sup>28</sup> When Lynn was just getting settled two centuries earlier, William Wood had written that New England’s waters were “not so sharp but of a fatter substance, and of a more jettie color” than that of England, “it is thought there can be no better water in the world; yet dare I not prefer it before good beere.”<sup>29</sup> Lynn’s earliest settlers had counted beer barrels among their few essential possessions.<sup>30</sup> Europeans trusted their beer but America’s water had to be redeemed from the sickening legacy of fouled water that coursed through many European cities. Human waste and other contaminants associated with the crush of civilization had few footholds in the United States before 1820 but the fear of bad water traveled to America with each boatload of European immigrants. Only a small number of eighteenth and early nineteenth century scientists had suspicions that microscopic organisms existed in some waters but the abdominal cramps, painful intestines, and diarrhea that could come from unclean water were well known. Consequently, Lynn residents were suspicious and critical of the water when various intestinal discomforts manifested as symptoms in the deaths of 17% of the citizens from the seventeenth century to 1850. Dysentery was the second most commonly claimed cause of death (9.5% of all explained deaths) before 1850.<sup>31</sup> Some springs, like the several reputedly healthful ones in Lynn, eventually gained the confidence of many inhabitants. Wood remarked that those who drank the waters of New England’s springs were “as healthfull, fresh, and lustie, as they that drinke beere,” but before the 1820’s, it was a rare and bold soul that praised even a “spring of sweet waters” over the popular intoxicants.<sup>32</sup> While water, coffee, and tea were drunk, alcoholic beverages, especially rum and beer, were heavily favored by generations of New Englanders. Lynn’s Mineral Spring was just not convincing enough to change the habits of the hotel’s guests.

Along with beer, rum and rum-based drinks had become the mother's milk of the tippler; it flowed everywhere drinks were served. In the next decade, the town's first newspaper provided a "Specimen of a new Explanatory Dictionary which never has been, nor never will be published." It was meant to be humorous, but it also revealed the sobering reality that rum was so many things to so many people:

RUM, n. O be joyful, oil of joy, the comfortable, something to take, stimulus, opopelldoc, easy to nature, the quietus, the creature, the care killer, steam of the jug, hawk's eye, rot gut, Jonathan, red eye, phlegm cutter, antifogmatic, tangle legs, Obadiah, blue rain, the care for nobody, white eye, physick, heavenly joy, something.<sup>33</sup>

The same edition offered one more companion definition that addressed an even bigger problem than just rum:

DRUNK, a. (*from drink*) Over the bay, half seas over, hot, high, corned, cut, cocked, half-cocked, shav'd disguised, jamm'd, dammag'd, snuffy, wiped, just so, breezy, smoky, poopy, top heavy, high, fuddled, groggy, tipsy, smashed, swipsy, slewed, crunk, salted down, how fare ye, on the lee lurch, quite witty, gay, all sails set, three sheets in the wind, on a spree, well under way, well on't to live, battered, blowing it out, boozy, making Virginia fence, sawed, snubb'd, bruised, screwed, stewed, soaked.<sup>34</sup>

Some of the earliest spokesmen of the bold, temperate minority were James Gardner and Aaron Lummus. Gardner was not a teetotaler; he frequently accepted various liquors as credits to patients' accounts and on one shopping spree in Boston he "bot Brandy, Gin, wine, &c &c &c &c," some but not all of which was likely for medicine.<sup>35</sup> He also bought gallons of wine, snakeroot cordial, brandy, and New England Rum from Lynn grocer Caleb Wiley but he recognized the abuse of alcohol to be an insidious disease that controlled the spirit until it killed the body.<sup>36</sup> As early as 1796, Gardner was upset by the devastation of alcohol in Lynn:

One person died of a chronic illness said to be occasioned by gross intemperance or a brutal indulgence of the destroyer of men, *Rum*. Cachexy [weakness], nausea & vomiting with a total loss of appetite & the powers of digestion preceeded or rather hastened the catastrophe. He was able to walk a considerable distance to procure the poison only six days before Death closed the scene at one draught.<sup>37</sup>

It must have horrified Gardner when, thirty years later, his own coachman injured a child while intoxicated. The coachman was "returning from a too long stay at some tap room," when he drove the doctor's chaise against a young boy who was walking home the family cow. One wheel ran over the boy's chest, which, while not causing serious injury, did result in a sunken chest that lasted for the rest of the youth's eighty-nine years.<sup>38</sup>

Aaron Lummus was an even bolder, rarer voice than Gardner in his opposition to alcohol. One eulogistic poem even suggested he practiced temperance "to a fault."<sup>39</sup> For the last thirty-plus years of his life (from about 1800-1831) he abstained completely from liquor, preferring coffee and diluted cider in its place, and was, therefore, one of the earliest temperance proponents in Lynn. Unlike Gardner, Lummus never accepted liquor in credit on patients' accounts. While serving as a Senator in 1823-24, Lummus had an opportunity to express his temperance sentiments to Massachusetts Governor William Eustis. When offered at a dinner with the governor "to take a glass of wine," Lummus "set the table in a roar" by examining his pockets and replying, "I have nothing to put it in, sir!" On another occasion, he was urged repeatedly by a lady to "take some liquor," but Lummus stymied the persistent offer with more of his temperance humor: "Well, Madam, if you insist upon it, I will take some; but you must lend me a bottle to carry it home in."<sup>40</sup> Lynn's first temperance society was organized in 1826, and Lummus was unanimously elected to serve as its third president in 1829.<sup>41</sup>

## **FOR THE PAIN**

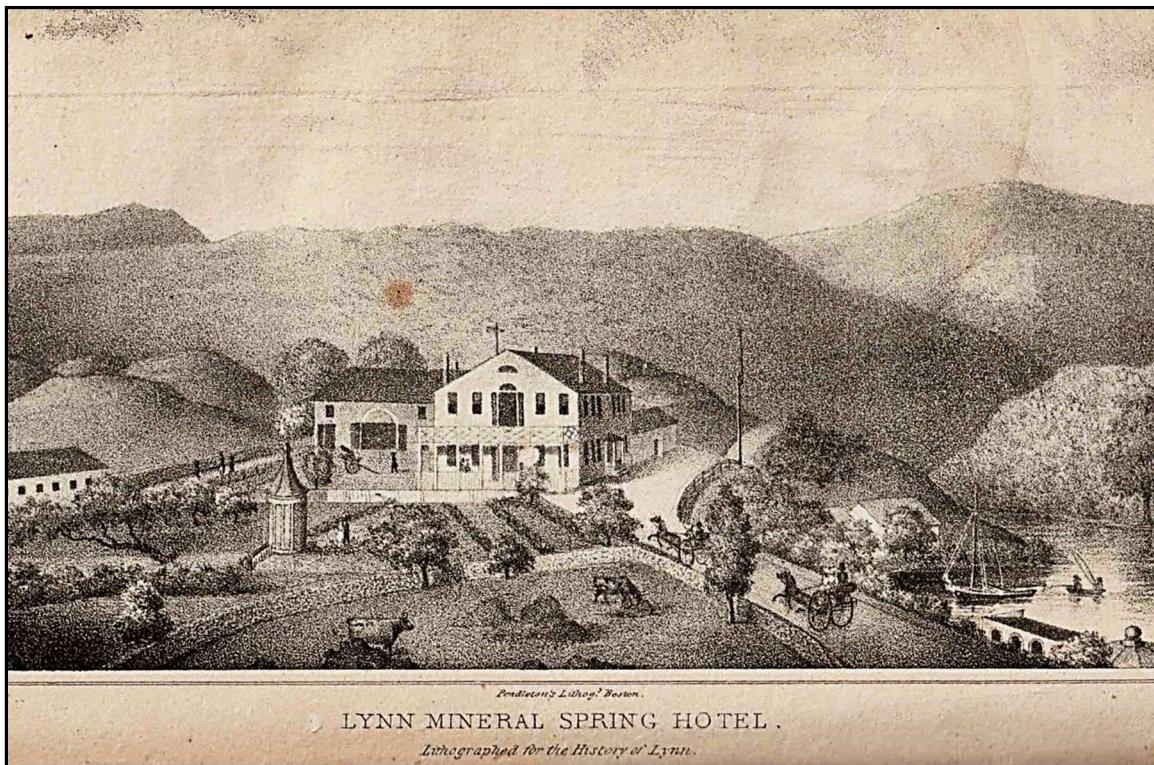
The use of alcohol was often followed by the abuse of alcohol, but the ignominy, ill health, and unscrupulous behavior that frequently resulted were often overlooked by fellow townspeople. The decade from 1810 to 1819 gave Lynners a lot to despair about, and alcohol was easily acquired pain relief. Lynn was just beginning to break into an important economic stride (one million pairs of shoes were produced in 1810) when the country and trade were shaken by the events leading up to and including the War of 1812. Young Thomas Lummus was among a crowd of Lynners who watched with sagging pride atop Lynn's High Rock as the British frigate *Shannon* fought and captured the American frigate *Chesapeake* off Nahant.<sup>42</sup> In 1813, a typhus epidemic hit Lynn; Simeon and Lois Breed lost three sons and three daughters in the outbreak. Mrs. Anna Boyce, her son, James, and an infant daughter were also sick with it at the same time and her husband, Jonathan, took care of all three for five consecutive nights. Given the family's lack of a clock or watch, his guide for dealing out hourly portions of medicine was one of the neighbor's geese, which reportedly had the propensity to honk reliably, every hour.<sup>43</sup> An unusually cold growing season in 1816 (caused by the huge volcanic explosion of Mt. Tambora on the other side of the planet) was punctuated with frost every month of the year and even snow in many of the growing season months. April began fair, but grew colder and colder, ending in snow and ice. In May, the corn died as fast as it emerged from the ground. In June the frost, ice and snow destroyed virtually all of the fruit tree blossoms. In July water froze "to the thickness of common window glass." The weather played havoc on Lynn's farms; successive corn plantings failed or were tossed unmatured to the cattle. Food prices went up, as did the price of seeds for next year's plantings.<sup>44</sup>

The decade closed with the region suffering from a depressed economy. Lynn shoemakers survived on a barter system since precious little cash was circulating in Lynn. An octogenarian Lynner painted a homespun scene that illustrated the barter economy in place during much of the decade:

I recollect distinctly a man by the name of James Aborn, who lived at City Point, or City "Pint," as it was then called, West Lynn, at the junction of Summer street and Western Avenue, who was very regular to pass my father's. In 1815, with his wheelbarrow and one or two boys, from two o'clock to half-past two on Saturday afternoon, with his week's work, up to Stephen Smith, Jr.'s [store], and I have not forgotten the appearance of the vehicle on his return trip home. The meal and molasses and sugar and such like would be placed at the bottom, and the stock to make up for the week, at the top. There would be the tail of a couple of salt fish sticking out at the side, a pound of candles hanging upon one of the arms of his "carriage," and upon the other a two-quart jug, full of "black strap," otherwise new rum and molasses, and with a string on the front for boys to pull upon as "leaders," they would trudge home, apparently satisfied, their highest ambition having been attained, to get provisions and rum enough to last them the coming week.<sup>45</sup>

Many bills were being paid with goods and labor, that is, by those who could pay at all; the number of poor in Lynn had mushroomed beyond the capacity of the almshouse. Joseph Lye, a Lynn cordwainer, recorded in his diary that work slowdowns and hard times were frequent occurrences well into the 1820s. He chronicled many occasions of waiting for work in his shoe shop with consistently futile results. In 1819, he wrote, "At present all business is dull. Labor low, but provisions of all sorts cheap and plenty."<sup>46</sup> Without work, however, provisions just stayed on the store shelves.

Dozens of Lynn women reacted to pinched purses by organizing relief groups: the Lynn Female Benevolent Society in 1814 and the Lynn Female Fragment Society in 1820. Both



The Lynn Mineral Spring Hotel. (Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, 1829, p.189)



The Nahant Hotel. (Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, 1829, p.245)

organizations were chartered to “alleviate the distress of the indigent” by “relieving the wants and promoting the comfort of the suffering poor.”<sup>47</sup> Each group collected clothing and money to benefit the destitute; the Benevolent Society concentrated on providing for indigent children and poor women incapacitated by pregnancy. Nonetheless, these angels of mercy couldn’t answer all prayers and the town’s relief rolls were already crowded. Some of Lynn’s residents hoped to escape the problems by following great promises to the Ohio frontier. A few who stayed at home were unable to cope with the hardships and resorted to desperate acts. Archelaus Putnam and a companion rode to Lynn on an extremely dark night, “rather fearful of robbers,” so they armed themselves with rocks and clubs, just in case.<sup>48</sup> Isaac Burrill, a small-scale shoe manufacturer, was robbed while returning home to Lynn on the Boston-Salem turnpike. Three thieves assaulted him on a lonely stretch where the turnpike crossed through the great salt-hay marshes, west of the Saugus River; their robbery yielded the grand haul of three dollars, his coat and hat, and some calico. The highwaymen were dangerous but apologetic; they threatened “instant death” if he cried out but “they assured him that nothing but shear necessity impelled them” to the criminal act.<sup>49</sup> Joseph Lye was disgusted when some other delinquents purloined a few coins that had been ceremoniously deposited in the cornerstone of a Lynn church under construction. He commented in his diary that the venial theft was the act of “sacred religious robbers.”<sup>50</sup> Earlier in the same year, three pairs of shoes were stolen from Lye’s shop.<sup>51</sup>

Thankfully, most Lynners searched for less desperate ways to weather the depression. Lye kept himself busy tending his garden, maintaining his ten-footer, and “jobbing about” on any paying assignments. He also supplemented his cordwaining income by chartering his boat for one-day fishing excursions. Lynners who could afford the thirty-three-cent fee for Lye’s fishing charters were not plentiful, however, so he most often had to go fishing on his own.<sup>52</sup>

Supplementing income was one method for getting through the depression and cutting expenses was the other. Lye recognized that one of the most likely costs to be cut was non-emergency medical care. Most Lynners agreed and were also avoiding doctor’s charges as much as possible. A brief visit, even without medicine, cost more than several hours of shoemaking. Consequently, only about thirty percent of the town’s population was being seen by physicians, even in better financial times. Lye had suffered from “violent” headaches and toothaches, month-long colds, sore hands and joints, and a burn from hot fat but he resorted to doctors only when some teeth begged to be pulled. When Lye turned twenty-seven years old in 1819, he praised the Almighty for his health and existence much as colonial Lynn predecessors might have done, “I have through God’s goodness been spared in life and health another year.”<sup>53</sup> It’s understandable that the young man was so aware of his own mortality. He had attended the funerals of three of his sisters, who died at seven, eighteen, and twenty years old and he assisted the monument maker in putting the headstones on their graves.<sup>54</sup> While he was thankful for passing by the ravages that were still taking so many of Lynn’s young, he was probably also relieved to have escaped expensive medical care. Divine beneficence may have been good for the soul and body but tangible measures were necessary to relieve a pinched purse. Avoiding the doctor’s bill didn’t eliminate the need for medical attention. When circumventing the physician, someone else had to help the sick.

## ***WATCHERS FOR THE SICK***

Some Lynners felt that such medical expenses as doctor’s examinations, diagnoses, and occasional surgery were necessary because they didn’t have a doctor’s extensive knowledge of the body and illness; however, daily care and attention to the ill were easily provided by any well-intentioned individual. For example, Joseph Lye had no medical pretensions or profit motive when he took the time one night in October 1818 to tend to the needs of his neighbor and shop mate, Jonathan Breed, who “received a shock of the numb paralysis which it is feared he will not get well of.”<sup>55</sup> Breed survived the stroke, but again needed Lye’s neighborly attention in February 1821;

this time Breed died of fever two days after Lye watched after him. Lye also watched after John Brown Newhall and John Massey, who was, according to Lye, very sick with dysentery. He also watched for Daniel Farrington twice in 1820. Farrington died two days after Lye's second charitable attempt to help, Lye recorded, leaving behind "a widow and numerous family of children to lament the loss of a kind husband and affectionate parent. In his death our neighborhood has suffered a severe loss."<sup>56</sup>

In the 1820s some Lynn neighbors organized their sick-watching efforts into local societies that were eventually known as Watchers for the Sick. The stated purpose of one such organization was to "soften the sufferer's pillow," but it made no claim to heal.<sup>57</sup> Although compassion and friendship were surely motivators, watching after the sick was a voluntary, neighbor-to-neighbor charitable service that developed into an organized activity, primarily as an economic response to times of town-wide financial strain. Wealthier neighbors also participated as leaders and watchers in these organizations, providing benevolent service and ensuring some assistance for their own family's needs. The sick needed watchers when they couldn't afford doctors or when doctors couldn't afford to stay with a single patient for long periods. Watchers minimized the need for the doctor's time and charges to essential ministrations like the examination and prescription, and surgery when necessary. The Woodend Charitable Society was the first formally organized group of watchers for the sick; it was established in 1827, when the town was next hit with a troubled economy.<sup>58</sup> Health crises did not generate the impetus for more watchers groups; no more were organized during the local smallpox outbreak in 1831 or the national cholera epidemic of 1832, but several more were spawned in the stagnant economy of 1837.

While almost every community had people willing to watch after sick neighbors, organized watchers' groups were not common in Massachusetts in the early nineteenth century but they flourished in Lynn. Patterned after similar groups in Great Britain, they were a phenomenon of the Lynn laborer, existing only in the mechanics' neighborhoods (e.g., The Woodend Charitable Society; The Watchers Society on South Street; and the Ward 4 [Highlands] Watchers Society).<sup>59</sup>

The constitution of a typical watchers group required the watcher to pay a fifty-cent fine or find a substitute watcher if they could not go to the sick call when their name was drawn. Some societies were organized by gender as well as neighborhood, such as the Central Female and Central Male Watchers societies, to avoid the impropriety of being called to watch after the opposite sex. Women of the Central Female Watchers Society specialized in sick children; they would not watch females over eighteen or males over twelve years old.<sup>60</sup> This organized, albeit sometimes selective, Good Samaritanism was one more way to survive hard times but still more expense could be trimmed from the home health budget.

## ***THE APOTHECARY ALTERNATIVE***

Watching was never meant to replace individual initiative to recuperate when that was possible. Joseph Lye's illnesses and aches had not been so bad that he couldn't look after himself. Seldom did his colds, toothaches, migraines, or rheumatism keep him from his various activities. In August of 1823, Lye was raking hay on the marsh when he became ill. He continued to harvest the hay nonetheless, until the job was done. The next day he was even sicker and administered an emetic to himself, apparently without the aid or advice of a doctor. The following day found him emptier inside and aching more all over with what he called an attack of rheumatism but he still avoided a visit from the doctor. Dosing himself when he was ill had saved him from the doctor's bill and the availability of local apothecaries made self-dosing possible. With a population at only a couple of thousand in 1800, it is unlikely that the little network of villages that made up Lynn could have supported an apothecary before Mr. Purinton arrived in 1803-1804. Colonial Lynners had to either pay physicians for their medicines, make the long trip to Salem, Boston, or

Cambridgeport for an apothecary, or rely on their own botanical knowledge and family traditions. They might resort to the general stores, but those sold little more than was medicinal than brandy or snakeroot cordials and perhaps a few proprietary medicines.<sup>61</sup> The early apothecaries of Mr. Purinton, William Oliver, Archelaus Putnam, and Aaron Lummus provided a thin but unbroken lifeline of medicines to Lynn's residents in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. The town's population had increased fifty-eight percent from 1800 to 1820, which necessitated or at least encouraged the competitive coexistence of the three apothecaries. In 1818 twenty-one-year-old Aaron Lummus Holder began his apothecary shop on the corner of Silsbee and Broad streets.

Richard Holder, a cordwainer, and his wife, Mary Breed Holder, named their last child Aaron Lummus, after the popular doctor. Perhaps the honor was in thanks to Lummus for medical and obstetric services he provided at Aaron Lummus Holder's birth in 1797.<sup>62</sup> Lummus continued taking care of Aaron Holder's health needs, and eventually those of Holder's wife and children, well into the 1820s, years after Holder opened his apothecary. Lummus's services to the Holders included bleeding, dosing, and attending to Mrs. Holder in parturition.<sup>63</sup> Holder also borrowed money from Lummus.<sup>64</sup> Lummus's apparent closeness to the Holder family probably influenced Holder's decision to start an apothecary in Lynn, just as Lummus's sons each displayed their father's influence in their careers. Shortly after Holder started his business, Aaron Lummus's son, George, opened his own apothecary, followed by the apothecary of Stephen Oliver. As George's business grew, his father minimized or closed his shop and Charles, another of Aaron's sons, used the space to open his mercantile business which he called the Arcade. Stephen Oliver's apothecary may have been a continuation of his older brother William Oliver's shop.

It was even more cost-effective for Lynn's doctors to patronize Lynn apothecaries during the depression because they didn't lose time or money traveling to Boston or Salem for the drugs they needed, nor did they need to ask patients to run errands for them while visiting those towns. In July 1818, John Lummus had Benjamin Alley buy some medicine for him while Alley was in Boston, but by October, Lummus was making sizable purchases of medicinal ingredients from Aaron Lummus Holder.<sup>65</sup>

Commercial preparations represented great savings to many consumers. Holder carried patent medicines, which did not require prescriptions. A bottle of medicine was typically twenty-five cents, compared to the physician's minimum fee of fifty cents for simply visiting with the patient. Jacob Bickford wouldn't have had to pay a Lynn doctor's four-cent surcharge for a bottle of *Whitwell's Chemical Embrocation or Liquid Opodeldoc* if he had bought the medicine at Holder's.<sup>66</sup> Mary Harden wouldn't have needed to pay Aaron Lummus's fifty-cent visiting fee in addition to the thirty-eight cents for a bottle of opodeldoc if she too had simply gone to Aaron L. Holder's and bought the bottle herself.<sup>67</sup> *Whitwell's Opodeldoc* was a liniment for common muscular aches and could be readily purchased at Holder's by the farmers, cordwainers, and other mechanics of Lynn, male and female alike. Perhaps Joseph Lye turned to it for his rheumatism or aching fingers after a long day of cordwaining; even though Lye had a physician boarding at his house when he was stricken with a bout of rheumatism, he didn't call upon the doctor for help.<sup>68</sup> The use of *Whitwell's Opodeldoc* by some Lynn physicians stopped shortly after Holder opened his apothecary and disappeared almost completely by the end of the next decade. The new apothecaries in town continued advertising it; however, along with many other proprietary medicines, suggesting that the public was patronizing the local apothecaries for some health problems instead of going to their doctors. Thus it was under these changing conditions that the independent-minded Lye doctored himself through a scalded hand, sore limbs, and when he was "quite sick [and] took a puke."<sup>69</sup> It made excellent business sense for Aaron Lummus Holder to start his apothecary business in the midst of a slow economy.

## **THE PROGENY: SIGNS OF THEIR TIMES**

The residents of Lynn were being inundated with health choices: temperance or intoxicants, professional or non-professional practitioners, prescriptions or proprietary medicines, and the doctor's bag or the local apothecary. Aaron Lummus's willingness to try whatever might work for his patients was reflected in the career paths of his sons. Lummus's six sons chose several different career paths but each was influenced by the world of medical choices to which they were exposed while under their father's roof. Although each choice was a different expression of their father's medical influence, all six ultimately settled in Lynn, further demonstrating the town's receptiveness to all possibilities in medicine.

Lummus's sons, John and Edward, both became doctors through dramatically different circumstances. John's troubled life was a haphazard series of successes and failures. He was removed from Harvard and later from another college because of his difficult character. He then tried operating a mercantile business, but unsuccessfully, and finally settled on the study of medicine.<sup>70</sup> He received a degree in medicine from Brown University in 1820 but he was already practicing medicine in Lynn in October 1817, and perhaps as early as 1816.<sup>71</sup> He was not admitted to the Massachusetts Medical Society until 1831.<sup>72</sup> Like his father, John had never let the absence of a medical degree or medical society membership prevent him from practicing medicine. His daybooks reveal that he occasionally used patent medicines along with his own formulations.

Edward attended Harvard, earning his undergraduate degrees in 1817 and his medical credentials in 1821. He also studied medicine under physician Benjamin Shurtleff of Boston, and for one-year spans under John Gorham, professor of chemistry at Harvard; Enoch Hale in the Boston Dispensary; and a doctor named Wyman at the Charlestown hospital.<sup>73</sup> Having completed his thorough apprenticeship, Edward delivered his thesis and was tested by the faculty of Harvard Medical School in 1821; upon receiving his doctor of medicine degree, he began practice in Lynn in the fall of that year.<sup>74</sup> He was admitted to the state medical society in 1825 and made a councilor in the society during the same year that his brother John would gain admission.<sup>75</sup> Edward became a pillar of the community in Lynn, serving for many years on the school committee, the library association, and the Natural History Society, and he was even a substitute Sunday preacher in the Congregational church for three years.<sup>76</sup> Yet, after all his formal education, admission into the selective medical society, and acceptance by the people of Lynn, Edward maintained the spirit of inquiry that had been displayed by his father.

Aaron's sons George and Thomas were nudged into the apothecary business by the same fatherly influence that Aaron probably used on Aaron Lummus Holder. In 1815 George was learning the mercantile business in Philadelphia but he returned to Lynn and opened his own apothecary business in the early 1820s.<sup>77</sup> His store had a wide array of goods, from schoolbooks to dried apples. He was an agent for the Salem Brewery and stocked their beer and porter in addition to "a choice selection of wines," probably all to his temperate father's chagrin.<sup>78</sup> What made his shop different from all other Lynn merchants except Holder was his supply of drugs and medicines for sale. George sold all the popular proprietaries of the day, even though their promulgation in Lynn could have cut into the medical practices of his brothers, John and Edward. So, too, did the youngest brother, Thomas, get into the apothecary business, although he eventually changed his stock from drugs and medicines to inks, shoe blacking, and varnishes. There was apparently room enough in Lynn for all the Lummus men to compete and coexist.

The fifth son, Charles, played an important role in disseminating health information of every type. He published the town's first newspaper, the *Lynn Mirror*, from the second floor of his father's building on Market Street. As the editor and publisher, Charles included articles on the dangers of nostrums and quackery while at the same time allowing ads for the indicted medicines. He reprinted articles and miscellaneous tidbits from medical periodicals on health issues important to the citizens of Lynn. The income from his paper was modest, so he tried to augment his funds by

selling an expansive variety of merchandise like his brother George was offering at the other end of the Lynn Common, including combs, toothpicks, musical instruments, calling cards, books on chemistry and botany, bottles of eye water, and bottles of “oil of polar bear,” which promised “a beautiful growth of the hair where baldness is.”<sup>79</sup> The medicines were products to Charles, like the brushes and toothpicks, and he had no compunction about advertising them in his newspaper despite his lack of medical education to determine their efficacy.

Aaron's namesake, Aaron junior, was meant by his father to be another apothecary. At fifteen years old, Aaron was apprenticed to a druggist and grocer in Salem. Master and apprentice were equally disenchanted with each other, however, and with the embargo of 1808 making business dull, Aaron returned to Lynn.<sup>80</sup> He tried several other occupations, but by his own account, he found no happiness in any of them until he discovered religion. Aaron recounted that his search for truth amidst the many religionists to whom he was exposed made him quite ill, “some advised Medicine, and others knew not what to advise; while a few joined me in praying to the Friends of sinners for my relief.”<sup>81</sup> He found truth among the Methodists and was baptized in February 1809. Near summer's end in the same year he was brought “to the verge of death” by a lung fever and again credited neither medicine nor physicians with his recovery, but God.<sup>82</sup> Inspired and enthused by his salvation, Aaron left home once more to become a traveling Methodist minister. His choice of profession was far from the medical arena that most of his family had chosen, yet as far from home as his ministry would take him, the influence of his father, his brothers, and Lynn stayed with him and he saw himself as very much a healer.

Aaron had extolled the virtues of spiritual redemption and diminished the role of physical healing in his conversion story, but he trampled the distinctions between the two in an 1822 autobiographical allegory, *The Life and Adventures of Dr. Caleb*. The storybook traces the life of one Caleb, an Egyptian (and not a Christian at first), who, though “half dead with sores and sickness,” ventured to Canaan, the land of promise, and prayed to the God of the Jews to be healed. Accepting Immanuel, the sovereign of Canaan, as his leader, he stayed and learned the useful art of healing by reading the medical theory of Drs. Moses ... David, Solomon, Isaiah ... Matthew, Mark, Luke, John” et al, and apprenticed under the greatest healer, “the Holy One.”<sup>83</sup> Quacks were the equivalent of the seditious and seducers like “Jezebel, a female quack, [who] enticed some to eat poison.”<sup>84</sup> As an itinerant preacher, Aaron proselytized and attended “love-feasts” (revivals) in Nantucket, Harwich, Barnstable, Marshfield, and as far north as Kennebunkport, Maine. So, too, did Caleb travel through the Middle East (following the route of the Apostle John), finding an epidemic of wavering faith in Ephesus, seditious quacks among the people of Pergamos, and the unblemished of Sardis who were dying from a loathsome internal disease. He faced stern challenges in healing the likes of Mr. Fallback, Mr. No-hope, and Mr. Stoneheart. Aaron borrowed a chapter from the lives of his brothers, John and Edward, when he had Caleb completing his medical education and appearing before the board of examiners of “the Society.” Caleb's examiners questioned him on three principles. First, whether or not his own health was good, “If I were a leper, or had the gonorrhoea, smallpox, itch, malignant fever, or any contagious disease upon me, I should do little good in the practice: and further, I should do incalculable injury to society, by spreading my own infection where I went.”<sup>85</sup> Secondly, they questioned his education and ability to apply his knowledge; Drs. Truman, Soundhead, and Intelligence testified in Caleb's behalf on his application of principles he learned from the Holy One. Finally, they reviewed the effects of his practice against the Society's standard: “he is the greatest physician who performs the greatest number of important cures, not he who writes the best recipes.”<sup>86</sup> Caleb passed the test by unanimous vote, but it was a hung jury in Lynn. Everyone picked their favorite healers: some from the medical society's rolls, some not; some from a bottle of nostrum, some from a bottle of rum.

In contrast to Aaron Lummus's progeny, only one of James Gardner's fourteen children followed him into medicine. It was the oldest child, John Flagg Gardner, named after his physician grandfather who had died exactly one year previous to the day that he was born. In the tradition of

his father and grandfather, John matriculated at Harvard and received his bachelor's degree in 1813 and a master's in 1817. He then studied under his father and was eventually accepted into the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1825. He moved to Ipswich sometime after 1819 to begin his own practice and died there when only 35 years old, in 1829.<sup>87</sup> Only four more of James Gardner's children were male and, when they reached maturity, most of them pursued the merchant's life in Virginia.<sup>88</sup> Although Gardner's influence in Lynn died with him in 1831, other professional, medical society-approved physicians continued to come to Lynn and practice the conventional methods of healing. Gardner had not defeated the nonprofessional healers, but at the very least, he had established by his practice the legitimacy of professional medicine in Lynn and its equal right to coexist with all other alternatives. In many respects, Gardner had planted the seed that would win his battle after all but he died many decades before his victory would be fulfilled.

### **HALE, HAZELTINE, & THE WART CURE WOMAN**

Like the children of Aaron Lummus, many Lynn residents were willing to try anything that might improve poor health. That attitude of self-determination, combined with economic imperative, invited many notions and levels of healing into town.

In 1814 Moses Hale appeared abruptly in Lynn. He was known by the title of "Doctor," although not recognized as such by the Massachusetts Medical Society. His medical career in Lynn has been remembered by a single inglorious incident. He was doctoring Solomon Alden of Boston Street, "not in a satisfactory manner," when a disapproving mob dragged Hale out of Alden's house and to the Lynn Common. There it was decided that he should be brought to the almshouse on Chestnut Street, Woodend, which was shared by the poor and minor criminals:

He was carried in an old sulky drawn by many men and boys. On his arrival, the keeper, Capt. Zachariah Attwell, very cordially received him in this way, "Good evening Dr. Hale, how do you do? walk into my lobby; I presume there have been many a better man here than you."<sup>89</sup>

This would seem to have been a clear enough message for even the most thick-skinned soul to leave town but Moses Hale stayed on in Lynn for many more years. His healing days were apparently over, however, as even he turned to another Lynn physician for the care of his own family. Richard Hazeltine had established himself firmly in Lynn for a year and a half before Hale called on him in November 1818 to attend his wife in parturition. Hazeltine also supplied Mrs. Hale with pills of calomel, castor oil, cream of tartar, and sulfur in her postnatal care, and dispensed some magnesia for the new baby.<sup>90</sup> Times were hard for the new family Hale, as they were on the town almshouse's "out-of-the-house" relief rolls. Hazeltine billed the town for his services on their behalf in October 1819.<sup>91</sup> January 1821 found Hazeltine again at Mrs. Hale's bedside, waiting on her and the next newborn. Hale owed Hazeltine another five dollars for his midwifery, but at that moment could only pay seventy-four cents.<sup>92</sup> In April of that year, Hale gave Hazeltine two schoolbooks as credit against his account and by June, Hale had reversed his financial woes and was able to pay Hazeltine ten dollars cash. The Hales went on to purchase property and raise at least three children in Lynn, from 1818 to 1826, and Moses regained the public's confidence sufficiently to be made a schoolteacher in town.<sup>93</sup>

Richard Hazeltine had medical skills and knowledge that Hale only pretended to have. Hazeltine had been practicing medicine in the vicinity of Berwick, Maine as early as 1795, when he was twenty-two years old.<sup>94</sup> It was evident from early in his career that his abilities were highly regarded. In 1798 he was sought out by another physician who urged his hasty presence and assistance at an accident scene that was ten miles from Hazeltine's Limerick, Maine home. A young man had been seriously injured while erecting the frame of a mill. His left ankle was dislocated and the femur was fractured in two places. The tibia protruded two inches through the laceration

in the muscles. The fibula was shattered and pieces flew into the millpond. He was faint, pale, and exhausted from the loss of blood. Hazeltine recalled, "he did not complain much of pain, by reason of his being so enfeebled." The first physician had been sent for before Hazeltine but he only restrained the bleeding and ordered that Hazeltine be brought to the scene with the greatest speed. They worked together to make a splint and doctors and onlookers alike believed that amputation would be necessary; but "time and nature" ultimately allowed the victim's leg to be restored sufficiently that he could walk. The injured thigh was shorter than the other but a leather shoe with a slightly elevated heel easily rectified the problem. Hazeltine was sure that if the patient had been in the army or navy, the limb would have been amputated.<sup>95</sup>

Hazeltine was accepted into the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1803, to his great satisfaction, "I [am] ... one who considers himself highly honoured by an admission to your Fellowship, & who will ever esteem it his greatest happiness to be able to contribute in any measure towards the promotion of the objects contemplated by the Society."<sup>96</sup> Hazeltine further demonstrated his enthusiasm by writing to the Society about his meticulous observations, analyses, and treatments of medical problems in York County, Maine (then still part of Massachusetts). His article on the accident at the Limerick mill appeared in the Society publication, *Medical Communications* of 1806, and he also prepared the volume's index and table of contents.<sup>97</sup> Shortly after his acceptance into the Society, Hazeltine submitted a summary of the most prevalent illnesses in York County from 1795 to 1803, which he believed were: pains of the teeth ("which for the most part require extraction"), diseases of the skin (particularly "the itch"), worms, measles, scarlet fever, and consumption.<sup>98</sup> Some of his other contributions were on the cause and cure of worms, the importance of bleeding, and the doctor's obligation to have a strong knowledge of the medicines he used.<sup>99</sup> In his article on worms, Hazeltine stated that their existence "in the alimentary canal may be fairly attributed to *gluttony of too full-living, alone.*" With equal certainty he explained the best way to prevent the generation of worms in adults and children:

... [A]ccustom them to regular, sparing meals, of simple nutritious food, & proper exercise: I say sparing meals; for I believe no person shall be troubled with worms, who is indulged with scanty portions of food, or with food so simple and plain that no one shall be induced to eat immoderately from its deliciousness.<sup>100</sup>

Hazeltine followed his own dictum on diet. On another occasion he had outlined his simple, temperate regimen: "I breakfast almost always on Coffee & bread & butter & cheese, & sup on the same, or on Milk, & eat meat commonly at noon. I take Spirit occasionally but not excessively, & very little Cyder."<sup>101</sup> If an individual followed the repetitively bland and meagre meal plan, but was still unfortunate enough to have worms, Hazeltine promised the worms' destruction with a tea made from half an ounce of spigelia, or "Indian pink" leaves, stalks, and roots boiled in water, sweetened with molasses, and taken on an empty stomach before bedtime. That plan was to be followed the next morning with a dose of calomel and rhubarb to clean out the system. "When there is sickness at stomach or a choking, from the worms rising upward, I direct some of the bitter herbs infused in vinegar or spirit, to be applied to the top of the sternum." Indian pink was used by Indians as an anthelmintic (a medicine to destroy parasitic worms), but it is a poisonous, potentially lethal plant. Hazeltine stood behind its efficacy, reporting that he used pounds of the plant in a year among his patients. The only disagreeable consequences he had noted, "temporary head-ache, giddiness, pain in the eyes, &c. &c.," occurred when the tea was made incorrectly with only the root, and too much of that.<sup>102</sup>

Adding to his medical experiences in York County, Hazeltine accepted three medical commissions in the army. He was discharged in 1810, at his own request, as surgeon's mate in the 2nd Regiment Infantry, 1st Brigade, 6th Division of the Massachusetts Militia.<sup>103</sup> He served again during the war, from 1812 to 1817, as surgeon of the same unit.<sup>104</sup> He was discharged from this enlistment just nine days before moving to Lynn. In 1827 the army commissioned him once again,

"reposing trust in [his] scientifick skill and ability...."<sup>105</sup> Although he was recommissioned, it was again not active duty; he was practicing medicine in Lynn during that time, and there was no war.

When Hazeltine moved to Lynn with his wife and daughter in May of 1817, he rented and later purchased the vacant home of Peter Robbins, who had removed his medical practice to Roxbury.<sup>106</sup> (The house was on the south side of Essex Street, between High and Pearl streets, and had been a healer's home since John Henry Burchsted built on the spot in 1685; it was at this property that Henry Burchsted erected a whale-jaw entrance in 1755.) Hazeltine's adjustment to Lynn was quick and sure. He arranged for many improvements to the Burchsted-Robbins house and he also bought the rights to a pew in the First Congregational Church shortly after his arrival.<sup>107</sup> In March 1818 he enrolled his daughter, Phebe, in the Boston boarding school of a Mrs. Davis and credited Henry Dockham's bill for carrying trunks, bundles, and letters to and from her.<sup>108</sup> Earlier in the same year he bought one three-dollar share in Lynn's First Social Library.<sup>109</sup> He would later become a member of the school committee, a Justice of the Peace, vice president of the Lynn Institution for Savings, and president of the Lynn Lyceum. He came to own a valuable horse, two chaises, a sleigh, buffalo robes, medicines, bottles, and even a skeleton. He purchased Alonzo Lewis's Lynn map and histories as soon as they were available.<sup>110</sup>

Hazeltine quickly acclimated in his profession as well, performing all the services other Lynn contemporaries were providing, wherever they were needed. He went to Charles Chase's store to puncture and drain the sore, infected finger of Levi Chase, and to a shoemaker's shop to tend the wound of Euresy Moulton's journeyman.<sup>111</sup> Having had a lot of healing experience before coming to Lynn, he probably found his professional transition quite smooth. None of the health problems that Hazeltine had written about to the Massachusetts Medical Society were unique to York County. When Hazeltine was in Lynn, for example, he saw plenty of tooth disease; he extracted remains of five decayed teeth for John Newhall Junior and three teeth plus two tooth stumps for Warren Burrill.<sup>112</sup> He also issued vermifuges to many Lynners and noted in his daybook cases of measles and scarlet fever. Consumption was the leading health problem he dealt with in York County and Lynn.<sup>113</sup>

All the medicines and treatments that Hazeltine used in Lynn were the result of years of experience and reading. He often used powerful, potentially lethal drugs, like calomel, spigelia, and ergot (a rye fungus that causes strong uterine contractions, among other symptoms) but he carefully controlled and calculated the dosage for the maximum benefit without side effects. He knew, for example, that if ergot was "employed injudiciously, it will certainly do mischief," so he used it in only ten percent of his parturient patients and only until labor pains were "sufficiently energetic."<sup>114</sup> Removing surface tumors from the lip of Ebenezer Mansfield's wife and from Otis Bayley's eyelid might have been a skill that he acquired during his involvement with the military as a surgeon. He was not reticent to bleed patients and, in fact, might have been the most liberal bleeder in Lynn in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. From 1818 to 1821, he bled an average of thirty-six patients a year, while Aaron Lummus averaged twenty-eight and John Lummus bled only five people.<sup>115</sup> Hazeltine advocated bleeding in one of his letters to the Massachusetts Medical Society:

I have constantly observed the most speedy cures to follow very free discharges of blood in cases of injury from external violence; & where there is no wound in such cases, I should earnestly recommend liberal evacuations by phlebotomy.<sup>116</sup>

Conversely, Hazeltine believed that not bleeding invited illness and death:

I can prove by very satisfactory evidence, that consumptions are more frequent & fatal in those towns & districts where physicians have ... seldom employed the lancet in the treatment of diseases.<sup>117</sup>

Hazeltine was an experienced, knowledgeable healer, especially when compared to the inept Moses Hale. Since Hazeltine appeared so capable, he may have expected to take Lynn by storm,

capturing the devotion of a large portion of the populace, but this didn't happen. His practice was actually only on par with that of John Lummus, who "never attained the popularity of the others and did not successfully compete with them in general practise."<sup>118</sup> Both men charged five cents for each tooth pulled, fifty cents for each visit, and five dollars for each baby delivered. Yet Hazeltine saw only 3.74 patients each day, half as many as did the popular Aaron Lummus; this was also less than his business and medical peer, James Gardner, and even less than the troubled John Lummus, who took care of 4.18 patients per day. Hazeltine delivered 36 babies each year, to John Lummus's 35, but while Hazeltine pulled almost as many teeth as Gardner, John Lummus proved to be as incredibly popular with the turnkey as his father, Aaron, had been delivering babies: Hazeltine averaged 33 tooth extractions per year; John Lummus averaged 128.<sup>119</sup>

There were several reasons why Hazeltine didn't fare as well as he might have hoped. The workingman of Lynn had already shown that he had neither the purse nor the convictions to support James Gardner in high style, and Hazeltine arrived in town when the economy was down and support for Aaron Lummus was nearing its zenith. In addition to the problems many had with his professional, medical society version of health care, his personality irked many; it would eventually be the subject of an "extremely cruel, publicized affront. Hazeltine was a "staunch Calvinistic Congregationalist," a theology that Joseph Lye considered "cruel as the grave."<sup>120</sup> He was rigid

#### *Services Rendered by Lynn Physicians, 1792-1831*

<b>Physician</b> (Years of Daybook)	<b>Patients</b> (daily ave.)	<b>Bleedings</b> (monthly ave.)	<b>Extractions</b> (yearly ave.)	<b>Deliveries</b> (yearly ave.)
<b>James Gardner</b> (1792-1800)	5.67	1.00	40	42
<b>Richard Hazeltine</b> (1817-1822)	3.74	3.00	33	36
<b>Aaron Lummus</b> (1821-1826)	7.85	2.33	27	125
<b>John Lummus</b> (1817-1822; 1826-1831)	4.18	0.42	128	35

and formal in conversation and conduct, austere in habits, and was widely regarded as "a straight-laced gentleman of the old-school;" not at all like the beloved Aunt Nabby. Abigail Alley, the wife of Timothy Alley, tended the sick and suffering whenever she was called on. In the similitude of James R. Newhall's fictitious Aunt Deborah, she was loved and trusted like a member of the family by everyone who knew her and was known affectionately by all as "Aunt Nabby."<sup>121</sup> The familial connotation, "Aunt," was often applied to visiting women whose frequent, kind, healing ministrations made them feel like one of the family.

The citizens of Lynn had shown Hazeltine, Gardner, the Lummus men, and all the types of healers in between, what they wanted in health care. It was a combination of compassion, a very low cost, and medical success. The method or knowledge that precipitated the success was of secondary importance at best; as Lummus's Dr. Caleb pointed out, "he is the greatest physician who performs the greatest number of important cures." This community attitude continued to allow many healers, medicines, and theories to be tried in Lynn. It justified the existence of such homespun notions as were used by Lynn's wart cure woman. James R. Newhall recounted an occasion in his youth, around the time of Hazeltine's arrival in Lynn, when he and some schoolmates sought out an old woman "who had a high reputation for curing warts, by charms. She received us kindly, and simply asked each of us how many warts we had. We told her. She then reassured us that in three weeks they would all be gone. And her assurance was verified."<sup>122</sup> The growths disappeared regardless of the wart cure woman's instructions and charms as assuredly as

they would have if Hazeltine had used his knowledgeable preparations or specialized instruments. In addition, the wart cure woman was kind and apparently charged the boys nothing -- two rarities in Hazeltine's practice. Lynn had never promised or delivered anything more to the Hales, Hazeltines, and wart cure types than an opportunity to prove themselves.

## **WEAK MEDICINE, CONCLUDED**

Little in Lynn had changed by the end of the decade. The differences and disparities were, if anything, more pronounced. Richard Hazeltine, for example, was a sterner, stricter version of James Gardner, and while he was able to make a living in Lynn, the town was also receptive to a widening range of alternatives in healing. Lynn embraced all ideas, from medical society ensigns to a wart cure charmer, and societies of laymen tending the sick. What medicine or healer a mother chose for her colicky baby was considered a private matter and not a threat to community safety and harmony. Public debate and action were reserved for larger problems like alcoholism and poverty.

The impact of excessive alcohol consumption was felt by many Lynn families. Its antithesis, the temperance movement, was posturing itself as the defender of industry and morality. The civic burden of poverty competed with alcoholism for community attention. The humble budgets of most Lynn residents were a stark contrast to the lifestyles of affluent visitors from Salem and Boston. Wealthy travelers to Nahant would throw out change to Lynn boys at the gate entrance to the peninsula so they "need not get out of their elegant carriages" to open the gate.<sup>123</sup> In 1819 a new almshouse was built on Boston Street to accommodate the town's growing population of dependent poor. On Nahant a remarkably incongruous effort called the Nahant Hotel was being constructed simultaneously with the almshouse.<sup>124</sup> Building a resort in a poor town that already had a foundering hotel (the Mineral Springs Hotel) was, indeed, a substantial risk but it wasn't without rationale and promise.

Before 1800, Nahant was as remote and isolated as the Mineral Spring but while the spring was nestled in a lush green wood, Nahant was "a barren waste, covered by short brown grass, tenanted by grasshoppers and snakes," and used as pasturage for cows.<sup>125</sup> Only three houses were on Nahant before Captain Johnson built the first hotel in 1800.<sup>126</sup> A small number of wealthy Bostonians summered there nonetheless and were the investors behind the Nahant Hotel project. Many pleasure parties from Boston, Medford, Reading, Stoneham, Malden, and other neighboring towns had been attracted to the peninsular islands early on for such daytrip activities as clam digging, lobster frolics, and picnics. Nahant's rocky coves were interspersed with cliffs, beaches, grottoes, and peculiar rock formations. The brisk salt-air breezes that made Nahant cooler than the mainland in the summer and milder in the winter were said to be "uncommonly pure and exhilarating ... and ... conducive to the highest degree of health," but from the start of the Nahant Hotel, natural health benefits were never more than a secondary persuasion for visitors.<sup>127</sup>

Nahant's premier attraction was its strategic location. Virtually surrounded by ocean but safely tethered to the mainland by a long sandy beach, it was equally capable of being a sanctuary and a society event for "gentlemen of fortune and taste."<sup>128</sup> Stretching into Boston Harbor, Nahant was like a pedestal for a potentate with the world bowed at his feet. From this vantage point the visitor could enjoy a panorama of the shoreline that included Marblehead, the statehouse dome and church spires in Boston, and the Bunker Hill monument but the depressing reality of Lynn's new almshouse was comfortably hidden on the far side of Tower Hill. Looking towards the ocean, the viewer could see square-rigged ships in full sail and "huge porpoises, rolling and tumbling after each other."<sup>129</sup> In August 1819 the ocean yielded still another wonder: a sea serpent conveniently chose the height of the Nahant Hotel's first summer tourist season to be seen between Nahant and Egg Rock by "a large crowd on the beach, largely composed of people from Boston, many of them

leading citizens.”<sup>130</sup> Similar sightings off Swampscott and Nahant occurred in 1820, 1821, and 1823; of course, such exciting, newsworthy creatures never made appearances in the tranquil little Mineral Spring Pond.<sup>131</sup>

Lynn historian Alonzo Lewis described the Mineral Spring's scenery modestly as “a highly picturesque and romantic spot,” but there was no reserve in his pen for the scenery of Nahant, “[it] is delightful, and is worth going a thousand miles to view.”<sup>132</sup> Lewis's Lynn histories of 1829 and 1844 were printed in Boston and widely read (there are endorsements in his 1844 edition from Hartford, Connecticut and New York newspapers). The amount of space that Lewis dedicated in his books to text and engravings of Nahant's scenery, history, and geology was definitely disproportionate to its contribution to Lynn's history but he was enamored of Nahant, and when the poet-historian digressed about the peninsula, his dispassionate narrative metamorphosed into personal poetic effusions by which the reader couldn't help but to be enticed to visit the marvelous spot:

The hard sand [of the beach connecting Nahant to the mainland] frequently retains sufficient water, for an hour after the tide has left it, to give the appearance of glass, in which objects are reflected as in a mirror. It is one of the purest delights of existence to ride there. When the animated horse passes swiftly along, with his mane blown out by the strong sea breeze, and his feet rapidly touching the sand, his perfect image is reflected beneath, with a corresponding motion, like a shadowy spirit travelling below, with his visionary mane floating on the unreal breeze, and the clouds deeply pictured beyond, like things of another world.<sup>133</sup>

Those who followed such delightful descriptions to Nahant found the pilgrimage increasingly easy to make. At first the Boston-Salem turnpike was the only major avenue to and from Lynn and it sometimes “swarmed with pedestrians.”<sup>134</sup> Five additional miles of lanes through town still had to be traversed by the turnpike traveler to reach the Nahant Hotel but Bostonians also gained a direct route to Nahant in 1829 by the steamer *Ousatonic*.<sup>135</sup> In 1830 the steamer *Livingston* carried 1,200 passengers from Boston to Nahant for the Independence Day festivities.<sup>136</sup> These boats couldn't possibly paddle their way up to the Mineral Spring Hotel. In 1838 the Eastern Railroad from Boston to Salem passed through Lynn by dipping towards the ocean and the Nahant Hotel, then turning eastward, inconveniently south of the Mineral Spring Hotel. In the first three months of the railroad's operation, the daily load of passengers averaged 348.<sup>137</sup> Train access to Lynn not only swerved away from the Mineral Spring Hotel, but also pulled other travelers off the turnpike: “The stages, with their prancing steeds and jolly drivers, began rapidly to disappear ... pedestrians began to thin out ... and soon the rattle of the lighter carriages, and the grating and groaning of the heavy teams, became less and less frequently heard.”<sup>138</sup> While the Mineral Spring Hotel relied on the turnpike's dwindling number of individual travelers for regular business, the Nahant Hotel's guests came by ship, train, stage, and carriage.

The Nahant Hotel became a society haven where the elite could at least partially unwind.<sup>139</sup> Belles did not have to appear in the latest fashions and no dandies “confined and cramped their limbs with tight coats, strapped pants, and high-heeled boots.”<sup>140</sup> However, both sexes were still conjoined in ritualistic social calls, ceremonious conversation, formal dinners, and decorous strolls and carriage rides along Nahant. When one newspaper reporter visited the resort in 1834, he “found the place alive with ladies galloping on horseback – ladies and gentlemen fishing, walking, riding, and shading in whatever direction we turned our eyes.”<sup>141</sup> There was enough patronage in Nahant for others to profit; the Village Hotel and the Mansion Hotel joined the Nahant Hotel on the peninsula in the 1840s; the Swampscott House, New Cove House, and Ocean House in Swampscott also vied for the “admiration of the lovers of sea-breezes and rural scenery.”<sup>142</sup>

The Lynn Mineral Spring Hotel, however, was passed up by the traffic and the customers. It had tried to be too many things for too many people: a resort for vacationers, a wayside inn for overnight travelers, a lodge for hunters and fishermen, a tavern for drinkers, and a spa for the ill

and infirm. The sick had never thronged to the spring's weak medicine; even its innkeeper for 1830, Jabez Barton, resorted to a Salem doctor instead of the springs when he was "taken with a violent attack of the Bilious Cholic."<sup>143</sup> The travelers found the same comforts at the roadside hotels in Saugus, Lynnfield, and Salem, and the wealthy of Salem and Boston clustered together on Nahant. The Lynn Mineral Spring Hotel quietly expired in 1839 and became a private boarding school for boys.<sup>144</sup> In 1846 it was the St. Joseph Seminary for Catholic gentlemen from four to sixteen years old. An advertisement for the seminary in the *Lynn News* promised that "pupils have free access [to] the celebrated Mineral Spring; the medicinal powers of the water have a very beneficial effect in the various cutaneous affections, and internal complaints."<sup>145</sup> Ironically, while the solicitation promised that the spring could cure the body inside and outside, it required the seminary candidates to be free from illness: "To be admitted to the seminary young gentlemen must have been vaccinated; those afflicted with contagious humors will not be received."<sup>146</sup> The healthy were being offered an education but the sick need not apply to the Lynn Mineral Springs. The whole seminary experiment was apparently not divinely inspired; in less than a year the property was sold, once again because of financial problems: the school's headmaster was unable to keep up the lease payments.

In 1847 the property left general public use when it was purchased as the private estate of Richard S. Fay. He enjoyed some of the acceptable gentleman's pursuits of Spring Pond's earlier days, such as woodcock shooting in October and trout fishing in June, and in a letter bemoaning his health, he seemed to have ample reason to resort to the medicinal spring on his property:

My health has been, owing to the unfortunate circumstance of having been born at mid-day in the dark [during an eclipse], a complete mystery. Since my arrival at full manhood, I have hardly enjoyed a day's health. I put off growing too long, and in my haste to get from 5 ft. 4 in. to my present height of 6 ft. I made too great exertions & this weakened a naturally strong constitution.<sup>147</sup>

But apparently Fay didn't believe in or have good results from the alleged benefits of the ferruginous spring on his property, since there is no evidence that he resorted it. The fame and attraction of Lynn's Mineral Spring had ceased to bubble to the surface.

## Chapter 2 Notes

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1. Alonzo Lewis and James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Including Lynnfield, Saugus, Swampscott and Nahant* (Boston: John L. Shorey, 1865), p.279.
  2. J. P. Boyce, "THOUGHTS OF FORMER YEARS, Number Three," *Daily Evening Item*, 15 April 1882.
  3. The spring near Gardner's property in article, "Old Federal Square Spring Covered Up," *Lynn Scrapbooks*, 16 March 1908 (basement); no newspaper attribution. The Scrapbooks are a collection of newspaper clippings at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society. Article title, newspaper attribution, and date are not regularly noted on the clippings. Records Book of Lynn, manuscript (covering 1782-1813; at the Lynn City Hall), p.439 (commercial).
  4. The boiling spring and the springs in Saugus Center and near the Malden line in Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, pp.70-71.
  5. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.70.
  6. The various cures from mineral springs cited in Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.71; Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn* (Boston: J. H. Eastburn, 1829), p.243; and Nathan Mortimer Hawkes, "Lynnmore. Gleanings from the Records and Pen Sketches of a Picturesque Region of Old Lynn," *The Register of the Lynn Historical Society*, (Lynn: Frank S. Whitten), No.16 (1913), p.109.

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7. "Diary of Archelaus Putnam of New Mills," *The Historical Collections of the Danvers Historical Society* (Danvers, Mass., Newcomb & Gauss, 1918), Vol.6, p.18, 2 July 1809.
8. Loose, untitled newspaper clipping from the *Lynn Item* in the "Lynn Mineral Springs Hotel" file at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society. *Records of the Lynn Mineral Spring Corporation*, manuscript (covering 1810-1838; at the Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.).
9. *Records of the Lynn Mineral Spring Corporation*.
10. Advertisement, *Columbian Sentinel*, 17 August 1811.
11. Rebecca Farmer Barton, Lynn, Mass., Letter to Hannah Rogers, Billerica, Mass., 18 February 1830, manuscript. (Collection of the author: Rapoza.)
12. Nathan Mortimer Hawkes, "Lynnmore," *The Register of the Lynn Historical Society*, p. 107. "Bowling boards" were installed in April 1822 according to the *Records of the Lynn Mineral Spring Corporation*.
13. Advertisement, *Salem Gazette*, 13 June 1820.
14. Essex County Court Records, manuscript (at the Essex County Clerk's Office, Salem, Mass.), No. 663, Spring Term 1824, "Lynn Mineral Spring Corporation v. Roles."
15. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 4 July 1828.
16. Mary Jane Mudge, Journal, manuscript (covering 1824; at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), 21 June 1824.
17. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 1 August 1829.
18. Article, "Lynn Mineral Spring," *Boston Masonic Mirror*, 16 June 1832.
19. Richard Hazeltine, "Mineral Waters of Lynn - Effect of Age on Ergot," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol.9, No.3 (28 April 1833), p.41.
20. Richard Hazeltine, "Mineral Waters of Lynn," p.41.
21. Article, "Lynn Mineral Spring," *Essex Tribune*, 21 September 1833.
22. Nathan Mortimer Hawkes, "Lynnmore," p.109. Nathan D. Chase corroborates Hawkes' recollection in "Remiscences," *Lynn Transcript*, 2 April 1881, writing that "after a while ... the water lost its reputation as a remedial agent, the place changed hands, and the house ran down to a common grogillery."
23. Nathan Mortimer Hawkes, "Lynnmore," pp.114-115.
24. Article by J. P. Boyce, "THOUGHTS OF FORMER YEARS. Number Six," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 May 1882; article by Charles Delnow, "Lynn Common," Lynn Scrapbooks; no newspaper attribution or date; article by Edwin Thompson, "Reflections," Lynn Scrapbooks, 24 October 1887; no newspaper attribution.
25. J. P. Boyce, "THOUGHTS OF FORMER YEARS. Number Six," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 May 1882. Boyce further illustrated the political zealotry of the decade with his memory of Joseph Johnson who had the "numb palsy" [he was paralyzed]: "I recollect of seeing the people take him on a bed, town-meeting day, in March, put him on a horse sled, and drag him over the Common to the Town House, take him to the platform, when he would reach his vote to the Selectmen, and return, apparently with the feeling that the country was saved."
26. J. P. Boyce, "THOUGHTS OF FORMER YEARS. Number Six," *Daily Evening Item*, 22 May 1882 .
27. David N. Johnson, *Sketches of Lynn or the Changes of Fifty Years* (Lynn: Thos. P. Nichols, 1880), pp.54-55.
28. Dean Albertson, "Puritan Liquor in the Planting of New England," *New England Quarterly* (Boston: 1950), Vol.23, pp.477-478.
29. William Wood, *New England's Prospect* (London: Thos. Cotes, 1635), p. 70.
30. Analysis of twenty-eight Lynn estate inventories from the period 1643-1664 performed by the author. With less frequency, wine casks were also found in the inventories. See *The Probate Records of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1635-1664* (Salem, MA: The Essex Institute, 1916; online at babel.hathitrust.org), Vol.1.
31. Quantitative survey of *Vital Records of Lynn, Massachusetts*, 2 vols. (Salem, Mass.: Newcomb & Gauss, 1906), Vol.2, by the author (Rapoza). Approximately 7,632 deaths up to 1850 are included of which 1,606 (21%) list cause of death. Dysentery accounted for 154 of those explained deaths.
32. William Wood, *New England's Prospect*, p.12.
33. Article, "Specimen of a new Explanatory Dictionary which never has been, nor never will be published," *Lynn Weekly Mirror*, 24 September 1825.
34. Article, "Specimen of a new Explanatory Dictionary which never has been, nor never will be published," *Lynn Weekly Mirror*, 24 September 1825.
35. James Gardner, Daybook, manuscript (covering 19 May 1792 - 31 December 1800; at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), 1 August 1797.

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36. Caleb Wiley, Account Book, manuscript (covering 1812-1815; at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), pp.61-62.
  37. James Gardner, Daybook, 31 May 1796 (emphasis in original).
  38. Article, "Old Federal Square Spring Covered Up," Lynn Scrapbooks, 16 March 1908; no newspaper attribution.
  39. Poem, *Lynn Record*, 26 January 1831.
  40. Obituary of Aaron Lummus, *Lynn Mirror*, 22 January 1831.
  41. Article, "The Society in Lynn for the Promotion of Industry, Frugality, and Temperance," *Lynn Mirror*, 24 January 1829.
  42. Article, "A Nonagenarian," *Lynn Item*, 22 September 1894.
  43. Article by J. P. Boyce, "THOUGHTS OF FORMER YEARS," *Daily Evening Item*, 7 April 1882. This source incorrectly lists the deaths of Breed's children in 1811 but *Vital Records of Lynn, Massachusetts*, Vol. 2, pp.433, 438 lists their three sons' deaths as a few weeks apart in 1813; there is, however, no record of the three daughters' deaths as described by Boyce.
  44. Nathan D. Chase, Article, "Reminiscences, With Portion of Sketches of 1870," *Lynn Transcript*, 23 April 1881, No. 5. See also Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.379.
  45. Article, "THOUGHTS OF FORMER YEARS. Number Ten," *Daily Evening Item*, 11 October 1882.
  46. Joseph Lye, Diary, manuscript, 23 November 1817 - 13 September 1832. Typed manuscript from the collection of the author (Rapoza); original [in several volumes] at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), 31 December 1819.
  47. *The Constitution, By-Laws and Regulations of the Lynn Female Benevolent Society* (Lynn: Stevenson & Nichols, 1856); preamble; *Constitution, By-Laws and Regulations of the Lynn Female Fragment Society* (Lynn: J. B. Tolman, 1836), preamble.
  48. "Diary of Archelaus Putnam of New Mills," *The Historical Collections of the Danvers Historical Society*, Vol. 6, p. 19, 17 July 1809.
  49. Joseph Lye, Diary, 2 March 1820. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p. 380, incorrectly lists the event in 1816.
  50. Joseph Lye, Diary, 6 November 1822.
  51. Joseph Lye, Diary, 8 May 1822.
  52. Joseph Lye, Diary, 24 July 1818.
  53. Joseph Lye, Diary, 20 March 1819.
  54. *Vital Records*, Vol. 2, p.530 (sisters); Lye, Diary, 10 September 1823 (graves).
  55. Joseph Lye, Diary, 21 October 1818.
  56. Joseph Lye, Diary, 12 February 1820.
  57. Article, "Watcher's Society," *Lynn Record*, 30 January 1830.
  58. C(harles) F. Lummus, *The Lynn Directory and Town Register for 1832* (Boston: Clapp & Hull, Printers, 1832), p.28.
  59. C(harles) F. Lummus, *The Lynn Directory*, p. 28; *The Lynn Directory and Register for the Year 1841* (Lynn: Benjamin F. Roberts, 1841), p. 14. More watchers' societies appear in later city directories.
  60. Broadside, "Constitution of the Lynn Female Watchers Society," Article XI. (Collection of the author.)
  61. Refer to Wiley, Account Book.
  62. Article, "The Oldest Drug Store in Lynn," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 September 1900. The Holder location was the oldest continuously operating drug store location but it wasn't the oldest such enterprise in Lynn, as illustrated by the diary of Archelaus Putnam.
  63. Aaron Lummus, Daybook, manuscript (covering 1 January 1821 - 31 December 1826; at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), 28 March 1822, 8 April 1822, 27 April 1823, 12 June 1823, 20 April 1824, 20 August 1824, 26 October 1824, 1 November 1824.
  64. Aaron Lummus, Daybook, 16 September 1823. On this date Holder paid back \$33 he borrowed from Lummus.
  65. John Lummus, Daybook, manuscript (covering October 1817 - October 1819; at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), 1 July 1818; see also 15 May 1818.
  66. Richard Hazeltine, Daybook, manuscript (covering 3 May 1817 - 26 January 1822; at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), 19 September 1818.
  67. Aaron Lummus, Daybook, 22 March 1823.
  68. Joseph Lye, Diary. Lye experienced a violent attack of rheumatism during 3 - 4 March 1821, but made no mention of turning to John Lummus who was boarding in his home from 27 July 1820 - 19 May 1821.

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69. Joseph Lye, Diary, 27 August 1823.
70. Aaron Lummus, *The Life of Aaron Lummus* (Portland, Me.: Francis Douglas, 1816), pp.9-10.
71. John Lummus, Daybook. His Lynn practice in this book began in October 1817 but Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn Including Nahant*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Samuel N. Dickinson, 1844), p.271, lists John Lummus beginning practice in 1816.
72. *A Catalogue of the Honorary and Past and Present Fellows 1781-1931* (Boston: The Massachusetts Medical Society, 1931), p.154.
73. Lucinda M. Lummus, "Dr. Aaron Lummus," manuscript (1904, at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), p.11.
74. Edward Lummus's thesis work is listed in "Minutes of Faculty of Harvard Medical School," manuscript (at the Francis Countway Library, Harvard University Medical School, Boston, Mass.). The start of his practice is listed in Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.534.
75. Edward Lummus's admission is listed in *A Catalog of the Honorary and Past and Present Fellows*, p. 54. His tenure in the council is listed in *The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar* (Boston: Manning & Loring, 1831), p.157.
76. Joseph Lye, Diary. Edward Lummus preached frequently but irregularly from 6 February 1820 - 7 December 1823, and was involved in the separation of a portion of that church into a second Congregational, later Unitarian church.
77. Aaron Lummus, *The Life of Aaron Lummus*, p.10.
78. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 9 February 1828.
79. Advertisements, *Lynn Mirror*: 27 December 1828 (oil of polar bear); 17 March 1827 (beautiful growth).
80. Aaron Lummus, *The Life of Aaron Lummus*, pp.14-15.
81. Aaron Lummus, *The Life of Aaron Lummus*, p.18.
82. Aaron Lummus, *The Life of Aaron Lummus*, p.21.
83. Aaron Lummus, *The Life and Adventures of Dr. Caleb Who Migrated from Egypt and Afterwards Practiced Physic in the Land of Canaan and Elsewhere: An Allegory; Designed Principally to Amuse and Edify Young People* (Boston: Lincoln & Edmonds, Printer, 1822), pp.55-57.
84. Aaron Lummus, *The Life and Adventures of Dr. Caleb*, p.117.
85. Aaron Lummus, *The Life and Adventures of Dr. Caleb*, p.124.
86. Aaron Lummus, *The Life and Adventures of Dr. Caleb*, p.126.
87. Thomas Francis Harrington, *The Harvard Medical School - A History Narrative and Documentary*, 3 vols. (New York: Lewis Publishing Company), Vol.3 (1905), p.1454. John Flagg Gardner's admission to the Massachusetts Medical Society is listed in *A Catalog of the Honorary and Past and Present Fellows*, p.96. Lye, Diary, indicates John Flagg Gardner was still living in Lynn in 1819, serving as a church vestryman (27 January), reading the Sunday service (30 January and 14 February), and having his child baptized (8 August). His death is listed in Lewis, *History of Lynn*, p.233.
88. Mary Caroline Phillips Bennett, "Sketch of the Life of a Revolutionary Soldier, James Gardner, M.D." *The Register of the Lynn Historical Society*, (Lynn: Frank S. Whitten), No.25, Part 2 (1931), p.107.
89. Article by J. Jenks Sargent, no title, Lynn Scrapbooks; no newspaper attribution or date.
90. Richard Hazeltine, Daybook, 11, 14, 15, 17 November 1818.
91. Richard Hazeltine, Daybook, 5 October 1819.
92. Richard Hazeltine, Daybook, 2 January 1821.
93. Hale's credits are listed in Hazeltine, Daybook, 23 April 1821, 8 June 1821. In addition to the births listed in Joseph's daybook under 1818 and 1821, *Vital Records*, Vol. I, p.172 lists another birth in 1826. Hale's occupation and ownership of land are listed in Essex County Deeds, manuscript (at the Essex County Registry of Deeds, Salem, Mass.), Vol.228, p.289; Vol.232, p.53; Vol.236, pp.72, 75.
94. Richard Hazeltine, Letters to the Massachusetts Medical Society, manuscript (covering 1800-1811; at the Francis Countway Library, Harvard University Medical School, Boston), 5 April 1804. In his letter, Hazeltine reported the illnesses he encountered in York County from 1795-1803.
95. Richard Hazeltine, Letter, March 1804. Richard Hazeltine, Membership Certificate to the Massachusetts Medical Society, manuscript (at the Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.), 1 June 1814. This certificate, issued to "Richard Hazeltine, M.D., of Berwick, York, Massachusetts," is either incorrectly or was issued in that year for payment of his annual membership fees.
96. Richard Hazeltine, Letter, 5 April 1804.

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97. Richard Hazeltine, "A Case of Compound Dislocation of the Tibia, at the ankle joint, accompanied with a fracture and loss of part of the fibula, and likewise with a fracture of the femur in two places.,," *Medical Communications* (Boston, Massachusetts Medical Society), Vol.1 (1808), pp.24-34.
98. Richard Hazeltine, Letter, 5 April 1804.
99. Richard Hazeltine, Letters, March 1805, 5 April 1804, 6 June 1811.
100. Richard Hazeltine, Letter, 5 April 1804.
101. Richard Hazeltine, Letter, 27 October 1800.
102. Richard Hazeltine, Letter, 5 April 1804.
103. Richard Hazeltine, Military Records, manuscript (covering 1810-1831; at the Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.), 17 February 1810 (discharge).
104. Richard Hazeltine, Military Records, 27 November 1812 (commission), 24 April 1817 (discharge).
105. Richard Hazeltine, Military Records, 12 September 1817 (commission), 30 May 1831 (discharge).
106. James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, 1864-1890* (Lynn: George C. Herbert, 1890), p. 205.
107. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.153 (house); Hazeltine, Daybook, 15 June 1818 (pew).
108. Richard Hazeltine, Daybook, 21 March 1818.
109. Richard Hazeltine, Daybook, 6 January 1818.
110. Notice, "Public Auction," *Lynn Record*, 31 August 1836.
111. Richard Hazeltine, Daybook, 27 June 1818 (Moulton's shoemaker's shop), 17 July 1818 (Chase's store).
112. Richard Hazeltine, Daybook, manuscript (covering 29 May 1828 - 16 November 1831; at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), 29 March 1830 (Newhall), 10 April 1830 (Burrill).
113. Quantitative survey of *Vital Records of Lynn*, Vol. 2, by the author (Rapoza), revealed 343 deaths (21% of total) by consumption out of 1,606 death causes listed.
114. Richard Hazeltine, "Mineral Waters of Lynn - Effect of Age on Ergot," pp.41-42.
115. Richard Hazeltine, Daybook, 8 July 1818 (Mansfield), 26 November 1818 (Bayley). Comparative statistical analyses of the daybooks of Richard Hazeltine, Aaron Lummus, and John Lummus by the author (Rapoza).
116. Richard Hazeltine, Letter, 5 April 1804.
117. Richard Hazeltine, Letter, 5 April 1804.
118. Lucinda M. Lummus, "Dr. Aaron Lummus," manuscript (1904, at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), p.10.
119. Comparative statistical analyses of the daybooks of Richard Hazeltine and John Lummus by the author (Rapoza).
120. Joseph Lye, Diary, 28 February 1818.
121. May L. Sheldon, "Early Lynn Physicians," manuscript (1904; at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), p.10. Article by J. P. Boyce, "THOUGHTS OF FORMER YEARS. Market Street in 1812 – 'The War Office' – Recollections of the Residents of the Street," *Daily Evening Item*, 31 March 1882.
122. James R. Newhall, *New England Witchcraft* (Salem, Mass.: G. W. & E. Crafts, 1845), p.30. Newhall was born in 1809; since he was "quite a lad" and with schoolmates, he was probably between 6 and 12 years old.
123. Article by Edwin Thompson, "Recollections," *Lynn Scrapbooks*, 24 October 1887; no newspaper attribution.
124. Alonzo Lewis, *History of Lynn*, p.240.
125. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, p.265.
126. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, p.227.
127. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, p.251.
128. *The Lynn Directory and Register for the Year 1841*, p.7.
129. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, pp.251-252.
130. Edwin Thompson, "Recollections," 24 October 1887.
131. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, p.216.
132. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, p.267 (Mineral Springs). Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, p.251 (Nahant).
133. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, pp.245-246.
134. James R. Newhall, *Proceedings in Lynn, Massachusetts, June 17, 1879* (Lynn: 1880), p.112.

135. Notice, no title, *Lynn Mirror*, 6 June 1829. Lewis, *The History of Lynn*, p.251, said there were two steamers cruising between Boston and Nahant, but that land travel was the more pleasant way to get there.
136. Joseph Lye, Diary, 5 July 1830.
137. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, p.252.
138. James R. Newhall, *Proceedings in Lynn*, p.112.
139. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, p.267.
140. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, p.266.
141. Article, “Nahant,” *Lynn Record*, 16 July 1834.
142. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, pp. 266-267. *The Lynn Directory and Register for the Year 1841*, pp.7, 10.
143. Rebecca Farmer Barton, Letter, 18 February 1830.
144. Ad, *Lynn Freeman*, 13 April 1839.
145. Advertisement, “St. Joseph’s Seminary, Lynn Mineral Spring, Mass.,” *Lynn News*, manuscript (typed manuscript in the “Lynn Mineral Springs Hotel” file at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), p.1.
146. Advertisement, “St. Joseph’s Seminary, Lynn Mineral Spring, Mass.,” p.2.
147. Nathan Mortimer Hawkes, “Lynnmore,” p.117.

❧ Chapter 3: 1820-1829 ❧

## Testing Reflexes

... the most interesting reading imaginable is a file of old newspapers. It brings up the very age, with all its bustle and everyday affairs, and marks its genius and its spirit more than the most laboured description of the historian.... Who can take a paper dated half a century ago without the thought that almost every name there printed is now cut upon a tombstone... The Doctor, (quack or regular) that there advertised his medicines and their cures, has followed the sable train of his patients....

Article, “Old Newspapers”  
*Lynn Mirror*, 6 June 1829

**P**romoted for their salubrious benefits, the Mineral Springs and Nahant hotels were actually more like hideaways than health resorts. Concealed at opposite ends of the town’s periphery, they fell outside of the geographic, economic, and social bounds of most Lynn lives. The town’s population was continuing its half-century-long climb from 4,087 in 1810 to 6,138 in 1830, a fifty percent increase over two decades. The expanding population was supporting a widening array of businesses, from saddle making to banking, but Lynn’s shoemakers continued to be its predominant demographic. In 1829 there were fifteen grocery stores, seven dry goods shops, two bakers, three blacksmiths, four tailors, and eight housewrights, but with sixty-six shoe shops, cordwaining had settled in as the town’s principal industry.<sup>1</sup> An increasing population required more services and controls; community issues became more visible and clearly defined. There were many important issues percolating in the heart of Lynn that distracted residents’ attentions away from the resorts. The care-free pleasures of the Mineral Springs and Nahant hotels were left mainly to the patronage of Boston’s and Salem’s affluent, while personal morality, local economics, and national policies drew the attention and fire of Lynn’s laborers and tradesmen.

Political fervor had intensified in the first few decades of the century, with the line being clearly drawn between the Jeffersonian Republican and Federalist ideologies. The Republicans controlled the town’s politics in the early 1820s with favorite son Aaron Lummus riding the majority’s shoulders into the office of Essex County Senator. Temperance was the town’s pre-eminent social concern, but in 1827 the Lynn Debating Society was formed to consider many other issues as well. Shoe shops also proved to be an ideal forum for conversation and debate. Cordwaining was a sedentary and quiet labor, so impassioned opinions could fill the air without disturbing the fingers’ industrious rhythm.

Observing the community’s enthusiasm for reflecting on itself and the world, twenty-four-year-old Charles Lummus established Lynn’s first newspaper, the *Lynn Mirror*, in September of 1825.<sup>2</sup> The four-page weekly was a small, unpretentious affair, clearly the result of a low-budget, one-man, start-up effort. Using his knowledge gained during a Boston printshop apprenticeship, Lummus set up Lynn’s first printing operation on the second floor of his father’s Market Street building. His tools were an antiquated Ramage press, a few sets of the typesetter’s alphabet, and even fewer small illustration woodcuts. For years, the masthead was simple, heavy block type,

unadorned by symbolic illustrations. No headlines heralded articles. Advertisements were also flat and plain because Lummus's available type fonts were limited to only a few variations of standard serif type styles. Where larger, established papers used stock woodcut illustrations to fill the gaps at column's end, Lummus resorted to short riddles, anecdotes, and curiosities he called "squizzles."<sup>3</sup> One such item read, "A lady of this town, a few days since, on opening a fine fresh cabbage, observed a singular appearance, which proved to be a white worm, about the size of good twine, and two feet six inches in length."<sup>4</sup>

The *Mirror* had a minimum of editorial matter. Lummus's few forays conformed to his father's politics: temperate, antislavery, and Republican, and generally sent down from a high moral ground. Warnings were slipped into various issues for readers to guard against such character flaws as moping, lying, and whispering.<sup>5</sup> Grittier editorials and replies were written by anonymous correspondents and subscribers. One *Mirror* column complained that chewing tobacco was practiced "from ten years old and upward" and was "unbecoming the gentleman ... rolling his quid from side to side, and occasionally dispersing the saliva in every direction upon the floor or carpet."<sup>6</sup>

Following standard newspaper procedure of the day, less-than-fresh national and regional news stories were lifted from other newspapers and buried between homegrown columns of moralizing, maudlin poetry and prose. As a news source, the *Mirror* was inconsistent. Some editions read like a genuine newspaper while others were a hodgepodge of obscure trivia. The lead articles of one issue were a combination of thoughts on the local militias, intemperance, politeness, common salt, and a recipe for Indian pudding. Another set of front-page stories included discussions about Republicans, the whale fishery, a tame wolf, Iceland, female engineers, lithography, Indians, and the grave of a writer's mother.

Local news stories were so few and so short, they often resembled squizzles more than articles. Important community issues, like the depressed local economy of 1825-1829, were seldom reported in detail; in fact, advertisements gave more hints than the articles that Lynners were wincing from a financial pinch. Shortly after the *Mirror* began in 1825, Edward Lummus and Richard Hazeltine placed notices in the paper requesting that patients pay off their past due accounts, although Lummus soft-peddled his demand with felicitations for a happy new year.<sup>7</sup> In 1826, George Lummus advertised that his store's goods were being sold "for cash and cash only." In 1828 he was offering some items at half price and Isaac Orgin was willing to accept the shoemakers' shoes in payment for the goods in his store.<sup>8</sup> By the end of that year, some Lynn creditors had resorted to the services of a local strong-arm, M. Alley Jr., who promised to settle accounts "peaceably if he can, forcibly if he must."<sup>9</sup> In early 1829 a reader of the *Mirror* described the financial woes the townspeople were experiencing, "Perhaps at no time since the close of the revolutionary war, has there been so great a scarcity of money among farmers, as at the present time."<sup>10</sup> A one-sentence squib appeared in the same issue stating that desperate Lynners were digging for money in the eastern part of town. With a staff consisting of himself and the printer's devil, Lummus's little publication wasn't equipped to grapple with the town's problems or possible solutions. Never having a readership over 400 (only one-eighth of the town's adult population), the *Mirror* staggered financially into the next decade, along with most of its subscribers.

Lummus made no apologies for his paper. "The *Mirror* was designed for the meridian of Lynn," he explained, "and, as such, will embrace such notices as may be deemed of general interest to its inhabitants; affording an advertising medium for local matters, and securing the diffusion of intelligence as is suited to the taste, the habits, and the convenience of our citizens."<sup>11</sup> As Lummus predicted, public notices and advertisements gave the paper most of its validity and a fair amount of its revenue. The paper served as a community bulletin board, notifying its readership of new stock arrivals in Lynn's stores, various meetings of town government branches and social organizations, nuptials and obituaries of townsfolk, legal notices, and employment openings. James Lakeman saw the *Mirror* as the best means to warn people that he wouldn't pay bills incurred

by John Warren Newhall, his runaway indentured apprentice.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, Abner Hood put all on notice that he wouldn't pay the debts of his estranged wife, "I have a good house and all things provided for the comfortable support of my family. But my wife has seen fit to leave...."<sup>13</sup> Jonathan Buffum used the *Mirror* to announce the opening of his new paperhanging and paint store on Union Street.<sup>14</sup> Isaac Basset, Jr. advertised an employment opportunity in the paper for journeymen shoemakers.<sup>15</sup> Blaney Ingalls called the Lynn Rifle Company to muster through the *Mirror*.<sup>16</sup> A heart-rending request for a nursing infant was made by a woman who had lost her own baby.<sup>17</sup> The White Store was proud to announce the display of a mummy "discovered in a cave in Upper Egypt by the distinguished traveler Balzoni"; admission was twelve and a half cents and children half-price.<sup>18</sup> (Later notices announced that the mummy was making the rounds at Woodend and the Lynn Hotel as well.) A frustrated Isaac Gates took refuge in the *Mirror* when his other advertising campaign failed:

I will give TEN DOLLARS to any person, who will give me such information that the person or persons, may be brought to conviction, who girdled on the night of the 10th inst. five Elm Trees standing near my dwelling-house in Summer street. Libellers and Girdlers have been busy in the dark, in tearing down, and defacing my ADVERTISEMENTS, let the rogues tear down this.<sup>19</sup>

If lineage could be a requirement for the newspaper business, then Charles Lummus was poised for success. With the exception of his peripatetic preacher brother, Aaron Jr., the Lummus men were thoroughly ensconced in Lynn's affairs, so the family name naturally saturated Charles' newspaper. John, Edward, and father Aaron were all practicing physicians in town. George and Thomas sold medicines and variety goods. John's name frequently appeared in notices relative to his various responsibilities as secretary to the board of health, chairman of the overseers of the poor, and surgeon of the 4th Regiment. Edward also served on the board of health and posted notices in his brother's newspaper in his capacity as secretary of both the school committee and the Society of Industry, Frugality, and Temperance.<sup>20</sup> Father Aaron's popularity and politics were at their apogee, and upon his passing, his life's virtues were enshrined with encomiums in his grieving son's paper. Brother George might have learned the power of advertising from his mercantile apprenticeship in Philadelphia; he was one of his brother's biggest advertisers.<sup>21</sup> Youngest brother Thomas adopted George's business and technique, placing ads in Charles' paper as well.

Even Charles took advantage of his own publication, advertising in virtually every issue that he had all sorts of paraphernalia for sale "at the office of the *Mirror*," including paper, pens, knives, soap, steel and silver toothpicks, snuff boxes, wax tapers, all kinds of perfumery, boot blacking, books and musical instruments.<sup>22</sup> He learned early that setting the Lummus name in type wouldn't always bring pride or profit. The very first issue of his paper contained the death notice of brother Edward's nine-month-old only child and the second week's edition followed with the obituary of Edward's twenty-four-year-old wife.<sup>23</sup>

## **THE HEALTH BEAT**

One of the biggest influences on Lummus and his paper was his family's preoccupation with medicine and the pursuit of health. The *Mirror* was an encyclopedia of things medical. Lummus lifted many health-related and pseudoscientific items from other newspapers and from medical journals, such as the *Boston Medical Intelligencer*, which he probably secured by rummaging through his father's office in the same building. The health articles he selected for his newspaper illustrated the relationship of immorality and illness: only liquor surpassed tobacco in loathsomeness to body and soul and vaccinations were successful only if administered with industry and integrity.<sup>24</sup> Lummus borrowed an alarming report from the *Medical Intelligencer* that explained vaccination procedures had become too routine and patients were suffering dangerous, even

terminal results from the vaccinator's negligence and lack of follow-up: "... [W]hat can we expect but that nine-tenths of the cases are imperfect ..." <sup>25</sup>

Articles were taken from the *Christian Watchman* and the *New York Enquirer* to hammer home the dangers and folly of fashion. The *Watchman* stated that corsets restricted bodily functions and often did damage to woman's internal organs, "the capacity of the lungs for air is encroached upon; the blood circulating through these organs is retarded ... the lungs become engorged, and are thus provoked to disease ... most frequently ... turbulculos consumption...." <sup>26</sup> The *Enquirer* was less pathological but more emotional:

Is there not a more fell destroyer of human life stalking about the country, than the brandy decanter? ... [L]ook for a moment into the bills of mortality.... The item which first strikes us, almost universally, is the number of those persons, not who died of *intemperance*, but who are cut off by *consumption*.... This great mortality created by consumption, occurs too, among the young, active, and promising members of society, of both sexes. What, then, are the causes of this deplorable inequality? Fashion! fashion! fashion!<sup>27</sup>

Few articles were written on local health topics. Illness in Lynn was confined to brief reports, including just a mention of an influenza epidemic that infected two-thirds of the population during the especially frigid February of 1826 and a "formidable" whooping cough epidemic in January 1827.<sup>28</sup> After the January epidemic, the town enjoyed an unusually protracted stretch of good health. One wary citizen worried that amid the healthful season the town's board of health was being negligent in its duty because it had not met yet that year. In a June editorial the writer warned that the lush vegetation could combine with "many usual circumstances" to make the intervention of the board of health "absolutely necessary."<sup>29</sup> The voice of warning may have felt validated in September when a sickness became prevalent among the town's children, brought on, it was suggested, by indulgent parents supplying them with immature fruit.<sup>30</sup>

Two other locally produced health articles revealed an unreserved acceptance of homemade medicine and high expectations for physicians. The article advocating homemade medicine reviewed the benefits of the pyrola (pippisessewa) plant, found in the Lynn area, which "has been known to cure eruptions of a violent nature and even remove cancers...."<sup>31</sup> Looking at professional medicine, another report reviewed the social responsibility of Lynn's physicians to provide medical services to the families of drunkards, even when they were unable to pay.<sup>32</sup>

Health-related squizzes were a potpourri of medical froth. One that was designed to vex the female readership while amusing the men, reported matter-of-factly, "Men never apply to a physician unless they are sick, but women always do, when they are idle or ill-humored, which is about two thirds of their time."<sup>33</sup> In another issue, Charles inserted three health fillers in succession: a "radical cure for toothaches" (Spanish snuff rubbed on the teeth and cold water behind the ears), a teeth whitener (honey and charcoal), and an Indian cure for earache, "take the lean of mutton the size of a walnut, put in fire and burn for a long time until reduced to a cinder; put in clean rag and squeeze drops of its moisture into patient's ear as hot as he can stand it."<sup>34</sup>

The *Mirror*'s public notices and advertisements provide insight into Lynn's health needs during the 1820s. Frequent board of health meeting announcements indicated increasing problems associated with a denser population. Garbage and carcasses, the Board determined, could no longer be discarded with abandon.<sup>35</sup> Edward Lummus's advertisement for a few dozen leeches "immediately" hinted at his frequent exercise of phlebotomy.<sup>36</sup> The publicized nature of the request suggested that even local pond leeches would do, even though European varieties were much preferred for bleeding patients; it was an opportunity for Lynn boys to make some pocket money by going into the towns ponds to find leeches – or to let the leeches find them.

Among the many sundries sold out of his printshop, Charles Lummus included such scientific works as *Wakefield's Botany*, *Conversations on Chemistry*, and his brother Aaron's medical

allegory, *The Life and Adventures of Dr. Caleb*.<sup>37</sup> It was also Charles Lummus who first used the *Mirror* to advertise proprietary medicines. A year after he started his business, Lummus launched Lynn newspaper advertising of proprietaries with *Atkinson's Bear's Grease* and *Celebrated Infallible Eye-Water* (probably Davenport's); perhaps he had witnessed some apparent efficacy of the eye medicine on his brother, John, who suffered a serious eye accident a year earlier.<sup>38</sup> Charles later offered *London Court Plasters* and *Bear's Oil*, "known to cause a vigorous growth of the hair on places already bald." He claimed he could produce testimonies of fellow Lynn citizens who had used it.<sup>39</sup>

John Alley 3rd was much like Charles Lummus, offering just a few nostrums at his dry goods store. Throughout the late 1820s, Alley regularly carried Richardson's *Restorative Bitters* and *Headache Pills*, proprietary medicines that were readily available from the physician out of nearby South Reading.<sup>40</sup>

Aaron Lummus Holder advertised patent medicines moderately in the *Mirror*, with such selections as *American Cough Drops*, *Swaim's Panacea*, *Dr. Hunter's Pills*, and *Wheaton's Jaundice Bitters* and *Itch Ointment*, and he promoted his business with spoons perfect for medicine dosing by having his name stamped on them. Despite the efforts of Holder and Alley, the early mogul of medicine advertising was Charles' brother, George.<sup>41</sup>

In 1828, George advertised seventeen different medicines to Holder's six varieties. He carried almost all the brands that Holder advertised plus *Whitwell's Opodeldoc*, *Cream of Amber*, *Balm of Egypt*, and *Potter's Vegetable Catholicon*. Perhaps he had a larger selection or was just a more aggressive advertiser than Holder; in either case, Charles gave this brother and important advertiser some subtle editorial support in the form of a poem. The visual imagery became an advertisement to contemporary readers, but now serves as an important picture in poetry of an early Lynn apothecary:

I do remember an apothecary;  
In common-street he keeps.  
Him late I noted  
In checkered apron, with eye upturn'd intent,  
Pounding of simples; busy were his looks  
And in his spacious shop a show-case stood,  
Filled' with varieties of motley hue.  
Beside a case of shelves a time piece hung  
And near, a long array of brim-ful boxes,  
Anodynes and unguents.  
A non'aflitch of bacon  
Sweet honey-pots and groceries, and garden seeds,  
Shoemakers tools, and bread ala dyspepsia  
And stationary, were thinly scattered to make up a show.<sup>42</sup>

Early in February 1829, George turned over his apothecary store on Common Street to his youngest brother, Thomas. George stayed active in Lynn's business community, however, reappearing with a variety store on Summer Street shortly thereafter. Meanwhile, young Thomas didn't take long to offer some of his own proprietary mixtures to the public. Later that year, on the 29th of August, Charles inserted a short editorial extolling the virtues of his little brother's tooth powder creation. Mustering all the wisdom of contemporary medical knowledge gleaned under microscopes, Charles explained that tartar "is occasioned by the presence of a vast number of little animals, exceedingly small," which could be removed with a rinse of vinegar, followed by an application of the unnamed tooth powder made by their "young townsman." As if only women would be concerned about their teeth and the animals in between them, Charles addressed his editorial exclusively "to the Ladies." His aim was to close humorously, chiding foul-mouthed



**Health for Sale in Charles Lummus's Shop.** Represented by a selection of books and medical products, featuring his brother Aaron's medical allegory, *The Life and Adventures of Dr. Caleb*, 1822, the *Lynn Directory*, 1832 (in marbleized covers), and medicines that Charles advertised for sale (left to right): *Liquid Opodeldoc*, *Bear's Oil*, and *S. O. Richardson's Bitters*, made in nearby South Reading, once within Lynn's original boundaries. The tinted glasses were not specifically listed in his advertisements, but were typical stock of such stores. (All collection of the author.)

women, “If the constant and prudent use of this powder does not make clean teeth and sweet mouths, it will not be our fault.”<sup>43</sup>

As soon as many of the medicines were advertised, they were challenged by others claiming the same benefits and “infallible” efficacy. *American Cough Drops*, *Vegetable Pulmonary Balsam*, and *Gordack’s Genuine Physical Drops* were all for coughs and colds; *Galen’s Dyspeptic Pills*, *Dr. Crawford’s Pills*, and *Wheaton’s Jaundice Bitters* (all stocked at George Lummus’s shop) competed for the indigestion market. The *Mirror* included news bits from around the country of cures from the growing list of proprietary medicines with national or regional reputations. *Swaim’s Panacea*, an immensely popular nostrum, was reported to have cured a woman in Pennsylvania who suffered from scrofula for sixteen years. *Chambers’ Remedy for Drunkeness* had also gained a large following; the *Mirror* relayed stories of the cure of several drunkards in Newburyport and a woman in Boston “who had been drunk day and night for seven weeks.”<sup>44</sup> Oblique reference was being made to Chambers’ cure when a Boston paper suggested that temperance societies would do more good by spending money on “patent medicines for curing drunkeness” and giving them free to those in need than by printing tracts and holding meetings: “Their tracts and newspapers are not read, and their meetings are not attended by drunkards.”<sup>45</sup> The *Mirror* offered solemn praise in William Chambers’ passing with the salute, “... [He was] so justly celebrated for the invention of the panacea for the cure of intemperance.”<sup>46</sup> Fortunately, sighed the newspaper’s editors, the secret of his medicine was entrusted to his executors, who decided to resume its production and sale.<sup>47</sup>

Proprietaries became such a commonly advertised product in the newspaper, they were often the stuff of jokes. In one instance, the *Mirror* repeated a Lowell paper’s dual-pointed poke at church meetings and nostrums, which was that a remedy for “drowsiness in meeting ... should meet with rapid sale.”<sup>48</sup> On another occasion, an editorial teased that the many men whose cures were advertised in the *Mirror* were the vicarious equivalent of itinerant healers imposing themselves on fair Lynn:

Who would have surmised, (but from what has appeared in the paper) that we have so many professional characters in town? New physicians are daily making their debut on the public, offering their nostrums for a mere nothing and their advice for less, which although in most cases is more than they are worth, yet it discovers a kind disposition, and a readiness to offer unsolicited, the best they possess.<sup>49</sup>

Beyond humor, the widespread public interest in these national brands also invited derision and scrutiny, especially from the medical societies. Four months after mourning the loss of Chambers, the *Mirror* reported the findings of the Medical Society of New York on the composition of Chambers’ remedy: the active ingredient was tartar emetic, violently emetic in its concentration. Clearly not a cure, the *Mirror* chastened, “and it is truly surprising that so many are found who can be duped by such tricks.”<sup>50</sup> What is more surprising is how quickly the *Mirror*’s editor forgot his veneration of the cure and its inventor a few months earlier. The same article also found fault with Swaim’s as a panacea when its “known virtues are confined to one complaint.” The exorbitant three-dollar charge per bottle also made its manufacturer highly suspect.

The medicine sellers of Lynn apparently heeded the analyses. When a reprinted article condemning *Swaim’s Panacea* and *Potter’s Catholicon* appeared in the *Mirror* in late 1827, newspaper advertising for these medicines by Lynn dealers ceased.<sup>51</sup> Similarly, *Anderson’s Cough Drops* was dropped from George Lummus’s ads when an 1829 article denounced it as a Connecticut saddle maker’s spurious mixture of honey and laudanum disguised with oil of wintergreen “as are most quack preparations.” Interestingly, John Lummus used it on some of his patients, but did not publicize the fact.<sup>52</sup>

The hometown newspaper also exposed local rumors, magnifying them for the whole town to see. Some incident triggered the rejection of medicines compounded by Steven Oliver. He began

making medicine in Lynn shortly after Aaron Lummus Holder started his business but Oliver had fallen into disfavor with some patrons and publicly agonized over the rejection:

The subscriber takes this method to inform the Public; that he is well aware; that in consequence of the prejudice and undue influence of some individuals; many have been induced to believe, that his articles of medicine, are generally of an inferior quality! and not being quite willing to resign the business ... would make one more effort to assure those, who may have occasion to use medicine; that they may depend on the quality ... if the price is object all articles of medicine will be sold at about half the former charges.<sup>53</sup>

He did what he could to regain the public's patronage, promising strict observance of physicians' prescriptions and distancing his reputation from the "common medicines." He observed disdainfully, "It will be unnecessary to enumerate the various antidotes and quack medicines with a long string of certificates of cures never performed and which may be bought by the gross of any printer's boy." Nonetheless he stocked the nostrums on his store shelves, "as the wants of the people require, at very reduced prices."<sup>54</sup>

After two years of posturing and promises, Oliver was still smarting and told *Mirror* readers, "... in consequence of an increasing business in the Dry Goods Line, he has determined to remove his Drugs and Medicines to his old stand ... where a competent person will attend to as many ... old friends and customers as are not afraid of being poisoned."<sup>55</sup>

The inferior and perhaps even dangerous effects of Oliver's medicines surely rankled feelings of patrons who remembered his former promise in the *Mirror*, "the medicinal department will be strictly attended to and prescriptions of physicians carefully observed." In the same ad he even offered to perform some diagnostic services, usually the purview of the doctors, "Occasionally advice in ordinary concerns will be given gratuitously."<sup>56</sup> When Thomas Lummus announced his new apothecary business in Lynn, he resurrected the apothecary's promise of diligence in compounding physicians' prescriptions. Appearing just three months after Oliver's last medicine ad, the pledge took on new significance in the community.<sup>57</sup>

The dark side of medicine came to the public's attention once again when the *Mirror* reported in 1829 that the recently interred body of Mr. Wheeler had been snatched from tomb 109 in the Old Western Burial Ground at the west end of the common. Although this was the first recorded instance of body snatching in Lynn, it was clear to all that the loathsome deed was perpetrated so nefarious anatomists could perform their desecrations.<sup>58</sup> It was a loathsome crime, but not unexpected. Four years earlier a warning was sounded that a grove of trees obscuring the Eastern Burial Ground from the road "would seem to furnish uncommon facilities to those who are in the practice of plundering the grave – a practice at which humanity revolts."<sup>59</sup> Almost half a century had passed since the death of Lynn's Spunker, Jonathan Norwood, yet dissections were still popularly regarded as more of an outrage than an educational tool. The only thing more repugnant to the *Mirror*'s readers was a doctor's maltreatment of the living.

## LUNAR MADNESS

Perhaps feeling a little smug with the modest success and influence of his paper, Lummus allowed the insertion of two fictional installments that entertained readers at the expense of libeling a doctor. Just a few years earlier, the *Salem Observer* reported that Professor Gruithuisen of Munich had discovered life on the moon, based on his sightings of a fortress and roads. A few months later, the *Lynn Mirror* similarly reported that through his "enormous" sixty-four-foot telescope, "the celebrated optician, Sfrayel, of Bale," had discovered "animate beings, roads, monuments, and temples" on the moon.<sup>60</sup> One of the *Mirror*'s anonymous contributors capitalized on this intriguing concept, producing two letters from an earthly visitor among lunar beings. The two-part series was

called, “Letters from the Moon.” The stories revolved around “Dr. H-,” a man on the moon who was an inhuman, soulless, truly alien physician. With a straight face but facetious pen, the writer prefaced the first letter with a personal assurance to the *Mirror*’s editor that the letters were genuine:

Mr. Editor,

I have just been favored with the privilege of perusing a series of letters purporting to have been written by a young gentleman, who is at this time on an excursion to the Moon for the benefit of his health.... I have always been taught to believe that Her Majesty was quite a cold sort of a personnage, and on reading this late intelligence from those regions, I am not only convinced of the report, but am fully in the belief, that the beings who inhabit her icy surface have become so chilled by her influence, that at least some of them are the most cold-hearted creatures that ever had existence. I send you extracts from two of those letters, and should they be found in the least degree interesting, you will soon hear from me again.<sup>61</sup>

The alien doctor’s life and practice hit a little too close to home for one very upset Lynn physician. It was a thinly veiled facade for the writer’s opinions about the only Lynn doctor whose surname began with “H”: Richard Hazeltine. (The other doctors in Lynn at the time were James Gardner, Aaron Lummus, John Lummus, Edward Lummus, and Robert Robinson.) The traveler also mentioned that the lunar doctor’s household consisted of the doctor, his wife and daughter, and an apprentice boy – identical to Richard Hazeltine’s household. Many Lynn residents could recognize in the chilled personality of the moon doctor the rigid, eccentric Richard Hazeltine. Hazeltine was remembered as “staid ... sober ... not liable to be swayed by notions instead of principles, [but] some thought him a little too strongly bound by old customs and traditions.... In short [he] enjoyed the respect but not always the love of those by whom (he was) surrounded.”<sup>62</sup>

Hazeltine was not at all amused by the comparison. With the identity of Dr. H- clearly established, Hazeltine and his attorney challenged every action of his allegorical counterpart. In the June 1827 term of the Essex County Court of Common Pleas, Hazeltine sued Charles Lummus for publishing “several false, scandalous & malicious libels” in the August 5th and 12th, 1826 editions of the *Mirror*.<sup>63</sup> References to the article in the court records and subsequent issues of the *Mirror* never suggested who the author of the invectives was, but Lummus as editor, owner, and publisher of the weekly paper received Hazeltine’s wrath in court.

Hazeltine claimed he had a good name and reputation and had practiced his profession “with integrity, fidelity & humanity.” He further asserted he had never been accused of being dishonest, unfaithful, or inhuman, but was, in fact, esteemed by his neighbors and townsmen to be “honourably acquiring profits and emoluments” until the publishing of the libelous articles:

... [Y]et the said Charles F. Lummus, well-knowing the premises, but contriving and maliciously intending wrongfully & unjustly to injure & defame ... Richard Hazeltine not only in his reputation, but also in his ... profession and to cause him to be suspected of dishonest and dishonourable conduct & cruelty and inhumanity ... and to hold him up to scorn & ridicule and bring him into disgrace & contempt with his ... neighbors and acquaintances and other good citizens of the Commonwealth ... .<sup>64</sup>

In the first installment of the “Letters from the Moon” series, the traveler was writing to his uncle from a settlement on the moon called Luna. (Hazeltine claimed that “Luna” was actually Lynn.) The traveler related in the first letter to his uncle,

I was so feeble on my arrival, that the Doctor thought it most prudent to take a small quantity of blood from me.... I was directed to remain as quiet as possible for a few days ... being all the while restricted to a scanty diet of milk & water. This process has rendered me intolerably weak in body, although I must confess I am not in so much pain as formerly, & I am perfectly free from my old complaint, the Dyspepsia.<sup>65</sup>

This first portion of the letter clearly alluded to what many in the late 1820s considered to be the folly of bloodletting. Bleeding for indigestion was nonsensical, as was bleeding a feeble person. When the author had the patient's pain diminish, he probably had the advent of syncope (unconsciousness from bleeding) in mind. Many times Hazeltine had witnessed lessened pain from blood loss, such as occurred with the injured millworker in 1795. Hazeltine's penchant for bleeding patients was an obvious choice for a poison pen since he performed more bleedings than most, if not all, contemporary Lynn physicians and publicized his affinity for the practice. The error of the lunar doctor's ill-conceived action was compounded by sustaining his greatly weakened patient on only milk and water. Again the actions of the lunar doctor seemed patterned after the earthly one. Hazeltine had subsisted on a simple diet that was probably held up to derision by his detractors. In the lunar allegory, the suggestion was clearly that the attending physician was incompetent.

The traveler went on to describe the lunar doctor's regimented life, which appeared "formal, ceremonious, and ... superstitious." The behavioral eccentricities were exaggerations of Dr. Hazeltine's formal, proper nature and poked at his own bland, strict diet:

He is very precise in all his doings; he has hour to go to bed and has hour to rise; his time to eat, and his time to drink; and his last injunction at night, and the first in the morning: is sure to comprehend a strict caution to all the family, to eat nothing but light food, and that very sparingly, all which, from necessity is strictly adhered to, during the whole of the twenty-four hours.<sup>66</sup>

The allegorical backdrop set the stage for the kind of "cold-hearted creatures" that would confront the traveler. Being described as an ineffective doctor and effete individual did not in itself warrant a setting removed to a foreign, unfathomable place but the traveler's allegations against the physician of blatantly unchristian behavior was more than the sensibilities of the almost all-Christian Lynn could stand. An unchristian soul was not worthy of a Lynner or even a human; such could only be found in an alien from a distant, dark, cold world.

The circumstance of yesterday has given me quite an unfavorable opinion of the doctor's principles. Although he is a professed Christian, I verily believe, like the priest and Levite, when he saw a person in distress, he would be very certain to "pass by on the other side." It was a bitter cold morning, when some travelers on their way hither, discovered a person by the wayside so dreadfully chilled and frozen, that he was utterly unable to render himself any assistance - they immediately conveyed him to the nearest comfortable lodgings, when the doctor was requested, in the most pressing terms, to give his immediate attendance, and use his best endeavors to save, if possible, the life of the unfortunate traveler. He at first hesitated on the ground that he should not probably receive his reward, (which I believe he will) and finally refused to take any part in the matter unless some responsible person would become accountable for the usual fee in such cases made and provided. The result however was that the messenger, being unable to satisfy the doctor's demands, was compelled to travel about two miles farther, where he obtained a more humane physician who readily repaired to the relief of the dying stranger. But I fear it was too late, for the finger of Death seemed pointed at him in good earnest. I shall always hold such a course of conduct in utter detestation and contempt. It now strikes me with horror to think that a fellow mortal should be thus neglected - and that, too, from motives of avarice. I certainly long for the day when I shall take my leave of this inhuman race of beings, and once more enjoy the sweet society of my native earth.<sup>67</sup>

The postscript to this story appeared in the second of the "Letters from the Moon," wherein the traveler reported, "the poor frozen traveler mentioned in my last, died in a few days after the affair happened. It was said the attending Physician arrived a few minutes too late."

The story that had been spun was contrary to no one's moral fabric more than it was to the devout Calvinistic Congregationalist, Hazeltine. His professional behavior was meant to be a reflection of deeply held personal ethics, as can be seen from private entries in his daybooks. Upon

arriving in Lynn in 1817, he prefaced the first volume with his own rules “to be read and regarded [to] make the perfect man. The first twenty-eight rules of conduct were extracted from the scriptures, but the twenty-ninth was his own creation, which he credited to “Conscience,” though he seems to have borrowed the concept from Hippocrates: “In all thy endeavors to alleviate human misery, be careful by no means to increase it, either by negligent, careless, or unfeeling attention to the sick, nor by extravagant charges for thy services, nor by oppressive or inhuman measures in collecting thy demands.”<sup>68</sup> Hazeltine did indeed take offense. He recognized in his suit against Lummus that the doctor in the story “did wickedly, cruelly and inhumanly, & from motives of avarice, neglect and refuse to render the necessary medical aid to the unfortunate person.” The libelous story, contended Hazeltine, was designed to have the public hold him “in detestation & contempt, and that his said conduct was such as to strike the mind with horror, and that the said Richard (Hazeltine) is one of an inhuman race of beings that is unfit for and ought to be excluded from the society of men, to wit, at Lynn aforesaid.”<sup>69</sup> From Hazeltine’s outraged reaction to the first of the “Letters from the Moon,” it is likely that he would have sued without further provocation, but there was more salt for the wound.

Another letter to the editor from the lunar traveler was printed in the *Mirror*’s next weekly edition. The traveler had now been in Doctor H’s company for over eighteen months, still being treated for the simple case of weariness and indigestion that he had upon his arrival at Luna. His host had changed his diet from water and milk to water gruel and hop tea. The doctor believed another six months of treatment would be necessary. It was clear to the *Mirror*’s readership that the physician was milking the traveler’s minor discomforts for much more than they were worth. In a day when medicines commonly sold for twenty-five cents, the doctor’s bill to date was, apropos of this lunar allegory, astronomical:

For 77 weeks board, @ 3 dolls.	\$231.00
Medical aid 539 days, @ 5	269.50
Blood-letting 77 times @ 37 1-2	28.82
Herbs furnished for tea &c. at sundry times	9.50
Bandages and applying the same	5.50
Sewing do and pins furnished	1.75
Assistance in pulling on a boot, sometime last winter, omitted	.08
Received Payment	\$546.46 <sup>70</sup>

Sarcasm entered every item on the huge bill: the length of time for treatment of simple indigestion, the number of times for spilling the traveler’s blood, charging for sewing the bandages and furnishing pins, and lest the sarcasm should somehow go unnoticed, a charge of eight cents to help the traveler put on his boot. The mercenary physician even padded his costs by gaining a thirty-one-cent advantage in his addition.

Throughout the two letters, the traveler took on somewhat heroic proportions as the common man who could better physic himself than the physician and who had higher morals as well. After listing his indebtedness to his uncle, the traveler revealed that he had taken matters into his own hands by indulging “pretty freely in a more substantial diet (without the doctor’s knowledge),” which resulted in the rapid return of his strength. He had finally grown impatient with the doctor’s long treatment by drugs and medicines; moreover, he condemned the doctor once again for what he described as “the rigid unfeeling course of conduct that the doctor pursues.” Even the heroic traveler’s overt attempts to convert the hardened doctor to Christian principles were in vain:

It was a sultry, hot day, and a young lady, in passing through one of [the] principle streets from her usual avocations, was suddenly taken in a violent fit. While some of the good neighbors were conveying her into the house and placing her upon a bed - another came at full speed for the doctor, who with myself was sitting quietly in the parlor. I had just been reading and illustrating the parable of the man who fell among

thieves, and the messenger entered at the very moment that the doctor was commanding the Good Samaritan for the interest he took in the welfare of the unfortunate man who was journeying to Jericho. He was requested to attend the young lady with all possible dispatch whom the messenger represented to be either dead or dying. The doctor's first inquiry was whether the person in distress was not of a poor family, being answered in the affirmative, his next object was to ascertain the probability of ever getting his fee, should he use and endeavor to restore her to life, and requested to know the reason why the regular physician of the town was not called for on the occasion who would have been certain of a compensation for his trouble. The young man quite frankly informed him that had there been any other Physician near, he should never had given him the opportunity of refusing to aid in the cause of humanity adding that it was a poor time to argue the matter, as the lady would certainly die unless she received immediate relief. For heaven's sake, doctor said I, have you not just now approved of the Good Samaritan. Go, I tell thee, "go, and do thou likewise." It was not however until he exhorted a promise of accountability from the young man in waiting that he could be prevailed upon to visit the counter of the distressed fair one. I accompanied him to the spot where lay (apparently in the arms of death) the distressed damsel, a pale and helpless representative of death. By proper exertion the young lady had become so far restored in the space of an hour as to be able to be removed. A carriage was immediately procured without giving bonds for the payment thereof. A gentleman volunteered his services without requesting any security for a remuneration of his trouble and she was handed into the carriage totally free of expense. In a few moments after, she was in the arms of a trembling mother.<sup>71</sup>

The story foreshadowed the reality of two years later, when certain Lynn physicians refused to tend to the families of poor and alcoholic parents; since Hazeltine was rigidly temperate, he was likely among that group of boycotting doctors.<sup>72</sup> The Moon article did not infer a temperance problem however; the doctor's dereliction stemmed solely from the sick woman's inability to pay. It was another lunar indictment of heartless healing: even after being told the parable of the Good Samaritan, the self-centered lunar doctor put lucre before life.

The significance of the story didn't escape Hazeltine and his lawyer. They insisted the *Mirror* story was insinuating Hazeltine's "principles were so unworthy of and so unbecoming a member of human society, that the practice of them was too shocking and abominable to be endured by the sight of man and further that the said Richard had so little regard [for] humanity, that he would from mere avarice, wilfully suffer the sick and distressed to perish." Hazeltine's suit went on to claim damages; he had been "greatly injured in his good name fame and credit, and brought into public scandal and disgrace with his neighbors and other good citizens ... to the damage of ... two thousand dollars." Charles Lummus, defended by Leverett Saltonstall Esq., pleaded not guilty. Lummus's plea was adjudged good by the Court of Common Pleas, and he was allowed to recover his costs of the suit from Dr. Hazeltine.<sup>73</sup>

To Hazeltine, justice had not been served, so he appealed to the county Supreme Court. However, the wheels of Justice turned slowly – the court didn't prepare to review the case for two more years. When it was finally ready to listen again, neither plaintiff Hazeltine nor defendant Lummus showed up for the appeal.<sup>74</sup> Apparently, they had seen wisdom in settling out of court. On 10 May 1828, Lummus wrote a curious piece in the *Mirror* admitting to his error in judgement, but falling short of publicly offering an apology to Hazeltine, which makes one wonder what prompted him to print the entry at all:

Now I hereby declare those communications were not written by me nor founded on any facts known to me; but, like other communications, they were handed to me as Editor of the Lynn Mirror, for publication; and they were published by me, hastily and without so much reflection as ought to have been given to statements which were of so injurious a nature and calculated to inflict so deep a wound upon the character and feelings of Dr. H- and his family; against whom I had no reason to entertain any ill-

will, but who on the contrary, until this unhappy occurrence, had appeared to be friendly to me; and I sincerely regret that those communications were brought before the public through my agency. I have only to add, that the suit at law commenced against me on the above account has been honourably settled and on principles with which I have reason (to) be satisfied.<sup>75</sup>

Possibly this public acknowledgement of culpability was part of an out-of-court settlement between Hazeltine and Lummus. Two weeks later, Lummus wrote another notice, calling upon all subscribers to forward their back payments due for their subscriptions because the “Letters from the Moon” had cost him \$200 “postage.”<sup>76</sup> In the same plea, however, Lummus also revealed that he owed \$300 in business obligations other than “the Moon business,” which had to be paid by the end of June. Ultimately, debt overcame revenues and the paper folded in June of 1832. Lummus’s debt to Hazeltine was a contributing factor although not the sole financial reason for the eventual demise of Lynn’s first newspaper.

Lummus selected a motto for his newspaper in March 1827, amidst the court strife brought on by the lunar letters. He presented the slogan to his public with the wisdom and prescience of a patriarch bestowing a blessing to his children but it probably reflected the new personal resolve of a man who had learned his lesson: “... [T]o all those persons, who are in the habit of meddling with the concerns of others ... we suggest our motto ... ‘mind your business.’ How many but for this simple rule would have been ruined in business and seen all their bright prospects vanish.”<sup>77</sup>

Richard Hazeltine had been outraged by the “Letters from the Moon” because, above all else, the callousness and greed of his lunar equal smacked of the quack. The lunarian’s woeful lack of Christian principles underscored his unprofessionalism. Quackery was easily recognized, as in the Moon letters, but it wasn’t easily described. Several articles appearing in the *Mirror* variously suggested that quackery was the sale of secret remedies, the sale of specifics without regard to all symptoms and peculiarities of each case, and the practice of healing without a license.<sup>78</sup> All of these descriptions accurately described a form of quackery abhorrent to the Massachusetts Medical Society, none of which Hazeltine could be held suspect. But in a larger sense, quackery was the sale or practice of medicine in a way disapproved of by the public. This made the public the judge of efficacy rather than a medical society or the government. Hazeltine’s manner of practice was regarded as aloof, formal, and condescending – a chilling demeanor that earned his allegorical counterpart the description of a “cold-hearted creature.” While no one called Hazeltine a quack to his face, the Moon stories were the next worst affront possible.

## **THE MIRROR IMAGE**

The establishment of a local newspaper focused more attention than was ever before possible on how professionals conducted themselves and their businesses. The *Mirror* name was appropriate because of a newspaper’s ability to reflect on products and people. Lynn’s doctor’s and apothecaries were among the public servants susceptible to scrutiny in the newspaper. They were also quite conscious of the impact their advertisements had on their image. The Moon affair put Lynn’s healers and apothecaries on notice that a newspaper image could have a direct impact on their professions and lives.

Edward Lummus was especially sensitive to how the Moon scandal affected his standing with Hazeltine and the community. Brother Charles had published the Moon letters, thus permitting the slander of Hazeltine, while Edward, John, and their father, Aaron, were all his professional peers. Edward and Hazeltine even served on the School Committee together.<sup>79</sup> Edward may have wanted to avoid guilt by familial association to the *Mirror* incident. The confusion created by the multiplicity of Lummus doctors was the reason that Edward gave contemporaries for legally changing his surname to Coffin (his mother’s maiden name, albeit an indelicate moniker

for a doctor), but there was more than convenience behind his action. Edward, John, and Aaron had all been practicing their healing arts since at least 1821. It seems curious that Edward didn't feel his surname an encumbrance until seven years later. Besides, the public had gotten by the Lummus label by calling Aaron, "Old Doctor Lummus," and John, "Doctor John." Even Edward advertised himself as "Dr. Edward."<sup>80</sup> The underlying motive for the name change was that the "Letters from the Moon" forced Edward to choose allegiance between blood brotherhood and professional brotherhood. The decision to convert his surname from the paternal to the maternal connection appeased the family and the medical society, salvaging respectability in both spheres.

The name change seemed to give him a fresh start with patients too, as he inserted an introductory notice of professional services into the *Mirror*. While the advertisement acknowledged his previous practice in Lynn, Edward L. Coffin sounded unmistakably like the newest physician in town: "Dr. Coffin respectfully tenders his service to the inhabitants of this town and vicinity in the practice of medicine, surgery, and midwifery."<sup>81</sup> The new identity probably did little to sway public opinion for or against Coffin but his announcement helped him to compete with the other, truly new healers who had inserted similar appeals in the *Mirror*. New practitioners arriving in Lynn worked the paper particularly hard to gain respectability and the public's favor.

William B. Brown introduced himself to Lynn through the *Mirror* in July 1828, almost three months before the reincarnated Edward L. Coffin. He presented an impressive letter of recommendation from his preceptor, the noted surgeon, Valentine Mott. Mott assured Lynn that Brown was a good student and individual whom he could "cheerfully recommend ... as a qualified physician."<sup>82</sup> His marriage to a Lynn girl might have meant even more to the small town; in November 1827 he had married Beulah Purinton, the girl who had lost her mother when just two years old, back in 1803.

The May 1829 advertisement of itinerant John Lyscom guaranteed Lynn residents years of experience in dentistry. The two letters of recommendation he included in his formal introduction spanned two decades and two states. A Newmarket, New Hampshire testimonial dated 1821 called Lyscom a "master in his business." An 1807 letter from a Wrentham, Massachusetts minister stated he was "convinced that as an artist, [Lyscom] is equal to any of his profession in the United States."<sup>83</sup> He had also previously practiced his dental arts in Providence, Rhode Island in 1811, Nantucket in 1816, and Concord, New Hampshire in 1819.<sup>84</sup> Lyscom planned to tarry in Lynn for only a short time but less than five months later he was enjoying excellent patronage in all parts of the town and decided to stay permanently. The well-traveled dentist, then in his seventies, found it necessary to go beyond Lynn for patients only one week per month.<sup>85</sup> Although John Lummus had been Lynn's favorite choice for dentistry, Lyscom's apparent skill and impressive ads made it possible for him to challenge Lummus's preeminence.

A physician named Robert Robinson injected short notices of his plans and whereabouts as a subtle means of advertising. In late December 1825, he announced he would not be leaving Lynn "after all." In August 1826 he interjected that he had moved his office to the Waterhill section of town. The slight newspaper coverage seems to have done little to stimulate patronage and by at least 1829, he had disappeared from Lynn.<sup>86</sup> Perhaps a little marketing puffery would have helped him, too.

Scandals aside, the availability of a media that could be manipulated by well-crafted advertisements gave virtually anyone the opportunity to project a great image. The public's ability to distinguish between quackery and respectability had become more difficult because of the *Mirror*.

Most of all, the *Mirror* reflected on Lynn itself. Issues like education and temperance had galvanized into community concerns with the help of the newspaper. In this decade, benevolent, educational, and socially conscious organizations emerged, each designed to shape Lynn into a profitable, progressive community; of course not all factions agreed on the means to those ends.

Physicians and apothecaries, small giants at image building, were conspicuously involved in banking, town government (especially the school committee and board of health), and community enhancement organizations. The Lynn Lyceum was established in 1828 to raise educational standards in the schools and to “promote a spirit of ... improvement among all classes in our community.”<sup>87</sup> The lyceum’s library, collections, and programs focused on the natural sciences. Physicians filled several key posts in it, including Hazeltine as its first president and William B. Brown as president in the second year.

The first public library was chartered in late 1818; Hazeltine served as one of this institution’s first directors.<sup>88</sup> The first of many debating societies in town was organized in 1828. The Society in Lynn for the Promotion of Industry, Frugality, and Temperance had 63 male members by the close of its inaugural year (1827). When females were allowed to join in 1829, 105 women signed up immediately.<sup>89</sup> With Aaron Lummus as president, all forms of ardent spirits were discountenanced, *except* as a medicine.

Along with all the interest the town was showing in improving itself, some residents were protective about the community’s reputation and stature. An 1829 *Mirror* article pointed to the importance of making women’s shoes “as one of the most useful and honourable of the mechanic arts”; in addition, good shoes were important for good health. The author was disturbed by the condescending attitude of those who would “sneer at the business as discreditable, and to regard the persons employed in it as beneath their notice”:

The worst we can wish such folks is, if a gentleman, that he may never enjoy the treasures of worth and affection which dwell in the heart of a young lady [shoe stitcher] ... who regularly carries home the effects of her needle every week – and if a lady, that she may be compelled to go barefoot till she has formed more generous opinions.<sup>90</sup>

Perhaps the author was describing attitudes of the urbane patrons of the vicinity’s two health resorts. The wealthy socialites were a delicate antithesis to the shoe workers who crowded in small, stifling shops, stitching together a living.

## ***MAL'ARIA***

The *Mirror*’s editor and correspondents began to suggest that economics wasn’t the only difference between sojourners in Nahant and residents of mainland Lynn. Health and longevity, long ago touted in Lynn, seemed to be enjoyed to a far greater measure on the Nahant peninsula. Mortality for Nahant during the fifty years prior to 1825 (by which time the population was seventy-three) was only five people and two of those died of old age. The *Mirror* article which described the Nahant phenomenon attributed it to the ability to “breathe purer air and meet nature in her primitive magnificence and beauty [instead of the] infectious atmosphere and noisy bustle of cities.”<sup>91</sup> In the same issue of the newspaper, Nahant had lost another of its denizens; true to the reporter’s claims of Nahant’s salubriousness, the deceased was seventy-five years old.

While the quality of the air was believed to be the main contributor to Nahant’s healthiness, a different wind was blowing in Lynn. The bad air or *mal'aria* of old had always stagnated over the miasmatic swamps but civilization had brought with it many more nasty odors. When the selectmen established Lynn’s board of health in 1821, they gave it the responsibility to examine all public nuisances that could injure the public health, “whether the same shall be caused by stagnant waters, drains, common sewers, slaughter-houses, tan-yards, fish, fish-houses, docks, necessities, hogsties, putrid animals, or any other causes whatsoever” that may be found in “any dwelling-house, cellar, store, or other building, ship, or vessel.” To that end, the new board of health produced its first set of regulations. It required the townspeople to stop using the public ways, open lots, and bodies of water for dumping soot, ashes, hair, manure, oyster or lobster shells, wastewater, dead

animals, or any other trash or garbage. House sinks needed to be connected by drains to a suitable cesspool. Privies need to be constructed properly with their vaults lined by stones and deep enough so that they wouldn't overflow to the surface; they were also not to be cleaned out during the day or the summer months when the sun would make them especially offensive to the eyes and nose and most dangerous to health. The board established an extremely stiff penalty of up to fifty dollars for any infraction.<sup>92</sup>

More foul air was found in the shoemaker's workshops. Consumption had overtaken early nineteenth century Lynn as the leading cause of death; the shoe shop's malodorous air was considered by some to be a major cause:

When a full crew were at work, and the windows and door had been closed for some time, the miscellaneous odors arising from tobacco smoke, burning leather, shoemaker's wax, and deoxygenated air, made a compound which no chemist ever undertook to imitate, and which did not remind one of the Spice Islands.<sup>93</sup>

The ten-footer's environment provoked other medical problems besides consumption. One account stated that rheumatic shoe workers were put at great risk when a window or door was opened because of unbreathable air.<sup>94</sup> An article reprinted in the *Mirror* vividly described further physical abuse by the cordwainer's own hands – and perhaps by his own mind:

Sealed all day on a low seat, pressing obdurate last and leather against the epigastrium, dragging reluctant thread into hard and durable stitches, or hammering heels and toes with much monotony - the cobbler's mind ... wanders into regions metaphysical, political, and theological; and from men thus employed have sprung ... a countless host of hypochondriacs.... The hypochondriacal cast of their minds is probably in part induced by the imperfect action of the stomach, liver, and intestines, in consequence of the position in which they sit at work.<sup>95</sup>

Lynn's unhealthy shoemakers were not left wallowing in their misery. The coming decade would supply a panoply of choices for every illness, real or imagined. No illness was too complicated or grave to at least be *promised* a cure.

## Chapter 3 Notes

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1. Article, "Register of Business, Trades, & c., in Lynn," *Lynn Mirror*, 3 January 1829.
  2. The *Lynn Mirror* was first titled *Lynn Weekly Mirror* and alternately thereafter appeared on the masthead as *Lynn Mirror and Mechanic's Museum*, *Lynn Mirror and Mechanic's Magazine*, and *Lynn Mirror and Essex Democrat*. In this book and most other sources it is referred to only by the main title, *Lynn Mirror*.
  3. Alonzo Lewis and James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Including Lynnfield, Saugus, Swampscott, and Nahant* (Boston: John L. Shorey, 1865), pp. 512-514.
  4. Squib, no title, *Lynn Mirror*, 29 August 1829.
  5. Articles, "Lying" and "Moping," *Lynn Mirror*, 4 July 1828.
  6. Article, "Chewing Tobacco," *Lynn Mirror*, 24 September 1825.
  7. Notices, "A Dun," *Lynn Mirror*, 3 December 1825 (Lummus); "Take Notice," *Lynn Mirror*, 3 December 1825 (Hazeltine).
  8. Notice, no title, *Lynn Mirror*, 19 August 1826 (cash); Advertisements, "Salem Brewery Agency," *Lynn Mirror*, 9 February 1828 (half price); 26 April 1828 (shoes).
  9. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 20 December 1828.

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10. Letter to the Editor (under the pseudonym, A Farmer), "Money Diggers," *Lynn Mirror*, 17 February 1829.
  11. Editorial, no title, *Lynn Mirror*, 24 September 1825.
  12. Notice, "Absconded," *Lynn Mirror*, 3 October 1829.
  13. Notice, "Notice to the Public," *Lynn Mirror*, 17 October 1829.
  14. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 10 May 1828.
  15. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 4 July 1828.
  16. Notice, "Riflemen Attend!" *Lynn Mirror*, 9 September 1826.
  17. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 9 September 1826.
  18. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 24 May 1828.
  19. Notice, "Malicious Mischief," *Lynn Mirror*, 4 July 1828 (emphasis in original).
  20. Notice, "Instructer Wanted," *Lynn Mirror*, 17 March 1827 (secretary); Article, "Society in Lynn for the promotion of Industry, Frugality, and Temperance," *Lynn Mirror*, 23 December 1826 (Society).
  21. Aaron Lummus, *The Life of Aaron Lummus* (Portland, Me.: Francis Douglas, 1876), p.10.
  22. Advertisements, *Lynn Mirror* (emphasis in original); variations of this ad appear generally throughout 1825-1826.
  23. Obituaries of Edward Everett Lummus, *Lynn Mirror*, 3 September 1825, and Mary Lummus, *Lynn Mirror*, 10 September 1825.
  24. Articles, "Chewing Tobacco," *Lynn Mirror*, 24 September 1825; "Spirit Drinking," *Lynn Mirror*, 13 June 1829; and "Miscellanae - Vaccination," *Boston Medical Intelligencer*, quoted in *Lynn Mirror*, 13 May 1826.
  25. Article, "Miscellanae - Vaccination," *Lynn Mirror*, 13 May 1826.
  26. Articles, "Corsets" and "Tight Lacing," *Christian Watchman*, quoted in *Lynn Mirror*, 22 August 1829.
  27. Article, "Consumption," *New York Enquirer*, quoted in *Lynn Mirror*, 31 Jan 1829 (emphasis in original).
  28. Articles, no title, *Lynn Mirror*, 4 February 1826 (influenza); no title, *Lynn Mirror*, 27 January 1827 (whooping).
  29. Editorial (under the pseudonym, Civis), "Board of Health," *Lynn Mirror*, 16 June 1827.
  30. Article, "Sickness," *Lynn Mirror*, 1 September 1827.
  31. Article, "Pyrola," *Lynn Mirror*, 24 May 1828.
  32. Article, "Physicians," *Lynn Mirror*, 17 May 1828.
  33. Squib, no title, *Lynn Mirror*, 15 August 1829.
  34. Squibs, titles as listed in the text, *Lynn Mirror*, 3 November 1827.
  35. Notice, "Health Regulations," *Lynn Mirror*, 14 July 1827.
  36. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 9 September 1826.
  37. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 9 September 1826.
  38. Advertisements, *Lynn Mirror* (Atkinson's) and (Celebrated) 2 September 1826; Notice, no title, *Lynn Mirror*, 17 September 1825 (serious). Atkinson's was for stimulating hair growth for bald heads. It was a London import that was packaged in ceramic pots.
  39. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 17 March 1827. All proprietary medicinal products of this period called "Bear's Grease" or "Bear's Oil" were principally for hair growth, implying connection to the centuries-old doctrine of signatures: in this case, a product made from the very hairy bear would grow hair on the user.
  40. Advertisement listed steadily in the *Lynn Mirror* by Alley from June 1827 through March 1829.
  41. Advertisements for proprietary medicines carried by Aaron Lummus Holder in the *Lynn Mirror*, in 1827-1829; see especially issues from January, March, and September 1827, February and November 1828, and January 1829. Holder's name, "A. L. Holder" was stamped on a spoon, about 1825-1830. (Collection of the author.) Holder was a businessman who paid for spoons stamped with his name on them but there is no evidence that he was engaged in silversmithing himself. Holder included in one of his advertisements, between a list of proprietaries he offered, "Also, Silver and Plated Spoons, which shall be sold at the lowest cash prices"; see advertisement, *The Lynn Mirror and Mechanick's Museum*, 15 September 1827.
  42. Poem, no title, *Lynn Mirror*, 4 July 1828. George Lummus was the only apothecary located on Common Street in 1828; Aaron Lummus Holder was at Washington Square (Broad Street), and Steven Oliver was not operating his shop at this time. Other poetic advertisements appeared in the *Mirror* for handyman and sign painter Benjamin Oliver (24 December 1825) and the dry goods store of John Alley 3rd (8 October 1825).
  43. Editorial, "To the Ladies," *Lynn Mirror*, 29 August 1829.
  44. Squibs, "Jewels," *Lynn Mirror*, 26 May 1827 (Newburyport); "Items from the Salem Gazette," *Lynn Mirror*, 2 June 1827 (Boston).

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45. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 21 April 1827.
46. Obituary of William Chambers, *Lynn Mirror*, 4 August 1827.
47. Squib, no title, *Lynn Mirror*, 4 August 1827.
48. Squib, "Patent Medicine," *Lynn Mirror*, 2 June 1827.
49. Editorial, "Communication. The Lynn Newspaper," *Lynn Mirror*, 1 December 1827.
50. Article, "Secret Remedies," *Lynn Mirror*, 29 December 1827.
51. Article, "Secret Remedies," *Lynn Mirror*, 29 December 1827.
52. Article, "Medicines," *Hampshire Gazette*, quoted in *Lynn Mirror*, 13 June 1829. John Lummus, Daybook, manuscript (covering 16 July 1826 - 20 May 1831; at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), 13 May 1830.
53. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 2 September 1826. Oliver was selling Anderson's Cough Drops through the *Essex Register*, a Salem-based newspaper, as early as 23 June 1820.
54. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 14 July 1827.
55. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 22 November 1828 (emphasis in original).
56. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 7 July 1827.
57. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 7 February 1829.
58. Article, "Robbery of a Tomb," *Lynn Mirror*, 21 November 1829.
59. Article, "Public Improvement. The New Burying Ground," *Lynn Mirror*, 19 November 1825.
60. Article, "Discoveries in the Moon," *London Morning Chronicle*, quoted in *Salem Observer*, 26 June 1824 (175); Article, no title, *Lynn Mirror*, 17 September 1825 (Sfrayel). The topic captured the popular imagination of the time. Before either of these stories appeared in the local newspapers, a private girl's schoolteacher assigned her class to consider the question of life on other planets. One Lynn girl in that class recorded in her diary, "Today Miss W[oodberry] proposed this question. Are the planets inhabited? Why should they not be? ... They are inhabited without a doubt." Mary Jane Mudge, Journal, manuscript (covering 1824; at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), 6 May 1824.
61. Article, "Letters from the Moon," *Lynn Mirror*, 5 August 1826.
62. James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn, Essex County Massachusetts: Including Lynnfield, Saugus, Swampscott and Nahant, 1864-1890* (Lynn: George C. Herbert, 1890), p.147.
63. Files of the Court of Common Pleas, manuscript (at the Essex County Clerk's Office, Salem, Mass.), June 1827: "Hazeltine v. Lummus."
64. Files of the Court of Common Pleas, manuscript (at the Essex County Clerk's Office, Salem, Mass.), June 1827: "Hazeltine v. Lummus."
65. Article, "Letters from the Moon," *Lynn Mirror*, 5 August 1826.
66. Article, "Letters from the Moon," *Lynn Mirror*, 5 August 1826.
67. Article, "Letters from the Moon," *Lynn Mirror*, 5 August 1826.
68. Richard Hazeltine, Daybook, MS, 2 vols. (covering 3 May 1817 - 26 January 1822 and 29 May 1828 - 16 November 1831; at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society).
69. Files of the Court of Common Pleas, 1 June 1827: "Hazeltine v. Lummus."
70. Article, "Letters from the Moon, Letter V," *Lynn Mirror*, 12 August 1826. Despite the numbering in this article's title, there were only two letters printed in the *Lynn Mirror*.
71. Article, "Letters from the Moon, Letter V," *Lynn Mirror*, 12 August 1826.
72. Article, "Physicians," *Lynn Mirror*, 17 May 1828. The writer's editorial comments about the policy towards families of poor and alcoholic parents paralleled the second "Letters from the Moon" story. In the Moon story the doctor resisted providing aid upon learning of the ill woman's poverty. The article about the new medical policy two years later stated, "Can such a man be reclaimed to habits of industry, temperance and frugality, because the physicians have agreed not to aid his family in sickness on account of drunkenness and poverty? To suppose such a thing would be a mark of positive imbecility and gross ignorance."
73. Files of the Court of Common Pleas, 1 June 1827: "Hazeltine v. Lummus."
74. Essex County Supreme Judicial Court Files, manuscript (at the Essex County Clerk's Office, Salem, Mass.), Spring Term 1829: "Hazeltine v. Lummus."
75. Charles F. Lummus, Editorial, "To the Public," *Lynn Mirror*, 10 May 1828.
76. Notice, "To the Patrons of the Mirror," *Lynn Mirror*, 24 May 1828.
77. Editorial, "Mind Your Business," *Lynn Mirror*, 3 March 1827.

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78. Articles, "Pyrola," *Lynn Mirror*, 24 May 1828 (secret); "Secret Remedies," *Lynn Mirror*, 29 December 1827 (regard); and "Medicines," *Hampshire Gazette*, quoted in *Lynn Mirror*, 13 June 1829 (license).
  79. Article, "Town Meeting," *Lynn Mirror*, 15 March 1828.
  80. Article by J. P. Boyce, "THOUGHTS OF FORMER YEARS, Number Three," *Daily Evening Items*, 15 April 1882. Also see article, "Dr. Aaron Lummus and His Family," *Lynn Scrapbooks*; no newspaper attribution or date. The Scrapbooks are a collection of newspaper clippings at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society. Article title, newspaper attribution, and date are not regularly noted on the clippings.
  81. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 20 September 1828.
  82. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 4 July 1828.
  83. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 23 May 1829.
  84. Advertisements, *Columbian Phoenix: or, Providence Patriot*, 1 June 1811; *Nantucket Gazette*, 19 October 1816; *Concord Observer*, 7 June 1819.
  85. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 10 October 1829. Lyscom's age found in *Population Schedule of the Fifth Census of the United States, 1830*; Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts.
  86. Notices, no title, *Lynn Mirror*, 31 December 1825; "Removal," *Lynn Mirror*, 5 August 1826; and "Register of Business, Trades, &c. in Lynn," *Lynn Mirror*, 3 January 1829. Robinson was not among the *Mirror's* 1829 listing of Lynn physicians. He was also listed in the 24 June 1826 *Lynn Mirror* for his marriage to Lucy Danforth on 15 June.
  87. Articles, "Lynn Lyceum," *Lynn Mirror*, 27 December 1828; and "Constitution of the Lynn Lyceum," *Lynn Mirror*, 3 January 1829.
  88. David N. Johnson, *Sketches of Lynn or the Changes of Fifty Years* (Lynn: Thos. P. Nichols: 1880), p.257.
  89. Article, "Third Annual Report of the Board of Counsel of the Society in Lynn for the Promotion of Industry, Frugality, and Temperance," *Lynn Mirror*, 16 January 1830.
  90. Article, "Shoemaking," *Lynn Mirror*, 10 January 1829. Several references can be found which compare Lynn's stature to Salem and Boston. As late as 1841, Lynn was "little esteemed" by these wealthy neighbors, according to article, "Market Street Fifty Years Ago, Seventh Paper," *Lynn Scrapbooks*; no newspaper attribution or date.
  91. Article, "Nahant," *Lynn Mirror*, 12 November 1825.
  92. 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), pp.498-499.
  93. David N. Johnson, *Sketches of Lynn*, p.26.
  94. David N. Johnson, *Sketches of Lynn*, p.27.
  95. Article, "Mental Character of the Cobbler," *Foreign Quarterly Review*, quoted in *Lynn Record*, 6 February 1834.

❧ Chapter 4: 1830-1839 ❧

## Multiple Personality Disorder

*Although we have always been rather skeptical ... we have had our own opinions and notions in other matters in which we were equally positive so often overthrown that we have in all matters of mere opinion become less tenacious or more distrustful of our own correctness, and more candid in examining the theories of others ... There are many things which we now most fully believe which once appeared chimerical and absurd.*

Article, “Phrenological Lectures”  
Lynn Record, 9 April 1834

**L**ate one July day in 1834, as afternoon slipped into sunset, the top of High Rock was swarming with Lynners who had waited almost an hour “with intense anxiety” for the dramatic spectacle that was about to float up to the clouds. They stood transfixed, staring and wondering what it would be like to drift with the angels and view the world from heaven; then it happened – a fat exclamation point with a spec of humanity inside could be seen over the western horizon – a man-made eclipse ascending in front of the subdued, descending sun:

... the Balloon appeared rising majestically above the buildings in Boston. The sight was truly sublime.... Who knows but this art may hereafter be improved to great advantage, as a means of facilitating intercourse among the inhabitants of the earth, if not, according to the Swedenborgian plan, with the celestial spirits above.<sup>1</sup>

Just about anything seemed possible as Lynn entered the new decade – even the sky was no limit. The town stood at a confluence of dynamic forces that made its citizens ready for new and changed methods of living. Its population of low-paid shoe workers surged. An inordinately large number of women found employment in the shoe business, giving them a measure of importance to the local and family economy not enjoyed by most women of the time. A community-wide personality had developed over the previous two centuries that was characterized by boldly independent thought and seasoned by a tradition of entertaining ideas beyond the norm. Newspapers, broadsides, and handbills competed for attention, patrons, and dollars. At the same time that the country was becoming more thickly settled and new frontiers were constantly opening up, the roads and railroads added in the 1830s pulled neighboring towns closer together. All of these elements converged on the once-discombobulated confederation of villages called Lynn. The rising growth curve of the 1820s ascended steeply throughout the 1830s; the thirty-six percent increase in the former decade was matched and surpassed by a fifty-three percent increase in the latter, moving Lynn’s position in the county’s growth race from fourth to second, behind Salem. By 1837 Lynn had become the sixth largest town in the state.<sup>2</sup> While most Massachusetts families struggled to make ends meet, Lynn’s preferred industry at least provided wage-earning opportunities for both sexes. Two newspapers showcased the town’s growing pride in its industriousness and productivity, and its defiance towards any who would scoff at their circumstances or choices. Far from being wealthy, the developing community nonetheless attracted entrepreneurs and was often smitten by the ever-increasing range and depth of commodities and minor luxuries.

By every measure, Lynn was growing quickly. The great expansion of the cordwaining business brought more people into town to work at the trade and its supporting industries. Other unrelated businesses promising large returns were frequently attempted in Lynn, but few had a significant, long-term impact. The chocolate mills of Amariah Childs and Hezekiah Chase made some handsome profits during this decade, but barely reached one fiftieth of the shoe industry's annual value.<sup>3</sup> A silk growing and printing trade tried to take advantage of some of the town's mill power. Nascent whaling enterprises hoped to profit from Lynn's underutilized seaside location. Unfortunately, the silk business never amounted to much and Lynn's six whaleships yielded rewards only a little greater than that of the chocolate mills.<sup>4</sup>

In spite of small results from other ventures, cordwaining proved enough of a boon to the town by itself and stimulated such ancillary businesses as last making, shoe findings stores, morocco leather concerns, and tanneries. Additionally, more human services jobs were created to keep pace with the ever-increasing population. The number of buildings erected in the ten years spanning the 1830s was estimated to be greater than the total number built in the town's first two hundred years.<sup>5</sup> Construction services consequently increased: Lynn had seventeen housewrights and carpenters in 1832, thirty-eight in 1837, and forty-eight by 1841; housepainters and glaziers rose from six in 1832 to eighteen in 1841. Sign painters found steady work throughout the decade and the number of printers more than tripled; both of these trades brought attention to the many new businesses that cropped up and polished the appeal of staid old concerns that were not accustomed to much competition.<sup>6</sup> Thomas J. Lummus made good use of a sign painter; one of his advertisements mentioned that his apothecary shop could be found "at the sign of the golden mortars."<sup>7</sup>

It was noticed as early as 1827 that Lynn's retail business had dramatically improved within the preceding few years: "It is not necessary nowadays to travel out of town to go ashopping – a person does not travel to Salem or Boston to get a suit of clothes, or purchase a hat ... the people begin to see the advantages which result from encouraging trade among ourselves."<sup>8</sup> The large number of milliners and dressmakers (eighteen by the end of the decade) indicated expanding middle and upper classes as well as more discretionary income and less time to sew by women employed binding and trimming shoes.<sup>9</sup> Shops solicited the increasing number of potential patrons with a wider array of products. Three Lynn dry goods stores competed for business with the latest merchandise including prints and chintzes ("chocolate-colored for Friends"), red silk mantles, white silk handkerchiefs with worked borders, "elegant black lace veils," Valencia square shawls, plaid and striped Swiss Dresses, English gingham, cambric, muslin, bombazine, hosiery, tablecloths, and diapers.<sup>10</sup> An increasing number of Lynn grocery and variety stores carried a broadening array of little luxuries like shell and horn combs, sheet music, perfume, silk top hats, and wallpaper "of elegant and fashionable patterns."<sup>11</sup> Townspeople were engaging in music lessons, foreign language instruction, and social calls; Charles Lummus offered violin strings, clarinet reeds, checkerboards, plain and embossed visiting cards, "Ladies Albums" (autograph albums that were "all bound with silk and gilding, you might buy them for their looks"), and French lessons in which he barely kept ahead of students by learning each lesson the day before he taught it.<sup>12</sup>

The printed word blossomed in the 1830s. Fifteen newspapers were established in Lynn, many being short-lived political sheets. Between stints as a newspaper publisher, Charles Lummus realized the town was experiencing dramatic growth, so he put his publishing skills to work and produced Lynn's first directory. He explained in his prefatory comments, "The great and increasing number of inhabitants in Lynn, the extensive business carried on with other places, the frequent inquiries made by strangers and citizens respecting the places of residence and business of the inhabitants, are considerations which have induced the compiler to think that a Directory would be found useful to many, and convenient to all."<sup>13</sup> Salem was the only other Essex County town large enough to warrant organizing its residents and businesses on paper during the 1830s.

Locally produced descriptions of Lynn blushed with community pride in its growth and prospects. Throughout the decade, Lynn authors and newspaper editors took frequent advantage of

their media to meticulously enumerate the town's attributes and progress. The number of wharves and fire engines was counted with pride equal to the town's commitment to churches and schools. Lynn's militia companies also gave the town some bragging rights. Their annual muster and parading was a major community event. Consisting of volunteers otherwise engaged in the town's economy, the units' successful maneuvers brought praise to the outward appearance as well as internal structure of the town. Militia units of several area towns sometimes combined their exercises; on one occasion, 2,000 troops from Lynn and five other towns created an extraordinary pageant of color, action, and interest.<sup>14</sup> Lynn's little press corps put the town militia on a high pedestal, declaring that "no town in the Union" of equal size could boast of a more disciplined and well-dressed militia.<sup>15</sup>

Another homemade encomium described the town as "flourishing" with success in business, "freedom from sickness," and "numerous enjoyments."<sup>16</sup> Such advantages, combined with its propitious location on the Boston-Salem turnpike, let Lynn's glow radiate beyond its borders. By mid-decade, Lynn had become a bustling town with a steadily escalating flow of travelers; one author reported, "this town is at all times a place of much stir, as the principal current of eastern land travel flows directly through it."<sup>17</sup> A railroad running from Boston to Salem and beyond was built through Lynn during 1837-1838, amid an army of pickaxes, spades, and shovels, the racket of rock-blasting explosions, and the consequent stone chunk projectiles sometimes hurling through rooftops.<sup>18</sup> In an early slur against Irish immigrants, the *Record* published a creative description of the new railroad in Lynn. In the account, the Irish newcomer wrote back to his friend in Ireland:

... ef ye'd see the wonders of the universe, come over here soon. Yesterday ... as I had jist arrived ... what d'ye think I see but that famous varmint, called the Sea Sarpent, what used to play on the waters off Nahant. He's got starved out and come on land, and has got a hard path straight through the hills, where he runs through this town between Salem and Boston. I counted 13 bumps on his back as big as schooners; and as I was looking, I see a large company of men standing together ... the old *Multapede* dashed into the midst of 'em, and swallowed more than half a thousand, all but a few he threw upon his back, and then began to puff and snort.... "Ah, there's the end of ye, poor yankees," says I to myself – "Ye'll never be heard of more in this world." But ... the next thing I heard was, that the whole half thousand were celebrating in the Olde Cradle of Liberty [Boston]. The old crittur finding 'em rather hard to digest, threw 'em all out, high and dry....<sup>19</sup>

With increased traffic to and through Lynn, the town's concern over its image had become even more pronounced. Lynn didn't enjoy the wealth and refinement of Salem and Boston, but was beginning to form an identity and pride that foretold its own destiny as a major Massachusetts city. Printers ink flowed freely in descriptions that put Lynn's institutions on par with larger populations, as it had with the comparisons of its militia to the rest of the United States. One entertainment report used hollow-toned humility to describe one of the community's bands, stating that the "little band of rural amateurs" produced music equal to "anything we have ever heard from [the Boston bands]."<sup>20</sup> When traveler and author Harriet Martineau compared Lynn to Salem, newspaper editors were quick to correct her technical inaccuracies and they took exception to the diminutives she used to compare their town's size and importance to their dominant neighbor: "The contrast of the two places is made very striking at the expense of our *little* industrious town."<sup>21</sup> By 1836 Lynn papers were boasting about the home town as if in a contest for respect and glory, "The Salem people have often reflected on the humble employment of the people of 'Shoe Town,' but recently finding that Lynn is 'going ahead,' and that Salem must exert all her energies to keep in sight, their papers have come out with ... articles on ... the 'shoe business,' and the amazing prosperity of [this] 'city' in consequence."<sup>22</sup>

In order for dignity and stature to accompany its growth, civic improvement became a significant community issue. As the town's size and importance grew, it became an obvious stopping point for important visitors and celebrities, presidents John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson and Congressman Henry Clay among them.<sup>23</sup> Newspaper editorials sounded the call for more shade trees

on the town's common and streets, improvements to the town hall, and road repairs. Shortly after an 1830 session of the county court convened in Lynn's town hall, some residents felt ashamed of its appearance: "It is absolutely a disgrace to a town like ours with a population rising 6,000 inhabitants and all in a prosperous condition that we should have nothing better than a mere shed for accommodation of our various public meetings." The comment was precipitated by an interesting session of court held a few days earlier that had attracted some out-of-town guests: "there were some strangers present and ... we felt ashamed in inviting them into our town hall."<sup>24</sup> Another editorial suggested that the Old Western Burial Ground, which stood across "from one of the county's busiest inns [Lynn Hotel] and subject to the constant notice of strangers," was showing signs of neglect; some sprucing up was in order to enliven the cemetery and make it more inviting to visitors. The writer recommended that the two sextons "be directed to set up all the stones that have fallen, remove dirt that has obscured the lower part of inscriptions," and retrace letters overgrown by moss.<sup>25</sup> In another editorial the selectmen were invited, or perhaps challenged, to visit the "ruinous and even dangerous state of travel" on Market Street. Rain and melting snow kept Market Street and most roads in a muddy bath, with ruts and bumps formed by the traction of wheels and the pounding of hooves.<sup>26</sup>

Some of the town's bylaws passed in 1828 were designed to protect what beauty and order existed in the town. The bylaws included prohibitions against marring, injuring, or destroying any trees along streets, squares, and sidewalks or in the common; a similar injunction protected all houses, buildings, signs, and gates. Vehicles and horses were to stay off the sidewalks and absolutely no skinny-dipping was allowed by anyone over ten years old in areas that were visible from public roads or houses.<sup>27</sup> It was proudly reported in 1836 that the common had been enclosed with a railing and ornamented with a man-made pond at the center. The writer combined his celebratory comments with a new appeal for every homeowner to plant at least two trees in front of their home to further beautify the town.<sup>28</sup>

## **HEADACHES**

At the same time that the civic-minded were trying to improve Lynn's exterior, many high-minded citizens were aiming at the interior: the cultivation and redemption of their townsmen's values, thoughts, and actions. The wreck of the schooner *Ploughboy* was a double tragedy to the moralists of the town. Mistaking the billiard house on Nahant for a lighthouse was a navigational error of devastating consequence but the fact that the billiard house was visited late in the evening also proved it to be a false lighthouse to the patrons who had strayed off life's straight and narrow path.<sup>29</sup> To get the wayward back on the right course, more religions were established in Lynn and more churches were built during the Second Great Awakening of the 1830s, with each vying for the residents' spiritual salvation. In the previous decade, some of Lynn's liberal-minded Quakers looked for reform within their own faith and when met with resistance and rebuke by the majority of the Lynn Friend's meeting, they broke away from the core group, earning the appellation, "New Lighters." Similarly, the Calvinistic Congregationalism expounded in Lynn's First Congregational Church was "cruel as the grave" to some members and encouraged a contingent of that church to reorganize into a Unitarian society.<sup>30</sup>

Reformers took aim at any institution that they felt had its own interests above the general public, whether it be a church, an institution, the government, an organization, or an established practice. Decades of suspicion and distrust of the Masons had grown into a nationwide outcry to expose and defeat the organization and their secrets. Anti-masons claimed that Masons were a brotherhood of judges, bankers, merchants, and professionals who were secretly bound together to favor each other. In 1829 the citizens of Lynn voted in town meeting that Freemasonry was "a great moral evil ... and dangerous to all free government."<sup>31</sup> Along with most other lodges, Lynn's Mount Carmel Lodge of Masons avoided the harassment of anti-masons by going underground. They surrendered their charter in 1833 and discontinued their meetings but about a dozen of the brethren

continued to meet clandestinely in secluded spots around Lynn as opportunity presented and permitted, as their private record book revealed:

Sometimes they met on Long Beach, about half way between Lynn and Nahant. Sentinels would be posted at suitable distances in either direction so that the meetings would not be interrupted by [interlopers] and eave[s]droppers. On such occasions the faithful few would open a Lodge in due form and rehearse the ritual that it might remain fresh in their memories against the time when they could safely reorganize the Lodge. At other times they met on the summit of High Rock, then a barren pasture with no dwellings in the near vicinity. ... When the winter months came and the cold weather prohibited out of door meetings, they gathered at the residence of one or another of the brethren. Sometimes meeting in the kitchen and some times in a small upper chamber. And in order that the brethren might hold these meetings in secret, the good wife would take her sewing and spend the evening with some neighbor.

The notices of these meetings were passed by word of mouth from brother to brother, and on the appointed evening they would repair separately to the designated place, that they might not attract the attention or excite the curiosity of the unin[i]tiated.<sup>32</sup>

Despite the pride with which most writers praised the town's militia groups, through the eyes of a reformer with pacifist opinions, the muster was a silly and scary excuse to combat boredom:

The idea of a body of respectable human beings accoutering themselves with desperate looking knives, and murderous guns and bayonets "fixed" in 'em, and parading about a peaceable community which never *could* have done anything bad enough to deserve such an infliction, is preposterous, really. And then what consummate foolery it is, especially in dog-day weather, for able-bodied human creatures to wad themselves out with cotton [clothing] and disfigure themselves with those ugly bob-tail coats! And those ungainly things, two or three stories high, called caps, ornamented with long tail-feathers tipped with blood, and as comfortless and heavy as if made of cast-iron. – why in the name of common sense will men lug such [hats] about on their heads? Poor fellows, ... they march along ... their whole uniform so arranged as to produce the greatest possible amount of discomfort, – the big sweat stands out upon their faces like dew .... And then their "arms," – of what possible use are they, save to "hew and hack" these poor bodies of ours ... And which of those fine young fellows wants to use the hateful things for any such purpose? – Not one of them. They have not – as a rule – a whit of that murderous spirit which their guns and knives represent. They submit to the foolery of wearing them because it is fashionable, – and withal a little heroic.<sup>33</sup>

Education reformers urged that intellectual refinement should become a lifelong habit rather than a child's goal. The educational programs of the Lynn Lyceum were for the general intellectual improvement of the community as well as for "the improvement of our morals."<sup>34</sup> Its charter allowed for ten broad lecture topics, including morals and public improvements.<sup>35</sup> Social and lending libraries were established to encourage the reading of periodical works and newspapers from all sections of the country. Charles Lummus advertised that the hall over his office would be illuminated in the evenings for "friends and subscribers" to peruse the various complimentary subscriptions he received of weekly and monthly news.<sup>36</sup> All of the new libraries and reading rooms were created to encourage reading but some discouraged the reading of novels, believing that they were a "pernicious, degrading, mind- and soul-destroying habit ... in fact [they] press every power and faculty belonging to our being, into the service of Satan." Like other addictions, once one experimented with novels, "the mind becomes disordered and craves more."<sup>37</sup> One anti-novel reformer spoke through a Lynn newspaper with a voice that sounded rich with experience as well as reform:

All solid and useful study is abandoned as dull and uninteresting; whilst the love story, however childish and which we should perhaps blush and be ashamed to read aloud, is hugged to the heart as a most valuable treasure. Night after night finds us pouring over

the pages of fiction, till sick and dizzy we fall victims to the soul destroying habit. Thus, we go on till peace and life are sacrificed to this unhallowed idol. Are these our Gods?<sup>38</sup>

Female education became an issue for reform, not only to keep girls away from novels, but to encourage a return to domestic skills: “our females ... on whom the welfare of the country depends more than on men – are either neglected, or receive only that superficial, refined education in drawing, music, dancing, etc. which fits them for nothing, and spoils them for everything.... The country needs *workingmen’s mothers* ... [skilled in] needlework, cooking, and other branches of domestic economy and female industry.”<sup>39</sup>

Moral reform was coupled with education in the town’s schools to correct the excesses and laxness of previous generations. Plans were introduced in 1830 for a second infant school for students from eighteen months to seven years old. Teaching children so young seemed “eminently calculated to subdue, by the gentlest possible means, the germs of ill temper and perverse conduct, and to implant in the mind, while most susceptible of impressions, the seeds of pure morality.”<sup>40</sup> In one of the town’s elementary schools, it had apparently been determined that the young male students were beyond the inculcation of morals by gentle means. The boys once took advantage of the teacher’s temporary absence from the classroom by kissing the girls. The disruptive and immoral behavior necessitated the teacher’s administration of “the *oil of birch* to every male pupil in the school ... with most *striking* efficacy....”<sup>41</sup>

Edward Coffin advertised that he had fitted up the “Concert Hall” (the same room Charles Lummus offered to the public as an evening library) in a style appropriate for such refined programs as musical concerts and social meetings.<sup>42</sup> One of the moral reform organizations to make use of the Concert Hall was the Society for the Promotion of Industry, Frugality, and Temperance.<sup>43</sup> The temperance movement would be long-lived and was supported strongly by Lynn’s ministers, physicians, and employers – all of whom had seen first-hand the problems associated with Lynn men, women, and children being drunk. In 1841 the Lynn Union Temperance Society selected Isaiah



**Turnkey Tooth Puller, about 1830.** The dread of many, the hope of some, and the fascination of spectators not in line for their turn. Usually after an incision with a sharp blade below the gum line, the three-toothed claw would be put in the incision, the arc over the tooth, the square fulcrum pressed up against the other side of the tooth. The handle would then be twisted, using the motion of turning a key, tightening the claw against the fulcrum and prying out the tooth, with a little bit of luck. The iron claw and stem are fastened in an animal bone handle. (Collection of the author.)

Breed, a shoe manufacturer, as its president; Israel Perkins, a trader, as vice-president; Thomas J. Marsh, Lynn’s postmaster and the man who had turned the Lynn Hotel into a temperance hotel, as

secretary; and Jonathan Tuttle, an accountant, as treasurer – all well-regarded businessmen and pillars of the community.<sup>44</sup> Sufficient numbers backed the cause to influence a pair of Lynn businessmen in 1835 to make their new store a “temperance grocery.”<sup>45</sup> Samuel Viall sold wines, beer and cider at his store, but advertised that he did so on the “popular Temperance System” that discouraged “ardent spirits.”<sup>46</sup> The temperance sentiment was strong enough in Massachusetts for the passage of a licensing law during the decade that was supposed to prevent the sale of alcohol outside of licensed establishments. There were frequent breaks with the new law. Caleb Wiley appeared in court several times for selling liquor without a license out of his West India Goods store (so named because of the inventory of West Indian rum). Having sufficient money, he paid court costs for his several infractions and promised not to do it again. His case was dismissed, much to the consternation of temperance workers who wanted to see Justice meted out without regard to financial status.<sup>47</sup>

Temperance was one of the several moral campaigns that combined health concerns with social acceptability; the fight against tobacco use was another. One anti-tobacco advocate was quite graphic and blunt with his opinions, comparing the smell of tobacco to the stench of skunk:

The Virginia effluvia struck the olfactories of the more sensible of the party, as if a certain four-footed “essence pedlar” had entered the room; and one of the ladies had to call for her ‘cologne bottle.’ Shame on you! you half-civilized, half-witted, tobacco-stuffed boobies! Don’t you know better than to eat the filthiest weed in creation until the smell of you is enough to knock down any gentleman or lady of delicate nerves? <sup>48</sup>

The reformer then recommended that young ladies establish an anti-tobacco society, which effort would surely get young men to “leave off this foolish habit.” Despite the moralists’ efforts to characterize drinkers and tobacco chewers and smokers as ill-bred dunderheads, the habitués of dram shops and tobacconists came from throughout the community, including from among its leading lights. In the early 1830s, the newly ordained Lynn minister, Reverend David Hatch Barlow, stayed up through Saturday nights, trying to prepare Sunday sermons that would “thrill or melt” the congregation. To keep himself awake and stimulated to produce such compelling homilies, he followed what he described as standard Sunday talk preparation by ministers:

It was ... no uncommon thing for a minister to sit down ... with a pot of green tea as strong as lye, or of coffee black as ink, and a box of cigars beside him – drinking at the one and puffing at the other all or most of the night through ... His theme, perhaps, was intemperance; and with nerves tingling from the actions of liquids which no swine will drink, and of the plant which no swine will eat, he would portray most vividly the terrible ruin wrought by intoxicating drink. Do not believe, however, that in all this he was dishonest or hypocritical; he was merely self-ignorant ... <sup>49</sup>

He admitted years later that during those long Lynn nights, he had also begun to depend on wine and brandy for the “excitement I required for my work.” He explained his reliance to all these stimulants as the continuation of childhood events that triggered a lifetime battle with addiction: physicians who told him and his family to drink bottles of bitters and also brandy (which he called the decanter of “liquid fire”) for dyspepsia: a landlady who advised tobacco for toothache; a mother whose answer for all the “little ailments of childhood” was paregoric; and long ancestral traditions of drinking all forms of alcohol, even before breakfast, and letting him and the other children finish off the sugary dregs of their drinks.<sup>50</sup>



**WHILE THE ABUSE OF PHYSICAL STIMULANTS** ignited the call for reform within the community, the abuse of fellow man triggered a loud call for the reform of society. Moral outrage over slavery was galvanized shortly after William Lloyd Garrison gave two lectures at Woodend’s First Methodist Meeting House in 1831. Previously a resident of Lynn, Garrison returned after a sixteen-year absence to give two free lectures on the emancipation of slaves. He had endeared himself to his old friends not only by his eloquent and vigorous denunciation of slavery, but by praising the

town for the very things of which it had become newly self-conscious. In his abolitionist paper, the *Boston Liberator*, Garrison wrote about the beauty and industriousness he found in Lynn after his long absence:

We visited this flourishing town (village is now an inappropriate term) ... Lynn deserves a better panegyric than we can bestow. It is a proud specimen of what free, untiring, patient labor can accomplish. Look at its buildings, spread over a very large extent of ground! ... their elaborate neatness and excellent condition constantly elicit one's admiration. Look at its population! how indefatigably industrious! how essentially important their contemned but really honorable business! ... *The whole country stands on a better footing for their labors.* These are not to be sneered at by a purse-proud aristocracy – O no! Long life and success to them all!<sup>51</sup>

In 1827 an early antislavery reformer spoke in Lynn to a modest audience of twenty. Just four years later, Garrison's two lectures had gathered an audience totaling a thousand.<sup>52</sup> On 16 January 1832, less than a year after Garrison's lectures, townsmen sympathetic to his cause organized the Lynn Colored People's Friend Society, shortly thereafter recognized as the Lynn Anti-Slavery Society.<sup>53</sup> In two years the men's society was encouraging the "Ladies of Lynn and Vicinity" to imitate the "praiseworthy examples" of women "in many places" who were forming female antislavery societies; by the late spring of 1835, about thirty women in Lynn had organized their own antislavery group. George Thompson, a highly regarded British abolitionist, spoke in Lynn five times in seven days in June 1835 and once again in August of that year.<sup>54</sup> At the conclusion of his June 13<sup>th</sup> address to a female audience gathered in one of Lynn's churches, close to fifty women signed the constitution of the newly formed Lynn Female Anti-Slavery Society, almost tripling its membership.<sup>55</sup> The Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society was functioning by 1836 with a membership of young men in their twenties. Within a year the society had swelled to 158 members and had fitted up an Anti-Slavery Reading Room with over three dozen newspapers from all over the country, including the Deep South, slavery's bullseye.<sup>56</sup> Also in 1837, the famous southern antislavery activists, the Grimké sisters, spoke twice in Lynn. On the first night, at the First Methodist Meeting House, "The lower part of the house was filled with ladies, and the gallery nearly filled with gentlemen, notwithstanding the unfavorable state of the weather."<sup>57</sup> On the next night, when Angelina Grimké spoke in Reverend Philemon Russell's First Christian Chapel, the building was "crowdingly filled ... and more than half who went to attend ... were not able to get [in]. The windows were lined with men and boys, clinging like bats to the window frames, and some standing on each other's shoulders."<sup>58</sup> It was no coincidence that the membership of the Lynn Female Anti-Slavery Society jumped from 100 to 168, demonstrating once again the impact of effective speeches by charismatic reform advocates.<sup>59</sup>

Antislavery activities had the ability to reach virtually everyone in the family circle: fathers and mothers, young men, and precocious teenage girls who followed the lead of their parents. The Estes household was a model of family abolition fervor. Rebecca Estes and her daughters Ruth Ann and Lydia, who was just sixteen years old, joined the Lynn Female Anti-Slavery Society in its first year; daughter Ruth Ann was also a member of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.<sup>60</sup> Rebecca was on the Lynn society's board of managers and was active in the petition effort to drive slavery out of the District of Columbia.<sup>61</sup> She also combined efforts with the Grimké sisters to get a resolution passed to encourage the next set of petition-gathering volunteers to have "*warm hearts and willing minds* to be successful in upcoming petition drives.<sup>62</sup> Rebecca's husband, William, joined the men's society in 1837, as did their sons, William Henry and Isaac Hacker, two years later, and when it opened up its membership to women, daughter Lydia also joined.<sup>63</sup> William Henry attended the Universalist Anti-Slavery Convention held in Lynn in 1840 and he named his first child George Thompson Estes after the popular abolition advocate who had spoken so successfully in Lynn.<sup>64</sup> William Henry and another son, Ezra, bravely signed a petition in support of Lynn women who were being drubbed for petitioning for the equal rights of blacks.<sup>65</sup> William and Rebecca's daughter, Gulielma, was a friend of Nathaniel Rogers, editor of the *Herald of Freedom* antislavery newspaper,

and walked arm-in-arm on several occasions with the escaped slave and abolition activist, Frederick Douglass, despite the feathers it ruffled among some disapproving observers, like her minister. He asked her “Are you much acquainted with colored people?” and she answered, “Not so much as I hope to be.”<sup>66</sup> Over a sixteen-year span, her sister, Lydia, had only sought a dozen autographs for her friendship album but among those treasured remembrances is the personalized note of Frederick Douglass; his inscription began, “My Dear Friend, How unspeakably pleasant it is to meet old & dear friends after a long separation!”<sup>67</sup> Lydia, Ruth, and Isaac all participated in the New England Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840 and Lydia and Gulielma were Lynn delegates at the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in 1841.<sup>68</sup> Every one of William and Rebecca’s children who lived into the 1840s were involved in some way with antislavery friends and activities; the breeze of reform blew through the Estes orchard and the apples didn’t fall far from the tree.<sup>69</sup>

Lynn’s female antislavery reformers became well-organized activists in their cause. Their society meetings were opportunities to have antislavery tracts read aloud as the ladies sewed together shoes, pincushions, and other items to be sold at their fundraising fairs. They raised significant funds for the cause by holding fairs. In one such event on the Lynn Common in 1840, the Lynn Women’s Anti-Slavery Fair raised \$400 – a hefty amount given the shoemaker’s average daily wage of about eighty cents.<sup>70</sup> Their talent for raising funds for their cause was matched by their ability to make the same statement with their spending: in the same manner that temperance advocates enjoyed a friendly grocer, the buying power of abolitionist homemakers encouraged at least one Lynn merchant to sell “anti-slavery sugar,” a “free-labor” foodstuff imported from Calcutta, and a Lynn shoe manufacturer to promise his shoes were made from materials not made by slave labor.<sup>71</sup> In addition to having meetings, work parties, and fundraising fairs, they also successfully gathered many hundreds of signatures on petitions urging the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the denial of statehood to slaveholding Texas. The female society had a focus on the plight of their black sisters, “It is woman’s woes that call most loudly for our efforts … When woman’s heart is bleeding, Shall woman’s voice be hushed?”

The juxtaposition of enthusiastic reformers and stubborn bigots, as well as those who simply didn’t share the same agenda, produced inevitable conflicts. In August 1835, abolitionist George Thompson was again lecturing in Lynn’s First Methodist Meeting House to a packed audience that included a large delegation from the town’s Female Anti-Slavery Society. As Thompson lectured, a rum-fueled mob milled about outside, making noise and commotion to disrupt the proceedings, including floating some threats in the breeze about tarring and feathering, but it proved to be just hot air. Suddenly, a rock flew through the window, causing a large number of the startled, predominantly female audience to recoil in unison but Thompson calmly reassured them that they were safe and that he was used to such a reception; one of the other speakers picked up the stone and suggested that Thompson take it back to England as a souvenir of the adversity he had to endure in his righteous crusade.<sup>72</sup>

Despite or perhaps because of the large crowds and hubbub his presence was causing in Lynn, Thompson agreed to speak the next night in the same building. Once again the sanctuary was filled with his female disciples and a larger crowd of devilish rowdies wailed and howled outside. Shortly a false alarm of “FIRE!” was shouted and the bell at the other end of the common was rung provocatively, eliciting some fear and even fainting among a portion of the jangled nerves inside but calmness was once again restored and the meeting went on. A second shout of “Fire” caused barely a stir.<sup>73</sup> After the benediction was offered and the doors began to open for the audience’s exit, “a large number of cowardly ruffians,” stinking of alcohol, tried to rush into the building but few made it before the doors were closed. In order to provide some disguise, supporters switched Thompson’s coat and his trademark white hat with the large, concealing hat of a supportive Quaker gentleman and then Thompson was secreted out a back door of the hall and surrounded by a group



**Promising Cures of the 1830s.** In 1834 Benjamin Proctor and William Rhodes bought out George Lummus's business with its inventory of drugs, medicines, groceries, fancy articles, and West India goods, and made a special focus of the medical department. *Elixir Paregoric* was camphorated tincture of opium, often used to relieve pain, coughing, or diarrhea in children. Also pictured here is a bottle of *Essence of Peppermint* produced a few years later by William Rhodes, after the partnership had dissolved and he was pursuing his own candy making business. Peppermint has long been valued for its cooling and soothing properties for use with ailments from headaches to stomachaches and intestinal distress. (Both collection of the author.)

of male and female supporters to serve as a bodyguard.<sup>74</sup> He was taken to the *Lynn Record* office and from there was whisked off to a farm in Marblehead. Even then, miles from the lecture hall, he wasn't considered safe, so the Englishman was given some provisions and told to row out to Ram Island off the coast, where he was to stay until the signal was given that the coast was clear. "What miserable beings these mobs make," Jonathan Buffum, the incensed editor of the *Record* chastised, "How like fools they *must feel*, to be lurking and skulking about, to do that in the dark, which they are ashamed to be seen doing in the day."<sup>75</sup> A few days later some of the malcontents responded to the editor by egging the newspaper office, pulling down its sign, and attempting to cause a ruckus inside.<sup>76</sup> Armed friends stayed in the Buffum's house at night to protect his family but bottles of tar were thrown through the windows, ruining the parlor.<sup>77</sup> Despite the imminent dangers, Thompson continued to condemn slavery from the lectern and Buffum did likewise from the pages of his newspaper.

In January 1839, George Hood (Lynn's future first mayor), submitted a petition to the state legislature on behalf of petition organizer Aroline Chase and allegedly 785 women of Lynn that insisted on the repeal of all laws making any distinction among the inhabitants of the state on the basis of color. The principal color-based restriction was interracial marriage. The petition actually contained 669 signatures including a few girls ranging in age from twelve to sixteen years old.<sup>78</sup> The girls had mimicked their mothers' examples, writing their signatures among the hundreds of adult women; thus can be found the autographs of Elizabeth B. Ingalls, age 16; Mary Clark, Clarissa Goldsmith, Abigail Haskell, and Elisabeth Sparks, 14; Martha L. Gibson and Mary P. Purinton, 13; and Pamelia Chase and Lydia M. Lewis, who were just 12 years old.<sup>79</sup> Even with the revised count of adult females, the petition had drawn the support of a quarter of the town's women.<sup>80</sup> The eager daughters aside, gathering names on petitions was tough work that required not only a 'warm heart and willing mind,' but an iron resolve. *The Liberator* described the insults hurled at female petition gatherers after knocking on unfriendly doors. "My darter says that you want the niggers and whites to marry together," one old woman disparaged. Another lady said she didn't want to have anything to do with such a petition and her husband shouted from another room that "*they were all opposed there to ladies doing delicate business.*" It was the same when they asked a man who answered the door whether there was someone inside who would like to sign the petition; he answered curtly and contemptuously, "No," marking himself as among the class of men who possessed "exclusive jurisdiction in all cases whatsoever over their wives' consciences." At another home "the father hoped there was nobody in his house who would sign such a paper .... he bade us begone ... and never bring *such a thing to his house again*. It's none of your business, *galls*, and you'd better go *right straight home*."<sup>81</sup> It was a brave stand, indeed, to force the issue of the equality of the races; the ladies of the Lynn Female Antislavery Society had met with sharp and bitter opposition at many doors and in newspapers. The Boston press chided and snickered, "This is rather a cut at the white Lynn beaux – or, perhaps some of these ladies despair of having a white offer, and so are willing to try *de colored race*."<sup>82</sup>

While the ink in the Boston paper was still wet with dripping sarcasm, two opposing petitions were quickly submitted by men of Lynn and allegedly "ladies of color," although the latter proved to be a complete fabrication. The petition of Caleb Hubbard and 113 men stated they were of the opinion that "the *superior* taste and delicacy evinced by the Ladies of Lynn, in their preference for woolly heads and curved shins, will doubtless soon provide them with partners of equal refinement and cultivation."<sup>83</sup> The petition of Samuel Curtis and 192 men "humbly" prayed that "Aroline Augusta Chase, and the ... other females [be allowed] to marry, intermarry, or associate with any Negro, Indian, or Hottentot, or any other being in human shape."<sup>84</sup> The men who signed probably did so out of embarrassment, anger, bigotry, or confusion but the wording of both of their petitions clearly expressed their contempt through more sarcasm. Among the acerbic petitioners were Amos Holt, a carpenter, Matthew Plumstead, a harness maker, and Daniel C. Watts, a laborer, whose wives Eliza Holt, Martha Plumstead, and Elsy Watts, had signed the racial equality petition. There

were at least seven other men who signed the Curtis petition despite or perhaps because their wives had signed the women's petition.<sup>85</sup> When William Lincoln of the House of Representatives responded to the women's petition on behalf of the Committee of the Judiciary, he found the women's demands without merit and a debasement, abuse, and prostitution of the right to petition. He chastised Lynn's men for letting their wives, daughters, and sisters sign the petition and he further criticized "that the light of chivalry has grown so dim ... that not one of [the] brave men has lent his name to aid the prayers of [the] fair women."<sup>86</sup> In hasty response, fifty Lynn men rallied with a petition supporting the women's petition. Some of Lynn's most passionate reformers and successful businessmen signed it. James P. Boyce, the petition organizer, wasn't only an abolitionist, an officer in the Prisoner's Friend Society and the Silsbee Street Debate Club, and a member of the Society of Universal Inquiry and Reform, but he was also the husband of Eliza Boyce who had signed the women's petition and was an officer in the Lynn Female Anti-Slavery Society. So too, did James N. Buffum show his support for his wife, Ruth, and Jonathan Buffum, for his wife, Hannah.<sup>87</sup> But the lagging effort was too little and too late; it garnered no further reaction from the Committee of the Judiciary – the issue was already dead.<sup>88</sup> While, in truth, the public ridicule, legislative rebuke, and scorn from spouses and neighbors troubled many of the women who signed the petition, the Lynn Female Anti-Slavery Society's official response to William Lincoln's report was "mingled feelings of abhorrence and disgust" and a determination that their actions and course were right.<sup>89</sup>

Now filled with indignation and a spirit of righteous determination, Lynn's male and female anti-slavery advocates quickly mustered two large petition drives. Gamaliel W. Oliver and 620 others of Lynn petitioned for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia. Three more petitions to stop the admission of Florida and Texas as slave states and the trafficking of slaves between states were submitted by Gamaliel Oliver and 639 others of Lynn, Eliza Boyce and 621 women of Lynn, and Alice Conner and 992 others of Lynn. At 2,872 total petitioners between the two initiatives, Lynn presented the largest contingent in Massachusetts, accounting for 16.8% of all petitioners. Fall River was next at 1,754 (10.2%).<sup>90</sup>

Early in the decade, one of Charles Lummus's squizzles reported that a preacher had told his congregation, "a drunken man has as much chance of inheriting the kingdom of heaven as a pig does of climbing an apple tree and singing like a nightingale."<sup>91</sup> There were certainly reformers who felt as strongly about their causes as this preacher did about his but those who signed the membership roll of a reform group could vary dramatically in their commitment, from zealots to fair-weather members, and every reform had its opponents – George Thompson and Aroline Chase knew that firsthand. In 1832, racists and reformers in Lynn clashed over a little black girl named Caroline who was a model student in one of the town's private schools. Some of the parents of the girl's white classmates threatened to remove their children from the school if Caroline wasn't removed, her skin color being their only objection but other families insisted that if Caroline were removed, they would pull their children out.<sup>92</sup> Only the coincidental opening of another school nearby defused the situation. In 1835 an anti-abolition editorial in one of Lynn's newspapers vented anger at the "wild schemes and insurrectionary movements of the abolitionists" who many felt were actively encouraging the slaves to revolt and kill their masters.<sup>93</sup>

Another opponent to reform had reached the limits of his patience when some words were spoken against smoking: "what sin against God, or what harm to man, in a simple honest cigar?" The complaint continued that instead of starting a "fictitious reformation," such advocates would do better to work on real problems, like poverty.<sup>94</sup> Young men just a few years older than Lynn's mischievous kissing schoolboys went even further to avoid mental culture and moral reform – they went to Boston:

Master Burke, the dapper play actor at the Tremont Theatre, Boston, is all the rage.  
If our young men would give their theatre money to self-education, we should see much improvement in the moral state of society here. They are going, in parties of ten, twenty, and even forty, a distance of ten miles to see a strolling play actor, (talented, I grant,)

while our Literary Societies, our Lyceum, and our Library are neglected. When Mr. Lundy lectured here, he had not twenty hearers.... Setting the money which goes from Lynn to the Tremont Theatre every year, at \$1,000, the amount in a few years would pay off our town debt, remove the Town House, enclose our Common, and plant it with trees.<sup>95</sup>

The reformers' efforts to correct and improve their townsmen were not spontaneous exercises in moral and spiritual refinement by an increasingly altruistic society; most of the reforms were provoked by the several problems that came with an increasing population and the threat those problems presented to their social order. The Society for the Promotion of Industry, Frugality, and Temperance aimed to sober up the community in order to ensure the success and growth of its industries and to avoid the economic burden put on the workers because of the alcoholic drones.<sup>96</sup> A despondent Bill Tarbox of Lynn who was charged with drunkenness, pointed to his employment as a reason for hitting the bottle: "I learnt the printing trade, but that warn't good for anything, and then I tried shoe-making, as is natural in Lynn, when folks can do nothing else; but I haven't made much at it yet."<sup>97</sup>

Like intemperance, low wages and irregular work (both of which were fueled by piece work being sent to competitive shoe workers in other towns and states) increased the population of unemployed poor in Lynn and challenged reformers to be aggressive and creative in their movements in order to keep down the number on the public dole.

Economically motivated reforms were sponsored by Lynn's increasingly prosperous shoe manufacturers and were often perceived by the shoemaking workforce as impositions of the wealthy.<sup>98</sup> Class distinctions and tensions became increasingly pronounced. The distaste for Salem and Boston aristocrats that had been expressed by the cordwainers in years past was being directed in the 1830s at the new aristocracy in their own town. One disgruntled Lynn laborer wrote,

Our Wealthy men *feel* infinitely above *me* and *you*, and all of us who have not mines in our pockets, or banks at our bidding.... Did you ever know a man of them to cast his eyes across the street to bow to *you*? My life you never did. – These are matters of fact that come within the observation of everyone who has traveled on the one or the other side of Lynn.<sup>99</sup>

Early attempts to organize labor for a controlled and improved future were in part a protective reaction to the widening rift between laborers and manufacturers. Almost as soon as the labor unions were formed, however, they came to realize the difficulty of standing united in an unstable economy. In mid-decade an article by the Female Society for the Promotion and Protection of Female Industry pleaded with its membership to obey the organization's rules because some members had been accepting work for less than the established wage.<sup>100</sup>

## **MIGRAINES**

Criminal and delinquent acts also accompanied Lynn's population increase; accounts of antisocial activities from misdemeanors to murders began to appear more frequently in the town papers. Miscreants started young. Mischievous boys gathered false courage in snowball gangs, compelling ladies to "run the gauntlet to avoid the assaults" and frightening travelers' horses.<sup>101</sup> Unholy acts were committed on the hallowed grounds of Lynn's cemeteries. Flowers that a grieving father planted at the graves of his children were pulled up and about twenty newly planted weeping willows "have fallen victims to the mean, mischievous spirit of these ill-bred loafers who have neither taste for the beautiful, respect for the living, nor veneration for the dead."<sup>102</sup> It was rare to find a house or a fence bordering the street that had not been shamelessly disfigured by boys with paint, chalk, or something else.<sup>103</sup> Even the beautification plan for the town common was threatened because of the "hacking and mischief-loving propensities of young and old boys, who ... attack ... every tree or shrub...."<sup>104</sup>

The town's two major newspapers were almost always at odds with each other, but found rare agreement on Lynn's problem with juvenile delinquency: "Vicious boys are becoming an intolerable nuisance in this town." The shared article continued to describe a gang of about ten to fifteen teenage boys who were loitering near some shops bordering the common, causing "much disturbance by their noise, insulting language, and throwing stones against the steps of the store." The storeowner took down the names of some of the boys with the idea of pressing charges.<sup>105</sup>

Demon Alcohol poured into the lives and crimes of young and old alike. Court records frequently contained complaints of drunkenness and disturbing the peace, the former often instigating the latter. In just one session before Justice of the Peace Haunch, Colman Alley was charged with being "very essentially *corned*," and J. W. Smethers was likewise brought to the very sober bar of Justice for being "three sheets in the wind for about a week. Jaky had been on a real *snooze*, or cruise."<sup>106</sup> The temperance societies had their work cut out for them: "... streams [of liquor] are every day breaking out in the form of bottles, jugs, and barrels from adjoining towns issuing from wagons and from shantees ... the cause of Temperance once prosperous here, seems now to be on a retrograde march...."<sup>107</sup> James R. Newhall recalled in his autobiography that he was never inclined to drinking,

... which is almost a wonder considering the drinking habits of the time. Few were the workshops that did not have the daily replenished jug, and few the places of any sort, "where men do congregate" that were not well supplied with the means of indulgence. The elder man tossed off [drank quickly] his glass with the sang-froid [coolness] of an exemplar, and the younger with the air of emulative manliness.<sup>108</sup>

Vandalism and theft had willing participants among the juvenile delinquents, drunks, and adult criminal element. Showing no concern for the high probability of swift and severe prosecution, some malefactors broke into and vandalized Judge Haunch's second-story office, including tearing away the external stairs that led to it.<sup>109</sup> Noah Pike's house was broken into, articles were stolen, and his well was maliciously polluted with "putrid substances"; he offered a thirty-dollar reward for information leading to the perpetrator's conviction.<sup>110</sup> A number of tools were stolen from Andrew Breed's barn on Tower Hill.<sup>111</sup> "Look well to your entry doors," advised one article in early October 1837, "Thieves are always particularly bold about the time the first blast comes from the chilling regions of the frozen North."<sup>112</sup>

The more heartless the crime, the more severe the condemnation and indignation of Lynn residents when shocking outrages were occasionally perpetrated in their town:

AN INHUMAN DEED. Some wretched fellows in human shape lately broke off the near horns of two oxen, belonging to Mr. Eben Hood, at Nahant, in the night, close to their heads. The quiet creatures were found standing on the beach in the morning, with big tears rolling from their expressive eyes. Such fellows ought to have their flesh dressed with a brush made of clapboard nails. Cathauling is too good for them.<sup>113</sup>

Violent premeditated crime also skulked in Lynn's dark corners. A gang of "shameless ruffian night-walkers who make mischief and insult their vocation" attacked James Chase as he was returning home through Black Marsh late one evening. One of the villains struck him on the head with a club. The victim cried out, attracting the attention of neighbors, and the assaulters fled.<sup>114</sup> In another incident, a fifteen-year-old shoemaker's apprentice viciously attacked an eighteen-year-old workmate over "some apparently slight offence [that] had been taken ... at some fault found in his work"; the young assailant slashed the older boy's neck with a razor. Richard Hazeltine was immediately called in to sew up the gash made from the windpipe to the jugular.<sup>115</sup> The newspaper reported that the accused "remained silent and apparently unmoved during the examination before the justice, and exhibited ... the cunning and subtlety of an old and hardened offender...." He was sentenced to ten years hard labor at the State Prison.<sup>116</sup> A stunned Lynn watched the drama unfold in the town papers, from the attack in August 1834 until the victim's lingering agony ceased with his death in January 1835.

The murderous attack was horrible to consider but the accompanying sense of loss and sorrow was second nature; most families had weathered the sudden deaths of friends and relatives from accidents or rampaging illness if not by malevolent means. Death inexorably stalked Life and as more homes were built upon Lynn soil, so did the earth open more frequently for the dead. In fact, the Old Western Burial Ground was beyond capacity in 1836 and a Lynn newspaper reported: "Scarcely a grave is opened, without digging into a previous one."<sup>117</sup>

Stories of sudden deaths and severe accidents were shocking and thus guaranteed inclusion in newspapers. Even the tragic deaths and horrific accidents of people in other states and countries who had no relationship to or bearing on the readership were included in local newspapers. As Lynn grew, however, it had more terrible local accidents and deaths to report and more newspapers to do the reporting.

Some tragic tales could have happened in any of Lynn's first two hundred years, like the grizzly death of Joseph Blaney, who was pulled out of his dory by a massive shark, and the amputation of the arm of Mr. Blood's son, which was irreparably wounded by the kick of a horse, but other occurrences reflected the impact of the town's growth and industrialization.<sup>118</sup> While the railroad was under construction, a cave-in broke a leg of one of the laborers. Early on, the injury seemed so terrible that the man was not expected to survive. An amputation was deemed necessary and thus the unfortunate worker underwent "the severe torture."<sup>119</sup> Calamity also fell upon Stephen Oliver's son who was "dangerously wounded" when an explosive powder he was using to split a log accidentally ignited; fragments struck just above his eyes and it was assumed he would be permanently blind.<sup>120</sup> Another youth lost his thumb while using a wood chipping machine; John Lummus attempted to sew it back on but the reconstructive surgery failed and the thumb was tossed into the fire.<sup>121</sup> A very young boy suffered a broken thigh and probably internal injuries when he was run over by Mr. Dalrymple's meat cart; the boy's recovery was considered doubtful.<sup>122</sup> Mrs. Estes was also expected to die because she was critically injured by a spooked runaway horse.<sup>123</sup> The particularly disturbing article about a young child's horrible death in 1837 must have created empathic anxiety among the account's readers, who hoped to never have one of their family members experience such a terrible accident or such a painful, failed rescue at the hands of their local physicians:

We learn that a little child, belonging to one of the families of laborers at the railroad at Woodend died a few days since in a most distressing manner. In playing with some coffee, it had sucked a kernel into the windpipe, which remained there for several days. A surgical operation was finally performed by several of our most skilful surgeons, but it was too late, the kernal had descended to the lungs, and the child died in great agony.<sup>124</sup>

Parents and physicians were again frustrated with the tragic death of another child in 1839. A not quite four-year-old daughter of Samuel Stearns (the manager of Lynn's new railroad depot) took one swallow of dissolved potash from a cup her mother left momentarily unattended. The caustic liquid burned her throat, making it impossible for her to eat or drink. She went without food for spans of eight to ten days at a time and in one interval up to twenty-one days. "In such turns she pined away, and became very weak and languid. Just before her death, she was sitting in the nurse's arms, and wanted to get down. The nurse sat her upon the floor, where she immediately stretched back and was dead. – Fourteen physicians have been employed in the case."<sup>125</sup>

In some ways, the suddenness of sudden deaths was as difficult to deal with as its finality. Death without warning denied the survivors a gradual acceptance of the approaching tragedy. Upon the occasion of his brother Burrill's death, Joseph Lye wrote, "His death was sudden and unexpected. Was out on Monday evening, taken sick Tuesday morning and never had his pain mitigated to the hour of his death."<sup>126</sup> The family of Amy Breed had to be stunned at her abrupt end. She finished a robust dinner, went to the front door to feed the chickens, and collapsed to rise no more.<sup>127</sup> Nathan Alley had gone to see a brother who was unwell; on his return home, he fell down in the street and "survived but a short time."<sup>128</sup>

Protracted deaths could, of course, also be emotionally draining and frustrating, especially when medicines and therapies didn't cure or even relieve pain. The death of Legree Johnson was probably met with a mixture of grief as well as relief that his suffering was over. He died after an illness lasting over four years, during which time "he lay in a horizontal position upon the bed."<sup>129</sup> Eunice Newhall's struggle with cancer of the tongue was her "last and most distressing" of a string of illnesses.<sup>130</sup> Typhus fever, another "distressing sickness," took away William Oliver.<sup>131</sup> The story of Isaac Orgin's distress in 1831 was etched in stone – his tombstone:

Affliction sore long time I bore,  
Physicians strove in vain,  
Till God did please to give me ease,  
And take away my pain.<sup>132</sup>

Illness, accidents, and death not only caused emotional devastation, but also threatened to rob the economy of its vitality. Healers and medicines were supposed to defend life and family; nonetheless, Death crept into the home like a thief in the night, stealing away its most precious possessions without warning. A disproportionate number of infants and children followed the soft flutter of seraphs' wings; small headstones littered Lynn's graveyards. In 1836 it was noted that the newspaper obituaries were showing "a great mortality among children. It has been very sickly among children in this place for some weeks, the dysentery has prevailed also among adults, to an unusual degree."<sup>133</sup> It was a particularly bad year in the decade for child and infant deaths. Sixty-three percent of the burials in 1836 in Lynn's Old Western Burial Ground were of infants and children (forty-eight total burials). Even though more children were buried there in 1838 (seventy-five) and 1839 (sixty-one), 1836 had the highest percentage of burials of children relative to the total burials for the year. Every other year in the decade exceeded forty-eight percent burials of children.<sup>134</sup>

No one's children were safe, not even those of the town's physicians and medicine sellers. George Lummus buried two of his children on 17 July 1834; Edward Coffin gave up one child in 1838 and another in 1843; Benjamin Proctor, a new apothecary in town, buried children in 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1841, 1842, and finally his wife expired along with yet another child on 10 January 1843. Even in death, some opportunity was created: Lynn now warranted having its own gravestone craftsman. Boynton Vial, "Maker of Grave Stones of all kinds," recognized that Lynn's death rate was growing with its population sufficiently for him to make a living, "as no other person of the ... profession is established in this town...." No competition and plenty of clients made a perfect business opportunity; he set up shop in a relative's West India Goods store.<sup>135</sup>

Those who were left behind to mourn tried to reconcile the deaths of family members and friends with resignation, faith, and gratitude for a painless passage out of mortality – if that had been the case. Solace came to the bereaved through their faith that better things were in store for their dearly departed. Newspapers made room for the extended sentimental farewells that the gravestone could not. Elegies often appeared in Lynn's newspapers, interleaved with obituaries, but were more often commingled with other poems dealing with humor, beauty, and the pursuit of heavenly goals. Only in a place and time that had grown accustomed to the possibility of anyone's demise at any moment could the doleful poetry of death seem natural amid lighthearted, romantic, and idealistic reading. Thus, juxtaposed with a humorous poem about frost and a hopeful one about what Heaven will be like was "The Death Bed," by T. Hood, which described the watch kept over a loved one barely breathing: "We thought her dying when she slept, And sleeping when she died."<sup>136</sup> In "I Am Passing Away," the Lynn poetess, Estella, described her eventual burial with chilling frankness:

I am passing away, I am passing away,  
To the valley of death, to the land of decay,  
And the dark narrow grave will soon be my bed,  
And naught but the cold sod will pillow my head.<sup>137</sup>

The horrid death of Joseph Blaney, pulled off his boat and under the waves by a shark, prompted an elegy that reads in part, “But dreadful ‘tis to be the ocean monster’s prey! To have the tyrant of the sea complete our mortal way.”<sup>138</sup> “The Dying Boy,” captured the unpredictability of death, what sounds like the last throes of consumption, and the emotions of both the living and the dying. Reprinted from another paper, *Lynn Mirror* editors believed it would recall “in the minds of some of our readers, the bitterness of deprivation”:

... I knew a boy whose infant feet had trod  
Upon the blossoms of some seven springs,  
And when the eighth came around and called him out  
To revel in its light, he turned away,  
And sought his chamber to lie down and die  
.....  
“Mother I’m dying now!”  
There’s a deep suffocation in my breast,  
As if some heavy hand my bosom pressed;  
And on my brow  
I feel the cold sweat stand:  
My lips grow dry and tremulous, and my breath  
Comes feebly up. Oh tell me is this death?  
Mother your hand –  
Here – lay it on my wrist,  
And place the other thus beneath my head,  
And say, sweet Mother, say, when I am dead  
Shall I be missed?  
.....  
Morning spread over earth her rosy wings –  
And that meek sufferer, cold, and ivory-pale,  
Lay on his couch asleep. The gentle air  
Came through the open window, freighted with  
The savoury odors of the early spring –  
He breathed it not: the laugh of passers by,  
Jarred, like a discord in some mournful tune,  
But worried not his slumbers. He was dead.<sup>139</sup>

From decades of opportunities to witness friends and relatives on their deathbeds, a pattern had developed as the optimal epilogue to life: patience in pain, courage in dying, and faith in a heavenly future. These ennobling virtues of the swan song were more easily and frequently witnessed during a protracted illness than a horrific accident. Legree Johnson “submitted patiently and with resignation to the severest suffering” during his four bedridden years.<sup>140</sup> Eunice Newhall endured her tongue cancer “with exemplary fortitude,” and William Oliver departed with grace and perhaps *in* grace, “During his distressing sickness, not a murmur escaped from his lips, and although the event was hid from his view, yet he expressed a perfect resignation to the will of Heaven....”<sup>141</sup> Certainly all protracted illnesses were not angelic experiences for the sufferers but they seemed to have provided the living more satisfaction in that the survivors had time to try to cure, wipe a brow, make their peace, come to terms with the inevitable, or at the very least, say good-by.

Consumption, the leading killer of the nineteenth century, gave many victims the opportunity to die nobly and many more survivors the opportunity to deal with the wasting, terminal disease the best way they knew how. Consumptives were often stricken with a racking cough that in later stages could be accompanied by the spitting up of blood. The obituary of Mary Pierce Chase, a young Lynn consumptive, described her last few weeks as painful day and night.<sup>142</sup> The disease could alternate between aggressive and remissive forms and thereby last for weeks, months, or years. It was so prevalent in Lynn and America throughout the century that it became synonymous with death but its

lingering course that left the skin unmarked and the mind coherent was preferred over the unfairly quick and violent ends provided by such conclusions as hydrophobia, smallpox and the cholera. To consumption the poet could muse, “Gently, most gently, on thy victim’s head, Consumption lay thine hand! – Let me decay like the expiring lamp, unseen, away, and softly go to slumber ... and smiling faintly on the painful past, compose my decent head, and breathe my last.”<sup>143</sup>

The origins of consumption and virtually every other disease were matters for speculation, often of the most creative kind. Tight corsets had long been suspected of causing consumption but that explanation didn’t solve the riddle for males, infants, and small children. Alonzo Lewis looked to the fouled, stagnant air of the shoemaker’s ten-footer. Moralists suspected intemperance left constitutions defenseless against consumption’s attack. Whatever its origins, and despite the coughing, taxing, wasting, and near certain end of those who became afflicted, the disease was not as painful and horrid as others. It usually allowed for extended farewells and kept its victims presentable until the end. When Death had to kill, consumption was its favorite weapon and less terrifying than some other tortures in its arsenal.

## ***ANXIETY ATTACKS***

As fondly as a peaceful passing was desired, facing death in misery and pain was feared. Death was feared the most when it stalked and killed large numbers quickly and indiscriminately. Contagion was Death’s ominous calling card; if a neighbor or family member had it, chances were you would be next. While this was true of consumption, the long incubation of the germ, lack of understanding about its existence and transmission, and the prolonged death spiral of its host made that disease less of an obvious threat than smallpox, hydrophobia, influenza, and cholera – the four other apocalyptic horsemen that rode toward Lynn.

Smallpox had not been vanquished. Scattered outbreaks of generally short duration still haunted the region. In 1831 several Lynners were exposed to the potentially dangerous disease. In early June, cordwainer John Candage apparently received the pox in its vaccine form while in Boston.<sup>144</sup> By the end of the month, his wife was exhibiting symptoms of the pox. She passed it on to her friend, Lydia Brown, and John Candage infected his shopmate, Amos Allen.<sup>145</sup> Even before the newspapers broke the story, Joseph Lye was recording in his diary that Allen had come down with the pox and measures were being taken to isolate him. The selectman quarantined Allen to a shoemaker’s ten-footer on the isolated woodland road to Blood Swamp.<sup>146</sup> They also ordered a general vaccination for all townspeople that had not previously been vaccinated. Amos Allen recovered from the disease but over two months into the local outbreak, Mrs. Brown broke out badly with the pox; she was removed to the quarantine shack where she died on August 14<sup>th</sup>.<sup>147</sup> At the same time, another Lynn man erupted with pox pustules, as did a little orphan boy who helped out at Candage’s shop.<sup>148</sup> Mrs. Brown’s death and the new cases set the town on edge: “a hundred vague reports have been making the rounds,” speculating about the origins and attack of the pox on Lynn.<sup>149</sup>

Emotions ran high over the whole event but there was a controlled, mechanical response to the outbreak. James Gardner, the veteran of past smallpox battles, was then the chairman of the board of health, and in that capacity oversaw the drafting and execution of the quarantine and vaccination measures.<sup>150</sup> The young boy was sent to the quarantine hospital on Rainsford Island in Boston Harbor and recovered there.<sup>151</sup> By the end of September, four months since the outset of the epidemic, the disease and danger seemed to have passed, although the cutaneous eruptions that surfaced on a Salem doctor who had visited Lynn during its epidemic were held suspect a little while longer.<sup>152</sup>

All epidemics were warily monitored through the bits and pieces of news that were heard or read. In 1831 outbreaks of hydrophobia in the dog population were tracked through various newspapers received from around the country and capped by a rabies incident next door in Salem. A dog in Lynn was destroyed shortly after the Salem scare because it exhibited “every symptom of

madness.”<sup>153</sup> Lynn residents were nervous about the dogs that wandered unrestrained through town, “our streets are literally overrun by a pack of useless, yelping curs....”<sup>154</sup> They were fearful about the horror that could be foisted on the town if the “squadrons of ... dogs that scour our streets, forage our fields, and rendezvous upon our common” transformed into mad, foaming monsters. That dreaded possibility encouraged the cynophobic minority to demand that all the dogs in Lynn be entirely destroyed: “they are of little or no use – nine tenths of them are certainly no benefit to their owners, and only serve to endanger the lives of their community.”<sup>155</sup> Cooler heads prevailed but the dogs were biting again the next year. A “respectable citizen” of Lynn was “severely bitten in the leg” and children were getting nipped while going to and from school. Yet another dog in the Dye House neighborhood became a “canine maniac,” being seized with spasms and frothing at the mouth when a bowl of water was placed before it. Again pet owners were chided for letting their affections go to the dogs, “We harbor and nurture in the bosom of our families a race of animals, which when we least suspect, may inflict a wound that will lead to one of the most horrible and excruciating maladies ever known to mankind.”<sup>156</sup>

In 1836 the New York papers reported that nine deaths caused by rabid dogs had brought panic to the city’s population; consequently dogs were killed by the score. Once again Lynn’s anti-canine contingent barked their disapproval of dogs, claiming that their warnings would only be heeded when some parent “shall see a beloved child, a sister, or brother, gasping in the horrible convulsions of the hydrophobia.”<sup>157</sup> In order to control the problem and citizen’s anxieties, Lynn copied the New York model, establishing a bounty for dead dogs. In 1837 a list was published in the *Lynn Record* of people in Lynn who had a license to have a dog; there were only twenty-one.<sup>158</sup> These dog lovers must have been doubly mortified at the story of the small dog that was run over as the train crossed Market Street. Not only was it “ground fine from his hind legs to his heart,” but after its terrible death, “a contention immediately ensued among the boys for his head which was worth at the Town Clerk’s office, 50 cts.”<sup>159</sup>

Epidemics of influenza ebbed and flowed according to the season and the availability of susceptible hosts. Unlike hydrophobia, its impact was felt throughout the community (because of its communicability it was also known as the “Cold Plague”) but it usually didn’t develop very serious complications unless left unattended.<sup>160</sup> Again Lynn residents could look to reports from around the country to realize whether danger was imminent or, if they already suffered from the illness, whether they were in good company. In December 1831 scattered outbreaks of influenza had spread all over the country and reportedly affected the whole population of Boston. Lynn’s outbreak was almost as bad as Boston’s; the *Lynn Mirror* printed fewer copies of its December 24th and 31st issues due to the outbreak and publication was suspended altogether for the first issue in January but only two deaths in the winter of 1831-1832 were specifically credited to influenza.<sup>161</sup>

Smallpox wasn’t as feared as it had been. Its presence could still make emotions run high, but only if it didn’t seem to be controllable. The town could try to keep it away with gated paths, smoke houses, and vaccination, and when these measures didn’t bar the disease’s entrance into the community, quarantine of affected parties could protect the rest of the town. The measures taken to identify and eradicate the frothing sources of rabies were even more obvious than the smallpox defense. Consumption and influenza couldn’t be fenced out, smoked out, or quarantined away but nature and time sometimes provided a remission of tubercular symptoms and a cure for the flu (although affected parties often credited their improvement to medicines or therapies). There was almost no comfort level, however, in the defense plan against cholera.

The most feared of all epidemics was cholera, the “King of Terrors.”<sup>162</sup> It was virulent, indiscriminate, agonizingly painful, and mercilessly abrupt with life. Lynn newspapers began tracking the spread of cholera in the fall of 1831 from its spawning in India to its advance across Russia and into Europe and England. The death count of tens of thousands read like bad fiction. Cholera was not just feared because it was lethal and epidemic, but because it was so horrible in its attack and so fast to kill. Languishing in the pallor of consumption offered far more humanity, even

though death was almost equally as certain as it was from cholera. Two non-Lynn letters amply illustrate the differences victims experienced with the two diseases:

[Death from consumption] ... the health of your brother has been gradually declining, and he is now very weak and low, greatly emaciated, strength greatly exhausted, and the quivering pulse indicates that nature must very soon yield to the power of disease.... I was summoned to witness his last moments about an hour since: he wished me to say to you all that he died happy – He had his senses to the last and not a murmur or the least manifestation of impatience has been witnessed during his illness.<sup>163</sup>

[Death from cholera] How shall I describe to you the scene I witnessed yesterday.... When I arrived Henrietta was in the agonies of death ... I found Maria there rubbing [Henrietta's] legs which was cramped very violently. poor Henrietta she could not say much after I saw her, she was in such agony.... Oh Ma if you could have seen what my Sister suffered you would have wished to have died with her.... She would put her arms around my neck in her intense suffering but I could do nothing for her ... she vomited incessantly till she died....<sup>164</sup>

The Lynn newspapers increased their readers' anxieties by detailing a gruesome collection of cholera symptoms that prophesied death:

The symptoms ... are ... distress about the region of the stomach ... followed by heat like that of a furnace ... extremities and skin ... cold.... Dejections of fluid like rice water or a white jelly are frequent, and vomiting of the same kind of fluid – the most excruciating cramps passing from the toes and fingers over every part of the body and producing the most frightful convulsions of the whole body; voice feeble and hoarse; eyes dull and sunk in the head; the features changed, and like those of a corpse; coldness over the whole body, the lips and tongue become blue ... cold and clammy perspiration.... God grant that its march of death may be stayed by the broad expanse of the Atlantic.<sup>165</sup>

But it did cross. Reports of the cholera's presence first came in the spring of 1832 from Montreal and there were conflicting reports about whether it was present in U. S. border communities like Troy and Plattsburgh, New York, and Burlington, Vermont. With cholera having leaped the Atlantic, fatalism gripped Lynn and the rest of the country as they shuddered at who would be next. Lynn's *Weekly Messenger* shared the town's fears in text and verse, "The river, the mountain, the ocean afford no barrier to [the cholera's] progress. Who will be its first victims, no mortal can tell."<sup>166</sup>

The months pass on, the circle spreads;  
And the time is drawing nigh,  
When each street may have a darkened house,  
Or a coffin passing by.<sup>167</sup>

Cholera, like almost every illness in the early nineteenth century, was defined as the sum of its symptoms and circumstances. No one knew what caused cholera and fear and confusion were created when victims fell dead next to family and friends who went untouched. Whatever its source, many factors were thought to predispose certain people to the cholera. One popular theory was that the miasmatic air emanating from waste, decaying refuse, and rotting vegetable matter was impregnated with noxious particles and considered an invitation to cholera. Others suspected cholera was welcomed by fear and other strong emotions, intemperance, immorality, filthy living conditions, and such digestive threats as green apples, pears, melons, corn, lettuce, and cucumbers. It was even suggested that cholera was carried by small-winged insects not visible to the naked eye.<sup>168</sup>

Lynn's health officials promised that the illness was absolutely not contagious. To believe it was would have negated the need for personal reform because impeccable personal habits wouldn't have been a protection. Instead it fell squarely into the epidemic species of illnesses, like the influenza, traveling unseen on effluvial streams, attacking only those who had weak constitutions; influenza preferred the elderly, while cholera chose those who had been violated by liquor, debauchery, or

slummish living. Residents were told they had nothing to worry about if they were clean and righteous. The town fathers tried to calm residents' fears, pointing to the disease's predilection for the vilest of the species: drunkards, prostitutes, and others that wallowed in the slop of their own vices, "in no instance were any of the respectable inhabitants [of Montreal] attacked ... cases were confined to emigrants and the lowest class of Canadians."<sup>169</sup> (Many immigrants in the early nineteenth century were Europe's poor and illiterate laborers and farmers. They were not received or accepted any better than the intemperate, the insane, and similarly discarded groups already on the American side of the Atlantic.) One contributor to a Lynn newspaper bluntly summarized the cholera's pathology: "It seems ... to be the scourge of the Almighty to cut off the intemperate and abandoned classes in society ... while the virtuous and the temperate are generally spared."

It followed, then, that cholera advice would promise to improve the community even if the cholera didn't show up, "Regularity of life, cheerfulness of disposition, and the cultivation of a serene temper, a spirit of philanthropy, and confidence in Divine Providence will be found the best preservatives. *Wo to the intemperate!*"<sup>170</sup> Thus cholera had been tinkered into a combination of stigma and disease which could be prevented only through an alliance of spiritual, moral, and physical reforms. Victimization by the cholera was the unholy reward of unrepentant sinners. Few were reassured; anxiety over personal shortcomings and indiscretions clouded hopes for deliverance from the King of Terrors.

Lynners became increasingly worried about the apparently unstoppable approach of the cholera, perhaps even more so than neighboring towns.<sup>171</sup> Immediately after word was received of its advance into New York state, public meetings and lectures on the subject were hastily organized and well-attended by "numerous inhabitants" of Lynn. The cholera topic was described as "all absorbing"; "no subject [was] more engrossing."<sup>172</sup> It was their way of bracing for the impact of cholera in their midst: "It is, perhaps, too late to doubt that the destroyer will, ere long, commence his fearful march over the fair districts which we call our own."<sup>173</sup> A local business was chastised for trying to benefit from the town-wide cholera suspense: "We saw something in this town ... in the shape of a handbill, headed in a large antique letter – 'CHOLERA!!!' ... we think [this heading] was calculated to cause an unnecessary excitement."<sup>174</sup>

Lynn's leadership was just barely able to keep control over the fears of its citizens. By the end of June 1832, officials tried to reassure residents that the cholera had greatly diminished in Montreal and back in London and that there was very little danger of it coming to Lynn. Since the board of health was so sure, it advised the newspapers *not* to print the cholera prevention advice that the town's physicians had offered at one of the late June public lectures.

Within one more week panic had retaken the headlines.<sup>175</sup> Like the Grim Reaper's sickle, the cholera had cut a deadly swathe from Canada to New York City, severing New England from the rest of the country. With the country's largest city under attack, the devastation was quickly proving to be huge. The correspondence of a Lynn man living in New York City verified other reports and validated Lynn's worst fears:

... I most fervently desire that our native town may be spared from such a calamity as we are now laboring under. You can have but a very faint idea of the awfulness of the scene which I daily witness.... Hearses of various descriptions traversing the city, to take the dead; some of them drawn by a pair of horses, and large enough to take eight coffins at a load. I have seen a large hearse loaded with coffins, on its way to the burial ground, and *not a mourner following*....<sup>176</sup>

Over 1,200 new cases had occurred in one five-day span, resulting in 462 deaths. The same report also gave a graphic account of cholera victims lying along a road to Detroit; six were under one tree, "groaning with the agonies of Cholera ... one corpse [was] half eaten up by the hogs."<sup>177</sup>

Other reports came from Albany and Philadelphia of respectable citizens committing suicide because of an "indescribable fear of the Cholera"; ironically they overdosed on laudanum, one of the

key medicines extolled as a preventative for the cholera.<sup>178</sup> “Cholera phobia” was attributed to thirty deaths in New York but the disease’s actual impact was reported as slight in that city (despite the Lynn correspondent’s report), as well as in Philadelphia and Providence, Rhode Island.<sup>179</sup>

The July 7th issue of the *Weekly Messenger* was saturated with cholera news and information. Amid this emotional backdrop, the paper’s editors stoically announced, “We have thought it advisable to publish in this day’s paper, the report of the physicians of this town relative to the Cholera.”<sup>180</sup> The advice of the five Lynn physicians (Richard Hazeltine, John Lummus, Edward L. Coffin, William B. Brown, and Charles Otis Barker) was finally unveiled and it was the same as the prime directive that the board of health had drafted for its 1821 charter; namely, to remove the sources of offensive odors. Prevention was stressed as “worth more than all the medical skill in the world after an attack” of the disease. To that end, committees of inspection were organized in each school district to make sure that homes, shops, barns, sinks, drains, and outhouses had been properly cleaned.<sup>181</sup> Cellars were to be cleaned out of decaying vegetables that had been stored and forgotten, then sprinkled or whitewashed with a solution of chloride of lime. It was even recommended that bodies should be washed two or three times a week and flannel underwear (for stimulating circulation and keeping the body warm) was recommended for every man, woman, and child. Vegetables had to be cooked and fruits, pastry, and pickles were to be avoided altogether. The best personal preventative remained “a good conscience and a fearless performance of duty.”<sup>182</sup>

In case the cholera disregarded those sage precautions and attacked nonetheless, Lynn’s physicians also provided emergency treatment procedures for the layman because it was “dangerous ... to lose ... time ... before such aid can be given.” The instructions included fifty drops of laudanum in diluted brandy every fifteen minutes for an hour, the application of bags of hot sand or ashes to every part of the body, a hot mustard poultice over the lower abdomen, and the use of a gruel and laudanum enema. Recognizing that many Lynn families would hoard their own supplies of laudanum, the physicians added a warning that the home laudanum bottle should be properly labeled and kept out of the reach of children.<sup>183</sup>

Blood-letting, warm baths, and the administration of calomel were other therapies, according to the Massachusetts Medical Society, but Lynn newspapers had also published other reported cures during the course of the cholera epidemic, such as a mixture of cinnamon water, opium, rhubarb, and lavender, and another of salt, vinegar, and hot water.<sup>184</sup> “Every one prepared himself for the scourge in a way to suit his own liking and convenience,” the *Lynn Record* admitted, but warned it was dangerous to “go to the druggist and call for medicines recommended by a newspaper paragraph, (the writer of which, for aught they know, being ignorant of both remedy and disease).”<sup>185</sup> The newspaper went on to describe the plague of cures that were trying to infect the fearful townspeople:

Hawkers and quacks have been and are now palming off upon the public a parcel of contemptible trash, at an exorbitant price, by recommending it as a preventive or cure for the cholera, which otherwise would not be deemed worthy of being picked up from under foot. Our ears are continually greeted with a cry of “*Good for the Cholera*,” from those who have any article of whatever description for sale. The butcher will recommend fresh beef – the keeper of a provision stall, a good solid piece of corned beef – the baker, hot rolls, if he have them, if not, a biscuit that has to all appearance doubled the Cape of Good Hope, is equally as good – the driver of a market wagon, a mess of green peas, a bunch of radishes, and half a dozen cucumbers! In fine, gentle reader, there is nothing but appears to be – “*Good for the Cholera!*” “*Good for the Cholera!*”<sup>186</sup>

In fact, neither the peas and beef nor the snifters and enemas of laudanum would have any preventative or curative impact against the cholera but the medical society’s course of bleeding and opium were dangerous treatments by any measure. Another newspaper instructed quite correctly for the time that “no drug or medicine is known to be a specific against the cholera.”<sup>187</sup> Listening to one’s baker or grocer at least had the advantage of not causing further harm.

With the whole of New England dreading the arrival of the cholera, summertime vacationing came to a standstill. A comet named Biela was also viewed with anxiety, with some seeing the comet as the harbinger of the cholera and others seeing the cholera as the omen of an earth-shattering comet.<sup>188</sup> The Nahant Hotel, the Mineral Spring Hotel, and other area pleasure establishments had been emptied, changing from playgrounds to echo chambers. In a comparison to the previous season, Rice's Hotel at Nahant during the summer of 1832 was described in a few somber lines:

Some banquet hall deserted;  
Whose lights are fled -  
Whose garlands are dead,  
And all ... departed.<sup>189</sup>

Lynn watched and waited for the cholera pandemic to reach its homes. Scattered bulletins through July reported the cholera had reached Newport, Rhode Island and sailed in on a ship to Boston Harbor.<sup>190</sup> Residents of Lynn fell in line with the recommendations and regulations of the board of health, the town's physicians, and the committees of inspection by cleaning out and cleaning up. Thomas Lummus advertised the sale of chloride of lime at his store "for preserving meat, removing offensive smells, neutralizing pestilential exhalations, and DESTROYING CONTAGION."<sup>191</sup> The disinfectant had some visible effects – rats apparently fled from it: "A troop of rats was seen a few days since in this town, crossing the street early in the morning, in mournful plight, having probably issued from some dwelling or cellar where the chloride of lime had been used."<sup>192</sup>

Lummus also offered a Boston-made cholera prevention tract, *A Rational View of the Spasmodic Cholera*, and Stephen Oliver acceded to the public demand for more cholera news, views, and advice by giving a lecture to a "numerous and respectable audience."<sup>193</sup> Oliver, who had previously relinquished his apothecary business because of public pressure over a question of the impurity of his compositions, admitted to being "wholly unacquainted with the human system," but nonetheless proceeded to lecture about his own views of the "nature and character of cholera."<sup>194</sup> The *Lynn Record*, which had previously warned against the advice of those who knew nothing about the cholera and its remedy, esteemed Oliver's lecture highly enough to reprint it in its entirety over two installments.

"We live in a beautiful town," Oliver said in his lecture, "surrounded by all the comforts and conveniences.... But amidst all our earthly enjoyments we are constantly subject to calamities ... every moment we live we are liable to be cut off and numbered with the dead ... still we cherish the secret hope that our town will be spared...."<sup>195</sup> And so it was. In August a few servants of some wealthier Lynn families exhibited symptoms of cholera – severe abdominal pains and vomiting – but all were cured with the vinegar and salt treatment.<sup>196</sup> A female on Spring Street was also struck "with strongly marked symptoms of Spasmodic Cholera but by early attention and a vigorous treatment" the symptoms were subdued and "the patient, though still feeble, is likely to recover."<sup>197</sup>

The cholera's advance on the region turned out to be minimal to non-existent. While every case of vomiting, abdominal cramping, or diarrhea was initially suspect, few proved to be cholera. One case in Haverhill was promptly attended to and eventually cured. Boston and Providence both had a few confirmed cases and some that were disputed. In the last week of August the news was that only ten had died of cholera in New York City, two in Philadelphia, and in Baltimore it was confined to the colored population. Most importantly, the disease was going south.<sup>198</sup> Mortal danger was leaving Lynn alone; even a comet, the ancient sign of impending doom, appeared near the end of the year but stayed far from earth, and Lynn's sea serpent was reported to be frolicking in the waters off Nahant once again, beckoning visitors to return and normal life to resume.<sup>199</sup>

Although there had been fewer alleged attacks of cholera in Lynn than there had been of rabid dogs, cholera coverage and concern had been massive. Even after the disease had long since passed, the wary watched for signs and a few entrepreneurs exploited such latent fears. In 1837 Mrs. E. Kidder, a proprietary medicine maker in Boston, confidently promised a cholera-free New England

that her dysentery cordial could immediately counteract cholera. In spite of the earlier warnings of Lynn's physicians against cholera specifics, four Lynn apothecaries carried *Mrs. Kidder's Dysentery Cordial*, apparently just in case.<sup>200</sup> After all, who could be sure? Even the vinegar and salt treatment had seemed to work.

## **COMING TO INSANE CONCLUSIONS**

At least one lesson had been learned during the pandemic of 1832 – cholera was to be avoided at all costs. During mid-decade a Lynn newspaper editor probably had the cholera in mind when he commented about the overcrowding of the town's oldest cemetery, "It is not a pleasant idea, that when we find our last abode of rest, it shall be in the decayed remains of one who died of some loathsome disease!"<sup>201</sup> Cholera was bereft of the ennobling qualities that consumption offered; it made virtual pariahs of its victims, who received little more than pity except from family and the minority of Samaritans that came to their aid. While cholera had been styled a punishment for souls that had broken from the weight of shortcomings or rotted from dissolute habits, neither the disease nor the fear of it made even a dent in the number of social misfits and miscreants in Lynn.

Before, during, and after the cholera pandemic, Lynn's poorhouse stood fast on Tower Hill like a beacon of what was worst about the town. Outwardly, it was less imposing than its predecessor in Woodend. The old poor house on the corner of Essex and Chestnut streets had "looked more like a penitentiary than an ... almshouse, and well it might ... for it was intended to be a terror to evil-doers, as well as an asylum for the poor. All kinds were put in there for the want of a better place." It was segregated from the rest of the town by a solid, ten-foot-tall fence, "topped off by a row of large nails pointing upward."<sup>202</sup> The security fence was absent from the new almshouse on Tower Hill but the confusion of inmates continued.

No place in Lynn had a more concentrated collection of intemperate, wasted, and hapless inmates than the almshouse. In 1833 there were eighty-three paupers being supported in Lynn; seventy of them were residents of the almshouse. Fifty-two of these were male, sixteen were over sixty years old and another twenty were under ten; ages ranged from six months to ninety-four.<sup>203</sup> Children shared its lodgings with drunks and other unsavory characters, prompting reformers to urge for a separate poor house for the youth:

There are usually 10 to 15 children in our Alms-house, who, though they may be comfortably clothed and fed, are well known to be in a condition very unfavorable to mental and moral cultivation.<sup>204</sup>

... the children [should be] kept away from the older and (in most cases) vile and corrupting subjects.... The common Alms-house children are generally good for nothing. They learn little else than to hang upon the public, to be idle and vicious.<sup>205</sup>

The poorhouse was a shelter for failures – failures of nature, like those crippled with debilitating handicaps; failures of circumstance, as with widows and orphans; and bona fide personal failures. In 1833 inhabitants of Lynn's almshouse included a man who was blind, one with a rupture, two cripples, three lame, and eight infirm. Two had rheumatism, one erysipelas, and one scrofula. Three had died of consumption while at the almshouse and three more had the disease. Seven were listed as "superannuated," meaning too old to work. Of the fifty adults at the almshouse in that year, forty-three (eighty-six percent) were intemperate. There were seven parents who were unmarried.<sup>206</sup>

Not much had changed since Moses Hale was forced into the town's previous almshouse because of his professional failure. Other fallen guests at the new almshouse on Tower Hill were similarly from the list of town notables. Mr. Kenney, the "very excellent singing master," died there.<sup>207</sup> So, too, did 108-year-old Donald McDonald, who in his prime was said to have fought at the fall of Quebec and in the Revolutionary War.<sup>208</sup> John Adam Dagyr, who introduced the cordwaining craft to Lynn, spent his last days penniless at the poorhouse.<sup>209</sup> Ebenezer Breed's efforts to protect

national markets and create European outlets for Lynn's shoes brought both him and the town wealth and reputation, yet he, too, ended up in the almshouse, a drug-addicted derelict.

Breed had started out in professional life as "more than ordinarily correct in his habits, especially as regarded use of intoxicating liquors." In an attempt to reform an intemperate Lynn friend, he destroyed a cask of liquor.<sup>210</sup> In his prosperous years, Breed hobnobbed with leaders of government, industry, and finance and dallied with Europe's dilettantes, "a class, at that period, almost universally derelict in morals, and of lavish expenditure."<sup>211</sup> Either this dissolute existence or a broken engagement "wedded [Breed] to the destroyer instead of the fair object of his nobler and purer affections, and was thus ruined."<sup>212</sup>

It was perhaps also in the fashionable European salons that he acquired the taste for opium. When he returned to Lynn, broken, alcoholic, and drug-addicted, only lack of money slowed his ability to acquire these uncontrolled substances. He was an opium eater even in Lynn, and "his cravings for the pernicious drug were pitiable in the extreme."<sup>213</sup>

Committed to the almshouse, his keepers destroyed letters he "treasured up with miserly care" from the great men who associated with him in his better days.<sup>214</sup> He was allowed to leave the institution a day or two at a time and would sometimes walk as far as Nahant (about 3.3 miles). His sojourns were devoid of the pomp and gay attentions in which he was lavished in an earlier day. Lynners only saw the staggering and meandering of a beggarly poor, purblind, infirm, and usually intoxicated old man who cowered as each carriage passed ("in consequence of his blindness").<sup>215</sup> But none of Lynn was blind to the pitiful conditions of those who lived their last on Tower Hill.

The Lynn almshouse population remained fairly constant, between fifty and sixty, during the 1830s.<sup>216</sup> The twenty-three sleeping rooms of the almshouse were used by a daily average of forty-one inmates during the year 1833 (with as many as eight sleeping in one room), including an epileptic adult male, a nineteen year-old who was insane (she was the only teenager at the almshouse in 1833), a delirious cordwainer, a woman suffering from some mental illness (*non compos mentis*), and Abigail Walker, a thirty-one-year-old unwed mother who was bound over to the poorhouse for "deviltry" (extreme wickedness). She had lost a child in the facility thirteen years earlier and her father also died there, an octogenarian, ten years later.<sup>217</sup> Lynn had been exposed to the problems of dealing with the physically and mentally challenged as well as society's misfits and dregs since its settlement, when transients were vigorously warned out and poor and dependent residents were burdensome wards of the town. The only places available up until 1833 for anyone the community couldn't handle were almshouses and prisons; for Lynn they were one in the same (petty criminals went to the almshouse; serious criminals were sent on to the jails at Salem or Ipswich).

The almshouse was a program focused on the needs of the poor – not criminals or the insane. Lynn's almshouse was also designed to be a micro-community in isolation; it had farmland and pastureland for food, a chapel, and hospital and prison facilities.<sup>218</sup> Nonetheless, various characters escaped Lynn's almshouse with apparent ease and frequency. Five absconded in the space of a year and a half. Four were male inmates, all with criminal records. Two of the fugitives were described as so "notorious by their misconduct [as] to render a description of their persons unnecessary."<sup>219</sup> A hefty fifteen-dollar reward was offered for the apprehension and return of two other escapees. One of these was Benjamin Tarbox, "long an inmate of said house and eminently qualified to secure a snug harbor in any penitentiary. He has left a wife and some half dozen children...." His accomplice was Andrew Mansfield, "of lean appearance in body and still more destitute of intellect." Mansfield, only half the age and only half as despised as Tarbox, was only worth five dollars of the reward.<sup>220</sup> The fifth escapee was a middle-aged woman "of rather inferior stature, [and] deranged in mind" who seldom spoke intelligibly. She escaped in the cold of mid-winter. No reward other than the thanks of the almshouse keeper was offered for information that could lead to the recovery of "this unfortunate woman."<sup>221</sup>

Almshouses and their sponsoring towns were ill-equipped to properly care for the mentally challenged, plus they had the additional obligations of caring for the needs of paupers of all ages, controlling criminal inmates, and running a cost-efficient institution; consequently, care for the mentally challenged was often terrible. Even if a Lynner had not visited any of the area almshouses, they could relate to the fears of the tragic heroine in a poem by M. G. Lewis that was included in an 1826 edition of the *Mirror*:

Stay, gaoler, stay and hear my wo!  
 She is not mad who kneels to thee,  
 For what I'm now, too well I know.  
 And what I was, and what should be,  
 I'll rave no more in proud despair,  
 My language shall be mild, though sad;  
 But yet I'll firmly, truly swear,  
 I am not mad! I am not mad!  
 My tyrant husband forged the tale  
 Which chains me in this dismal cell,  
 My fate unknown my friends bewail  
 Oh! gaoler, haste that fate to tell!

.....

He smiles in scorn, and turns the key!  
 He quits the grate! I knelt in vain!  
 His glimmering lamp still, still I see!  
 Tis gone – and all is gloom!  
 Cold, bitter cold – no warmth! no light!  
 Life, all thy comforts once I had!  
 Yet here I'm chained this freezing night,  
 Although not mad! no, no! not mad!  
 'Tis sure some dream! some vision vain:  
 What! I, the child of rank and wealth!  
 Am I the wretch who clanks this chain,  
 Bereft of freedom, friends, and health?  
 Ah! while I dwell on blessings fled,  
 Which never more my heart must glad.  
 How aches my heart! how burns my head!  
 But 'tis not mad! no, 'tis not mad!

.....

Oh, hark! what mean these dreadful cries?  
 His chain some furious madman brakes!  
 He comes! I see his glaring eyes!  
 Now, now my dungeon grate he shakes!  
 Help! help! – He's gone! – Oh! fearful wo,  
 Such screams to hear, such sights to see!  
 My brain, my brain! I know, I know  
 I am not mad – but soon *shall* be!  
 Yes, soon! – For lo, yon! – while I speak –  
 Mark how yon demon's eyeballs glare!  
 He sees me – now, with dreadful shriek,  
 He whirls a serpent high in air.  
 Horror! The reptile strikes his tooth  
 Deep in my heart, so crushed and sad:  
 Ay, laugh, ye fiends! I feel the truth!  
 Your task is done! –  
*I'm mad! I'm mad!*<sup>222</sup>

The message of the poem wasn't a call for social awakening in the care of the insane; rather it was to point out how thin and fragile the wall was that separated sanity and insanity. Readers probably wondered whether they, too, might be teetering on the brink of what was the helpless, hapless, hopeless abyss of mental illness. Many were the examples of lives wasted by intemperance, like that of Ebenezer Breed; so too, did fellow townsmen suffer from severe bouts of melancholia, delusion, and insanity. Alonzo Lewis was committed twice for depression that yielded to insanity; both times he was released but he was the exception.<sup>223</sup> Serious mental illness was still far beyond the meager abilities of Jacksonian era physicians, patent medicines, and the newest spate of medical promises.

In 1843 mental health activist Dorothea Dix presented a report to the Massachusetts state legislature that exposed problems with care for the insane in the almshouses and prisons. She had found that an insane woman in the Saugus institution was confined to an unheated room in below-zero weather, with only a handful of straw on which to lie. The woman was found sitting on the floor with knees tucked under her chin, constantly shuddering. As horrified as Dix was, she had seen much worse. In her review of the state's almshouses, she found the insane imprisoned in cellars, animal pens, and, most frequently, in cages.<sup>224</sup> Some of them were jabbed, whipped, and beaten into submission, regarded less than farm animals. They were often allowed to wallow in, and even consume, their own excrement. Many were chained to the wall by iron collars clamped around their necks, waists, or limbs; even the leg stumps of a man whose frozen feet had been amputated were chained because "he might *crawl* forth and ... do some damage."<sup>225</sup> The ultimate outrage, according to Dix, was that perpetrated against insane females. She found one totally naked in a barn stall; the woman had no fire, clothes, or bed but she was *not* alone, "profligate men and idle boys had access to [her], whenever curiosity or vulgarity prompted."<sup>226</sup> Another insane woman had become a mother, to which Dix commented, "Poor little child, [no] more than orphan from birth, in this unfriendly world! a demented Mother – A Father, on whom the sun might ... refuse to shine!"<sup>227</sup>

Dix witnessed one insane inmate tearing her skin off; another in "paroxysms of madness so appalling, it seemed as if the ancient doctrine of the possession of demons was here illustrated."<sup>228</sup> When asked what she judged to be the cause of insanity, Dix repeated the belief that "this most calamitous overthrow of reason often is the result of a life of sin...."<sup>229</sup> Thus, like the cholera, insanity was yet another outrageous punishment. Dix summarized her report with the sobering reminder illustrated by M. G. Lewis's poem – that there was a fine line between sanity and insanity, "... who shall say his own mountain stands strong, his lamp of reason shall not go out in darkness.... If for selfish ends only, should not effectual Legislation here interpose?"<sup>230</sup>

Mental illness needed to be properly reckoned with and its dangers controlled. Dix acknowledged that in her travels throughout Massachusetts she came across deranged and retarded individuals roaming the byways alone, "reckless and unprotected."<sup>231</sup> Many of these had wandered off because of inadequate supervision and often were not searched for because their disappearance actually lifted a burden from their guardians. Joseph Lye recorded in his diary that Henry Johnson left his mother's house "in a deranged state of mind" and was found dead the next day in Charlestown, about nine miles away.<sup>232</sup> Later that year Lye participated in a search of Lynn's woods for another deranged individual who had wandered from his mother's home. The diary doesn't mention whether or not he was found.<sup>233</sup>

Suicides reflected the same problems of untreated and uncontrolled mental and emotional illness. Ira Batts of Saugus killed himself on a bitterly cold day in 1830 by cutting his throat; he was twenty-three years old.<sup>234</sup> Coroner's inquisitions often concluded that those whose bodies were discovered in unusual circumstances had committed suicide. Caleb Rodman was presumed to have thrown himself into the sea in a fit of insanity: "His death was caused ... undoubtedly [by] temporary alienation of mind, a calamity with which he had been known to be visited before."<sup>235</sup> In a similar state, John Owens Tarbox selected Floating Bridge Pond for his own execution.<sup>236</sup> Amos Allen, who had been one of the lucky survivors of the pox scare just a few years earlier, was found dead under

the ice in Boston Harbor in late January 1835; he had wandered away from home three weeks earlier, “in a state of partial derangement, so it wasn’t clear whether his death was suicide or accidental.”<sup>237</sup> It may also have been insanity, a suicide attempt, or both that induced another young man in 1836 to jump off High Rock, a fall of sixty feet. The jump turned out to be death-defying, however, because the man was uninjured.<sup>238</sup>

The preferred method for suicide seemed to be hanging. Charles Newhall and William Alley, Jr., hung themselves by ropes and George S. Heath used a woolen comforter suspended from a tree.<sup>239</sup> Jesse L. Bacheller chose a tree in Johnson’s Swamp while Amos Atwill hung himself from a beam in his barn.<sup>240</sup> These tragic deaths didn’t necessarily put an end to the lack of sympathy for their solitary miseries. Mr. Estery of West Lynn hung himself in a fit of insanity and was buried the next day but “no one attended the funeral.”<sup>241</sup>

With the state’s population of mentally ill clearly reaching beyond a sporadic and dismissible level, the first state-sponsored “lunatic hospital” was opened in Worcester in 1833. There were 1,044 patients confined to the hospital between 1833 and 1840, for causes ranging from “religious anxiety” and “love affair” to “exposure to wet.”<sup>242</sup> During these years only four inhabitants of Lynn were committed.<sup>243</sup> One was case number 838, a ten-year-old boy who was experimenting with masturbation; he was released from the insane asylum twelve months later, having “recovered.” Case number 814 was a twenty-four-year-old shoemaker. No cause was listed in the asylum’s admission records but he was “removed” five years and nine months later because he was “harmless,” although apparently not recovered. The third inmate was Gurdon Pellet, the son-in-law of James Gardner and listed alternately as a farmer in North Brookfield and a doctor in Lynn. In 1832 he served on one of Lynn’s district committees that was to discuss the most proper methods of combating the cholera.<sup>244</sup> He was admitted to the hospital in 1838 and died there seven months later.<sup>245</sup>

The first of the four admissions was from the Lummus ranks. In May 1836 the local probate court heard Ann Lummus unravel the story of how her husband John had degenerated into “an insane and dangerous person”: “I have received personal abuse from my husband during his fits of insanity, particularly for some months past ... he has destroyed and broken up articles of furniture ... he has beaten down the door of the house ... and ... I am in fear for my personal safety from my husband.”<sup>246</sup>

Others verified John’s turn for the worse. John S. Wiggin had stayed at the Lummus house for the three months before the deposition was taken and had been frequently called in the night to keep Lummus from getting into trouble: “On one occasion about a fortnight since he made up a large fire in his room in the middle of the night and came near burning the house down. He pilfers from the neighbors and the neighborhood is in fear of him. We have great fears that he will fire his premises in the night time.”<sup>247</sup> Neighbor Nehemiah Johnson deposed that two weeks earlier he “saw a light in Dr. Lummus’ barn that I went out to it and found him seated upon the barn floor with an open lamp taken from his lantern, burning straws with it and throwing them upon the floor – I drew him out of the barn & carried him to his house.”<sup>248</sup>

The final stroke came from John’s own brother, Edward, who gave his somber testimony as a physician that “John Lummus of said Lynn, physician, is a lunatic, and so *furiously mad* as to render it manifestly dangerous to the peace and safety of the community that he should be at large. [I therefore pray] that said Lummus may be committed to the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester.”<sup>249</sup> It was the best he could do for his brother, even though Lynn’s almshouse was closer and less expensive. John was committed at the end of May 1836; he died at the institution on the 20th of August that year. In his newspaper Charles Lummus entered a quiet, simple, one-sentence obituary for his brother, “Died, at the Insane Hospital, in Worcester, Dr. John Lummus, of this town, aged 46.”<sup>250</sup> One month later, Charles included an editorial that foreshadowed the question Dorothea Dix would ask seven years later, “Whose mountain stands strong?”

**"THE BOTTLE"** was an early nineteenth century cautionary tale about the dangers and tragedy of intemperance. Although the storyline was melodramatic, many in Lynn recognized the truths of more than one scene in their own families. (Collection of the author.)



**"THE BOTTLE – No.1. The First Glass."** The opening scene is of the family living well, in a well-appointed home where love and happiness abounds and Father enjoys his first self-congratulatory drink.



**"THE BOTTLE – No.2. The Pawn Broker."** Money has become tight; Mother gives some items to the oldest daughter to bring to the pawnbroker, while the daughter hands over another bottle of liquor for Father, who appears to have withdrawn into an alcohol-induced stupor.



**"THE BOTTLE – No.3. The Sheriff Takes Charge."** The family has fallen upon hard times due to Father's drinking habit. The only family member looking totally disinterested in the family's loss of all their comforts and nice things is Father, who gazes away while taking another drink.



**"THE BOTTLE – No.4. Death of the Baby."** The family's losses begin to reach beyond measure with the loss of their little girl, presumably an avoidable loss if Father wasn't spending all their money on his drinking habit. Mother is disconsolate with grief over the loss of their little girl and everything looks bleak indeed. Yet the family still has more sadness and heartache to face on their road to ruin.



**"THE BOTTLE – No.5. Homeless Wanderers, Begging."** The family has fallen upon very hard times due to Father's drinking habit. They are forced to beg in the streets. The son, in threadbare clothes and with only one shoe on his feet, is about to receive alms from a passing woman. Father emerges from the liquor store, slipping another bottle of liquid ruin into his pocket.



**"THE BOTTLE – No.6. The Last Quarrel."** In an alcohol-fueled rage, Father is about to strike Mother; their daughter and son doing everything they can to plead with and restrain their crazed, alcoholic father from doing the unspeakable to the wife who has remained by his side, trying to hold the family together. The illustration was dark, but the tragic scene was even darker.



**"THE BOTTLE – No. 7. And Result."** Grief and remorse peer out through shocked eyes as Father realizes suddenly but too late what he has done – killed his wife in a fit of drunken rage. The older daughter points to the broken bottle, apparently trying to recount for law enforcement what had transpired and how they had come to this point. From the dead wife's apron to the daughter's dress, the father's shoes, and the son's pants, their clothing is just like their lives – completely in tatters.



**"THE BOTTLE – No. 8. The End – A Maniac."** Time has passed and the son and daughter have become young adults who have come to visit their father – whether out of pity or disgust is not clear, although the son's stance and expression show a callous reserve, complete with a weed sticking out of his frowning lips, suggesting he was there out of sheer duty. Their father was in his own irrational world, unaware of his visiting children; he was now the permanent inmate of a lunatic asylum, sitting next to his cage.

It has been said that all mankind are more or less insane. This *may* be true, but people do not always accord the true degree to each individual ... if a man appears in our streets publicly exhorting people to abstain from folly and vice, although he urge by arguments the most sound and drawn from Scripture, he is pronounced insane. Yet if a man who keeps a fast trotting horse ... suffers his horse to be driven on a wager till the poor beast is exhausted and dies; he is considered a rational being.<sup>251</sup>

## ***NEW BLOOD***

The death of John Lummus was just one of several losses to Lynn's old guard of physicians during the 1830s but it also represented opportunity for new personalities and ideas about healing. Death left voids to fill for the bereaving family, friends, and the community. There was also the void created by the absence of John Lummus's professional skills, perhaps most especially his popularity in dentistry. While he and John Lyscom were alive, no other dentists seemed to be able to get into Lynn mouths. In 1834 one D. S. Sweetser tried to pry away some dental business for himself, claiming he could cure toothaches, set artificial teeth "according to the most modern improvements," and restore diseased gums, all "without pain to the patient."<sup>252</sup> He crowed loudly in the *Record* about his many skills in dental surgery and prophylaxis but his ads only ran from 15 October 1834 through April 2<sup>nd</sup> of the following year; in less than six months he was gone. The only other interruptions to the Lyscom-Lummus monopoly were the occasional ads for *Cambrian Toothache Pills* and similar simple home-care stalls to the dentist's turnkey.<sup>253</sup>

Lyscom disappeared from the records the year after Lummus's death.<sup>254</sup> He was well-remembered, though not fondly, by the town's newspaper. He was named in a list along with itinerants and others who had not paid their advertising bills; Lyscom's was the largest at \$12.00.<sup>255</sup> Regardless of whether his disappearance was due to death or flight, Lynn was left with no one to fill its tooth problems. When these two established dentists were out of the picture, advertisements sprouted in Lynn's newspapers from dentists in Salem and Boston. Joseph Emerson Fiske of Salem began visiting Lynn for a day or two each month until he had established a regular enough practice that warranted his visits every Saturday.<sup>256</sup> The increasing frequency of his trips to Lynn were the result of good business plus quicker transportation, since the railway line connecting Boston to Salem through Lynn was completed in 1838. Other dentists also jumped on the train, or encouraged prospective customers to, because Lynn then had such easy access to the world, and the world to Lynn. G. R. & C. Parkhurst of Salem urged Lynners to visit them, while an illustrated ad for "Dr. Hitchcock" encouraged Lynners to visit him in Boston, his nonchalant image wriggling a tooth from a less composed patient. Hitchcock also understood the value of advertising, suggesting that the newspaper reader "cut out this advertisement and put it away, so that you can find it when you want it."<sup>257</sup> Another dentist, J. Lewis, rented office space at the Keene's boarding house opposite the busy Lynn railroad depot to cash in on traffic as transient as himself.<sup>258</sup>

Previous to John Lummus's demise, the town had lost the popular skills of his father, Aaron, and of James Gardner, whose deaths in 1831 were only separated by eleven months. Shortly after Aaron Lummus's burial, most of his estate was auctioned off. His wife Eunice continued to live in the house but two corn barns, several outbuildings, and the building that had been most recently used as a concert hall and printing office, was gaveled away.<sup>259</sup> Aaron's son, Aaron, spent the next several years tracking down his father's delinquent accounts. The task was as difficult as it was protracted; he had to come up with eleven categories for account settlement:

ds	=	Dead & Estate settled
d	=	Dead
w	=	I have written
u	=	Write to the person
g	=	gone away

sp	=	says its paid
e	=	enquire
x	=	settled with me
c	=	called on me
o	=	good for nothing
✓	=	all settled <sup>260</sup>

There were 578 accounts the junior Aaron couldn't settle, for a total loss of \$5,967.03 (\$71,783.81 in 2020 USD).<sup>261</sup> In 1834 a very nervous-sounding brother John seemed to have taken heed of Aaron's difficulties in collecting their father's payments and consequently posted "A Serious Call" in the newspaper for overdue bills from delinquent patients. Those that didn't pay their bills wouldn't receive his services in the future. Earlier in 1832 John had inserted a standard notice for payments due him but by 1834 his demand flared with firmness and worry: "I owe many persons whose demands must be paid."<sup>262</sup> Months later, John's brother George sued him for nonpayment of a \$500 debt. John defaulted and was required by the court to pay.<sup>263</sup> Perhaps it was financial misery that made him seek refuge in a bottle.

Richard Hazeltine died one month prior to John Lummus. He resigned from the Massachusetts Medical Society a year earlier. Illness forced his retirement; he described himself as an invalid in a dunning notice that he placed in the town paper a half year before his death.<sup>264</sup> He pursued collection on overdue patient accounts until the end of his life but so few paid their bills, he obliquely threatened his delinquent "fellow-citizens, townsmen, and neighbors" with compulsion through law suits.<sup>265</sup> His final years were characterized by the same highly charged disputes that had dogged his career. His medical acumen and professional character were challenged in 1831 when the *Mirror* accused him of bungling the treatment of smallpox victims during that outbreak. It was reported that he had never previously witnessed the illness and had "only book knowledge, which ... was of no use to him" and consequently made grievous errors in diagnosis that resulted in death. According to the article, he had suspected the cutaneous affection was chicken or swine pox rather than the smallpox and it was only when he was threatened by the legal authorities of Lynn, Salem, and Marblehead, as well as advised by other doctors that he changed his opinion and treated the illness for what it was. An incensed Hazeltine responded with a three-column letter to the editor in a competing paper. He defended his difficulty with diagnosing the pox by citing similar experiences of European physicians and he tore into the *Mirror* story's author with a vitriolic riposte, occasionally punctuated by phrases in Latin, the "secret language" of doctors:

Should you ask, Mr. Editor, why I condescend to notice those abusive paragraphs - why I consent to shoot at such small game as the probable author of them: I answer; I do it for two reasons; one is ... lest my silence should be misconstrued; the other is, merely to let the author know, in what contempt I hold his paltry effusions; his dark surmises; his malevolent insinuations....<sup>266</sup>

The response in the *Mirror* was quick and unrepentant:

If we were to be frightened by unintelligible and unpronounceable words, the pedantic communication of the Doctor, in the Record, would fairly astound us. It is a real roarer. The Doctor must have been in an awful rage when he poured out such a batch of cant and scurrility... we suppose the Doctor has procured a new translation of the Bible to suit his own depraved taste, and, if such be the fact, it will doubtless inform us where he gets his notions of good breeding and courtly language. And why should not such a *learned* Theban originate a new code of morals, as well as a new pharmacopia, different from that used by other physicians ... suffice it to say the Doctor is perfectly at home, in his old vocation of spleen-letting, and, in the estimation of some, has even outdone himself... he has displayed his accustomed pedantry, by chiding us in Latin, and, with a knowing hint, says, in effect, there, read that if you can!<sup>267</sup>

Just a few months prior to the smallpox affair, Hazeltine stood with the minority in a post mortem opinion about a corpse found on the toll road. The minority decided that the head wounds were from blows by a hoe or hatchet but it was “the opinion of most people that no murder was committed, [rather] that the drunken man fell against the [stone] wall.”<sup>268</sup> Interestingly, while others agreed with his conclusions, he was the only physician whom the papers singled out for a dissenting opinion. Just two more years passed before Hazeltine’s denigrating assertions about the Lynn Mineral Spring and its hotel were provoking a new round of calumnies against him.

Even in death Hazeltine’s dogmatic, outspoken personality upset the living. His only child, Phoebe, seemed to be ruled by him “in death as he had in life.” She kept the entire house, including the laboratory and office, just as her father had left them. She allowed absolutely no one into her father’s office, keeping the key with her at all times. There she made her own medicines from her father’s expired recipes, and the house was perpetually redolent with their herby perfume. She remained a spinster all her life allegedly because her father had disapproved of her choice in love and had chosen another for her. In later years she became misanthropic and reclusive, preferring the “ghostly company” of books.<sup>269</sup> Indeed, whose own mountain stands strong?

In the 1820s the intrusion of out-of-town healers had been largely limited to the advertisements for their medicines in the town’s newspaper but in the 1830s new healers of all types made personal appearances in Lynn. The deaths of the community’s medical fixtures and their replacement by fresh, eager personalities was a frequent and recurrent theme throughout the decade. These new healers didn’t simply fill a vacuum, however; several brought new ideas of healing with them. Success followed both the conventional scions and the fledgling irregulars, but so did failure. While five established Lynn healers died in the decade, at least ten tried to replace them; most were able to garner a patronage to support their stay long-term (over two years).

Sometime in the months intervening the deaths of Aaron Lummus and James Gardner, Charles Otis Barker arrived at the Lynn Hotel.<sup>270</sup> He was welcomed by all of the town’s physicians except, of course, Richard Hazeltine. As the story goes, Hazeltine was introduced to Barker, but:

... as soon as he heard the name of Dr. B[arker, he] assumed one of his lofty looks – and he was so tall that he could look over the heads of most people – and without offering his hand, remarked, “Ah, yes, I have heard of a *Mister* Barker coming to Lynn, as a physician, but having examined the Medical Society’s catalogue without finding his name I feel constrained to withhold *professional recognition* till further informed.” Doctor Barker, naturally enough, not knowing the peculiarities of the other, felt a little nettled, and tartly replied, “But, Dr. Hazeltine, *your examination was not thorough*, or you would have seen by the errata that my name was accidentally omitted in the proper place.”<sup>271</sup>

Once Hazeltine checked the errata as Barker suggested, he welcomed him and consulted with him about some patients.<sup>272</sup> Barker quickly filled the gaps created by the departure of Lummus and Gardner; he was a signer of the cholera advice in 1832, toastmaster of the July 4th celebration in 1835, and was honored by the naming of two children after him between 1838 and 1841.<sup>273</sup>

William Prescott settled in by the end of 1832.<sup>274</sup> He too, was a member of the state medical society and in 1835 served as president of the Independence Day festivities of which Barker was a toastmaster.<sup>275</sup> He remained in Lynn for over a dozen years. His name is memorialized on the Prescott Block that is currently across the street from the Lynn City Hall.<sup>276</sup>

Having received his medical degree at Bowdoin College in Maine, Salemite Edward Augustus Kittredge came to Lynn in early 1834, offering his medical services as well as an assortment of medicines for general family use.<sup>277</sup> His career in Lynn became a dizzying swirl of popularity and villainy, joy and anguish, conventional medicine and hydropathy, and Lynn seemed mesmerized by each tantalizing installment of his seventeen-year tenure.

N. C. Towle also appeared in the first half of 1834. He set up his office one door east of the Lynn Hotel and lasted a few years.<sup>278</sup> He advertised his healing services for hire as well as medicinal

products for sale. His medical services were probably as eclectic as his stock of medical supplies, which were a mix of foreign leeches, medicinal herbs and roots “prepared by the Shakers,” hot drops, cayenne, and other Thomsonian numbers, and patent medicines. He also offered his services for cleaning and filling teeth as well.<sup>279</sup> He, too, served as a toastmaster with Barker at the town’s 1835 independence celebration and even took a turn at owning and editing the *Lynn Chronicle* newspaper for six months, from May through November 1835. His civic interests proved to be more dear than his medical ones and he left Lynn to accept an appointment to work in the Post Office Department in Washington, D.C. in 1837 for a \$1,200 salary.<sup>280</sup>

Several healers appeared for only brief periods. One by the name of Whitney boarded at the Keene’s house in the last half of 1835. The railroad station was not yet across the street from the Keene’s when Whitney practiced there, so the boarding house was perhaps not in as prime a location for customers as it would be for Lewis the dentist later in the decade; consequently, Whitney left Lynn after a stay of just seven months.<sup>281</sup> Another hopeful healer named Batchelder came to town to try his luck just as Whitney was leaving but Batchelder lasted for only five months.<sup>282</sup>

In 1836, the year that Richard Hazeltine and John Lummus died, Abraham Gould and Asa Tarbell Newhall introduced themselves to Lynn as doctors.<sup>283</sup> Both became members of the Massachusetts Medical Society and both had long careers in Lynn but their lives took entirely different paths: Newhall would get hit with expulsion from the medical society and Gould would get hit by a train.

Two more healers hung their shingle in Lynn in 1836. J. M. Cummings lodged for a scant six weeks at Ruth Pratt’s house before he disappeared. One of his advertisements explained that when he wasn’t found at the office, messages could be left on the writing slate outside his office.<sup>284</sup> Apparently not enough messages were left. Daniel Perley may have found a home in Lynn because of the warm reception the town gave to his reformer’s zeal. He was among the first notable men in Lynn to actively support the antislavery cause. He was liberal-minded, willing to give fair and thorough investigation into all the discoveries and reforms of the time.<sup>285</sup>

Still two more healers showed up in Lynn in 1837 – Silas Durkee and James Clark. Each man exhibited a different degree of flexibility with alternative medicine. Silas Durkee was the most orthodox of the two 1837 arrivals. He came to Lynn in April as an established physician from Portsmouth, New Hampshire. He had practiced there for the previous ten years and announced with apparent self-confidence that he was not only ready to accept the patronage of Lynn patients but he had a good medical library and “anatomical cabinet” and would entertain the notion of teaching young gentlemen the physician’s art.<sup>286</sup> There is only evidence of one young man who took him up on his offer but Lynn’s women were eager to learn. In October he exuded philanthropy while trying to gain the town’s confidence and patronage by presenting a course of lectures on diet and health as a fundraiser for Lynn’s Female Lyceum.<sup>287</sup> This series was followed in December by lectures on anatomy and physiology, illustrated with his “anatomical preparations,” to the benefit of the poor and unemployed that were served by the Benevolent and Fragment Societies.<sup>288</sup> He probably presented the same material in the December lectures that he had used in Portsmouth back in 1833 for a lecture on “Physical Education with Anatomical Illustrations.” In the 1833 lecture he explained that a female’s lack of exercise, coupled with the restrictions of a corset, stalled muscular and blood movement and thus ended many lives. Some of the Portsmouth audience had been inspired by his lecture to discuss forming an anti-corset society.<sup>289</sup> No such organization was created in Lynn but in 1839 the creation of a fashion reform society in Lynn was discussed.<sup>290</sup>

Newspaper editors praised Durkee for his laudable benevolence and recommended his courses. Even with his professional background, community service, and references left for public perusal at two Lynn apothecaries, he didn’t stay in Lynn very long. In 1839 he offered 5,000 mulberry trees for sale, apparently divesting himself of a venture into the silk business that didn’t work out.<sup>291</sup> In 1841 he had an apprentice, Innocencio Geigel, living at his house but he had also established a hospital in

Boston about that time and thus his Lynn practice ended.<sup>292</sup> At his Boston hospital he experimented with the cure of chronic diseases through the use of sulfur and iodine baths.<sup>293</sup>

Like Durkee, James Clark also offered his services in medicine and surgery, but based his practice on the plant kingdom. A healer from Boston, Clark came to Lynn at the invitation of a Salem doctor to assist him in the Lynn portion of his practice.<sup>294</sup> Clark said in his newspaper introduction that he had studied and was well-acquainted with the standard medical practices, but discarded “all mineral preparations and poisonous drugs” from his practice in favor of the vegetable (botanic) kingdom for his medicinal solutions. He believed that vegetable medicines were far more efficacious in the removal of disease and lacked the dangerous characteristics of the mineral arsenal.<sup>295</sup> His theories were in contradistinction to the recently concluded practices of Hazeltine, Gardner, and the Lummuses, yet they were as old as Lynn, and openness to ideas hung in its breeze.

Back during the cholera epidemic of 1832, Stephen Oliver’s medical lecture and advice were well-received by a large audience and a larger newspaper readership, even though by everyone’s account, including his own, he had no medical knowledge or skills and he had, in fact, previously dropped his apothecary business because of accusations that he was poisoning people. Ideas, advice, and services were not bad because they were unusual or new; they were bad only when proven to be ineffective or incorrect. With improved communications, transportation, and an increasing population, Lynn was being barraged by a whole world of possibilities and appeared willing to consider most of them.

## ***UNDER THE MICROSCOPE***

In the same way that improvements of the microscope were beginning to bring a previously unseen world into view, the news and stories brought to Lynn by newspapers and lecturers were opening the townspeople’s minds to a seemingly infinite range of mysteries, natural wonders, lifestyles, problems, and ideas. New doctrines and methods were often accepted if they sounded true and rational, even if there was no factual foundation; the briefest exposure to a subject could be received as knowledge and repeated as expertise.

Wide-eyed, marveling banter must have filled Lynn’s shoe shops as newspaper stories were read aloud about such wonders as a ten-foot human skeleton found in Missouri, a living eight-foot-plus Indian giant in Mexico “of most hideous countenance and appearance,” and a “porcupine man” who appeared before surgeons and medical students in London: he was “completely covered with a green horny substance, in the form of quills,” which he shed annually; it was claimed that he descended from a long line of porcupine people.<sup>296</sup> The French, not to be outdone, claimed that one of their fishermen caught a genuine, flesh-and-scales mermaid: half seal combined with the head and chest of a woman.<sup>297</sup> For a short while, the *Lynn Record* even provided woodcuts to illustrate its front-page stories. Large, detailed pictures brought readers to a remote chasm ledge for an article on mountain travel in South America, as well as to a nighttime hunt for turtles on the Cuban coast, and to exotic India where readers became eyewitnesses to the almost comical antics of “Hindoo snake tamers.”<sup>298</sup>

Newspaper readers also followed slightly musty accounts about the forced expulsion of Seminoles, Cherokees, and other eastern Indian tribes to the prairie frontier as well as the eviction and attempted extermination of Mormons from it.<sup>299</sup> Newspapers assured that the Alamo would be remembered forever and that opportunity wouldn’t stop at the Mississippi. Stories closer to home included a report of a strange animal near Hadley, Massachusetts that was larger than a fox, with long back legs and short front ones; it was believed to be related to kangaroos, but with a ferocious demeanor.<sup>300</sup> More horrible still was the murder of James White, a rich old man in neighboring Salem. He had gone to sleep to rise no more: his skull was broken and he was stabbed nine times in the chest.

Lynners like Joseph Lye were riveted to every detail of the crime, trial, and execution of the convicts.<sup>301</sup>

Novel articles on health were also presented with reputable airs. Plants were pronounced to be dangerous in the bedroom because they gave off “copious emissions of carbonated hydrogen, a gas peculiarly obnoxious to human life” to the point of suffocation “by this deadly effluvia.”<sup>302</sup> Another article warned against the loss of vital power by youth that slept with old people. One case was described of a young boy who was healthy until he started sharing a bed with his grandmother. Additionally, “young females married to very old men [also] suffer in a similar manner....”<sup>303</sup> The article went on to claim that many of the aged were selfishly indulging in these energy-sapping sleeping arrangements with youth in order to increase their own years.

Lynn’s lyceums and benevolent societies also broadened the horizons of their townsmen by offering enfilades of speakers on many topics. Nationally recognized personalities, local leaders, and dubious experts spoke on social issues, current events, and topics picked for their curiosity and entertainment value. The Social Library Lyceum hosted lectures on electricity, Galvanism, and magnetism.<sup>304</sup> Edward Coffin gave one of the lectures in a series hosted by the Mount Carmel Lodge on teeth “and contributed not a little to the amusement and instruction of his fair auditors ... in spite of their teeth.”<sup>305</sup> The Lynn Lyceum hosted lectures ranging from Richard Hazeltine’s thoughts on charity and mendacity to talks on mineralogy and literature.<sup>306</sup> Shops that sold medicines exclusively or in part (like Aaron L. Holder’s apothecary and the bookstores of Charles Coolidge and James R. Newhall) were often the ticket depots for these events because they were among the most frequented businesses in town.

One big difference between getting the story in person versus in print was that with lecturers, preachers, and hawkers, each message was only as believable as its spokesman, whereas the anonymous, pseudonymed correspondents and sourceless, unverifiable stories in newspapers and other printed matter made the printed message less reproachable, but also less satisfying. In short, the medium provided the message, but only convincing messages made the sale.

## **STAGGERING OPPORTUNITIES**

Education, entertainment, and health were some of the big opportunities for entrepreneurs in the 1830s. Itinerants made occasional, irregular appearances in New England’s towns since the first English settlements but during the 1830s the roads and byways were literally trafficking in traveling entertainers, evangelists, salesmen, and tradesmen. Lynn’s newspaper was fairly quiet about the appearances of such sojourners in the last half of the 1820s but the weeklies of the next decade were bursting with advertisements, editorials, and reports about traveling entertainers, peddlers, and pests. The connection of small towns by rail and more roads, combined with the proliferation of newspapers and printshops, gave further impetus to itinerancy, peddling, and routine business, as well as the nefarious elements that would swindle, scam, or cheat and disappear before morning light.

The printed word was much more plentiful during the 1830s than in the previous decade when Charles Lummus and his antiquated press controlled Lynn media. More printshops were printing more newspapers, pamphlets, handbills, broadsides, stage bills, shop bills, checks, labels, and business and visiting cards than ever before. Anyone from wealthy shoe manufacturers to meagerly funded peddlers had ready access to plain and ornamental printing performed with the promises of “neatness, accuracy and dispatch” and at “unusually low prices.” (In actual practice, printers took work on the pledge of payment, but like other Lynn businesses that provided goods and services on account, their customers often failed to pay).<sup>307</sup> The “CHOLERA” handbill created during the 1832 scare was a tasteless example of the commercial exploitation of the power of the press. Lynn physician William B. Brown used one form of locally produced print matter (the newspaper) to publicly respond to the slanderous use of another type: “My name being published at length in a

villainous Handbill, as the author of certain lines therein printed.... I deem it but justice to myself to say, that the allegation ... is utterly false and malicious – having never seen the lines alluded to, till I saw the Lynn Handbill....”<sup>308</sup>

Since the many forms of the printed word gave their authors quick and widespread access to the community, it provided large and small businesses as well as itinerants with an ideal opportunity to get publicity and recognition and do some business at little cost and sometimes none. Joseph Hill the barber effectively advertised his services with a short poem in the *Mirror*:

A MAN that don’t stand for the cut  
of his hair,  
Can get hacking and chopping done  
any where.  
But, if you would have it done hand-  
some and neat,  
Call at Barber HILL’S – in Lynn,  
Market Street. <sup>309</sup>

Two female resident artists introduced their skills to Lynn through newspaper advertising: Mrs. Towle (the wife of the healer N. C. Towle), a portraitist and miniature painter, and Miss Lydia Mansfield, a silhouette cutter.<sup>310</sup> Mrs. Towle first advertised her artistic services in Lynn but she and her husband moved to Washington D. C., where she became known for her portraits of the President, Vice President, and the heads of other departments of the federal government.<sup>311</sup> Miss Mansfield cut silhouette specimens of human figures, animals, birds, trees, and urns “in the most fine, and delicate manner, far surpassing anything of the kind we have ever witnessed from any other source.” In 1824 she presented the visiting Marquis de Lafayette with an elaborate and huge silhouette cutting of him standing under a triumphal arch, surmounted by a bald eagle, and adorned with military emblems; it was “made wholly of different colored paper curiously cut with scissors.” Lafayette was suitably impressed with the life-sized image and sent her a gift in return. Mansfield derived the principal part of her own support from her skill. She was in “feeble health and employs her whole time cutting papers for ornamental work of every form, kind, and description.”<sup>312</sup>

The most celebrated itinerant artist to spend time in Lynn was Joseph Wheeler, a portrait artist. He made several tours through Lynn and received compliments on his work from his friend, Charles Lummus. During his 1830 visit he painted nearly forty portraits of Lynners.<sup>313</sup> In spite of all the practice, his skills left something to be desired, prompting Lummus to assure his readership during a later visit by Wheeler that “the artist ... has greatly improved in the execution of heads, since his former visit....”<sup>314</sup> Wheeler had been working out of the Lynn Hotel for three months when a last call for sittings was given in January 1831; he was supposedly preparing to leave town. Two weeks later the public was being invited to view his paintings on exhibition in the hotel’s Lafayette Hall, converted in the *Mirror* through the magic of printing into “Wheeler’s Gallery of Paintings.” The partial editor promised, “... there is one picture worth walking a mile or two to see – the portrait of the late venerable Dr. Lummus.”<sup>315</sup> In March of the same year, Wheeler had relocated to Chestnut Street in Lynn’s Woodend neighborhood to curry some patronage in the eastern section of town. Woodenders were invited to view his paintings and sit for their own. Once again the public was reassured that he had good painting skills, reasonable prices, and – the final hook – “his residence [is] probably limited”<sup>316</sup> Announcements of his imminent departure were still premature. In October of that year, he had circled back to the center of town, renting space out of the Concert Hall in the Lummus building. Charles Lummus now touted him as “far superior to any other painter who has visited us” and, oh yes, Wheeler was once more “expecting to leave town shortly,” so if a “beautiful and striking portrait” was desired, customers were urged to “make application without delay.”<sup>317</sup>

In 1836 Wheeler reappeared in town, this time at the familiar boarding house of Mrs. Avis Keene, where a room was “fitted up expressly for his accommodation.”<sup>318</sup> In 1842 he visited once again, this time as a portrait and miniature painter, and of course, only “for a short time longer!”<sup>319</sup>

Quick to adapt to the changing times, Wheeler was one of the first to offer daguerreotype portraiture to Lynn, in 1845.<sup>320</sup>

Many itinerant instructors passed through Lynn, sometimes slaking the town's thirst for knowledge, but occasionally leaving them unsatisfied. P. O. Dane ran a dancing academy in the same Lynn Hotel hall that hosted Wheeler's exhibit.<sup>321</sup> Mr. Frost from Boston, another dancing instructor, competed with Dane, setting up his school in Liberty Hall at the same time.<sup>322</sup> Another itinerant by the name of Sears opened a singing school over one of the town's apothecary shops. Men must have been more difficult to turn into songbirds – he charged them two dollars for twenty-four lessons but just one dollar for women.<sup>323</sup>

Penmanship lessons were offered by several, including Daniel Mann, who boarded at the house of Widow Eunice Lummus, and Albert White, who touted a record of twelve years' experience teaching "in various and eminent institutions of this State."<sup>324</sup> White made specimens of his penmanship skills and past students' improvements available for public perusal at the *Mirror* office and Ellis's boot and shoe store.

Then there was the opportunity to learn French, Spanish, or Italian with the remarkable Signor Strozzi. In October 1831 he announced his terms: male pupils ("and females if desired") would undergo an exam after sixty days in front of parents and friends. If there was no reasonable improvement, Signor Strozzi wouldn't get paid; otherwise, his charge was ten dollars for the thirty-six-lesson course. Interested young ladies and gentlemen were invited to leave their cards at the Lynn Hotel.<sup>325</sup> It sounded like a fair and orderly arrangement but it was a set-up.

In early December Strozzi was gone. He left town without finishing his classes or paying his bills to the printer, tailor, tavern, and others – he also left with the money advanced to him for books. With the blindfold of gullibility stripped from their eyes, stunned and angered customers realized that his letters of recommendation from John Greenleaf Whittier, Reverend John Pierpont, and others were probably fakes as well.<sup>326</sup> A week later the *Mirror* learned that Strozzi had reached Philadelphia and was teaching there.<sup>327</sup>

Itinerant and circuit lecturers delivered topics in astronomy, zoology, and other sciences. A Mr. Wilbur offered his astronomy lectures in 1831, complete with astronomical apparatus to large audiences in Lynn and Saugus who, an editorial promised, would enjoy "a delicious mental feast."<sup>328</sup> A Mr. Hall began presenting a series of lectures on the same topic in 1839 but his audience did not feast: "... there was some egotism, some vanity, and some extravagant and positive assertions, where rational conjecture only belonged, which hurt the effect of his lectures. It is said also, that he sold tickets at various prices."<sup>329</sup> His lectures were consequently cut short and he was drummed out of town. As with Signor Strozzi, Hall's failure didn't stop the stream of itinerants or patronage of them. H. McMurtie, delivered lectures on zoology, illustrated with hundreds of transparent diagrams. The course of lectures cost a dollar and tickets could be purchased at Holder's apothecary, Buffum's paint store, Newhall's bookshop, and Wright's West Indian goods store.<sup>330</sup>

Itinerants came clothed in religion as well. In 1836 a tall, elderly man named Weed, dressed somewhere between the fashion of a Quaker and a Pilgrim, stood on the hay scales in Woodend and commenced preaching to nothing but the trees and grass. In a few minutes upwards of 200 people had gathered; the newspaper remarked, "a more attentive audience seldom is witnessed." Weed subsequently held a number of such meetings in the center of town on the common to a trusting and open-minded people: "Why he is thus engaged is not our business."<sup>331</sup> Whatever his business was, he did it well enough to get a flock to keep gathering on the common as late as 1839. Thomas Lummus's wife Abigail noted Weed's arrival in her diary as well as his Sabbath-day preaching near the common's pond. Her attention to his visit suggested she was more of a follower than a casual observer.<sup>332</sup>

With the same rapt interest, the town considered the ministrations of Mormon missionaries who brought the country's newest religion to Lynn. In August 1832 a pair of Mormons lectured at the

District Number 4 schoolhouse: "... as was anticipated, the house was soon filled, by those who are ever on the alert, either to tell or hear some new thing."<sup>333</sup> Bemusement and curiosity in the "strange doctrines" quickly turned into conversion as the two Mormon missionaries were able to baptize five new members during their short time in Lynn.<sup>334</sup> A month later a Mormon missionary by the name of Gladden Bishop was answering questions about his faith for some residents in a local store; he was a "well-dressed young man, of favorable appearance," and while the *Record* considered the religion a delusion, they represented the attitude of most in the town, which was to give it a fair hearing: "...we have seen so often the evil effects of prejudice, that we have determined to have our ears open to a patient hearing, and mind to a patient examination, on all subjects relating to religion, politics, or morals, not *obviously* false."<sup>335</sup>

Like balloon ascents and militia musters, itinerant entertainers got large, attentive audiences. A theatrical group had come to Lynn in late 1830 to perform several dramatic skits, but headlined their program with attention-grabbing routines involving magic, gymnastics, and tightrope walking.<sup>336</sup> Chang and Eng, the Siamese twins, had had their fill of exhibiting themselves to gawking crowds in the summer of 1831, so they tried to take a vacation in Lynnfield, but annoying men and boys followed them throughout the woods as they tried to go hunting. The irritation of the unwanted entourage triggered the brothers to commit some sort of breach of the peace and they were taken before a magistrate. The unrepentant crowd now wondered how it would be handled if only one of the conjoined twins was to be punished by imprisonment but their sordid curiosity came to an end when both twins were found guilty.<sup>337</sup>

Chang and Eng were an unusual exception among traveling entertainers; most were in constant search of audiences. A troupe of traveling comics were a big enough hit in Lynn to warrant a return engagement in August 1834. Lynn had its own resident comic, David Stone, who was probably an itinerant entertainer as well; no record survives of him performing in his home town.<sup>338</sup> Ventriloquists appeared on several occasions and one also performed "legerdemain" (magic).<sup>339</sup> Mr. Harrington, "the Celebrated American Ventriloquist," displayed his powers of ventriloquism and feats of legerdemain at the Lynn Hotel for two nights in August 1834. His magic tricks included the use of birds, balls, boxes, "Mysterious Dollars," and "the COFFER OF MAHOMET, or a Glove turned into a Live Bird"; he concluded his act with the "WONDERFUL FACTORY" which was probably an automaton device.<sup>340</sup> Again the *Record* protected its reputation by supporting the standard moral code, but still managed to encourage patronage of the strange sights and sounds of Mr. Harrington,

We are decidedly opposed to Legerdemain, as a thing unworthy of patronage ... but we much *prefer* that kind of legerdemain, which is *professedly* so, to that which pretends to be what it is not.... The performer does not pretend to any supernatural gifts.... Mr. H. is recommended by those acquainted with him, as a skilful performer, possessing a good moral character.<sup>341</sup>

Traveling menageries ranged from the odd animal or two that was pulled or pushed from town to town by its owner, to caravans that were displayed under a large tent. The Lynn papers made frequent reference to the newest odd creature to be brought into Boston, like a sloth in July 1827 and three ostriches the next month.<sup>342</sup> Abigail Lummus noted in her diary the July day in 1839 when she went to see a giraffe.<sup>343</sup>

Lynners also took advantage of the unusual to make a few dollars. Mr. Dockham of Lynn's Black Marsh section brought back a young mountain bear from the White Mountains. The bear was docile, "but vindictive on the approach of dogs...."<sup>344</sup> When Boston was receiving its sloth, Lynn had a female seal and two cubs visiting in its harbor. M. Alley Jr., caught them and with a woodcut image of seals appended, he advertised his catch for viewing: "Great natural Curiosity. Amphibious Animals. Two Phocas or Live Seals will be exhibited in this town on Monday next near Liberty Hall, of which particulars will be given in handbills."<sup>345</sup>

The more extensive displays of multiple animals began to pass through Lynn in the 1830s. In 1834 the menagerie of Waring, Tufts & Co. set up a collection of “LIVING ANIMALS” on the common, including the elephant Siam, a lion and lioness, tapir, Bengal tiger, camel, spotted panther, leopard, hyena, llama, Russian bear, ichneumons from Egypt, two mocos from India; “an animal not described in history” – a buffalo; Dandy Jack on his small Shetland Pony, apes, monkeys, and baboons. For a little extra drama, “Mr. Flint, the keeper of animals, will enter the cage with the Lion at 4 o’clock, P.M. showing the subjection to which the animal of superior strength is brought.”<sup>346</sup> Seating arrangements were made to accommodate 500 people and a band of music accompanied the performance. All this was offered for twenty-five cents and to children under ten for half price. A little more change was squeezed out of the excited townsfolk if they went to see the concurrent display of wax figures of other exotic animals that was set up in the town hall for an admission of twelve and a half cents. Again the newspaper editors condoned the appearance of strange characters – animal and human – in town:

Many are of opinion, that exhibiting a caravan of wild animals for money is an evil practice, which ought not to be encouraged or tolerated. We think very differently. We believe such an exhibition to be a source of rational amusement and instruction.... [They] are the subjects of natural history ... and many of them are treated of in Scripture. Some knowledge of them therefore is useful, desirable and necessary. How shall it be acquired? Book knowledge is imperfect and unsatisfactory. Knowledge by sight is easy, cheap, pleasing and satisfactory.<sup>347</sup>

Five months later, however, they were singing a different tune. Drained financially and in interest by the many performances and exhibitions that had occurred during the season for outdoor itinerants (the warm weather), it was being suggested that the townspeople had begun “to be tired with these exhibitions, and the continual drafts made upon their purse, time and patience; as well as with the impositions practiced upon them, by advertising rare animals not to be found in the pen, or not answering the descriptions.”<sup>348</sup> Worse still than what entertainment did to the purse was what it did to the minds and morals, especially of the youth and *most* especially of the young women:

... on the 17th [of June 1835] ... the CIRCUS RIDERS came – and to the exercise of some 10 or 12 half naked fellows (a part of whom were disguised in a female dress) several hundred spectators, including three or four hundred LADIES attended with apparent satisfaction!! Oh Shame! Shame! SHAME! SHAME!!<sup>349</sup>

Despite the false advertising, catch-penny sideshows, and violations of delicate sensibilities, the townspeople continued to come in droves. Hundreds upon hundreds couldn’t wait for something new, unusual, and straining against convention; it was a perfect opportunity for the strange itinerant duo of Stewart and Howard, whose entertainment consisted of demonstrating the use of their incongruous inventions: the syren (a musical instrument), an “air cannon” and “cane rifle” that didn’t need gun powder, an air-proof machine, and the yawn-provoking “Universal Joint.”<sup>350</sup>

Peddlers were probably the most common type of itinerants. They were forbidden by the laws of the Commonwealth to sell foreign goods, indigo, feathers, books, tracts, prints, maps, playing cards, lottery tickets, jewelry, essences, or glassware; nonetheless, they sold almost everything else (and sometimes the forbidden items as well), including tinware, clocks, knives, woodenware, pins, needles, buttons, iron cooking ware, brooms, farm implements, window glass, combs, jewelry, shoelaces, Jew’s harps, books, carpet slippers, razors, snuff-boxes, tobacco, spectacles, brushes and much more.<sup>351</sup> In about 1830 a peddler was negotiating with an aged Lynn woman for a pair of iron-mounted spectacles; the peddler’s price was “only One Dollar and twenty-five cents” and the woman was about to consummate the purchase when she was warned by a friend that she could get the same article at a store in Lynn for thirty-seven and a half cents. The peddler quickly packed up his gear and left.<sup>352</sup>

Another, earlier account showed that the conniving tactics of peddlers could be challenging even for others in the same trade. In the 1820's a mountebank ("a clownish looking fellow") came to Lynn, representing himself to be a clairvoyant Indian doctor. "After the due preliminaries of placard and advertisement, he was surrounded by invalids and reaped a fine harvest of fees. Many who consulted him verily believed themselves restored – many were marvelously relieved – while a few surly skeptics affected to have their doubts." One of the audience was a clock peddler who swallowed the pill peddler's pitch with many of the others. The two peddlers negotiated a trade that was presumably a fair swap of items, each valued at five dollars. The clock peddler then went to one of Lynn's druggists and proudly described the slyness of his deception, explaining that he had been able to pawn off a one-dollar clock as a five-dollar value in order to get a five-dollar bottle of the Indian doctor's pills. The "man of the mortar ... with perfect nonchalance" looked at the prized pills and, recognizing them to be the same as the *Dean's Pills* he had in stock, replied drolly, "let me see – Dean's pills, twenty five cents – clock, one dollar – twenty five from one hundred leaves seventy-five, does it not sir?"<sup>353</sup>

In 1839 the *Lynn Record* posted the names of advertisers who had failed to pay their bills; included on the list were an itinerant phrenologist, a vocalist, and a traveling troupe known as the Tyrolese Alpine Singers.<sup>354</sup> This sort of reputation for chicanery followed the itinerant and peddler class. A one-scene play appearing in the *Mirror* had a farmer walking in on his wife at the crucial moment when she was about to buy silverware from a peddler. The farmer reacted with thunderous anger and lightning reflexes: "Have I not told you to keep clear of these prowling miscreants? Fellow! pack up your trumpery and be off; and beware how I catch you within my territories again."<sup>355</sup> During the cholera epidemic of 1832, peddlers "at this time infesting our neighborhood" were especially suspect of bringing nothing but trouble. One was arrested in Lynn for bringing into town several articles that peddlers were forbidden to sell. It was hoped that the arrest would deter other "Cholera-candidates" from peddling in Lynn.<sup>356</sup>

Despite the swindling and fraud that were perpetrated, itinerants made sales; the opposition of some citizens and businessmen was a measure of that success. In 1834 a Lynn housewife warned her neighbors that they better not buy tinware of a peddler who was knocking on Lynn doors, offering poor merchandise for high prices. She had bought four pieces from the peddler and three of them leaked and were worthless. She had thus learned her lesson about peddlers and recommended to the women in town that "they had better buy of Mr. Harding or Mr. Rust," Lynn's tinware dealers.<sup>357</sup> Two years earlier, a Lynn newspaper editor got to know Samuel Dale, a dry goods peddler, quite well because the man boarded next door during the warm season of each year. On one of his Lynn visits, Dale was brought to court by the principal English dry goods dealers of the town because he had broken the law by peddling foreign-made fabrics (and obviously pulled customers away from the plaintiffs' stores). The neighborly editor came to the peddler's defense in the newspaper, stating that his character was "above reproach" and an exception to the "general rule that pedlars are cheats."<sup>358</sup> Another resident wrote a rebuttal to the editor's exoneration, explaining that Lynn was unduly liberal with law-breakers,

... there is no town in the Commonwealth where pedlers meet with so much encouragement as they do in Lynn: we have proof of this in the fact that this sort of traffickers pour in upon us, not unfrequently, from every one of the New-England States; and the reason is obvious; for in other States ... there are laws against pedlers ... [that] are obeyed and enforced, as they ought to be here ... yet few things are more common than to see such persons strolling through our streets, and calling at every house, and offering such prohibited articles for sale.<sup>359</sup>

The writer saw the town's lax attitude towards peddlers as an extension of the growing problems with crime and immorality:

Nothing is more common – and I am persuaded it is not so any where else – ... in this town than to see violations of the laws respecting the observance of the Lord's day,

respecting retailers, innholders, lotteries, pedlers, gamblers, idlers, vagrants, &c. Now all this is very wrong, and evidently contributes to an extension of crime, and a palliation of its offensiveness.<sup>360</sup>

Probably everyone knew the moralists were right. The town was being increasingly victimized by illegal acts and perhaps becoming desensitized to the immorality of it all, and yes, certain itinerants were part of the problem, but time and again Lynners chose to let the peddlers into their homes, the missionaries into their souls, and the cavalcade of entertainers into their pockets. It was, after all, their right to choose – well or poorly. Lynn peddlers and perhaps some hirelings from Lynn’s own shops, making money on the side, worked the crowds that gathered at the various grand entertainments, several hundred spectators in one place being an irresistible sales opportunity. A newspaper observed that the postponement of a balloon flight due to rain “disappointed many persons; but the vendors of cough lozenges are the greatest sufferers.”<sup>361</sup>

Even Lynn businesses were making some money because of the lectures and entertainment. The newspapers were surely happy with the advertising revenues, provided the client didn’t skip town without paying. Shop owners that sold tickets likely benefited from some increased patronage in addition to receiving a portion of the ticket sales. It was more than coincidence that Edward Coffin delivered a lecture on the throat with an emphasis on ventriloquism just a month after a ventriloquist appeared in town.<sup>362</sup> Next to the newspaper advertisement for Barber’s phrenological lectures, James R. Newhall offered phrenological busts and books.<sup>363</sup> Similarly, Charles Lummus saw an irresistible opportunity to sell and repair picture frames while Joseph Wheeler was in town, painting Lynn faces.<sup>364</sup>

## ***CHOOSING WHICH ITCH TO SCRATCH***

While the great majority of itinerants left quickly, their departures were probably governed more by diminishing sales or their inability to win over customers than by an unwillingness of Lynn residents to listen to their pitch. In the summer of 1830, an itinerant who fashioned himself “Dr. Isaac B. King” came to Lynn. In his newspaper introduction he presented credentials as one “who had resided for many years with the INDIANS of the Chickasaw and Cherokee Nations, in the Study and PRACTICE OF MEDICINE” wherein he acquired the marvelous secrets of Indian cures for consumptions, cancer, scrofula, and other diseases.<sup>365</sup> He opened an office in Woodend where he sold his *Chickasaw Syrup* for consumption and *Indian Specific* that made scrofula “and other humors” disappear. His ad ran in the *Record* for only three months, from 21 August to 17 November 1830, and then he disappeared.

In July 1834 another itinerant healer named Chase came to town and “pretended to cure certain cutaneous diseases by virtue of his being the seventh son of a seventh son, &c.” He found two credulous customers in the Woodend section of town. The mysterious healer knelt with his patients in a private room and, while passing his hands over their faces and arms, repeated an incantation in a low whisper. He also gave each a coin that he instructed was to be worn until it turned black. The patients later recognized they had been taken and became “ashamed of their folly.” The mystical mountebank skipped town without paying his board or the livery attention to his horse and chaise bier. A newspaper editor publicly promised that he would forestall any further disclosures about Chase if the itinerant would return and pay his bills; otherwise he would likely “be hung out in no enviable light.” Although the editor saw through the sham, he titled the article innocuously, “Something New.”<sup>366</sup> Chase doesn’t seem to have been heard from again.

A few years later came the visit of Jesse S. Spear, “the Celebrated Physician or Indian Doctor, from Boston.” The title “Indian Doctor” seemed calculated to cause confusion that the healer used to promote his agenda, “It is often supposed by many that they shall see an Indian when they call to see me but they soon find their mistake, and begin to enquire, why do you call yourself an Indian Doctor?”

Answer. Because I use their remedies, which I believe to be the only system ever adopted suitable for the treatment of disease....”<sup>367</sup> He claimed to cure the most violent toothache without pain in five or ten minutes and all diseases “in their most formidable appearances.” The newspaper claimed Lynn couldn’t be fooled by his type: “Oh dear, Dr. Spear, you don’t gull the shoemakers with such soft wax,” but time would prove that some Lynn gulls did waddle over to Spear.<sup>368</sup>

In 1839 a man named Smith from Exeter, New Hampshire, announced his availability “for a few weeks” to remove corns “in one hour without pain.” He would perform his works in sufferers’ homes or at his lodgings in the Rail Road House. He promised, “NO HUMBUG” and tried to prove it by appending the names of six Lynn residents who had presumably spent a pleasant hour barefoot before the healer.<sup>369</sup>

Willingness to consider and possibly try all types of healers and forms of medicine had been the philosophy of many Lynn residents and therefore the medical fraternity and their supporters continued the centuries-old disagreement with a significant portion of the town over the definition of quackery. Regular physicians enshrined themselves as defenders of science, education, and professionalism but the new alternative healers and proprietary medicine makers vociferously championed the right of every American to make health choices based on their own good sense rather than blindly submit to the exclusive medical society monopoly.<sup>370</sup> The conflict was quite noticeable; a contributor to the *Mirror* commented, “I never saw a mountebank speak in favor of a regular-bread physician, nor a regular-bread physician speak in favor of a newly discovered medicine.”<sup>371</sup>

The real problem for medical society members was that, for the most part, conventional medicine wasn’t working any better than other choices. The physiological focus of regular medicine was the same as irregular medicine: to reduce pain, increase bodily evacuations, and strengthen the system. It was a symptomatic approach that avoided what healers didn’t know – the true cause of illness. The problem of its ineffectiveness was exacerbated by its arsenal of extreme therapeutic measures. Lummus’s newspaper punctuated the fears of many with stories about the sacrifices to established medicine. One of his squizzles told of leeches applied to the sore throat of a girl; in the morning she was found dead, covered in blood because the leeches had opened the jugular vein.<sup>372</sup> Another incident was of a “poor fellow” who had both legs amputated. Two surgeons each sawed off a leg of the terrified man at the same time because speed was the only benefit they could offer during the excruciating procedure.<sup>373</sup> Right in Lynn, Edward Kittredge amputated the leg of a railroad worker because it had been severely broken in a work-related accident; there was some disagreement in the newspapers as to whether the amputee swore during the merciless operation or handled it with the aplomb of a gentleman.<sup>374</sup>

The allies of regular and irregular medicine fought on in a *Mirror* debate about the validity of mercury as a medicine. The position in favor of the chemical stated that in skillful hands it was one of the best remedies and was only dangerous when used by the untrained practitioner or layman.<sup>375</sup> The pro-mercury forces then took an additional swipe directly at their competition, the irregular practitioner:

Like some idolatrous nations, who deify and worship the most loathsome reptile, we place confidence in persons of the least acquirements, of the most mistaken confidence in their own abilities, and the most ill-deserving of public confidence, allowing their knowledge to be as great as they would have people think it to be.<sup>376</sup>

An anti-mercury, anti-regular medicine letter to the editor rebutted that, even when referred to by any fancy medical name, mercury was nothing more than “a powerful corrosive poison” and “positively injurious.” It enumerated mercury’s side-effects as “inflammation in the mouth, violent purging, even of blood; rheumatic pains; palsies; dropsy, palpitation of the heart; great debility, epilepsy; dyspepsia; liver complaint; consumption; nervous diseases; cancers, and nodes of a scrofulous nature,” and more. The letter concluded with the condemning image of a poor cripple

hobbling on legs paralyzed from the use of mercury: he knew first-hand that mercury was not good medicine.<sup>377</sup>

The battle between regular and irregular medicine raged on at the state level as well. In 1836 John S. Bartlett of Boston was expelled from both the Massachusetts and Boston medical societies because he endorsed an itinerant irregular healer and he also consulted with another healer who wasn't a member of the medical societies. Bartlett responded to the charges at his expulsion hearings by saying, on the first count, "I did see [the itinerant] perform the cures ... in a period astonishingly short.... I saw him doing good, and I was morally bound to say so."<sup>378</sup> In a defense that shocked some and offended others, Bartlett indicted a large number of fellow medical society members for the same complicity with non-members with which he had been charged, "... if I am to be made the ... scapegoat of the congregation, you must send a respectable flock along with me."<sup>379</sup> Bartlett didn't win any friends with his tactics and he was expelled from both organizations but he had, in fact, demonstrated that there was duplicity in the actions of some members and that the medical societies had not cornered all the scientific truths and answers in the pursuit of health.

In light of the poignant horror stories about such things as leeches, surgery, and mercury, and given that the emotional arguments about medical methods were unresolved, regular medicine appeared to many to be no more valid than the plethora of new medicines and healing techniques that surfaced among itinerants who used the networks of improving transportation and communications. In the same year as Bartlett's expulsion, Massachusetts unofficially sanctioned alternative medicine when it repealed an 1817 state law that had allowed only members of the Massachusetts Medical Society to legally demand compensation for their medical services (such was the extent of the medical licensing laws in Massachusetts for decades).<sup>380</sup>

Bartlett would have been pleased to know that even some regular but open-minded physicians were ready to admit that their methods and knowledge might be improved by new truth, wherever it was to be found. Edward Coffin was one of those patient and good-natured liberals from the medical society ranks; one of his contemporaries recalled,

... [Edward Coffin] was not apt to denounce a new thing, without examination, because others decried it as humbug. I remember when the first lecturer on animal magnetism came to town and discoursed in the old Town Hall, with what fairness he joined thumbs with him, and how patiently he sat under the manipulations, entirely undisturbed by the merriment of those in whose minds the whole thing was forestalled as an imposition.<sup>381</sup>



**ANIMAL MAGNETISM** was Franz Anton Mesmer's description of the process whereby "magnetic fluid" passed through the operator to the injured or diseased region of the recipient; the active ingredients in Mesmer's magnetism, however, were hypnosis and faith. The somnambulant subjects allegedly received cures from illness and powers beyond their normal abilities when magnetized in their mesmerized condition. The *Lynn Mirror* cited the example of a blind woman who was able to use her paranormal magnetic gift to divine a "curious sentence" hidden in thickly folded blue paper that was sealed with seven seals.<sup>382</sup> Suspicion had followed the promised migration of the invisible fluid ever since its alleged discovery in the late eighteenth century. It was rank occult nonsense to those who doubted such displays of its use but others were undeterred from giving the new science a fair trial.

A Frenchman named Charles Poyen visited New England with mismatched luggage: a serious affliction of the nerves and a fascination with mesmerism.<sup>383</sup> After ostensibly successful exhibitions of the science in Danvers and Salem, Poyen came to Lynn in September 1837 and was given guarded but polite salutations by the town's newspapers. The *Mirror* took a wait-and-see attitude, "We decline

at present to express either our belief or disbelief in the principles and manifestations of this occult science," while the *Lynn Record* offered a slightly warmer and more open-minded opinion:

We are wholly opposed to all kinds of jugglery and hoaxes.... But we despise that ignorance which sets everything 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.<sup>384</sup>

Poyen delivered three lectures in Lynn.<sup>385</sup> In the first he put his assistant into a somnambulistic slumber, then held a conversation with the mesmerized subject and required her to drink water and eat imaginary cherries from his hand but the audience wasn't convinced that any mesmerization had occurred or animal magnetism had been imparted. In the second performance the majority of the audience wanted one of their own to be subjected to the mesmerism of Poyen and thus was Edward Coffin chosen and consensual. Poyen performed "the gesticulations or passes over him" for twenty-five minutes without any effect, and the audience left even more unimpressed. The third evening arrived, "big with the fate of animal magnetism." Poyen resorted back to his own assistant, who quickly fell under his control but while "it was asserted that she was perfectly senseless and indifferent to outward things, she requested that something might be placed between her head and the chair, that she might rest comfortably, which was done." Poyen directed her through the same unconvincing routine required of her in the first performance. Following the water and cherries, a lamp was held before her eyes by a physician, "with no apparent effect, though one of the spectators positively asserts that she winked at its first approach." Then, with her eyes held closed by a member of the audience, she was directed by Poyen to tell the number of ladies sitting on the first row. She said correctly that there were six. Similarly she was asked how many ladies were standing in the first row: she replied two but there was only one. The audience, now composed of skeptics and cynics, scrutinized every motion and word that could expose a hoax before their eyes. One of the spectators discovered the gimmick behind part of the routine and squealed fraud:

Her eyes being held closed by a physician, she said that she did not see with her eyes, but through her forehead. She raised her hand to her forehead, and rubbed it, as she spoke. A spectator asserts that as she rubbed it, she moved her hand across from side to side, and when she had moved it the requisite number of times, the magnetizer spoke, and asked the question, to which she immediately replied.... After she had failed to answer the second question aright, saying two instead of one, the magnetizer corrected her by laying *one* finger into her hand, as he took hold of it!<sup>386</sup>

As the demonstration continued, Poyen invited the several medical men in attendance to pinch the woman to prove the insensibility of her mesmerized state. The subject endured a considerable amount of pinching without apparent emotion but one physician slipped his hand beneath her shawl and pinched a nerve on the interior of her elbow, "upon which she immediately started, and said she wanted to go home! ... The magnetizer handed her [her] bonnet, and led her from the hall, asserting that she was still asleep!" It came as no surprise to anyone in town that "after this exhibition of the pretended phenomena of animal magnetism," Poyen failed to gather any interest in Lynn for his planned class on animal magnetism.<sup>387</sup>

Less than three months after this devastating exposure of animal magnetism, another experiment was reported in the *Lynn Record*, which felt duty-bound "to the cause of truth and of science to give it publicity."<sup>388</sup> In this episode, Joseph Emerson Fiske, the visiting dentist from Salem, attended to a seventeen-year-old Lynn girl living at Mrs. Parker's on Broad Street.<sup>389</sup> Fiske had attended Charles Poyen's far more convincing demonstrations in Salem, and determined that he, too, had the gift of animal magnetism and used it to remove the patient's pain, dental and otherwise. For Fiske's demonstration upon the girl at Mrs. Parker's, the room was filled with observers comprising most of the physicians of Lynn, together with other citizens that included "Spectator," an anonymous reporter to the *Lynn Record*. Readers were first told of how "Miss S." had been magnetized the previous evening and was insensible to pain, including several scratches that had been made on her

wrist and which still appeared. The completely convinced Spectator then recited the next experiment between Fiske and Miss. S. with faithful detail:

At about 3 o'clock, P.M. she came into the room where we were assembled and took a rocking-chair. Dr. F[iske] having taken a chair before her, proceeded to magnetize her by the usual gestures or *passes*. In about 20 minutes she appeared to be asleep, not regarding in any measure what was said to her, the startling noises that were made, the pinching of her ear and other attempts of the spectators to rouse her. Dr. F. then asked her if she would have *that tooth* taken out. – She did not seem to hear him, but when he asked her to show him the tooth, she put her finger upon one of which she was said to have complained for some days. Dr. F. having first cut about it, took hold of it with a forceps and pulling pretty hard while he made four or five motions from side to side, extracted the tooth. It was one of the upper grinders, and evidently pretty firmly set. Yet during the operation she gave no signs of pain or any degree of uneasiness by any motion or any expressions of her countenance. When the magnetizer awaked her, soon after, she felt the loss of the tooth, but had no recollection of the operation. It is but justice to say, that the character of the parties concerned, is such as to repudiate the supposition of any desire or interest to deceive; and we feel called upon particularly to say that this delicate young lady is one of the last persons that could be suspected of sacrificing truth to the support of imposture, or to have succeeded in feigning sleep during a painful operation, if she had been disposed to do so. All the circumstances of the case are very strong, and the whole scene thus imperfectly but candidly described, did not fail to convince the most sceptical of the company, of the power of Animal Magnetism.<sup>390</sup>

Fiske was the protégé of Nathaniel Peabody, a respected Salem dentist, and Peabody's daughter, Sophia, became another of Fiske's mesmeric patients. His attempts to mesmerize Sophia provided her some relief from her frequent and severe headaches but her fiancé, the not-yet-famous Nathaniel Hawthorne, pressed her to stop resorting to the new technique. He worried that when she surrendered her consciousness and self-control to a mesmerist in order to lose her pains, she was also surrendering her moral purity and spiritual innocence to the mesmerist's manipulations. Mesmerists were usually male and their subjects were usually female; even if mesmerism could be beneficial, the "animal" in the magnetizer was sometimes suspect.<sup>391</sup>

Some of Lynn's newspaper readers were probably confused by the alternating stories of Poyen's unconvincing demonstrations in Lynn followed by Spectator's account of Fiske's absolute success but almost every new idea had its detractors and followers and each could turn to one story or the other to prove their point. This illustrated an important principle that was recognized by both sides: a new treatment or medicine, no matter how strange and incomprehensible, may bring real relief, even if its peddlers or practitioners were sometimes fumbling or fishy; this encouraged at least the open-minded to search out new truths no matter how many false messengers they had to endure. It was an important concept in the 1830s because there were many promises of truth, cure, salvation, and redemption being made in America.



**PHRENOLOGY**, the practice of measuring the contours of the head to determine the strengths and weaknesses of one's character and constitution, was also in vogue in the 1830s. A Harvard elocution professor and part-time phrenologist named Jonathan Barber offered a course of eight weekly lectures at the town hall on Lynn Common. The lecture series cost a dollar and tickets were available at James R. Newhall's bookstore, the doctors' offices of Edward Coffin and William Prescott, Holder's apothecary, Buffum's paint store, and a house in Woodend.<sup>392</sup>

Barber's lectures were to be illustrated by "the whole of the valuable collection brought by Johann Kaspar Spurzheim to this country and his drawings, together with additional specimens."<sup>393</sup> The *Record* had some fun with the announcement of Barber's arrival in town:

Now is the time for Phrenology – Phrenology is all the rage. If you would know by the *bumps* on your head, what crimes you will be tempted to commit – what noble deed you will be likely to perform – in short, if you would ... have your fortune told, attend the lectures on Phrenology, and have an exploration made of the bumps and thumps on the *outside* of your head.<sup>394</sup>

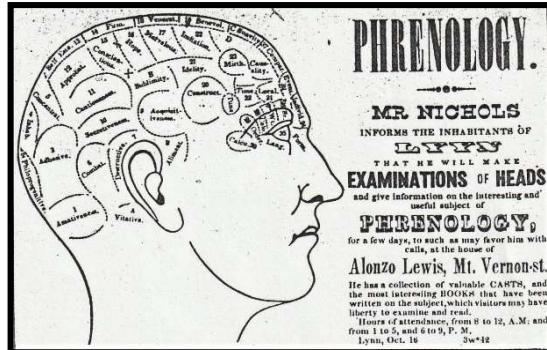
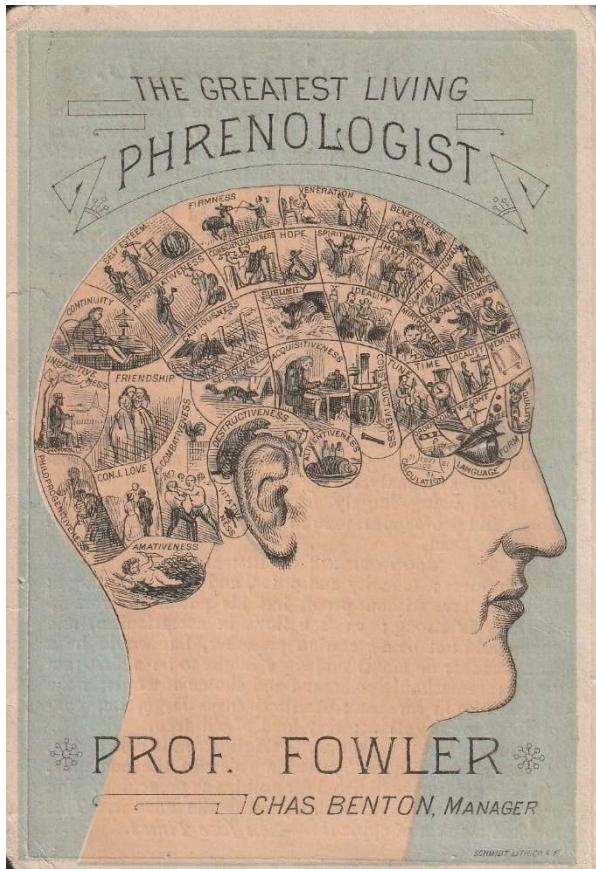
The phrenological lectures quickly became a local sensation. During the days between the lectures, chatter about phrenology filled Lynn's grocery stores, church buildings, and social halls, and school boys pretended to be phrenologists, examining each other's heads. Barber's lectures became Lynn's hot ticket for that season; despite the fact that all of the seats in the old town hall were "poor and uncomfortable," ticket holders eagerly began to assemble before the hall had been lighted, in order to obtain the best possible seats.<sup>395</sup> When Barber was half way through his Lynn engagement, the *Record's* editors had abandoned their effort to write humorously about phrenology, writing instead with respect and dignity, allowing that maybe there was something to be learned from phrenology after all:

Although we have always been rather skeptical as to the minuteness with which phrenologists profess to trace the various propensities of man by their several locations in the brain, we are ready to acknowledge that there is much ingenuity and ... useful instruction displayed in these lectures. Besides, we have had our own opinions and notions in *other* matters in which we were equally positive so often overthrown, that we have in all matters of mere opinion become less tenacious or more distrustful of our own correctness, and more candid in examining the theories of others.... There are many things which we now most fully believe which once appeared chimerical and absurd.<sup>396</sup>

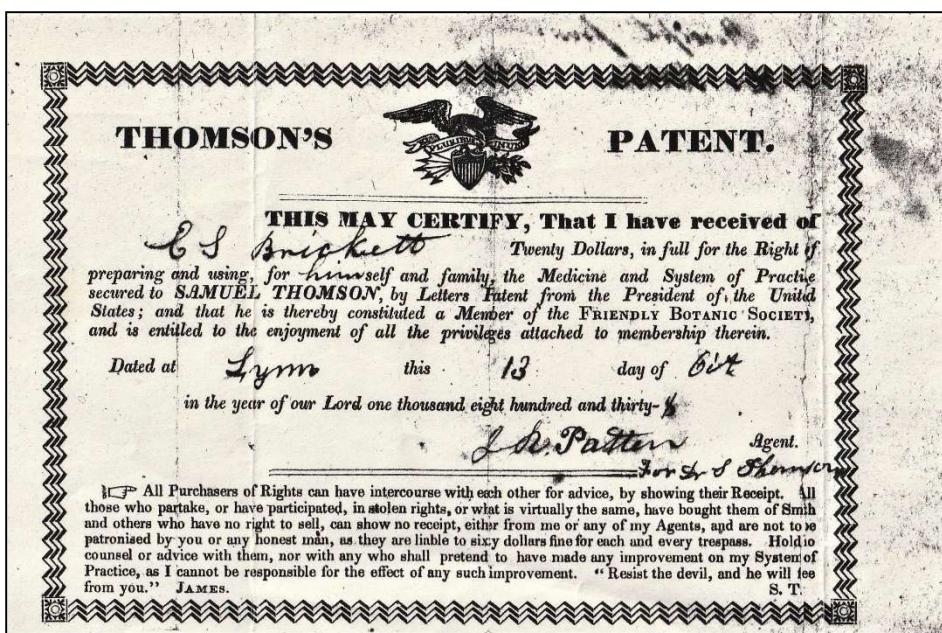
The lecture series had been "well-attended and attentively heard, throughout." When they were completed, many in the town praised him for his "eminently instructive course of lectures," while others felt he had perpetrated a "splendid hoax upon the credulity of the public"; in fact, credulity was one propensity that Barber had not pointed out on his model crania.<sup>397</sup> Still another camp sheepishly admitted to ducking the phrenological fray "by sedulously avoiding all lectures bumpological, and running away from conversation on the subject."<sup>398</sup> But neither lampooning phrenology nor eluding it was going to make it go away. Many in Lynn had embraced phrenology, from those attending lectures simply to be entertained to "the most intelligent and thoughtful" in the town, and their belief in its tenets lasted throughout the rest of the century. Six decades after its introduction to Lynn, James R. Newhall, one of the town's historians (as well as one of the ticket sellers to Barber's lectures), reflected, "many were so strongly convinced of the truth and value of the doctrines that they never relinquished their convictions."<sup>399</sup>

Encouraged by phrenology's popularity, other newly self-anointed phrenologists tried to take their turns at lightening Lynn's purses: "almost anyone could get up a lecture or two on the subject. He could easily get his 'charts' and marked plaster heads. And it was not long before large numbers of tramp lecturers were in the field – ignorant and imprudent."<sup>400</sup> Five years after Barber's lectures, another phrenologist named Mr. Fletcher lectured in Lynn, even though the *Lynn Freeman* was claiming that "the people of this town are not much interested in the 'science' ... however, the impression made by Mr. Fletcher has been decidedly in its favor." The *Freeman* went even further and recommended that the curious might also want to go to Boston to have their heads read by Lorenzo Fowler, the eminent phrenologist from New York.<sup>401</sup> Later in the same year, another itinerant phrenologist named Nichols offered phrenological readings while he stayed at Alonzo Lewis's house. Nichols' advertisement was illustrated with the classic phrenological bust.<sup>402</sup> His stay was itinerantly short; his advertisement appeared in only one issue each of two Lynn newspapers dated four days apart but his science had influenced his host's outlook.

Lewis used phrenological features to describe several people mentioned in his *History of Lynn*. Phrenological descriptions created an image in the mind's eye of persons previously unseen. In an era preceding photography, when only portraits of wealthy neighbors and prints of the most famous



**Phrenology in Lynn.** Phrenology was a popular method of character assessment in the first half of the 19th century and Lynn always had supportive advocates and curious investigators for virtually every type of new medical, religious, or social cause or innovation. (Above): advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 16 October 1839. Alonzo Lewis was open to many of the new ideas and made his home available to Mr. Nichols, a visiting phrenologist. (Left): a trade card (ca.1880) promoting Orson Scott Fowler, the renowned phrenologist who performed readings in Lynn in 1841 and again in 1878. (Collection of the author.)



**Thomsonian Family Rights of Erasmus Brickett, 1838.** In 1830 a Lynn shoemaker by the name of Erasmus Brickett could provide his ailing wife nothing but sympathy as he watched a conventional physician administer opiates, mercury, narcotics, and other potentially dangerous medicines over the course of several days. Convinced by such experiences that there had to be a better way, Brickett learned about Thomsonianism and purchased family rights in 1838. (Collection and courtesy of J. Worth Estes, deceased.)

people were easily viewed, the phrenological description nicely filled the void and gave the added benefit of outlining the subject's character as well as facial features. In his second edition of the *History of Lynn* (1844), Lewis improved his first account (1829) of Moll Pitcher, Lynn's noted fortune teller who had died thirty years earlier, with a phrenological description:

Her head, phrenologically considered, was somewhat capacious; her forehead broad and full, her hair dark brown, her nose inclined to long, and her face pale and thin. There was nothing gross or sensual in her appearance – her countenance was rather intellectual; and she had that contour of face and expression, which, without being positively beautiful, is, nevertheless, decidedly interesting – a thoughtful, pensive, and sometimes down-cast look, almost approaching to melancholy....<sup>403</sup>

Phrenology had little to offer as a therapeutic course; its purported medical insight consisted of confirming the existence of dominant constitutional, mental, and emotional strengths and weaknesses and discerning the dormant ones. The probing fingers of the phrenologist and the stroking hands of the animal magnetizer provided little challenge to the regular physician's practice, but Thomsonianism and its botanic offshoots did.



**THOMSONIANISM** was one man's effort to organize traditional botanic medicine into a systematized challenge to regular medicine. Samuel Thomson was a New Hampshire farmer who hatefully accused regular medicine of killing his mother: “[My mother] continued to grow worse daily; the doctors ... gave her disease the name of galloping consumption, which I thought was a very appropriate name; for they are the riders, and their whip is mercury, opium and vitriol, and they galloped her out of the world in about nine weeks.”<sup>404</sup> When his wife was attacked with a serious illness shortly thereafter, Thomson again called on a number of regular physicians but she continued to fail rapidly. In desperation over her decline and the inabilities of the gaggle who flapped about her, Thomson called on two local root and herb doctors who affected her cure.<sup>405</sup> This experience encouraged him to learn botanic medicine himself, during which study he discovered the medicinal characteristics of *lobelia inflata*, or Indian tobacco, a diaphoretic (induces perspiration) and very strong emetic. The plant is capable of causing convulsions and death, but in 1806, Thomson made it the cornerstone of his medical system.<sup>406</sup> Fifty years later, Cyrus M. Tracy, a Lynn naturalist and author, agreed with Thomson's assessment of Indian tobacco's safety, “It [is] no more a virulent poison than a mustard plant. I have eaten it, drank it, slept upon it, rubbed and bathed with it, and never saw the slightest evil from its use; had it been poisonous I must have died long since....”<sup>407</sup>

Thomson's system of health was based on the notion, “Heat is life, cold is death.” He likened the stomach to a stove and disease was soot clogging the stove's pipes.<sup>408</sup> It was a simple analogy to which Lynners could relate. They had seen the great grist and chocolate mills of Hezekiah Chase destroyed by fire because of a defective chimney.<sup>409</sup> It served as a reminder to all that smoky kitchens, shoe shops, and schoolrooms were signs of clogged pipes and impending calamity.<sup>410</sup> Lynn stove dealer Jesse Hutchinson constructed a new stove designed to properly carry away smoke and steam while giving off the correct amount of heat.<sup>411</sup> The Thomsonian “stove” and “pipes” operated on the same principle. When the circulation of heat in the body was hampered, coldness and morbidity set in and illness ensued. Thomson vigorously opposed all the “mineral” remedies of the regular physicians because minerals came from the cold dark ground (the final moldering place for all dead organisms) and were therefore deadly, while plants grew toward the bright, warming sun and were, consequently, full of life.<sup>412</sup>

The Thomsonian systematized cure consisted of four parts: cleaning out the digestive system, raising the external temperature through perspiration, raising internal heat, then completing the course

by restoring digestion and strengthening the stomach.<sup>413</sup> The tools to accomplish this mission were lobelia, cayenne pepper, steaming the patient, and botanicals to tone the digestive apparatus.

His cure-all, one-way system was antithetical to the regular medical faculty's belief in multiple causes and solutions for illness; it was designed from the outset to tear apart the domination of university-trained, medical society-approved doctors. "We should at once explode the whole machinery of mystification and concealment," said one Thomsonian tract, " – wigs, gold canes, and the gibberish of prescriptions – which serves but as a cloak to ignorance and legalized murder!"<sup>414</sup> Thomson's therapeutics had the advantages of coming from the same botanical lineage that most families had used for centuries. His method was, in fact, no less valid than regular medicine and on average it was less dangerous. He appealed to the "common man" sentiments of Jacksonian America when he warned the public about the regular medical fraternity's attitude of "self-importance and [arrogance] towards all those who have not had the advantages of learning, and a degree at college."<sup>415</sup> Another of his favorite thrusts was against Latin, the language of regular medicine: "There can be no good reason given why all the technical terms in medical works are kept in a dead language, except it be to deceive and keep the world ignorant of their doings...."<sup>416</sup> Thomsonian proponents spread the word with evangelical zeal and its acceptance grew rapidly. It provided a formalized system of medical practice that could be performed by every man and woman. No more doctor's bills and no more unintelligible Latin phrases from an aristocratic fraternity: it was medicine for the common man. Lynn was full of common men; laborers; folks that had long demonstrated their zeal to do things their way: Lynn was ripe for Thomsonianism.

In 1830 a Lynn shoemaker by the name of Erasmus Brickett could provide his ailing wife nothing but sympathy as he watched Richard Hazeltine administer opiates, mercury, narcotics, and other potentially dangerous medicines over the course of several days.<sup>417</sup> Convinced by such experiences that there had to be a better way, Brickett learned about Thomsonianism and purchased family rights to practice in 1838. Brickett purchased his Thomsonian family rights from John R. Patten, a self-styled "Botanic Physician" and "Agent to Dr. S. Thomson."<sup>418</sup> In the early 1830s Patten practiced Thomsonian medicine itinerantly in Lynn and the surrounding vicinity with alleged success to more than 250 patients "in almost every state and stage of disease, the greatest part of whom have been cured."<sup>419</sup> He began a Thomsonian infirmary in Lynn in July 1834.<sup>420</sup> On 28 January 1835 he announced the establishment of his Thomsonian infirmary on Commercial Street, just one door north of the town landmark, the Lynn Hotel. Flush with pride in his new infirmary, he advertised that it had been fitted up with every advantage "to make the invalid cease to loathe life":

... he will be pleased to wait on all those of his fellow citizens laboring under the iron hand of disease without the aid of any of the dead languages, dissertations on the circulation of the blood, the movement of the digestive organs, or the number of bones in the human frame.... all this humbug about Greek, Latin and Hebrew, change of names of medicines once in 10 years, will be blown to atoms.... The Thomsonian system ... will cure all cureable diseases, under whatever form they may appear, or whatever name they may bear, as we doctor the disease and not the name.<sup>421</sup>

By the end of 1835, Patten was claiming to have administered to more than 600 patients and listed twenty-two Lynn patrons as proof. The list comprised a wide cross-section of Lynn society, including owners and employees in the shoe trade, a storeowner, a blacksmith, a portrait painter, and a printer.<sup>422</sup> Such enthusiasm in Lynn lead to the creation of an organization for Thomsonian disciples. On the 10th of November 1836, Patten organized The Thomsonian Friendly Botanic Society of Lynn and was elected to serve as its president. Other officers were selected from the Lynn spectrum of common folks who were just the type that Thomson had hoped would embrace his system. Richard S. Butman, a sailmaker, became vice president; Josiah R. Clough, a shoe worker, its secretary; Timothy Alley 3<sup>rd</sup>, a trader, treasurer; and J. B. Tolman, a printer, the meeting secretary. The committee to draft a constitution for the society included Tolman, a carpenter, a sash and blind maker,

and the portrait painter. To the thrill and honor of all the organizers, Samuel Thomson himself attended this founding meeting.<sup>423</sup>

Two and a half years after its opening, a friend of Thomsonianism wrote a newspaper article endorsing Patten's establishment. He painted a pretty picture for the reader of a place where "everything within appeared neat and comfortable; while the garden, grove, fields and everything around, wore an air of elegance and taste."<sup>424</sup> The writer further described in detail the experience of a patient in the hands of this Thomsonian practitioner; it wasn't at all pretty but the course of treatment produced the results that others presumably wanted to read:

We did not rest satisfied with these outward appearances, but gratified our further curiosity, by staying to witness the operations of a course of medicine, about to be administered to a sick man present. He had been a long time troubled with dyspepsia, and had an extremely foul stomach. He was first steamed, standing or sitting, in a common shower box, the steam being admitted at the bottom, till the thermometer ranged from 90 to 110 degrees. There is a window hole to this box, from which the patient can hold his head out and breathe fresh air if he choose. This process of steaming is said to be an agreeable one, lasting ten or fifteen minutes, after which the patient is rubbed with a dry cloth, put into a bed, and an emetic, consisting of a preparation of *lobelia*, administered. This medicine operated powerfully three or four times in the course of an hour and a half, in which a large quantity, apparently two or three quarts of black, thick, ropy, nauseous substance was ejected from the stomach, the very sight of which was appalling.<sup>425</sup>

At the conclusion of the patient's repeated vomiting, he was taken back to the steam box, after which a gallon of cool water was poured over his head. He then dried off, dressed, and was "sent about his business, in a very comfortable state of health and feeling, as we were informed."<sup>426</sup> The editor of the *Lynn Reporter* was sufficiently impressed by his visit and observations that he himself became Patten's patient. He was suffering from "an old deep-laid cold for more than eight months, and he had tried other healing methods, but eventually went to "Dr. Patten's Thomsonian Infirmary ... and entered immediately upon the 'regular course;' that is, of steaming, sweating, puking, &c." He was once again impressed by Patten's ability to perform the three gastric exorcisms "decently and in order, or *genteelly*." The important patient then swallowed "huge portions" of lobelia and later cayenne. All in all, the editor decided, "It is not so hard to endure [the regular course and] ... after a process of four hours, we were never in better health or spirits...."<sup>427</sup> The editor was convinced he had been completely cured and that Thomsonianism was marvelous:

No person can entertain a less favorable opinion of *Indian taught doctors*, or seventh sons, or *natural born doctors*, or *root and airb doctors*, generally, than we do; but the Thomsonian system we consider entirely different, and entitled to at least a serious and candid examination from learned and regular bred physicians.<sup>428</sup>

Another patron of the therapy echoed the editor's endorsement: "From the reports of those engaged in the practice, and my own experience and observation, I have arrived at the conclusion that the Thomsonian System of Medical Practice is competent to the saving of forty-nine fiftieths of those who labor under the influence of disease...."<sup>429</sup> Patten and Thomsonianism had befriended Lynn and the *Lynn Record*. By mid-August 1838, Patten claimed to have treated more than 1,500 patients, out of whom only 8 died while under his care and all of those had either arrived at his doorstep too late or left it too soon.<sup>430</sup>

In addition to his burgeoning infirmary business, Patten sold Thomson's medicines and copies of Thomson's *New Guide to Health*, and he rented out his facility's steam baths "as a luxury." He was even recommended by a Boston dentist for tooth extraction and cleaning.<sup>431</sup> Furthermore, Patten pointed out, the demand for Thomsonian practitioners was growing, so he was taking on students at the infirmary "on reasonable terms," as well as selling Thomson's patented family rights to Lynners like Erasmus Brickett.<sup>432</sup> All that was required to become a Thomsonian practitioner, Patten said, was

“a good English education, and also a good moral character.”<sup>433</sup> In October of 1835 Patten introduced newspaper readers to his own wife as a practitioner, “... [She] will be in attendance in the Female Department. She flatters herself, from the experience she has had in the practice, she will be able to give satisfaction to all those females who may apply for relief.”<sup>434</sup>

With Thomsonian interest heating up in Lynn faster than patients in a steam box, more and more lectures on the subject were given in the town’s meeting halls. In January 1837, Richard S. Butman, the sailmaker and two-month fledgling vice president of Lynn’s Thomsonian society, gave a series of lectures on the Thomsonian system. While he had not previously spoken in public, a contributor to the *Record* was delighted and entertained by Butman’s lectures.<sup>435</sup> In February 1837 a Thomsonian practitioner from Boston named Chapman gave a course of three lectures at Lynn’s town hall. The first lecture drew a crowd of about 400. Samuel Thomson was again present and addressed the audiences at the end of each of Chapman’s lectures.<sup>436</sup> While Butman, Chapman, and Thomson lectured and Patten taught and healed, Aaron Holder advertised a list of seventy-seven “Vegetable Medicines,” including lobelia, cayenne pepper, and twenty-one other items listed in Thomson’s book. Another botanic physician, James Clark, followed on the heels of the Chapman/Thomson lectures; he announced his arrival in early March.<sup>437</sup> His ads specified the botanical nature of his medical practice, but never mentioned Thomsonianism; he recognized a business opportunity without taking on the conflict or the cost of patent rights.

Thomsonianism had become a popular choice in Lynn but its promise had been unraveling elsewhere. Thomson’s acceptance by so many brought him and his treatments under intense fire in the courtroom and the newspapers. Of his persecutions, Thomson wrote, “If any man undertakes to pursue a practice differing from what is sanctioned by the regular faculty, let him show ever so much ingenuity in his discoveries, or be ever so successful in curing disease, he is hunted down like a wild beast....”<sup>438</sup> He had been charged in 1809 with the murder of an Essex County patient whom he had obviously failed to cure but he was acquitted when one of the prosecution’s experts incorrectly identified marsh rosemary as Thomson’s Indian tobacco. His system was also challenged by many regular physicians and almost usurped by his principal agent and biographer, Elias Smith. As early as November of 1836 anti-Thomsonian meetings may have been held in Lynn.<sup>439</sup> In June of 1837 Richard Butman, the thirty-seven-year-old advocate, lecturer, and vice-president of Thomsonianism in Lynn, died right in Patten’s infirmary.<sup>440</sup> Patten also had to be frustrated by his inability to make his Thomsonian medicines and skills save his own three children: he lost two in the space of two months and all three in two years; the youngest had been named Samuel Thomson Patten after Patten’s hero. In 1840 Patten moved his infirmary out of Lynn and up the coast to Danvers.<sup>441</sup>

Back in Lynn, rigid Thomsonianism had softened into more generalized botanic practice that utilized a much wider array of plant matter and severed reliance on Thomson’s system. J. B. Tolman decided to sell his Thomsonian Portable Steam Box “very cheap,” even though it was still new.<sup>442</sup> Patten still made Thomsonian medicines and ingredients available in Lynn through his agent, Daniel Betton (a leather worker) but most of the old Thomsonian medicine vendors had liberalized their selections, moving away from Thomsonian specifics and offering instead a general assortment of botanical ingredients.<sup>443</sup> Holder no longer advertised Thomsonian ingredients but George Lummus announced that he had become the sole agent in Lynn for the wine bitters, peach cordial, botanic ointment, vegetable elixir, composition pills, and other medicines of Elias Smith. From its earliest settlers to Thomson and Smith, Lynn had been a fertile territory for botanic medicine.<sup>444</sup>



**GRAHAMISM.** The botanic principles and anti-medical establishment attitude fostered in Thomsonianism were also some of the core elements in the lifestyle philosophy of Sylvester Graham. Like Thomson, Graham was a well-known name in health reform and with Lynn one of the state’s fastest-growing communities, the town’s rostrum was a valuable platform from which these personalities could advance their causes and careers. Samuel Thomson and Sylvester Graham were

both in Lynn in November 1836 – Thomson organizing Lynn's Friendly Botanic Society and Graham lecturing at the town hall (Graham had only about half the audience that Chapman and Thomson would have three months later).<sup>445</sup> A month after Graham completed his lectures, Thomson began proselytizing his system in the same hall.

Despite the steady barrage upon Lynn of dubious experts haranguing their various medical systems, the *Record* had urged the beleaguered town to listen to Sylvester Graham: "We, the people of Lynn, have been coaxed and hoaxed by quack lectures, to our hearts' discontent, now why not employ a man who has been well tried.... Let us try him. He will be sure of a full house, and his lectures may prove *profitable*, to himself and the people."<sup>446</sup> The presence and efforts of these two widely recognized health reformers in Lynn at the same time was an extraordinary compliment of attention to a town of shoemakers, farmers, and fishermen.<sup>447</sup> In return, Lynn was the perfect host to new ideas, as demonstrated by an editorial comment in the *Lynn Record*: "We hold ourselves uncommitted on the subject (of Graham's lectures), but intend to give ... a candid and impartial hearing.... our motto is – free inquiry – free discussion – let every subject which becomes prominent before the public be carefully and candidly examined; and then let every man judge for himself."<sup>448</sup>

Graham championed strict moral and physical asceticism with a simple philosophy, which was, essentially, to avoid getting excited. As with Thomsonianism, the stomach was at the center of Graham's universe. Anything that stimulated it weakened the individual and invited disease, so Graham's system was marked by restraint and plainness. The guideposts on Graham's path to health were unrefined whole wheat bread, vegetarianism, temperance, and sexual restraint; other elements included daily bathing, eating slowly, sensible dress and plenty of fresh air. What made the Graham system unpalatable for many was the long list of denials of the appetites: no meat or fish of any kind; no fat or gravies; no pepper, mustard, oil, or vinegar; no coffee, tea, wine, cider, or beer; no tobacco ("in all its forms"); no soups or broth, snacks or pastries; no feather mattresses ("[they] are highly injurious and do not possess a single redeeming quality"); and no sexual excitement, even in marriage, beyond the need for procreation.<sup>449</sup>

Before the introduction of Grahamism, the popular concept that animal flesh was closest to human flesh and would therefore revitalize and strengthen it, encouraged Lynners to eat a lot of meat. Pork was the meat of choice because pigs supplied a great deal of meat and were low-maintenance animals. They rooted through garbage and the kitchen slops tossed out of windows and were constrained only by the occasional hog reeve or angry neighbor who found them foraging through their garden. Joseph Lye raised a hog or two each year, butchered them in the fall, and helped his neighbors butcher theirs. Especially in the winter months, breakfasts, lunches, and dinners usually featured large portions of greasy salted pork, slathered with condiments. Vegetables were included with the infrequency and scant portions of a garnish and usually only after being boiled for a long time. Lye raised only potatoes and corn in his garden.<sup>450</sup> Meals were washed down with beer, rum, whiskey, or a number of other liquors. Graham's diet of uncooked fruits and vegetables, water, and plain whole wheat bread was not just reform – it was revolution.

One of the debating societies in town continued the vegetarian discussion that Graham had brought to Lynn. The question, "Is entire abstinence from animal food conducive to health and longevity?" was argued in the affirmative by the team of George Hood and Silas Durkee and opposed by Edward Kittredge and Edward Coffin. At the debate's conclusion, a vote of the audience was taken and the *Mirror* announced with relief, "Roast Beef Triumphant!" Twenty-three were unwilling to give up their meat and seventeen were ready to follow the Graham way.<sup>451</sup> Edwin Sheldon drew attention to the meats in his provisions store by highlighting the differences between his food and Graham's diet. Just prior to the Thanksgiving feast day in 1836, Sheldon encouraged Lynn to party heartily and to put off the demanding diet until another day, "[he] has an abundance of the good things of life – Anti-Graham substantials.... Everything in its season – Mr. Sheldon *this week* – Mr. Graham *next*."<sup>452</sup>

In spite of the many sacrifices he required, Graham had converts in Lynn. A Graham Society was established as early as 1830; thus Graham enjoyed some resident support as he delivered his lectures in 1836.<sup>453</sup> Aaron Holder stocked “Dyspepsia Bread” (Graham’s coarse wheat bread, which was supposed to relieve indigestion), three years before Graham’s visit.<sup>454</sup> George Lummus, S. Noyes, and Jeremiah Dearborn all capitalized on Graham’s visit and the apparently favorable public response by offering Graham flour in their store.<sup>455</sup> While the local shopkeepers may have been carrying Graham goods purely from a profit motive rather than personal commitment, Mary S. Gove did indeed bring Grahamism into her business because of her devotion to those health reform principles. Suffering from tuberculosis, she wrote to a friend in February 1840, “I had an attack of bleeding at the lungs … I only wonder I did not die … But my Grahamism kept me alive. I am now in very comfortable health and am Lecturing twice a week to a small Class.”<sup>456</sup>

In 1838 (during Graham’s second speaking tour through Lynn) Mrs. Gove managed a young ladies’ boarding school in Lynn on the Graham plan of diet.<sup>457</sup> “Every practical teacher of children knows the intense difference between a morning lesson and an after dinner lesson,” she observed, and attributed this difference partly to “the drowsy oppressive results of flesh-eating.”<sup>458</sup> She further lectured that the difference between students who ate simple vegetables and fruits in moderate quantity and those that ate flesh and other offensive foods could be as easily “marked in their lesson books as in the greasy dishes.”<sup>459</sup> Wanting to make her audience squirm at the images she was drawing about the barbarity of eating animal flesh, she quoted the English poet, Alexander Pope, “Nothing can be more shocking and horrid than one of our kitchens sprinkled with blood, and abounding with the cries of expiring creatures, or with the limbs of dead animals scattered or hung up here and there.”<sup>460</sup> David Johnson, Gove’s contemporary, observed that Grahamism became a popular response to meat in the diet because, coincidentally, the quality of meat suffered precisely at the time that Grahamism was being offered as an alternative. Johnson remembered that for several years after the financial panic of 1837 Lynners had to eat “miserable trash” like “rattlesnake pork” – poor cuts of inferior quality meat from pigs out West that allegedly had been raised on a diet of rattlesnakes:

All parts pretty much went into the barrel, not excepting a good many bristles that ought to have gone to the brush-makers, and a good deal besides that never ought to have gone anywhere except, possibly, to the foot of a grape-vine. It is not surprising that Grahamism flourished a few years after this [depression]. One look into a barrel of this pork would make more Grahamites than a whole course of lectures.<sup>461</sup>



**FEMALE HEALERS.** For years following her Lynn classes, Mary Gove lectured on health to women, combining phrenology and Grahamism. She urged parents to save their children from sexual indulgences that were “most destructive to health of body and soul.” She taught that phrenology could be applied to determine whether even a small child was doomed to suffer from “diseased amativeness,” indicating that there was a “worm in the bud” of blooming youth. Forewarned parents could then apply Graham-inspired sexual restraints, like watching closely for signs of “self-pollution” (masturbation) which, Gove pointed out, was a leading cause of admission to the lunatic hospitals.<sup>462</sup>

While Graham and Thomson were in Lynn, trying to win support for their health systems, a small sorority of female physicians had already made their mark on the town. Mrs. Elizabeth Mott and her assistants, the Hunt sisters (Harriot and Sara), all of Boston, had introduced their services to Lynn women in 1834. Mott, the preceptress of the plan, administered “Systematic Vegetable Medicines” and “Patented Medicated and Champoo Baths”; in combination they were “a preventive and a cure of contagious diseases.”<sup>463</sup> The bath was created by steam heat passing “through a still or medicated chamber, from thence conveyed by pipes, to the bath.” By this means the “essential oil of the herbs, the delightful fragrance of aromatic, and medicinal preparations cover the surface of the body.”<sup>464</sup> The Mott system was similar to the botanics, vapor baths, and family rights of Thomson,

but was made exotic by her claims that it was used in Europe and Asia: “[the patented shampoo baths] are considered in the Oriental Empires as the greatest luxury they enjoy....” After one of her patented baths, she encouraged women to use the gymnasium “or exercising frame” to continue the action of relaxing the body’s tendons.<sup>465</sup> This regimen could then be followed up with some of the medicines she offered from 25 cents to \$1.50 each.<sup>466</sup> There were dozens of remedies in her arsenal, from her *Elixir of Life* and a *Stomachic Bitters* to the *Bunion Embrocation* and a *Wart Ointment*.<sup>467</sup> The baths and vegetable medicines were promised to cure those things “hitherto thought incurable,” including “Weakness in females, King’s Evil, … Consumption (if in early stages) … Hemorrhoids, … Tooth Ache … Warts, and Worms, and many others not necessary to enumerate.”<sup>468</sup> In short, her medicines were specifics “for the relief or cure of all diseases or weakness incident to the female frame.”<sup>469</sup>

Elizabeth Mott had at first been a convenient assistant to her healer-husband, tending, as any good healer’s wife would (and as John Patten’s wife did) to the delicate needs of female patients, but she also claimed the distinction of being the seventh daughter of a seventh daughter, for which the fates had bestowed upon her the prescient ability to be able to warn of impending deaths and “other strange events.”<sup>470</sup> Mott authored *The Ladies’ Medical Oracle* in 1834, a book on the cause, prevention, and cure of diseases of the “female frame,” and promoted it as a non-technical look at sickness and medicines for the woman reader.<sup>471</sup> Shortly after her husband died, she had anointed herself a full-fledged female physician, teaching female students and diagnosing and prescribing, even by mail:

... you must send on word where you feel the pains and all particulars. Persons labouring under such complaints for a length of time, cannot expect to be relieved in a week, not even a month, as it requires such thorough changes in the system, in fact they have to be almost remade, I am always candid and never undertake to do anything but what I feel confident of performing. Send on word the state of your bowels, if you are at all costive or not.... E. Mott, Female Physician<sup>472</sup>

Harriet K. Hunt, one of Elizabeth Mott’s students, visited Lynn during the first week of March 1836 to see about generating some business. Her newspaper advertisement offered Mott’s book and medicines for sale, as well as general and family patent rights for the medicated vapor baths.<sup>473</sup> Once she established some patronage, Hunt was able to permanently add Lynn to her visiting schedule for one or two days each month.

After a trip to Europe, the healers Mott and Hunt returned with the promised ability to relieve or cure even more health problems, including paralysis, consumption, worms, hemorrhoids, and contractions.<sup>474</sup> Harriet Hunt resumed her monthly Lynn practice at the home of Graham advocate, Mary S. Gove.<sup>475</sup> When the Eastern Railroad was completed, Hunt made the home of a Mrs. Lewis near the Lynn Depot her Lynn branch office.<sup>476</sup>

A liberal attitude in Lynn towards female involvement in the medical arts again manifested itself in Mary Gove. Although she was met with censure, ridicule, and sarcasm by those who were against the combination of women and medical education, she had her supporters as well.<sup>477</sup> “We are glad to learn,” quoted one town paper, “that there is a growing disposition in the community to instruct those who, as Dr. Rush says, sow the seeds of nearly all the good or evil in our world” namely, women.<sup>478</sup> A course of instruction on physiology was given in early 1838 by Mary Gove who had spent “some seven or eight years in the study of Anatomy and Physiology.” She received a recommendation from Silas Durkee, the Lynn physician who had encouraged female physiological education, and she probably received further encouragement in her medical interests from her monthly visitor, Harriet Hunt.<sup>479</sup> Her course of lectures was for ladies only and when the material warranted greater delicacy, the audiences were further segregated by separate sessions for married and single women and in the isolated privacy of a church vestry.<sup>480</sup> Anna Breed attended three of her lectures, two of which were about the human skeleton and a third about the evils of tight lacing. “She has very correct views of the effects of that horrid practice,” the satisfied listener told her friend; it was an “excellent lecture.”<sup>481</sup>

Durkee's influence was reflected in the subjects Mary Gove covered, which included her third lecture on "the fatal consequences of dressing too tightly," the importance of fresh air and exercise, frequent bathing, and of moral and physical purity, and "the consequences of abuse to the physical organs."<sup>482</sup> Like Anna Breed, the Lynn newspapers were united in their emphatic endorsement of Mary S. Gove and the importance of her lectures. An editorial commented about one of her upcoming engagements, "We hope the young Ladies of Lowell will not let pass the opportunity of profiting by Mrs. Gove's researches and experience, for we are inclined to the belief that there are but few lecturers of the present day who can impart more useful information in a few short lectures."<sup>483</sup>

There were enough women attending Gove's lectures to encourage her to lecture in other eastern New England locations.<sup>484</sup> Similarly, Hunt and Mott didn't have many problems getting female patients; the difficulty, as it was for all other healers, was getting payment. In 1843 Elizabeth Mott responded to a disgruntled patient who felt the doctor should simply give her the medicine:

As to its being my *duty* to give you your medicine I cannot understand *why*. I cannot get them given to me and therefore cannot possibly afford to do so, but I always make as much allowances as I possibly can to poor people, as I am willing to do so with you, if you will enclose me eight dollars, I will send you twelve dollars worth of medicine, for your lameness which will help you....<sup>485</sup>

Defending her right to sell her medicines instead of just giving them away was a recurrent theme for Mott, and she included it in her book, "It has been asked, 'Why are not the methods of making, and the ingredients of each preparation made public?' Would it be fairness to myself, at present to do so? Surely the laborer is worthy of his hire."<sup>486</sup>

## **PANDORA'S BOX OF MEDICINE**

Money had always been a big issue in Lynn's pursuit of health. If a sick person was wealthy, they might travel off to some more favorable climate "in vain search of the rosy-lipped goddess, Health," as did Sarah Ashton Newhall, who died after going to Nassau in the Bahamas for a cure.<sup>487</sup> The regular and new breeds of healers squabbled over the sick that stayed behind. Amid the many choices, the ill and infirm often resorted to the least expensive choice first, if not exclusively. The cheapest option of all was to doctor oneself.

The tradition of homemade preparations, both efficacious and superstitious, had endured the onslaught of medicine sellers, healers, and systematists. The Lynn newspapers continued to supply a number of prescriptions for ailments that could be compounded at home, such as a cough cure of molasses and alum, and an asthma remedy from burning paper saturated with salt petre solution.<sup>488</sup> Readers were warned that tight boots caused apoplexy and they were told of a young consumptive who was cured by drinking the dew on chamomile leaves; she followed the example of a starving dog that she had seen recover from licking the dew-laden leaves in the garden.<sup>489</sup>

Most of Lynn's apothecaries offered long lists of botanical ingredients for residents to make their own medicines. Thomas Lummus and Nathan Phillips advertised medicinal herbs for sale that were prepared by the Shakers.<sup>490</sup> If a person was so inclined, he or she could also turn to their own herb gardens or even the wilds of Lynn for medicinal ingredients from nature. In the spring of 1836 the town newspaper was advising its readers that the Balm of Gilead buds were a perfect size for picking. This was a call to harvest for medicine: pounded in a mortar and steeped in alcohol, the resultant mixture was used internally as a tonic and externally for bathing sores.<sup>491</sup> An extensive report on pyrola, "growing common in our woods," had been offered to the readership in the spring of 1828. The article reviewed where to find it, how to recognize it, how to use it as a medicine, what its medicinal values were, and why traipsing through Lynn's fields and woods in pursuit of plants made sense:

I am not an advocate of quackery in any shape; nor would I prevent a skillful and good principled physician from obtaining a comfortable living – but it is the duty of all persons to preserve or mend their health as much as possible; and if our good mother Nature has provided the means, there is no reason why we may not employ them. It is probable that for most if not for all the diseases to which we are incident, an antidote might be found in our forests.<sup>492</sup>

One of the ever-present dangers in herb-picking and homemade medicine was ignorance about plant species and properties. Back in Ipswich, Sarah Lummus, the sixty-eight-year-old spinster sister of Lynn's popular healer Aaron Lummus, had probably spent a lifetime picking herbs but she finally made a fatal choice by eating wild hemlock that she had mistaken for artichoke.<sup>493</sup>

Noah Pike had spent a lifetime in Lynn's fields and woods. In 1839 he was 65 years old, a husband twice over and a father to twenty-three. He had practiced herbal medicine on his huge household and determined that if an affliction existed in a curable state, it could be cured by "vegetable medicine." At this late point in his life (perhaps encouraged by the spate of other locals, like Erasmus Brickett, who had begun to offer their botanic skills for pay), Pike advertised that he could cure illness "which baffles our regular-bred physicians." He encouraged "all persons in this vicinity ... to try the improvement of our country medicine" by calling at the house of "N. Pike, Vegetable Physician" on Essex Street.<sup>494</sup>

Joseph Lye was also typical of his time. He was a Lynn cordwainer who took odd jobs to make ends meet, avoided (as much as possible) the expense of physicians when he was sick, and "went in the woods to gather herbs."<sup>495</sup> He might also have had an herb garden and referred to a tattered list of family cures, altered by experience over the generations, or to one of the growing number of domestic medicine books for his medicinal recipes. Home medical advisors were designed for people who were not near regular physicians but the many editions proved they were popular with more than just isolated rural homesteaders and frontier pioneers. Buchan's popular *Domestic Medicine* went through eighteen editions by 1803. The *Journal of Health*, a medical periodical established in 1829, came highly recommended by both the *Mirror* and the *Record*. Written specifically for laymen "of all classes and both sexes," it promised to avoid professional terms and Latin phrases and to prevent "an immense amount of pain" and expense in medical bills.<sup>496</sup> The *Mirror* later emphasized its importance to females and especially to every mother.<sup>497</sup>

Lynn apothecaries were more than happy to accommodate the citizens wherever their search for health would take them. Aaron Holder listed seventy-eight botanic ingredients for use in homemade medicines; George Lummus had listed several dozen as well; both lists inevitably included Thomsonian ingredients.<sup>498</sup> The prescriptions of regular physicians were always "carefully prepared" at these apothecary shops and for those who wanted a ready-made remedy that didn't require a prescription or their own efforts to compound, there were proprietary medicines. In 1834 Benjamin Proctor and William Rhodes bought out George Lummus's business with its inventory of drugs, medicines, groceries, fancy articles, and West India goods and made a special focus of the medical department.<sup>499</sup> There had been only a few additions in the number of apothecary shops in Lynn during the decade but the quantity of branded medicines sold was multiplied significantly.

Pandora's box opened with the turn of a newspaper page. It was common for a third of the advertising columns to be consumed by medicines. The elaborate and often protracted advertising copy was a combination of physiological primer, encyclopedic curative promises, and lives-saved testimonials, all wrapped in advertising braggadocio. The educational portion was designed to instruct and prove, in a very matter-of-fact, tutorial way, just how and why the medicine worked; it was supposed to make good, common sense. The promised therapeutic action of virtually all proprietaries was alternately described as cleansing, purifying, unblocking, and purging but by any word it was the same flush-it-out and build-it-up principle underlying Thomsonianism, regular medicine, and the humoralism of antiquity. Thus, *Jelly of Pommegranate* was promised to "discharge the bile from the stomach," *Dr. Davenport's Bilious Pills* were good for "removing obstructions of every kind, [and]

dissolving and discharging morbid matter," and *Indian Purgative Pills* possessed "the power of opening and keeping open all the natural drains of the body...."<sup>500</sup> The simplistic model for the nature and cure of disease empowered medicines acting on the philosophy to conquer anything that promoters were bold enough to promise in print. *Dr. Kingley's Pills* cured jaundice, headaches, dyspepsia, bilious complaints, fevers of all kinds, loss of appetite, and "all complaints to which Females alone are subject," as well as worms in children. *Dr. Hewes' and Kittredge's Combined Liniments* extracted pain from any part of the body. *Mrs. M. N. Gardner's Indian Balsam of Liverwort* cured coughs, colds, and spitting of blood. *Dr. Sackett's Dock and Elder Lotion* removed freckles and skin eruptions of all kinds. And the massive curative powers of these five medicines could all be found listed in one weekly edition of the local newspaper.<sup>501</sup> Depression, irritability, despondency, and dejection (harbingers of mental illness), could be cured as well; sufferers were assured that *Dr. Evans' Aperient Pills* removed indigestion, strengthened the body, and enlivened the spirits, thereby keeping Evans' pill-swallowing patrons out of the lunatic asylum.<sup>502</sup>

A medicine's validity was reaffirmed through the testimonials of satisfied customers. Almost every medicine advertisement included testimonials or the assurance that such existed and could be produced as evidence if required. Conversely, no mention was ever made of the absence of testimonials complaining about the medicine's failure and ineffectiveness. The personal accounts of success where regular physicians had failed gave the next ill customer confidence or at least hope of a cure. Consequently, testimonials gave *Dumfrie's Infallible Itch Ointment*, *Dr. Jackson's Remedy for Worms*, and *Prussian Wash for Warts* a chance to sell well in Lynn, even though Dumfrie, Jackson, and the Prussians probably never set foot in the town.

A preponderance of the medicines were botanicals, like *Crosby's Vegetable Rheumatic Drops* and *Mrs. M. N. Gardner's Indian Balsam of Liverwort*. When the medicine came from "our forests" and fields, it was inherently American – an appealing notion to the Jacksonian who held individual rights, including one's choice of medicine, as sacredly American. Botanic medicines of native Americans also blended well into the patriotic and nature themes. *Dr. Warner's Purifying Vegetable Powders or Family Bitters* were "prepared from a Receipt originally procured from an Indian family." An advertisement for *Indian Purgative Pills* stated that "the Art of Healing had its origin in the woods, and the forest is still the best Medical School ... our country is literally flooded with nostrums brought from foreign climes ... [but the *Indian Purgative Pill*] is strictly AMERICAN."<sup>503</sup>

Preparations with the suggestion of foreign origin were often American-made, but named to have a continental or exotic flair. Curiously, the foreign-named products were most often for external and cosmetic purposes. For example, Leader Dam, a Boston apothecary, made *German Lip or Nipple Salve* and *German Tooth-Ache Drops*; Foster's *Egyptian Balm of Life* was an ointment made by Greenough and Foster, a Portsmouth, New Hampshire apothecary. Americans might have felt inferior to their European counterparts in personal care and refinement, or perhaps it was nothing more than the innate curiosity of going beyond one's own backyard to see if the herbs were greener on the other side of the fence.

Many of the medicines tried to gain stature through the title of medical authority. In 1832 Aaron Holder was selling medicines invented by nine individuals claiming credentials: Dr. Anderson, Dr. Galen, Dr. Kittredge, Dr. Jackson, Dr. Mitchell, Dr. Patten, Dr. Ramsay, Dr. Randall, and Dr. Rivers. Before the decade's end, Holder added the products of more professed doctors: Brandreth, Gordack, Kingley, Phelps, Relfe, Spring, and Richardson.

The huge number of medicines proffered to the public dictated the need for branding. The shoes of Lynn, the lacework of Ipswich, and the Asian imports brought into Salem didn't yet have brand names to differentiate them from competitors. Products that cleansed, perfumed, or healed the body were branded in the 1830s, but little else was. The need to differentiate competing medicines on store shelves was solved first through varied bottle size and shapes and later through the use of brand names embossed into the glass. *Dr. Richardson's Celebrated Vegetable Sherry-Wine Bitters* was at first "put up in Wine Bottles," but by the 1840s it was sold in custom-embossed bottles.<sup>504</sup> Mimicry of more

popular brands was dissuaded through the use of various colored certificates with signatures of authenticity that were often wrapped around the product. Consumers were advised to look for the “new copperplate certificate of agency with Dr. Brandreth’s Manufactory on the Hudson river engraved on it,” and the directions of *Mrs. M. N. Gardner’s Indian Balsam of Liverwort* were autographed by the proprietor.<sup>505</sup> Despite the precautions, various brands put out alerts that claimed bogus counterfeit were trying to steal away their patrons. The makers of *Whitwell’s Opodeldoc* told customers to be on the lookout for imitations going by “Whit-man’s Whit-neys, Whit-ings, and about fifty others....”<sup>506</sup> Spurious duplicates of *Vegetable Pulmonary Balsam* were labeled *American Pulmonary Balsam* and *American Pulmonary Balsamic Syrup*, to name a few.<sup>507</sup> While mimicry of popular brands did happen, claiming to have the problem was also a great advertising scheme that focused extra attention on one’s own product as the brand that all others were trying to imitate.

Lynn greeted the onslaught of medicines as openly as it had welcomed the new doctors, systematists, and itinerants; in fact, it had come of age: Lynn entrepreneurs were introducing their own medical tools and medicines. In 1835 the short-lived Boston and Lynn India Rubber Manufacturing company introduced *India Rubber Elastic Ear Tubes* for the hard of hearing. They were advertised as “perfectly portable” and of “an elegant finish.”<sup>508</sup> In 1837 a new and improved tooth puller was invented by an “ingenious mechanic” named Jarvis who was overseeing railroad construction in Lynn. The Jarvis tooth puller had an ivory roller, “which rides as smoothly over the gums as the wheels of a patent spring chaise over Lynn Beach.” The improvement allowed teeth to be extracted on “the most scientific principles, with rail-road speed.” Doctors were said to be “enamored” by it.<sup>509</sup>

Since a railroad worker could invent a better tooth puller, Shadrach Ramsdell (a cordwainer by trade) clearly felt there was no reason why he couldn’t try his hand at making and selling an ointment for the painful dry nipples of nursing mothers; he called it *Ointment for Broken Breast*. His advertisements appeared for only three weeks but perhaps it was enough to get trade in the product going at Nathan M. Phillips’ apothecary.<sup>510</sup> He was sufficiently encouraged to introduce another health product three years later. Naming it *Columbian Soap* was calculated to stir the patriotic support of this American-made brand by every Lynner, regardless of political affiliation. Ramsdell identified its composition as “pure caustic alkali ... in its mildest form with a large portion of highly medicated oils.” He promised it was a “sure remedy for all eruptions of the face; it renders the skin soft and pliable, and preserves it in a healthy state....”<sup>511</sup>

In April of 1831, several years before Ramsdell and Jarvis, Thomas Lummus introduced his own medicinal creation, *Aromatic Stomach Bitters*. The remedy, possibly Lynn’s first branded medicine, was bottled in powder form and probably packaged in a box or paper overwrap.<sup>512</sup> Lummus’s introductory advertisement also ran sideways in the newspaper, and had more promises than the package had contents:

### **Aromatic Stomach Bitters**

These Bitters are composed purely of Vegetables of the most innocent yet specific virtues, and have long been highly extolled by several experienced physicians, as the best Stomachic and Corrective the Vegetable Kingdom furnishes. They are highly recommended as a preventative against Fever, and are extremely serviceable at all seasons of the year, more particularly in the Spring and Summer months, when persons of bilious habits experience that total loss of appetite, disagreeable listlessness, and relaxation of the system. They strengthen the stomach, procure a good Appetite, promote Digestion, purify and sweeten the Blood, and restore the convalescent to his original strength and vigor. They possess in a remarkable degree the property of qualifying those pernicious and inflaming qualities inherent in ardent spirits, and so fatal when taken on an empty stomach, and convert them into an agreeable, wholesome, and invigorating stomachic Cordial. They may be used in water by those who choose it, only add a little spirit to preserve them in warm weather. These Bitters are said to be superior to any now offered to the Public; being gratefully warm and pungently aromatic, they are

particularly recommended to seafaring persons, as an antidote against the scurvy. Persons laboring under the infirmities of old age will find these Bitters, infused in wine, to prove a stimulating and invigorating cordial, increasing the appetite and assisting digestion to a remarkable degree; removing those low-spirited and trembling sensations, the sure effect of want of tone in the system, they are peculiarly adapted for families and individuals, whose residence or peculiar circumstances place them beyond the advantage of procuring a physician, and for whose convenience they are accompanied with ample Directions. They will be found in all cases of the following description to give Relief, viz: - Nausea, Vomiting, Heartburn, Costiveness, Weakness at the Breast, Pain in the Stomach, Excessive Weariness, Loss of Appetite, Dullness and Oppression, a Propensity to Sleep, Bitter Taste in the Mouth, Loathing of Food, Sickness at the Stomach, General Debility, and all other symptoms of Indigestion and Flatulence. Prepared and Sold by T. J. Lummus, Druggist and Apothecary, Lynn.<sup>513</sup>

This extended ad ran for only two issues of the newspaper; either a shortage of funds or a flush of new-found modesty quickly convinced him to conduct a more austere advertising program. Originally the preparation consisted of dry herbs to be dropped into either water or alcohol, according to the user's preference. By 1838 it was being offered pre-mixed in wine. Consequently, Lummus renamed the medicine *Aromatic Wine Bitters* in that year and changed it yet again to the more socially acceptable *Aromatic Vegetable Bitters* by 1842.<sup>514</sup> The bitter-tasting tonic was sold in pontiled and intensely whittled grass-green glass bottles. The large main panel was divided into two lines that ran horizontally; "T. J. LUMMUS" was on the first line and "A.V. BITTERS" on the second. "LYNN" was embossed on one side panel and "MASS." on the other.<sup>515</sup>

Lummus may have ascribed so many curative properties to his medicine because he wanted it to be clearly understood as a medicine and not as an excuse to drink when added in spirits. Bitters particularly had a reputation as a beverage as much as a medicine. The many liquid medicines of both local and national manufacture contained high levels of alcohol. Some of this was essential both as a preservative for the many herbal ingredients, and also as an anti-freeze for the mixture that stood on the shelves of poorly heated homes and stores, and packed in wooden boxes being freighted in wagons during cold New England weather. By the 1830s building heating was only beginning to improve with the addition of stoves to rooms that didn't benefit from a central fireplace's radiant warmth.)

Apothecaries were carefully watched for violations of the exemption to state licensing laws that allowed them to sell liquor as a medicine. One man went to trial for being drunk and abusing his family – after purchasing two quarts of rum from a Lynn apothecary. It was alleged that when he reached home his two octogenarian parents and two crippled children ran out of the house to avoid abuse from the drunkard.<sup>516</sup> Another case was recited of a man with a sore leg who required seventy quarts of spirit in which to bathe it.<sup>517</sup> When it came to liquor, an apothecary was a West Indies goods store with an exemption. Medicines were popular with both the sick and the thirsty and it could be difficult telling the patrons apart; consequently, temperance sympathizers lamented, "... an apothecary now-a-days sells a great deal of medicine."<sup>518</sup>

In addition to his own proprietaries, Lummus had "a constant supply of the best selected medicines [and] all the fashionable medicines and nostrums," but there were other corners in apothecary shops besides the medicine shelves.<sup>519</sup> William Hobbs appealed to his townsmen's vanity by stocking his store with all sorts of toiletries; in addition to the drugs, medicines, roots, and herbs, his selection of personal care products included a wide variety of soaps: cinnamon, otto rose, oxygen, toilet, cream, Windsor, and Castile; hair treatments called *Indian Oil*, *Balm of Columbia*, and *Antique Oil of Tyre*, as well as the ubiquitous bear's grease and bear's oil pomatum; and cream of amber, milk of roses, and freckle wash to beautify the skin.<sup>520</sup> Amid all these delicate improvements sat a jar of very indelicate bloodsucking leeches that he proudly had "available at all times."<sup>521</sup> Hobbs advertised that he prepared medicines under the watchful auspices of Silas Durkee but this promise of purity and correctness was not enough to ensure his success and, just a year after he had opened his doors, his business succumbed during the difficult year 1837.<sup>522</sup>

As the town weathered the national financial crisis of 1837, many of Lynn's businesses had converted to the order store approach, where shoe manufactory vouchers were accepted as payment in place of cash; it was often a choice between accepting the company scrip or having no sales. Apothecaries tried to resist running an order store business by demanding cash but they took what they could get.<sup>523</sup> Thomas Lummus kept his business healthy by diversifying with consigned goods like shoes, hats, window glass, and hardware, in addition to the drugs and medicines, all of which he attempted to sell strictly on a cash basis.<sup>524</sup> While Proctor & Rhodes advertisements focused on candy and medicines, they also carried groceries, baskets, crockery, and a large array of sundries: combs, spectacles, wallets, visiting cards, scissors, knives, and lamp wicks, to name a few, and even German toys.<sup>525</sup>

Non-medicine businesses fought hard times the same way in reverse, expanding their range of wares to include proprietary medicines. They had been enticed by medicine advertisements that solicited for agents, offering large discounts as incentives.<sup>526</sup> Thus, while Lynn had only four apothecaries, it had at least twenty stores selling medicines. The grocery and West Indian goods stores of Caleb Wiley, Daniel Alley, D. N. Breed, and Oliver Porter stocked proprietaries, as did the bookstore of Charles Coolidge and the dry goods store of John Alley 3rd. Jonathan Buffum became a medicine agent in addition to being a shoe manufacturer and owner of the *Lynn Record*. Israel Perkins, George W. Raddin, F. W. Bruce, and E. Stocker were shoe manufacturers as well as agents for various medicine brands. James R. Newhall mimicked the combination of newspaper printshop and small-time medicine seller that Charles Lummus had maintained since the middle of the previous decade. Nathan M. Phillips may have made use of his skills as a sign and fancy painter to advertise his general assortment of drugs and medicines. J. W. Millet, the stage coach driver, had many opportunities every day to offer his medicines and he eventually abandoned the stage to be a merchant.<sup>527</sup> Breed, Stocker, and Millett were agents for *Brandreth's Vegetable Universal Pills*.<sup>528</sup> Oliver Porter and Israel Perkins sold *Celebrated German Cough Pills* and *Bilious Physical Pills*, both entirely vegetable.<sup>529</sup> Daniel Alley sold the several preparations by Greenough and Foster of New Hampshire: *Foster's Nerve Ointment*, *German Toothache Drops*, and *Egyptian Balm of Life*.<sup>530</sup> John Alley 3rd, G. W. Raddin, and Caleb Wiley all sold the local line of Dr. S. O. Richardson of South Reading.<sup>531</sup> None of these Lynn businesses carried the volume or variety of medicines that were found at the apothecaries but the aggregate combined with the apothecaries for a whole lot of medical options for Lynn customers. In excess of 170 out-of-town medicines were advertised in Lynn newspapers during the 1830s.<sup>532</sup>

Lynners took the bait. Inevitably, some believed they derived benefit or an outright cure from the medicine they took and their names were added to the growing and valuable list of testimonials that medicine makers liked to wave in front of the public. The wife of Captain Joseph Johnson of Nahant provided her testimonial for *Dr. William Evans' Chamomile Pills*. She was certain that the medicine cured her of tic douloureux, an involuntary and painful facial twitch.<sup>533</sup> More Lummus proprietaries were presented to the town, not by Thomas, Edward, or even George, but by the distinctly non-medical brother, Aaron. Clearly exploiting the family name and perhaps taking advantage of some of the medicinal recipes he had found when closing accounts on his father's daybooks, Aaron sprinkled the advertisements for his proprietaries with testimonials of locals as well as others from elsewhere in southeastern New England (often from several of the towns in which he had preached in his early years as an itinerant).<sup>534</sup>

The well-meaning assurance of a Lynn neighbor provided an extra measure of confidence; thus the story of Jesse Rice, a tavernkeeper on Nahant, weighted his testimonial with extra significance. Rice was afflicted by rheumatism for two years, but was cured in a week or two by *Lummus's Rheumatic Lotion*. The familiar Charles Lummus had died of consumption, but before he did (the reader was assured), he was cured of an obstinate diarrhea by his brother's *Stomachic Elixir*. *Lummus's Head Ache Lotion* cured the violent headaches of Lynn dentist John Lyscom in two minutes and the violent, sick headaches of shoe manufacturer Augustus Otis's wife as well.<sup>535</sup>

Lummus recommended the public to his large handbills for more testimonials and information; unfortunately, none of this ephemera seems to have survived.

The new proprietaries were almost always herbal, innocuous and, at worst, provided no remedial benefit. Even in their inaction they might operate as a placebo. The testimonials rendered were offered by people who believed in the medicine's efficacy without any real proof. They not only attributed their recovery to the proprietary they were using at the time, but also tended to forget the failures and relapses. While patients felt the condescension of medical society physicians and the need to heroically endure the harsh chemical treatments and even more dangerous and painful surgery, they enjoyed the solicitous, sympathetic, no-questions-asked demeanor of the Thomsonian, animal magnetizer, female healer, and apothecary.<sup>536</sup> In the end, the patient was the doctor, making a personal diagnosis and prognosis, as well as the apothecary, purchasing a bottle, box, or pot of packaged medicine or even the individual ingredients to make their own medicines at home. The decisions were the patient's alone to make. In those moments called illness, when the body revolted and weakened and despair swirled about in a confusing mist, the ill of the 1830s believed they had gained what they wanted most: the power to regain control of themselves. What they had allowed instead was for more powers than ever to control them.

## Chapter 4 Notes

1. Article, "Mr. Durant's Ascension," *Lynn Record*, 6 August 1834.
2. Extracted from a table of Massachusetts towns in *Lynn Record*, 13 September 1837. In 1837, Lynn was the sixth largest Massachusetts town, after Boston, Lowell, Salem, New Bedford, and Charlestown.
3. C(harles) F. Lummus, *The Lynn Directory and Town Register for 1832* (Lynn: George Lummus, 1832), p.11, lists the value of chocolate produce by two mills at \$17,000 annually; p.14 lists the value of shoes for 1831 at \$942,191; *A Directory of Lynn for 1837* (Lynn: J. R. Newhall, 1837), lists the gross value of shoes for the year at \$1,689,793 and whaling products (oil and bone) at \$54,330.
4. The arrivals and departures of Lynn's whaleships, the *Atlas*, *Henry Clay*, *Commodore Preble*, *Louisa*, and *Ninus*, are variously listed in the town's newspapers from 1832-1838. See Notices, no titles, *Weekly Messenger* (Lynn), 2 March 1833; *Lynn Chronicle*, 1 July 1835; *Lynn Mirror*, 16 September 1837. See also Article, "Statistical Account of some of the principal branches of business in Lynn for the year, ending April 1st, 1837, taken according to an act of our last Legislature," the *Lynn Record*, 13 September 1837. Few records and history have been found of the latest addition to the Lynn whale fleet, the Nahant, 300 tons, moored at Chase's wharf (and therefore probably another whale ship belonging to Hezekiah Chase) in October 1836. See *The Star* (Lynn), 6 August, 24 September, and 8 October 1836.  
The demise of Lynn's whaling industry was brought about by the combination of shallow waters, a financial panic in 1837, and the construction of a railroad bridge across the river in 1838. From the start, the whaling business in Lynn had struggled to get off the ground because, literally, the ships struggled to get off the ground – the heavy-laden and low-drafted ships got stuck on sand bars and river mud on their way to and from dock just south of the Salem Turnpike. In fact, when the *Atlas*, Lynn's first whaler, appeared at the west end of the town's harbor, a large crowd gathered at the new dock to celebrate her arrival, but the vessel went aground, casting a gloom over the festivities. A few years later, the *Henry Clay*, an old ship, ended its career when it struck the muddy river bottom and broke apart. The new railroad bridge crossing over the Saugus River in 1838 sealed the fate of whaling in Lynn, making it virtually impossible for the whaleships to reach their dock a little further upriver. See Article, "LYNN WHALING INDUSTRY," *Daily Evening Item*, 20 July 1892.
5. David N. Johnson, *Sketches of Lynn or the Changes of Fifty Years* (Lynn: Thos. P. Nichols, 1880), p.154.
6. Comparative statistics from the *Lynn Directory and Town Register for 1832*, p.15 (housewrights and carpenters), 16 (sign painters); Newhall, *Directory of Lynn* (1837); and *The Lynn Directory and Register for the Year 1841* (Lynn: Benjamin F. Roberts, 1841), pp.16-17 (housewrights and carpenters), 20 (painters), 20-21 (sign painters and printers).

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7. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 4 December 1830.
8. Article, "The Shoe Business," *Lynn Mirror*, 16 June 1827 (emphasis in original).
9. The number of milliners and dressmakers is from the *Lynn Directory* (1841), p.19. A newspaper article estimated 2,000 Lynn women were employed in 1832 (matching the estimate for employed men)," and by their industry and economy contribute to the support and respectability of their families"; see *Lynn Mirror*, 11 February 1832.
10. Advertisements, *Lynn Mirror*, 21 April 1827.
11. Advertisements, *Lynn Mirror*, 11 February 1837.
12. Advertisements, *Lynn Mirror*, 3 January 1829 (items for sale) and 17 January 1829 (silk and gilding); *Lynn Record*, 30 November 1831 (French lessons). See also Alonzo Lewis and James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn, Essex County Massachusetts: Including Lynnfield, Saugus, Swampscott, and Nahant* (Boston: John L. Shorey, 1865), p.517 (French lessons).
13. C(harles) F. Lummus, *The Lynn Directory and Town Register for 1832*, p.2.
14. Joseph Lye, Diary, manuscript (covering 23 November 1817 - 13 September 1832; typed manuscript from the collection of the author (Rapoza); original [in several volumes] at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), 5 October 1819.
15. Article, "Military," *The Star* (Lynn), 17 September 1836.
16. Article, "Lynn," *The Star*, 6 August 1836.
17. James R. Newhall, *The Essex Memorial for 1836* (Salem, Henry Whipple, 1836), p.140.
18. Article, "Rail Road Operations," *Lynn Mirror*, 20 December 1837. The roof of John Alley 3d's house was pierced by debris falling from a ground-clearing explosion. Some of the pieces made it through two more floors and into the family room where two family members were at the time; they were unhurt.
19. Article, "The Sea Serpent on Land," *Lynn Record*, 31 July 1839 (emphasis in original).
20. Article, "Lynn Social Band," *Lynn Record*, 21 May 1834.
21. Article, "Society in America," *Lynn Record*, 13 September 1837 (emphasis in original).
22. Article, "Lynn Shoes," *The Star*, 6 August 1836 (emphasis in original).
23. John Quincy Adams passed through Lynn on his way to Salem on 14 October 1825. "He alighted at the [Lynn] Hotel and received the congratulations of such of our citizens as happened to be present." (Article, no title, *Lynn Mirror*, 15 October 1825.) Andrew Jackson's visit to Lynn on 26 June 1833 was brief because of inclement weather; see Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.400. Henry Clay's visit to Lynn on 29 October 1833 was announced in the *Essex Tribune* (Lynn), 26 October 1833.
24. Editorial, "[Communicated.]," *Lynn Mirror*, 17 July 1830.
25. Letter to the Editor (under the pseudonym, Publius), "Public Improvements. The Old Burial Ground," *Lynn Mirror*, 22 October 1825.
26. Editorial, no title, *Lynn Mirror*, 17 July 1830.
27. C(harles) F. Lummus, *The Lynn Directory and Town Register for 1832*, pp.29-30.
28. Article, "Lynn Common," *The Star*, 23 July 1836.
29. Joseph Lye, Diary, 21 August 1830; Notice, "Shipwreck," *Lynn Record*, 21 August 1830. The notice had the brief editorial appended, "so much for the value of billiard houses."
30. Joseph Lye, Diary, 28 February 1818. Organization of the Unitarian society listed in 29 March 1822.
31. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Samuel N. Dickinson, 1844), p.247
32. Records of Mount Carmel Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, Lynn, Mass., manuscript volume (covering 1 June 1805 – 29 December 1855, unnumbered page between pp.249 and 250. (Collection of the author: Rapoza.) The records stop on 16 December 1834 and resume when the Mount Carmel Lodge was restored on 11 June 1845. Years after the decade of silence, a member related in the gap left in the records how the Masonic rights were kept alive in Lynn during the persecution.
33. Henry Clapp, Jr., *The Pioneer: or Leaves from an Editor's Portfolio* (Lynn: J. B. Tolman, 1846), pp.121-122 (emphasis in original).
34. Ellen Mudge Burrill, Lynn in Our Grandfather's Time," *The Register of the Lynn Museum and Historical Society* (Lynn, 1919), No.21, pp.96-97.
35. Article, "Lynn Lyceum," *Lynn Mirror*, 8 January 1831.
36. Notice, no title, *Lynn Mirror*, 26 February 1831.
37. Article, "Novel Reading," *Lynn Mirror*, 14 October 1837.
38. Article, "Novel Reading," *Lynn Mirror*, 14 October 1837.

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39. Article, "Female Education," *Lynn Record*, 16 April 1834 (emphasis in original).
40. Article, "Infant Schools," *Lynn Mirror*, 13 February 1830.
41. Article, "Novel Exhibition," *Weekly Messenger* (Lynn), 7 July 1832 (emphasis in original).
42. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 5 June 1830.
43. Notice, no title, *Lynn Mirror*, 25 December 1830.
44. *Lynn Directory* (1841), pp.13 (Union), 33 (Breed), 53 (Marsh), 58 (Perkins), and 68 (Tuttle).
45. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 25 June 1835.
46. Advertisement, *Lynn Chronicle*, 19 September 1835.
47. Letter to the Editor (under the pseudonym, Justice), no title, *The Star*, 8 October 1836.
48. Article, "Don't Speak Too Loud," *Lynn Mirror*, 6 January 1838.
49. Horace Day, *The Opium Habit* (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1868), pp.203-204.
50. Horace Day, *The Opium Habit*, pp.199-204.
51. Article, "Lynn," *Boston Liberator*, quoted in *Lynn Mirror*, 2 April 1831 (emphasis in original).
52. Editorial, "The Theatre," *Lynn Mirror*, 19 February 1831 and Article, "Lynn," *Boston Liberator*, 2 April 1831 both allude to the visit of Benjamin Lundy, a Quaker abolitionist. The *Liberator* article, written by Garrison, describes the attendance at his two Lynn lectures.
53. On 16 January 1832 a meeting was held at the schoolhouse on Chestnut Street to form a society "for the purpose of encouraging all lawfull measures to affect the Emancipation of the Slaves in these United States." A constitution for the society was drafted wherein the first article stated the society would be called the "Colored People's Friend Society." The society was formally organized on 25 April 1832 with Reverend Shipley W. Wilson, pastor of the Second Methodist Society of Lynn, named its president. The *Lynn Record* coverage of the society's organization recognized it as the "Lynn Colored People's Friend Society" and the *The Lynn Directory and Town Register for 1832* also referred to it by the same name; however, the records of the society state that the "Anti-Slavery Society of Lynn, Mass." was organized on 25 April 1832. The former name was not found in any records after the 2 May 1832 newspaper account. See Article, "Lynn Colored People's Friend Society," *Lynn Record*, 2 May 1832, and "Anti-Slavery Society of Greater Lynn," manuscript (MS/010, covering 1832-1839; at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society). Notes in the same manuscript volume from the society's board of managers in 1839 stated their belief that it was the second antislavery society formed in the United States; they were wrong but it was one of the nation's earlier antislavery societies.
54. Record of the Female Anti-Slavery Society, manuscript (MS/010, covering June 1836 – May 1838; at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society) contains a report on the society's first annual meeting held 27 May 1836. The record then recalls, "Not long after the commencement of the Society Mr Thompson was invited to deliver an address, at the close of which fifty members were added." George Thompson addressed the Female Anti-Slavery Society on 13 June 1835 (see Article, "Praiseworthy Anti-Slavery Operations in Lynn, Mass.," *The Liberator*, 20 June 1835); therefore, the inception of the women's society was in late May or early June 1835.  
According to *The Liberator* article, George Thompson spoke on 6 June at the Lynn Town Hall; on 7 June at the Orthodox Congregational Church; (where "The building was crowded to suffocation, and large numbers anxious to hear, were unable to gain admission"); on 8 June at the South Street Methodist Church, at the request of the Preachers' Anti-Slavery Society, where sixty-one were present; on 9 June at the Friends' Meeting House, and on 13 June at the Methodist Church on the Common, before "the Ladies of Lynn."
55. In June 1836 (the first month for which membership records exist) the Lynn Female Anti-Slavery Society had eighty-two members. The membership stayed fairly steady for the next twelve months, with a plus/minus range up to eighteen members until its next infusion of members in June 1837, and then within nine members from June 1837 through May 1838. Using the assumption that the membership had stayed fairly steady since June 1835 when fifty new members were added, until June 1836, the society would have been organized with approximately thirty members. Statistical research performed by the author (Rapoza) on the membership records found in the Record of the Female Anti-Slavery Society.
56. Age range of the Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society is based on research by the author (Rapoza) using the *Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts. Eleven of the officers are listed in Articles, no titles, *Lynn Record*, 21 June 1837 and 4 July 1838; eleven officers were located, all of whom fell within the range of 21 to 31 years old in 1837. Articles, "Labors of the Misses Grimke," *The Liberator*, 7 July 1837 (Reading Room) and "Young Men of Lynn," *The Liberator*, 7 July 1837 (158 members).
57. Article, no title, *Lynn Record*, 28 June 1837.
58. Article, no title, *Lynn Record*, 28 June 1837.

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59. Statistical research performed by the author (Rapoza) on the Record of the Female Anti-Slavery Society, List of Names (records of members).
60. Record of the Female Anti-Slavery Society shows all three Estes women as dues-paying members in its first membership list dated June 1836 and as three of the first twenty members listed, they were most likely among the original members of the society when it was formed in late May – early June 1835.
61. Record of the Female Anti-Slavery Society, 17 August 1836.
62. Record of the Female Anti-Slavery Society, 21 June 1837 (emphasis in original).
63. Membership list, Anti-Slavery Society of Greater Lynn, manuscript (MS/010, covering 1832-1839; at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society). It is interesting to note that Lydia was listed in the membership roll as number 283, "Lydia A. Estes." This is the only reference found thus far to Lydia Estes having a middle name.
64. J. M. Spear, *Address Before the Universalist Anti-Slavery Convention* (Waltham, Mass.: Christian Freeman's Office, 1840), p.46 (Universalist); [http://home.earthlink.net/~herblst/estes\\_family.htm](http://home.earthlink.net/~herblst/estes_family.htm) (George Thompson Estes).
65. "Petition. James P. Boyce and 50 others," manuscript (at the Massachusetts State Archives), File 577, not dated.
66. Nathaniel Rogers wrote about the pleasant time he spent in Lynn, taking a ride with Gulielma Estes (whom he called G. Estis, and Hannah Buffum, the wife of Jonathan Buffum, one of Lynn's most determined reformers) in her father's carriage. Nathaniel Peabody Rogers, *Collection from the Newspaper Writings of Nathaniel Peabody Rogers* (Concord, NH; John R. French, 1847), p.230. The accounts of Gulielma Estes walking with Frederick Douglass and debating with Rev. Jacob Sanborn are found in Gulielma Estes, Letter to "Friend [Henry C.] Wright," manuscript (11 August 1842, MS. A. 1.2 V.12 pt.2 p.75, Antislavery Papers, at the Rare Books and Manuscripts Department of the Boston Public Library). Her letter also reveals that she had walked with Charles Lenox Remond, the free-born black abolitionist of Salem. The interview with Reverend Sanborn that she shared with Henry C. Wright revealed her to be unabashed in her support of the black race and unaffected by the rebuke of her minister. At one point she turned the questioning on him, "Why do you think it a crime to associate with them?" He answered lamely, "I think them a different race; their features are different." Then he quickly tried to take back the offensive, "Would you approve of having a negro pew in one corner of your church?" She responded, "No I would let them have any pew they chose but I think they ought to sit by themselves." He then declared that she would have to come before the congregation and acknowledge her "wrong doing and promise never to commit the same offences." Gulielma ejaculated, "Then if I remain in the church I must have no social intercourse with colored people?" "Yes," said the Reverend Sanborn, "you may call on them as I do, but not to go with them to walk with them or associate with them."
67. Friendship Album of Lydia Estes, manuscript (covering 1841-1877, at the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Center for Advanced Study, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.); Frederick Douglass entry dated 26 May 1848.
68. Articles, "The New England Anti-Slavery Convention," *The Liberator*, 5 June 1840 (New England); "Delegates at the Annual Meeting," *The Liberator*, 5 February 1841 (Massachusetts).
69. By a prior marriage to Hannah Nichols, William Estes had one daughter, Elizabeth, who lived until 1886. William Richard Cutter, A.M., *Genealogical and Personal Memoirs Relating to the Families of Boston and Eastern Massachusetts* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1908), Vol. III, p.1515. No evidence of anti-slavery activity could be found for her but this may have been due to lack of mental capacity. A spinster, Elizabeth died in the New Hampshire Asylum for the Insane in 1880, aged 69; she was listed as an insane patient. The *Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*: Concord, Merrimack, NH, page .3, line 37. William and Rebecca Estes had twelve children, of which six lived into the 1840s: William Henry, Gulielma Maria, Ruth Ann, Ezra Baker, Lydia A., and Isaac Hacker.
70. Article, "The Lynn Women's Anti-slavery Fair," *Lynn Record*, 8 January 1840. In addition to handmade items, the fair's sale tables were filled with many dozens of donated items, from "a book of autographs of distinguished personages" to a lacquered and gilt Chinese tea-caddy; see "The Lynn Anti-Slavery Fair," *The Liberator*, 28 December 1838. For the Lynn shoeworkers' wage rates during the decades 1830-1850, see Paul G. Falter, *Mechanics and Manufacturers in the Early Industrial Revolution: Lynn, Massachusetts, 1780-1960* (Albany: Statue University of New York Press, 1981), pp.88-99.
71. Advertisements, *Lynn Mirror*, 13 September 1837 (merchant) and *The Liberator* (Boston, MA), 14 December 1838 (shoes).
72. Article, "Riots at Lynn," *United States Gazette* (Philadelphia, PA), 15 August 1835.
73. Article, "Riots at Lynn," *United States Gazette* (Philadelphia, PA), 15 August 1835.
74. While several authors have fancifully described the bodyguard as a phalanx of females from Lynn female anti-slavery society, Edwin Thompson recounted the incident on a first-hand basis. He was sitting in one of the front pews with David and Lydia Maria Childs and the stone that hurled through the window "did not come very near hitting George Thompson, but came into the pew where Mr. and Mrs. Childs and myself were sitting. ... When the meeting was closed, seeing he was in danger, the men and women gathered around him, for a body guard ...." See article, "Penny Post Man – No. 7." *Daily Evening Item*, 11 November 1881.

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75. *Old Anti-Slavery Days* (Danvers, Mass.: Danvers Mirror Print, 1893), p.87 (white hat). Alonzo Lewis and James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn, Essex County Massachusetts: Including Lynnfield, Saugus, Swampscott, and Nahant* (Boston: John L. Shorey, 1865), p.402 (group of women). Percival, “Abolitionism in Lynn and Essex County,” p.127 (Ram Island). Article, ““Riot in Lynn,” *Lynn Record*, 13 August 1835 (miserable) (emphasis in original). See also Article, “Anti-Slavery meeting in Lynn, *Lynn Record*, 13 August 1835. Each of the five sources provide important elements about Thompson’s August 1835 lecture, the conflict, and his escape.
76. Articles, “Anti-Slavery Meeting in Lynn” *Lynn Record*, 13 August 1835 (egging); “Attack on the Record Office,” *Lynn Record*, 20 August 1835 (sign).
77. Dr. Benjamin Percival, “Abolitionism In Lynn and Essex County,” p.126.
78. That the correct number of petitioners organized by Aroline Chase was 669 and not 785 seems indisputable. The petition consisted of eleven pages that had been glued together. Only one section has torn apart but the tear is through a petitioner’s name, making it clear that there were no missing sheets between the top and bottom sections. The last page of the petition has no glue residue at the bottom to suggest that subsequent pages ever existed. Research by the author (Rapoza) of “Petition of Aroline Augusta Chase & 785 others,” manuscript (at the Massachusetts State Archives), File 577, 12 January 1839.
79. “Petition of Aroline Augusta Chase & 785 others,” manuscript (File 577, 12 January 1839, at the Massachusetts State Archives). *Vital Records of Lynn, Massachusetts*, 2 vols. (Salem, Mass.: Newcomb and Gauss), Vol. 1 (1905). Only the mother of Lydia Maria Lewis (whose name was Lydia R. Lewis) definitely did not also sign the petition. The mother of Pamelia Chase cannot be determined.
80. The *Population Schedules of the Sixth Census of the United States, 1840*: Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts listed 2,588 adult women over twenty (including seven black women over 24). Subtracting the nine young women in the petition aged sixteen years or younger, 660 women signed the petition, which was 25.5% of Lynn’s adult female population in 1840. Of Lynn’s seven black women in the 1840 census, at least two, Sylvia and Cordelia Moody (the wife and daughter of True Moody) signed the 1839 petition.
81. Article, “Extracts From A Young Lady’s Journal,” *The Liberator*, 4 August 1837; emphases in original. There is no attribution to the authorship of the “young lady’s journal,” nor any reference to Lynn but the responses were to a female who gathered signatures for the petition on equality of the races and so were, at the very least, representative of what the ladies of Lynn experienced.
82. Article, no title, *Lynn Record*, 16 January 1839; emphases in original. The petition of the Lynn women was publicized and criticized far beyond Boston. A newspaper published deep in the heart of the slaveholding South made similarly disparaging and racist remarks over the women’s commitment: “Aroline Augusta Chase, and seven hundred and thirty-five other *ladies* in Lynn, Mass. have petitioned the legislature for the privilege of marrying *black husbands!!!!*” See squib, no title, *Lexington Union*, Lexington, Mississippi, 23 February 1839. Lynn’s abolitionists kept the attention and ire of pro slavers throughout the pre-war years. In 1851, an article appeared in a North Carolina paper reported a speech by Lynn’s first mayor, George Hood, in opposition to the recently passed Fugitive Slave Law, quoting his pledge that he would “never lift a finger in the work of returning a fellow man to slavery” and that a resolution was passed that the citizens would never assist in enslaving others. See article, “Anti-Fugitive Slave Meeting in Lynn, Mass.,” *The North-Carolinian* (Fayetteville, North Carolina), 15 March 1851.
83. “Petition of Caleb Hubbard & 113 others,” manuscript (File 577, 30 January 1839, at the Massachusetts State Archives) (emphasis in original).
84. “Petition of Samuel Curtis & 192 others,” manuscript (File 577, 15 January 1839, at the Massachusetts State Archives).
85. Marriage relationships were determined by the use of Lynn Vital Records, and the 1850 census. Other signers of the Curtis petition whose wives signed the Chase petition were Nathaniel Boynton 3d (Martha), John Estes (Mary), Samuel W. Kimball (Fanny G.), John C. Lamphier Jr. (Harriet), John R. Parrott (Lydia), Sidney B. Pratt (Ruth), and Daniel Walden (Harriet H.).
86. William Lincoln, “Report. Committee of the Judiciary. Distinction of Color. House No. 28,” manuscript (File 577, February 1839, at the Massachusetts State Archives).
87. “Petition. James P. Boyce and 50 others,” manuscript (File 577, not dated, at the Massachusetts State Archives). Other signers of the Boyce petition whose wives signed the Chase petition were Jonathan Boyce (Anne), James A. Breed (Lydia W.), Henry M. Bubier (Althea H.), Israel Buffum (Ruth O.), Homer Fry (Patience B.), Benajah Purinton (Charlotte), James Purinton (Tamason), and George Todd (Susan).
88. “Petition. James P. Boyce and 50 others,” File 577, not dated.
89. M[ary] E. Robbins, Lynn, Letter to Abby Kelley, Millbury, Mass., manuscript (21 January 1839, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA), (troubled). Notice, no title, *The Liberator*, 12 April 1839 (mingled).

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90. Article, "List of Petitions Presented to the Legislature of Massachusetts at its present session," *The Liberator*, 15 March 1839. Statistical analysis by the author (Rapoza). The 139 petitions from 45 Massachusetts communities contained 8,780 males and 8,335 females, for a total of 17,115 names.
91. Squib, "A Drunkard's Chance in Getting to Heaven," *Lynn Mirror*, 25 February 1832.
92. Article, "Caroline, The Little Black Scholar," *The Liberator*, 23 June 1832.
93. Editorial (under the pseudonym, A Citizen), "Communication," *Lynn Chronicle*, 8 August 1835. Reports of slave revolts had escalated in severity and frequency in the decade previous to the article. Article, no title, *Lynn Mirror*, 24 September 1825, reported how a slave used a stone to assault the slave master and escape in chains with five other slaves. The death of fifty whites in the famous rebellion led by Nat Turner was first exposed to Lynn in the article, "Insurrection of Negroes," *Lynn Mirror*, 2 September 1831.
94. Editorial (under the pseudonym, An Observer of Men and Manners), no title, *Lynn Record*, 2 April 1834.
95. Editorial, "The Theatre," *Lynn Mirror*, 19 February 1831.
96. For a thorough analysis of Lynn's reform movements in the context of labor history, see Paul G. Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers in the Early Industrial Revolution*, pp.109-138.
97. Article, "Boston Police Court," *Boston Post*, as quoted in *Lynn Record*, 23 April 1835.
98. Paul G. Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers*, pp.109, 137.
99. Article, "Epistolary Extracts No. 2," *Lynn Mirror*, 13 February 1830 (emphasis in original).
100. Article, "An Address to the Female Society for the Promotion and Protection of Female Industry," *Lynn Record*, 18 June 1834.
101. Article, *Lynn Record*, 12 February 1834.
102. Article, "Malicious Mischief," *Lynn Freeman*, 13 July 1839.
103. Article, "Shameful," *Lynn Mirror*, 30 September 1837.
104. Article, "Malicious Mischief," *Lynn Freeman*, 13 July 1839.
105. Article, "Vicious Boys," *Lynn Record*, as quoted in *The Star*, 17 September 1836.
106. Article, "Justice's Court," *The Star*, 27 August 1836 (emphasis in original).
107. Letter to the Editor (under the pseudonym, Justice), no title, *The Star*, 8 October 1836.
108. James R. Newhall, "Incidents of a Common Life. An Autobiography," manuscript (covering 1809-1893; at the Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.), p.56.
109. Article, "Outrage," *The Star*, 20 August 1836.
110. Notice, "30 Dollars Reward," *Lynn Record*, 13 September 1837.
111. Notice, "Stolen," *Lynn Mirror*, 7 October 1837.
112. Squib, no title, *Lynn Mirror*, 7 October 1837.
113. Article, "An Inhuman Deed," *The Star*, 20 August 1836.
114. Article, "Ruffians," *Lynn Mirror*, 7 October 1837.
115. Article, "Deliberate Malice," *Lynn Record*, 6 August 1834.
116. Article, "Trial of Young Frothingham," *Lynn Record*, 10 October 1834.
117. Article, "Old Burying Place," *The Star*, 30 July 1836.
118. See Lye, Diary, 15 June 1830 for a detailed and compelling account of the shark attack on Joseph Blaney. Quoting the *Salem Register*, Lye described that observers from a nearby boat saw Blaney waving his hat and yelling for help, "a large fish supposed to be a shark was seen lying across the dory amidship. The shark got back in the water but "renewed his attack and the boat instantly disappeared and the water appeared in a foam." Blaney left a wife and six children to mourn his loss. See also, article in feature column, "SWAMPSCOTT. The Death of 'Aunt Ann' Blaney," *Daily Evening Item*, 29 January 1890. Article, no title, *Lynn Freeman*, 21 September 1839 (amputation due to horse kick).
119. Article, no title, *Lynn Record*, 9 August 1837 (survive); editorial, no title, *Lynn Record*, 6 September 1837 (torture).
120. Article, no title, *Lynn Mirror*, 7 October 1837.
121. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.569. This incident occurred in June 1818.
122. Article, "Another," *Lynn Record*, as quoted in the *Lynn Mirror*, 9 September 1837.
123. Article, "Distressing," *Lynn Mirror*, 4 September 1830.
124. Article, "Accident," *Lynn Mirror*, 30 December 1837. Presumably the physicians were called too late; if their late arrival to the emergency was unjustified, the reporter would not likely have referred to them as "skillful."

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125. Obituary of Jane L. Stearns, *Lynn Record*, 3 April 1839.
126. Joseph Lye, Diary, 14 October 1830.
127. Obituary of Amy Breed, *Essex Tribune* (Lynn), 8 February 1834.
128. Obituary of Nathan Alley, *Lynn Mirror*, 11 February 1832.
129. Obituary of Legree Johnson, *Lynn Mirror*, 16 July 1831; Lye, Diary, 9 July 1831.
130. Obituary of Eunice Newhall, *Lynn Mirror*, 1 October 1831.
131. Obituary of William Oliver, *Lynn Record*, 15 May 1830.
132. John T. Moulton, "Inscriptions from the Old Burying Ground, Lynn, Mass.," *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*, (Salem, Mass.: Essex Institute, 1886), p.86.
133. Article, no title, *The Star*, 8 October 1836.
134. Statistical comparison of burials in the Old Burial Ground, Lynn, Mass., by age group, from 1827 through 1844 performed by the author (Rapoza), based on 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 Lynn, Mass.," *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* (Salem: Essex Institute, 1886), Vol. 25. Information is altogether missing from this source for 1832. The Old Western Burial Ground wasn't the only one in Lynn during the 1830s (others were the Friends on Broad Street, opened in 1723; the Eastern Burial Ground on Union Street, 1813; the almshouse cemetery on Tower Hill, about 1819; and the free or Dissenters cemetery adjoining the Friends, 1825), but it was the largest. Particularly revealing of the usage of Lynn's cemeteries were the published burial record summaries. The *Lynn Mirror*, 20 January 1827, listed for 1826, 54 interments in the Eastern Methodist Burying Ground and 51 in the Old Western Burial Ground. The *Lynn Record*, 7 January 1835, listed 152 deaths for 1834: 79 buried in the Old Western Burial Ground, 51 in the Eastern, 12 at the Friends, 8 at the Dissenters, and 2 at the almshouse. The *Lynn Mirror*, 6 January 1838, lists an even higher percentage of burials in the Old Western Burial Ground; of 108 deaths for 1837, 94 were interred in the Old Western Burial Ground, 48 in the Eastern, 16 at the Friends, and 9 at the Dissenters grounds. Also see *Weekly Messenger*, 19 January 1833, for 1832 burials, and *Essex Tribune*, 4 January 1834, for 1833. Over four years (1832, 1833, 1834, 1837) the Old Burial Ground hosted fifty-three percent of all burials; the Eastern averaged thirty-two percent; the Friends, eleven percent; Dissenters, three percent; and one percent at the almshouse.
135. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 12 February 1831. The advertisement indicates he would establish himself at the shop of Samuel Vial, No. 1, Front St.
136. T. Hood, Poem, "The Death Bed," *Lynn Mirror*, 22 October 1831.
137. Poem (under the pseudonym, Estelle), "I Am Passing Away," *Lynn Mirror*, 5 November 1831. Only part of the poem is represented.
138. Poem (under the pseudonym, L), "Monody on the Death of Mr. Joseph Blaney," *Lynn Mirror*, 11 September 1830.
139. Poem (under the pseudonym, Viator), "The Dying Boy," *Albany Argus*, as quoted in *Lynn Mirror*, 5 November 1831. Only part of the poem is represented.
140. Obituary of Legree Johnson, *Lynn Mirror*, 16 July 1831.
141. Obituaries of Eunice Newhall, *Lynn Mirror*, 1 October 1831; and William Oliver, *Lynn Record*, 15 May 1830.
142. Obituary of Mary Pierce Chase, *Lynn Record*, 15 October 1835.
143. H. K. White, Poem, "To Consumption," *Lynn Record*, 10 April 1830.
144. Article, "Small Pox," *Lynn Mirror*, 13 August 1831; Lye, Diary, 6 July 1831. Lye believed Allen had caught the disease in Boston Harbor (probably meaning at the quarantine hospital on Rainsford's Island) but a month later, the *Mirror* article stated he contracted it from John Candage. The *Mirror* continued that it had been "satisfactorily ascertained" that Candage had somehow received the varioloid. Perhaps it was Candage who received the exposure in Boston Harbor.
145. Article, "Richard Hazeltine and the Small Pox," *The Essex Democrat* (Lynn), 30 September 1831.
146. Joseph Lye, Diary, 6 July 1831. Location of the Blood Swamp quarantine in Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, p.249. See also, Article, "Small Pox," *Lynn Record*, 9 July 1831. The experience of a child remembered much later in life recounted how, on a "cold winter day her father [came into their house] and ordered the family to keep from the windows, and the shutters to be closed, as a sled was to pass up into the woods with some of the poor [smallpox] sufferers upon it." Since the 1831 incident occurred in the summer, this recollection belongs to some other outbreak, probably earlier, but is poignant nonetheless. See Article, "Reminiscenses. – No. II," *Lynn News*, 27 August 1847.
147. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, p.249. Obituary, *Lynn Mirror*, 20 August 1831.
148. Article, "Richard Hazeltine and the Small Pox," *The Essex Democrat*, 30 September 1831.

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149. Article, "Small Pox," *Lynn Mirror*, 13 August 1831.
  150. Notice, "Vaccination," *Lynn Mirror*, 9 July 1831.
  151. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, p.249. Obituary, *Lynn Mirror*, 20 August 1831.
  152. Article, no title, *Salem Register*, as quoted in *The Essex Democrat*, 7 October 1831.
  153. Article, "Hydrophobia," *Lynn Record*, 9 July 1831.
  154. Article, "Hydrophobia," *Lynn Record*, 8 August 1832.
  155. Article, "Hydrophobia," *Lynn Record*, 9 July 1831.
  156. Article, no title, *Weekly Messenger*, 21 July 1832.
  157. Article, "Hydrophobia," *The Star*, 23 July 1836.
  158. Notice, "Register of Persons Licensed to Keep Dogs in the Town of Lynn," *Lynn Record*, 12 April 1837.
  159. Article, "Accident Minus," *Lynn Record*, 3 October 1838.
  160. Cold Plague reference as found in Article, "Death of a Family," *Lynn Record*, 9 April 1835.
  161. *Vital Records of Lynn, Massachusetts*, 2 vols. (Salem, Mass.: Newcomb and Gauss), Vol. 2 (1906), p.563, lists the death of nine-month-old Joseph Edwards Pittman from influenza on 31 January 1832; also, p.428 lists the same cause of death for infant Sarah Blanchard on 5 March 1832.
  162. Cholera was referred to as the "King of Terrors" in the obituary of Sister Mary George of Baltimore; see the *Weekly Messenger*, 6 October 1832.
  163. Jonathan Alden, Philadelphia, Penn., Letter to Mrs. Abby Sawyer, care of Reverend Mr. Sawyer, Schenectady, New York, manuscript, 13 October 1840. (Collection of the author: Rapoza.)
  164. Delia Foote, Albany, New York, Letter to E. Foot, Esq., Bennington, Vermont, manuscript, 22 July 1832. (Collection of the author: Rapoza.)
  165. Article, "Spasmodic Cholera," *Lynn Mirror*, 10 September 1831.
  166. Article, "The Cholera," *Weekly Messenger*, 23 June 1832.
  167. Poem (under the pseudonym, L. E. L.), "The Cholera," *Weekly Messenger*, 21 April 1832. Only part of the poem is represented.
  168. Charles E. Rosenberg, *The Cholera Years* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), pp.13-98; see especially pp.72-78, 97-98.
  169. Articles, "Cholera" and "The Cholera," *Weekly Messenger*, 23 June 1832.
  170. Article, "The Cholera," *Weekly Messenger*, 23 June 1832 (emphasis in original).
  171. Article, "The Cholera," *Lynn Record*, 4 July 1832, "We have heard it observed by many that the alarm in this town was, perhaps, greater than in almost any other."
  172. Articles, "The Cholera," *Weekly Messenger*, 23 June 1832 (inhabitants), "Lecture on the Cholera," 21 July 1832 (engrossing); "Cholera Lecture," *Lynn Record*, 1 August 1832 (absorbing).
  173. Article, "The Cholera," *Weekly Messenger*, 23 June 1832.
  174. Article, no title, *Weekly Messenger*, 30 June 1832 (emphasis in original).
  175. Article, no title, *Weekly Messenger*, 30 June 1832.
  176. Article, no title, *Lynn Record*, 1 August 1832 (emphasis in original).
  177. Article, "Cholera," *Weekly Messenger*, 28 July 1832.
  178. Articles, no titles, *Weekly Messenger*, 7 July 1832.
  179. Article, "The Cholera," *Weekly Messenger*, 14 July 1832.
  180. Article, no title, *Weekly Messenger*, 7 July 1832.
  181. Article, no title, *Weekly Messenger*, 30 June 1832. For details of the board of health's 1821 regulations, see Article, "Health Regulations," *Lynn Mirror*, 7 July 1827.
  182. Article, no title, *Weekly Messenger*, 7 July 1832.
  183. Article, no title, *Weekly Messenger*, 7 July 1832.
  184. Articles, "Spasmodic Cholera," *Lynn Mirror*, 10 September 1831; "Recipe for the Cholera," *Weekly Messenger*, 30 June 1832 (cinnamon water), "Cure for the Cholera," 25 August 1832 (vinegar).
  185. Article, "The Cholera," *Lynn Record*, 4 July 1832.
  186. Article, "The Cholera," *Lynn Record*, 4 July 1832 (emphasis in original).
  187. Article, no title, *Weekly Messenger*, 7 July 1832.

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188. Some of the world's astronomers had predicted the comet would strike the Earth in 1832. See Carl Sagan and Ann Druyan, *Comet* (New York: Random House, 1985), pp.88-89. Excerpts from an article in the *American Manufacturer* that were reprinted in the article, "The Comet" (*Lynn Mirror*, 16 May 1829), shared a wild-eyed fear of the comet that was still three years away. In 1831, the atmosphere turned "greenish blue" and "was at times so luminous that people were able to read by it, at midnight." Speculation and discussion about the unusual haze was carried on to a great extent in Lynn. A European astronomer declared that it was the result of the earth passing through the tail of a comet. (See Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, pp.396-397.) Fear of the Biela comet that occurred in the following year was acknowledged, though somewhat condescendingly , in the article, "The Travelling Season," *Lynn Record*, 4 July 1832.
189. Article, "The Travelling Season," *Lynn Record*, 4 July 1832.
190. Articles, "Cholera at Newport, Rhode Island" *Weekly Messenger*, 28 July 1832 (Newport); no title, *Weekly Messenger*, 28 July 1832 (Boston Harbor).
191. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 11 July 1832 (emphasis in original).
192. Article, no title, *Weekly Messenger*, 28 July 1832. Thousands of rats had also been seen fleeing homes in Providence; see Article, Emigration Extraordinary," *Weekly Messenger*, 14 July 1832.
193. Advertisement, *Weekly Messenger* (book for sale); article, "Lecture on the Cholera," 21 July 1832.
194. Article, "Cholera Lecture," *Lynn Record*, 1 August 1832.
195. Article, "Cholera Lecture," *Lynn Record*, 8 August 1832.
196. Article, "The Vinegar and Salt Treatment," *Weekly Messenger*, 25 August 1832.
197. Article, no title, *Weekly Messenger*, 25 August 1832.
198. Articles, "Cholera," *Boston Transcript*, as quoted in *Weekly Messenger*, 4 August 1832; "Cholera," *Weekly Messenger*, 1 September 1832.
199. Notice, no title, *Lynn Record*, 15 August 1832 (sea serpent). The Comet Biela appeared in late 1832.
200. Advertisements, *Lynn Record*, 13 September 1837; *Lynn Mirror*, 30 December 1837.
201. Article, "Old Burying Place," *The Star*, 30 July 1836.
202. Article, no title, Lynn Scrapbooks; no newspaper attribution or date. The Scrapbooks are a collection of newspaper clippings at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society. Article title, newspaper attribution, and date are not regularly noted on the clippings.
203. Jonathan Buffum, Return of the Poor, 1833, manuscript. (Collection of the author: Rapoza.)
204. Article, "Asylum for Indigent Children," *Lynn Mirror*, 6 February 1830.
205. E. M. P. Weeks, Letter to the Editor, "Communications," 26 February 1830, as quoted in *Lynn Mirror*, 6 March 1830.
206. Buffum, Return of the Poor, 1833.
207. Joseph Lye, Diary, 20 December 1824.
208. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, (Boston: Samuel Dickinson, 1844), 2nd ed., p.248. Even more extraordinary than his age at death was that in his 108<sup>th</sup> year, in April 1830 he was said to have traveled on foot, 600 miles to Washington D.C., and met with General Andrew Jackson. On his return home he was taken sick and died on October 4<sup>th</sup>. See Item, no title, *The Long-Island Star* (Brooklyn, NY) 13 October 1830.
209. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.328.
210. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.522.
211. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, pp.521-522. Breed dined with Patrick Henry and Presidents Madison and Monroe, and was presented at the court of King George III of England. While in the almshouse, he received occasional monetary gifts from Dolly Madison. See Izabel Morgan Breed, "Ebenezer Breed," *The Register of the Lynn Museum and Historical Society* (Lynn: Frank S. Whitten, 1912), No. 15, pp.69-78.
212. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, pp.521-522.
213. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.527.
214. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.522.
215. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.527.
216. In spite of the seasonal variations noted by Faler (*Mechanics and Manufacturers*, p.113), the annual population of the Lynn almshouse remained fairly constant, between fifty and sixty, during the decade 1830-1839. In 1831 and 1832 it was fifty (*Lynn Mirror*, 5 March 1831 and *Lynn Directory* [1832], p.35). In 1833 the almshouse roomed twenty-nine people for all 365 days and fifteen more remained from their admission during the year to at least the end of the year when the census was performed; three others died before year's end and another twenty-four lived there for part of the year. (Buffum, Return of the Poor, 1833). In 1836 there were also sixty inmates (James R.

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- Newhall, *The Essex Memorial for 1836: Embracing a Register of the County* [Salem, Mass.: Henry Whipple, 1836], p.149). The average throughout 1838 was 65 ("Abstract of the Auditing Committee's Report," *Lynn Record*, 7 March 1838); in 1841 it was fifty-eight (*Lynn Directory* [1841], p.29). A contemporary source ("The Annual Report of the Washington Total Abstinence Society," *Essex County Washingtonian*, 26 January 1843) reported that "for many years previous to the commencement of the Washingtonian reform, the number of inmates in [the Lynn almshouse] averaged at least sixty" and that the cause for most of these being committed to the almshouse was intemperance. By comparison, the Saugus almshouse population was twelve in 1836 (Newhall, *Essex Memorial*, p.266).
- 217. Buffum, Return of the Poor, 1833 (deviltry). The daily average of forty-one was calculated using this return.). *Vital Records*, Vol. 2, p.611 (child, father).
  - 218. Article, "An Hour in Our Almshouse," *Lynn News*, 1 March 1859 (chapel); "Poor Department," *City Document No. 2, First Annual Report of the Committee on Accounts* (Lynn: H. J. Butterfield, 1851), p.15 (hospital, prison); and "Schedule of the Public Property of the City of Lynn, March 1, 1853," *Third Annual Report of the Committee on Accounts* (Lynn: W. W. Kellogg, 1853), p.32 (house of correction, hospital).
  - 219. Article, no title, *Lynn Mirror*, 23 September 1826.
  - 220. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 7 July 1827.
  - 221. Notice, no title, *Lynn Mirror*, 28 January 1826.
  - 222. M. G. Lewis, Esq., "A Scene in a Private Mad-house," as quoted in *Lynn Mirror*, 9 December 1826. There is no listing for an M. G. Lewis, Esq. in the 1832 or 1841 Lynn directories.
  - 223. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.562.
  - 224. Dorothea L. Dix, "Memorial to the Legislature," *On Behalf of the Insane Poor*, David J. Rothman, Editor (New York: Arno Press & The New York Times, 1971), p.6.
  - 225. Dorothea L. Dix, "Memorial to the Legislature" pp.6, 17, 23 (emphasis in original).
  - 226. Dorothea L. Dix, "Memorial to the Legislature" p.24.
  - 227. Dorothea L. Dix, "Memorial to the Legislature" p.24.
  - 228. Dorothea L. Dix, "Memorial to the Legislature" pp.7, 15.
  - 229. Dorothea L. Dix, "Memorial to the Legislature" p.17.
  - 230. Dorothea L. Dix, "Memorial to the Legislature," p.21. Cotton Mather had expressed a similar conviction centuries earlier, "... every Man is Mad in some *One Point ... Know Thyself*; Study what it is; and in that *One Point* keep a singular Guard upon Thyself." See Cotton Mather, *Angel of Bethesda*, Gordon W. Jones, ed. (Barre, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1972), pp.130-131.
  - 231. Dorothea L. Dix, "Memorial to the Legislature" p.6.
  - 232. Joseph Lye, Diary, 9 February 1832.
  - 233. Joseph Lye, Diary, 6 August 1832.
  - 234. Joseph Lye, Diary, 6 February 1830.
  - 235. Coroner's Inquisitions, 1830-1841, manuscript (at the Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.), 29 May 1834; Obituary, *Lynn Record*, 4 January 1834.
  - 236. Coroner's Inquisitions, 17 May 1836.
  - 237. Article, no title, *Lynn Record*, 21 January 1835.
  - 238. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, p.251.
  - 239. Coroner's Inquisitions, 28 August 1839 (Newhall), 25 February 1837 (Alley), 17 April 1836 (Heath).
  - 240. Joseph Lye, Diary, 11 May 1830 (Bacheller); Coroner's Inquisitions, 12 October 1838 (Atwill).
  - 241. Joseph Lye, Diary, 3 June 1819.
  - 242. *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Trustees of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester*, Senate No. 1 (Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, State Printers, 1852), pp.16-17.
  - 243. Analysis of the Massachusetts Mental Hospital's admissions records performed courtesy of Richard J. Wolfe, Curator of Rare Books and Manuscripts, Joseph Garland Librarian of the Boston Medical Library in Richard J. Wolfe, Letter to Andrew V. Rapoza, 27 June 1994.
  - 244. Article, "Postscript. Public Meeting," *Weekly Messenger*, 23 June 1832.
  - 245. Richard J. Wolfe, Letter to Andrew V. Rapoza, 27 June 1994. Obituary of Gurdon Pellet, *The Lynn Freeman*, 16 March 1839.
  - 246. Probate Records of John Lummus, manuscript (at the Essex County Probate Court, Salem, Mass.), No. 17350; deposition of Ann Lummus.

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- 247. Probate Records of John Lummus, deposition of John S. Wiggin.
  - 248. Probate Records of John Lummus, deposition of Nehemiah Johnson.
  - 249. Probate Records of John Lummus, deposition of Edward L. Coffin (emphasis added).
  - 250. Obituary of Charles F. Lummus, *The Star*, 20 August 1836.
  - 251. Article, "Insanity," *The Star*, 24 September 1836 (emphasis added).
  - 252. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 31 December 1834.
  - 253. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, and 8 October 1834.
  - 254. John Lyscom ran the same advertisement in the *Lynn Record* every week for over four years; that ad suddenly stopped in the 22 November 1837.
  - 255. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 29 May 1839.
  - 256. Lyscom was still practicing when Fisk's first ad appeared. Lyscom's last ad and Fisk's first overlapped by two months. Fisk probably began offering his dental services in Lynn because the ancient Lyscom was in occupational or physical decline, or both. Fisk's frequency of practice in Lynn can be seen progressing in such advertisements as *Lynn Record*, 13 September 1837 ("first week in October") and *Lynn Mirror*, 30 December 1837 ("the 2nd Tuesday in January") to *Lynn Freeman*, 22 June 1839 ("every Saturday"). He was able to namedrop physician Daniel Perley for a reference in 1837 and added the endorsement of Edward L. Coffin by 1839.
  - 257. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 6 February 1839.
  - 258. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 6 February 1839. That the Keene's house was a boarding house, see *Lynn Directory* (1841), p.49.
  - 259. Notice, "Sale of Personal Estate," *Lynn Mirror*, 9 April 1831. The two-story building was moved to Union Street where it was used as a paint store by Jonathan Buffum, owner of the *Lynn Record*. See article by J. P. Boyce, "THOUGHTS OF FORMER YEARS. Number Four," *Daily Evening Item*, 25 April 1882.
  - 260. Ledger D, Accounts of Hon. A. Lummus - Deceased, copied by Aaron Lummus, November 1837, manuscript (at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society, Lynn, Mass.).
  - 261. Ledger D, Accounts of Hon. A. Lummus.
  - 262. Advertisements, *Lynn Record*, 28 January 1832, 10 October 1834.
  - 263. Files of the Court of Common Pleas, manuscript (at the Essex County Clerk's Office, Salem, Mass.), 23 March 1835: "G. Lummus v. J. Lummus."
  - 264. *A Catalogue of the Honorary Past and Present Fellows, 1781-1931* (Boston: The Massachusetts Medical Society, 1931), p.115 (resigned); Notice, "The Subscriber," *Lynn Record*, 24 December 1835 (invalid).
  - 265. Notice, "The Subscriber," *Lynn Record*, 24 December 1835
  - 266. Richard Hazeltine, Letter to the Editor, no title, *Lynn Record*, 21 September 1831.
  - 267. Article, "Richard Hazeltine and the Small Pox," *Lynn Mirror*, 30 September 1831 (emphasis in original).
  - 268. Article, "Murder," *Lynn Mirror*, 18 June 1831.
  - 269. May L. Sheldon, "Early Lynn Physicians," typed manuscript (1904, at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), pp.13-14.
  - 270. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 28 January 1832. Barker advertised that he was lodging at the Lynn Hotel and his office was over J. C. Holmes Hat Store.
  - 271. James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn, Essex County Massachusetts: Including Lynnfield, Saugus, Swampscott, and Nahant, 1864-1890* (Lynn: George C. Herbert, 1890), pp.147-148 (emphasis added).
  - 272. Richard Hazeltine, Daybook, manuscript (covering 3 May 1817 - October 1819; at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society), 11 March 1834.
  - 273. Articles, "Cholera Advice," *Weekly Messenger*, 7 July 1832 (cholera advice) and no title, *Lynn Record*, 25 June 1835 (toastmaster). *Vital Records*, Vol. 1, pp.53 (Charles Otis Barker Blaney, 16 April 1839), 196 (Charles Otis Barker Hood, 25 March 1838 ).
  - 274. Advertisement, *Weekly Messenger*, 8 December 1832.
  - 275. Article, no title, *Lynn Record*, 25 June 1835.
  - 276. May L. Sheldon, "Early Lynn Physicians," p.16.
  - 277. Q. David Bowers, *The Waterford Water Cure* (Wolfeboro, New Hampshire: Bowers and Merena Publications, 1992), p.47 (medical degree). His 1834 presence in Lynn is mentioned in notice, "Dr. E. A. Kittredge Has," *New England Galaxy*, 23 August 1834.

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278. The Lynn Hotel was a center of traffic in Lynn before and after the railway was established. It served as a stage coach stop twenty-two times daily in 1832. New physicians arriving in town used it as their first office as well as lodgings. The corpse of the drunk found on the toll road in 1831 was brought to the hotel for examination. Joseph Wheeler's art exhibition and P. O. Dane's dance class were both held in the hotel's Lafayette Hall. Refer to Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 28 January 1832 (stage schedule); article, "Murder," *Lynn Mirror*, 18 June 1831 (autopsy); article, "Literary Taste," *Lynn Mirror*, 29 January 1831 (art exhibition), and advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 12 February 1831 (dance class).
279. Advertisements, *Lynn Chronicle*, 27 May 1835 and *Lynn Mirror*, 27 January 1836.
280. Articles, "The 4th of July in Lynn," *Lynn Record*, 25 June 1835 (toast master) and no title, *Lynn Mirror*, 18 March 1837 (post office).
281. Advertisements, *Lynn Chronicle*, 6 June 1835, *Lynn Record*, 11 June 1835 - 21 January 1836, and *Lynn Mirror*, 12 December 1835.
282. Advertisements, *Lynn Record*, 7 January 1836 - 26 May 1836.
283. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 7 December 1836 (Newhall). Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, p.271 (Gould).
284. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 30 July 1836.
285. Mary Andrews Bartlett, "Dr. Daniel Perley," typed manuscript (1905, at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society, Lynn, Mass.), p.3. His arrival in Lynn is in Notice, no title, *Lynn Record*, 3 August 1836.
286. Advertisements, *Lynn Mirror*, 1 and 25 April 1837.
287. Notice, no title, *Lynn Mirror*, 7 October 1837.
288. Article, "Bestow Your Mite," *Lynn Mirror*, 16 December 1837.
289. J. Worth Estes and David M. Goodman, *The Changing Humors of Portsmouth: The Medical Biography of an America Town 1623-1983* (Boston: Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, 1986), p.48.
290. Article, no title, *Lynn Record*, 9 January 1839.
291. Advertisement, *Lynn Freeman*, 12 October 1837.
292. *Lynn Directory* (1841), p.43, lists Geigel as "student at Dr. Durkee's."
293. Estes and Goodman, *The Changing Humors of Portsmouth*, pp.48, 85. The hospital included iodine, sulphur, and other medicated baths for \$6-\$10 per week.
294. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 25 January 1837.
295. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 13 September 1837.
296. Article, "A Man Porcupine" *Lynn Record*, 16 April 1834.
297. Article, "A Syren," *Lynn Record*, 31 December 1834.
298. Illustrations in *Lynn Record*, 16 April (South America), 23 April (turtles), and 28 May 1834 (snake charmers).
299. Articles, no title, *Lynn Record*, 12 March 1834 (Indians); "The Mormon War," *Lynn Record*, 21 May 1834 (Mormons).
300. Article, "Strange Animal," *Essex Tribune*, 21 September 1833.
301. See Joseph Lye, Diary, 7 April, 28 September, and 15 November 1830.
302. Article, "Danger from Plants in a Bed Room," *Lynn Record*, 16 July 1834.
303. Article, "Transference of Vital Power," *Lynn Record*, 4 June 1834.
304. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 4 February 1837.
305. Article, "Masonic Lyceum," *Lynn Mirror*, 28 January 1832.
306. Article, "Lynn Lyceum," *Lynn Mirror*, 8 January 1831.
307. Advertisements, *Lynn Record*, 25 June 1835 (neatness, accuracy, and dispatch), and *The Star*, 27 August 1836 (low prices). J. F. Hall ran ads that virtually duplicated the services and promises of the *Record* and *Star*; see Advertisement, *The Engine* (Lynn), 17 March 1838.
308. Notice, "To The Public," *Lynn Record*, 2 March 1831.
309. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 2 January 1836.
310. Advertisement, *Lynn Chronicle*, 21 November 1835 (Mrs. Towle); Article, "Paper Cuttings," *Lynn Mirror*, 8 April 1826.
311. Article, no title, *Lynn Record*, 9 January 1839.
312. Articles, "Paper Cuttings," *Lynn Mirror*, 8 April 1826; "Lafayette," *Lynn Record*, 25 June 1834. The latter article surmised that Lafayette's gift was cash but it never got into Lydia's hands.

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313. Article, "Mr. Wheeler the Portrait Painter," *Lynn Mirror*, 29 May 1830.
314. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 15 January 1831.
315. Article, "Literary Taste," *Lynn Mirror*, 29 January 1831.
316. Article, "Portrait Painting," *Lynn Mirror*, 12 March 1831.
317. Article, no title, *Lynn Record*, 19 October 1831.
318. Notice, no title, *The Star*, 24 September 1836.
319. Advertisement, *The Locomotive* (Lynn), 8 June 1842.
320. Advertisement, *The Pioneer* (Lynn), 31 December 1845
321. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 12 February 1831.
322. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 25 December 1830
323. Advertisement, *The Star*, 10 September 1836.
324. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 10 December 1831.
325. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 22 October 1831. Obviously, having one's own personal visiting cards had become standard practice, at least among the class of clientele who could afford the luxury of language lessons.
326. Editorial, no title, *Salem Gazette*, as quoted in *Lynn Mirror*, 10 December 1831. Strozzi's record of bills unpaid as in Article, "Signor Strozzi," *Lynn Mirror*, 17 December 1831.
327. Article, "Signor Strozzi," *Lynn Mirror*, 17 December 1831.
328. Editorial, "Astronomical Lectures," *Lynn Mirror*, 3 September 1831.
329. Article, no title, *Lynn Record*, 6 February 1839.
330. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 17 December 1834.
331. Article, "Street Preaching," *The Star*, 17 September 1836.
332. Abigail Makepeace Lummus, Diary, manuscript (covering 1839, 1850, and 1859; at the Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.), 10 and 12 May 1839.
333. Articles, "The Mormonites," and "Mormonism," *Lynn Record*, 7 August 1832. The Mormon missionaries were Orson Hyde and Samuel H. Smith.
334. Article, "Mormonism," *Niles Register* (Baltimore, MD), 8 September 1832.
335. Article, "Mormonism," *Lynn Record*, 10 September 1834 (emphasis in original).
336. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 24 November 1830.
337. James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn, Essex County Massachusetts: Including Lynnfield, Saugus, Swampscott and Nahant, 1864-1890* (Lynn: George C. Herbert, 1890), pp.230-231. Newhall did not indicate what punishment came with the conviction.
338. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 13 August 1834 (comic troupe); *Lynn Directory* (1832), p.65 (David Stone). Unlike Mrs. Towle and Lydia Mansfield, David A. Stone never advertised in a Lynn newspaper, which suggests he made his living on the road.
339. Advertisements, *Lynn Mirror*, 27 December 1827, 18 February 1832; *Lynn Record*, 6 August 1834.
340. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 6 August 1834.
341. Editorial, "Legerdemain and Ventriloquism," *Lynn Record*, 6 August 1834 (emphasis in original).
342. Articles, "Natural Curiosity," *Lynn Mirror*, 28 July 1827 (sloth); "A Natural Curiosity," *Lynn Mirror*, 25 August 1827.
343. Abigail Makepeace Lummus, Diary, 8 July 1839.
344. Article, "Mountain Bear," *Lynn Mirror*, 10 November 1827.
345. Article, "Seals," *Lynn Mirror*, 7 July 1827. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 25 August 1827.
346. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 21 May 1834.
347. Article, "Menagerie," *Lynn Record*, 28 May 1834.
348. Article, no title, *Lynn Record*, 1 October 1834.
349. Letter to the Editor, "Shows," *Lynn Record*, 25 June 1835 (emphasis in original).
350. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 16 July 1831.
351. J. R. Dolan, *The Yankee Peddlers of Early America* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1964), pp.141-190; Richardson Wright, *Hawkers and Walkers in Early America*, reprint (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1965), pp.54-80. Some of these goods are found in Lynn newspaper advertisements of the 1830s decade.

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352. Letter to the Editor (under the pseudonym, A Citizen), no title, *Lynn Record*, 8 August 1832 (emphasis in original).
353. Article, "Quacks and Quacking," *The Puritan*, 10 April 1840.
354. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 29 May 1839.
355. Play, no title, *Boston Transcript*, as quote in *Lynn Mirror*, 4 June 1831.
356. Article, no title, *Weekly Messenger*, 21 July 1832.
357. Letter to the Editor (under the pseudonym, "A Housewife"), no title, *Lynn Record*, 13 August 1834.
358. Article, "The Prosecuted Pedlar," *Lynn Record*, 25 July 1832.
359. Letter to the Editor (under the pseudonym, A Citizen), no title, *Lynn Record*, 8 August 1832.
360. Letter to the Editor (under the pseudonym, A Citizen), no title, *Lynn Record*, 8 August 1832.
361. John A. Brown, Squib, *New England Galaxy* (Boston and Lynn), 23 August 1834. The wash-out could have meant significant disappointment to a Boston lozenge maker who advertised thirty-six flavors in a Lynn paper, among them Acid Lemon, Chocolate, Paregoric, Ipecac, Steel, Liquorice and Opium, Chlorine, and Iceland Moss. See Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 16 January 1833.
362. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 25 December 1830 (ventriloquist's performance); article, no title, *Lynn Mirror*, 29 January 1831 (Coffin's lecture).
363. Advertisements, *Essex Tribune*, 8 February 1834.
364. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 12 February 1831.
365. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 21 August 1830 (emphasis in original).
366. Article, "Something New," *Lynn Record*, 16 July 1834.
367. Jesse S. Spear, *The Family Physician. A Brief Treatise on the Origin and Nature of the Principle of Diseases which Afflict Humanity Together with Directions How to Preserve and Restore Health* (Boston: no publisher named, 1848), p.4. (Collection of author: Rapoza.)
368. Article, no title, *Lynn Mirror*, 17 June 1837.
369. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 18 and 25 September 1839 (emphasis in original). The ad ran in only those two weekly editions, so the itinerant healer may have truly been in town for just the few weeks as he advertised.
370. Paul Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1982), pp.37-58.
371. Article, "Things I Never Saw," *Lynn Mirror*, 24 March 1827.
372. Squib, "Caution in the use of Leeches," *Lynn Record*, 6 February 1830.
373. Article, no title, *Lynn Mirror*, 4 February 1837.
374. Article, "Amputation," *Lynn Mirror*, 2 September 1837 and editorial, no title, *Lynn Mirror*, 9 September 1837.
375. Article, no title, *Lynn Mirror*, 11 March 1837.
376. Article, no title, *Lynn Mirror*, 11 March 1837.
377. Letter to the Editor (under the pseudonym, Anti Hydrargyrum), "Pison Mercury," *Lynn Mirror*, 1 April 1837.
378. "Medical Impeachment," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol. XIV, No. 18 (8 June 1836), pp.280-281.
379. "Medical Impeachment," *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, Vol. XIV, No. 18 (8 June 1836), p.284.
380. "An Act to Repeal Expressly all the Acts which are Consolidated in the Revised Statutes of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts of 1836," Section 1. The act was passed in February 1836 and subjoined to the Revised Statutes of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, which were passed on November 4, 1835. Chapter 131 of the 1817 statutes was included in this 1836 repeal. Thus the only Massachusetts law attempting to regulate the practice of medicine had been repealed.
381. Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p.534.
382. Article, "Animal Magnetism," *Lynn Mirror*, 9 September 1837.
383. Charles Poyen, *Progress of Animal Magnetism in New England* (Boston: 1837; reprinted NY: Da Capo Press, 1982); see the "Introduction to the Da Capo Edition," no page number.
384. Editorial, "Exhibition of Animal Magnetism," *Lynn Mirror*, 16 September 1837; Letter to the Editor, "Animal Magnetism," *Lynn Record*, 13 September 1837.
385. The account of all three demonstrated lectures by Poyen were described in the article, "Animal Magnetism," *Lynn Mirror*, 21 October 1837.
386. Article, "Animal Magnetism," *Lynn Mirror*, 21 October 1837.
387. Article, "Animal Magnetism," *Lynn Mirror*, 21 October 1837.

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388. Article, "Animal Magnetism," *Lynn Record*, 17 January 1838.
389. Charles Poyen, *Progress of Animal Magnetism in New England*, pp.200-201.
390. Article, "Animal Magnetism," *Lynn Record*, 17 January 1838 (emphasis in original).
391. Samuel Chase Coale, "Mysteries of Mesmerism: Hawthorne's Haunted House," in Larry J. Reynolds, Editor, *A Historical Guide to Nathaniel Hawthorne* (NY: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp.56-57, 64. Hawthorne wrote his objections to mesmerism at a juncture after Sophia's association with Fiske, when she was being mesmerized by a female magnetizer in Boston but while his concern about her exposure and degradation of character were primarily in a social context, the physical/sexual element was implicit in many other commentaries of the period. See also Louise Hall Tharp, *The Peabody Sisters of Salem* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1950), pp.103-104; Gillian Gill. *Mary Baker Eddy*, Radcliffe Biography Series (Reading, MA.: Perseus, 1998), p.633; and Maria M. Tartar, *Spellbound: Studies in Mesmerism in Literature* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp.31, 192, 205-206.
392. Article, "Phrenology," *Lynn Record*, 12 February 1834 (emphasis in original).
393. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 12 February 1834. Like animal magnetism, phrenology was a European-born concept. Johann Caspar Spurzheim, one of the new science's principal authorities, had traveled from Europe to lecture in New York in September 1832. He made an unscheduled layover in Boston to wait out the cholera epidemic that raged in New York at that time. A Lynn newspaper article (Article, "Dr. Spurzheim," *Weekly Messenger*, 1 September 1832) noted his presence in the Boston area but he did not lecture or perform phrenological readings in Lynn. His visit and life were cut short by his death in Boston in November of some form of typhus.  
In his advertisement, Barber was apparently claiming to have come into possession of the deceased Spurzheim's lecture materials. Given Spurzheim's notoriety, this would have been a coup for Barber's promotion of his lectures.
394. Article, "Phrenology," *Lynn Record*, 12 February 1834 (emphasis in original).
395. Letter to the Editor by J.R.N (James Russell Newhall), "Phrenology," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 March 1892.
396. Editorial, "Phrenological Lectures," *Lynn Record*, 9 April 1834 (emphasis in original).
397. Letter to the Editor (under the pseudonym, A Lynn Shoemaker), no title, *Lynn Record*, 4 June 1834 (eminently instructive); article, "Dr. Barber's Lectures," *Lynn Record*, 21 May 1834 (splendid hoax).
398. Article, "Phrenology," *New England Galaxy*, 23 August 1834.
399. Letter to the Editor by J.R.N, "Phrenology," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 March 1892.
400. Letter to the Editor by J.R.N, "Phrenology," *Daily Evening Item*, 17 March 1892.
401. Article, "Phrenology," *Lynn Freeman*, 30 March 1839.
402. Advertisements, *Lynn Freeman*, 12 October 1839; *Lynn Record*, 16 October 1839.
403. Alonzo Lewis, *The History of Lynn, Including Nahant*, p.236.
404. Samuel Thomson, *New Guide to Health; or Botanic Family Physician ... To Which is Prefixed, A Narrative of the Life and Medical Discoveries of the Author* (Boston: J. Q. Adams, 1835), p.24.
405. Samuel Thomson, *New Guide to Health ... Narrative*, pp.25-26.
406. J. Worth Estes, *Dictionary of Protopharmacology, Therapeutic Practices, 1700-1850* (Canton, MA: Science History Publications/USA, 1990), p.118.
407. 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), p.55. Mithridates Eupator was a king of Pontus [132-63 BC] who ate poisons in small doses to immunize himself against death by poisoning.
408. Samuel Thomson, *New Guide to Health; or Botanic Family Physician ... To Which is Added, A Description of Several Cases of Disease, Attended by the Author, with the Mode of Treatment and Cure* (Boston: J. Q. Adams, 1835), pp.7-8. For an excellent review of Thomsonianism, see David Armstrong and Elizabeth Metzger Armstrong, *The Great American Medicine Show, Being an Illustrated History of Hucksters, Healers, Health Evangelists, and Heroes from Plymouth Rock to the Present* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1991), pp.23-30.
409. Article, no title, *Lynn Chronicle*, 7 November 1835.
410. Article, "Stove Pipes," *Lynn Mirror*, 20 December 1837.
411. Article, "Hutchinson's Stove," *Lynn Mirror*, 28 October 1837.
412. Armstrong and Metzger Armstrong, *The Great American Medicine Show*, p.24.
413. Samuel Thomson, *New Guide to Health ... Narrative*, pp.43-45, 66, 141.
414. Article, *Thomsonian Recorder*, 17 January 1835, p.127, as quoted in Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine*, p.56.

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415. Samuel Thomson, *New Guide to Health ... Narrative*, p.41.
416. Samuel Thomson, *New Guide to Health ... Narrative*, p.42.
417. Richard Hazeltine, Daybook, 25-26 May 1830. The medicines Hazeltine administered to Mrs. Brickett were laudanum, pills of nitre, camphor, ipecac, and calomel.
418. Thomson's Patent, along with a book on the Thomsonian system, both originally the property of Erasmus Brickett, are in the collection of J. Worth Estes, deceased.
419. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 28 January 1835.
420. Article, "Lynn Thomsonian Infirmary," *Lynn Record*, 31 December 1835.
421. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 25 June 1835.
422. Article, "Lynn Thomsonian Infirmary," *Lynn Record*, 31 December 1835.
423. Article, no title, *Lynn Record*, 23 November 1836.
424. Article, "Thomsonian Medical Practice," *Lynn Record*, 19 July 1837.
425. Article, "Thomsonian Medical Practice," *Lynn Record*, 19 July 1837 (emphasis in original).
426. Article, "Thomsonian Medical Practice," *Lynn Record*, 19 July 1837.
427. Editorial, "The Thomsonian Practice," *Lynn Record*, 31 October 1838 (emphasis in original). A few months later, the editor was defending Patten and Thomsonianism in his paper because some detractors had pointed out that he was once again quite ill. He assured his readers that he had been "*perfectly cured*" and that Patten had in fact instructed him to immediately dress in flannel and to be careful to keep unexposed to the weather in order to stay cured. He neglected the advice for just one day, which was unfortunately cold and wet, causing him to catch a severe cold again. He continued working and getting worse (probably contracting or coming close to pneumonia). Interestingly, he attributed his second cure to a physician named Abner Phelps of Dorchester, Mass., who wasn't a Thomsonian, but a regular member of the Massachusetts Medical Society.
428. Article, "Thomsonian Medical Practice," *Lynn Record*, 19 July 1837 (emphasis in original).
429. Letter to the Editor (under the pseudonym, A Thoroughgoing Thomsonian), no title, *Lynn Record*, 18 July 1838.
430. Letter to the Editor (under the pseudonym, A Thoroughgoing Thomsonian), "The Thomsonian System," *Lynn Record*, 15 August 1838.
431. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 6 July 1836.
432. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 25 June 1835.
433. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 7 May 1835.
434. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 1 October 1835.
435. Letter to the Editor (under the pseudonym, Reform), no title, *Lynn Record*, 4 January 1837.
436. Article, "Thomsonian Lectures," *Lynn Record*, 15 February 1837.
437. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 8 March 1837.
438. Samuel Thomson, *New Guide to Health ... Narrative*, pp.7-8.
439. Letter to the Editor (under the pseudonym, Veritas), no title, *Lynn Mirror*, 12 November 1836; Letters to the Editor (under the pseudonyms, "One of Our Public Teachers" and An Independent Voter), no titles, *Lynn Record*, 16 November 1836. The editorials offer conflicting statements as to the existance of such a meeting.
440. Obituary of Richard S. Butman, *Lynn Mirror*, 24 June 1837.
441. Advertisement, *The Puritan* (Lynn), 8 May 1840.
442. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 14 March 1838.
443. Advertisement, *Essex County Washingtonian*, 26 January 1843.
444. At the end of his life, the elderly Elias Smith came to Lynn to live near his daughter. He was buried at the town's Old Western Burial Ground in 1846. He was buried in the Old Western Burial Ground, but a year later was disinterred and reburied with other family members in Providence, Rhode Island. See Michael G. Kenny, *The Perfect Law of Liberty: Elias Smith and the Providential History of America* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), p.243.
445. John R. Patten, Letter to the Editor (under the initials, J. R. P.), "Thomsonian Lectures," *Lynn Record*, 15 February 1837 (Chapman). The editorial suggested that the attendance at the Thomsonian lecture might have gone even higher if there had not been an antislavery lecture elsewhere in town on the same night.
446. Article, "Graham's Lectures," *Lynn Record*, 11 February 1836 (emphasis in original).
447. Article, "Graham's Lectures," *Lynn Record*, 30 November 1836
448. Article, "Graham's Lectures," *Lynn Record*, 30 November 1836.

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449. Article, "The Graham System, What Is It?" *The Graham Journal of Health and Longevity*, Vol. 1, Nos. 2 & 3, (18 April 1837), p.17.
450. David Armstrong and Elizabeth Metzger Armstrong, *The Great American Medicine Show* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1991), pp.54, 64. A squib in the *Lynn Mirror*, 12 November 1825, stated there were 700 hogs raised and killed in Lynn in 1821 and the editor assumed that there was about the same number in 1825. With 835 households in Lynn in 1820, 700 swine represented one in every 1.19 households. (Some households would have more than one, however; during several years of his diary, Joseph Lye mentioned having more than one hog. He also helped ten other Lynners to butcher theirs; see especially Lye, Diary, 15 December 1831.) Article, "Hogs," *Lynn Record*, 13 October 1830, stated that Lynn produced more pork than any other town in Massachusetts. Through the use of tax assessment inventories, Paul G. Falter, *Mechanics and Manufacturers*, p.83, proved that Lynn's ratio of hogs went down to twenty percent of the households in 1832 and to only seven percent in 1849. Nonetheless, with each butchered hog averaging 340 pounds (according to the 1825 *Mirror* squib; Lye's hogs averaged 365 pounds), pork households consumed a fair amount of the meat, or had the ability to sell or give extra to families that did not own hogs. There was an average of 50 pounds for each man, woman and child in Lynn in 1820.
- Other meats were also purchased, raised, or caught: veal, turkey, and fish were frequent entries in the daybooks of James Gardner (manuscript, 2 volumes covering 19 May 1792 – 31 December 1800; located at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society) and Aaron Lummus (manuscript, covering 1 January 1821 – 31 December 1826, located at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society). Joseph Lye's diary contained numerous records of large catches during his fishing expeditions.
- By comparison, vegetables were rarely mentioned. Over a span of eight years, Gardner mentioned selling two half bushels of beans, one bushel of onions, and fifty sprigs of asparagus and sowing peas "in the mudhole"; see Gardner, Daybook, 14 March 1795 and 5 February 1796 (beans), 16 September 1800 (onions), 16 May 1796 (asparagus), 10 June 1798 (mud hole). In the five years of Lummus's daybook, only corn and potatoes were mentioned; see Lummus, Daybook, June 1821 (corn) and 6 October 1821 (potatoes). Lye only raised corn and potatoes in his garden each year; see Lye, Diary, especially 2 October 1821, 24 May 1823, 11 October 1823, 9 May 1827, 2 September 1828, and 8 May 1829. During its high years (1832-1837), Grahamism was challenging the deep-seated carnivorous habits of virtually the whole town.
451. Notice, "The Lyceum," *Lynn Mirror*, 20 December 1837 (question); article, "Roast Beef Triumphant!" *Lynn Mirror*, 23 December 1837 (conclusion). David Johnson recounted some of this debate that he witnessed when he was a boy. See *Sketches of Lynn or The Changes of Fifty Years* (Lynn: Thos. P. Nichols, 1880), pp.222-229.
452. Article, no title, *Lynn Record*, 30 November 1836.
453. Article, "Town Register," *Lynn Mirror*, 23 January 1830 and notice, *Lynn Mirror*, 25 December 1830 both mention the existence of a Graham Society in Lynn.
454. Advertisement, *Essex Tribune*, 14 December 1833.
455. Advertisements, *Lynn Mirror*, 18 March 1837 (Lummus); *Lynn Record*, 28 December 1836 (Dearborn) and 8 February 1837 (Noyes).
456. Irving T. Richards, "Mary Gove Nichols and John Neal," *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (June 1934), p.344. The letter was dated "2<sup>nd</sup> month 29<sup>th</sup>, '40."
457. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 28 March 1838. Sufficiently encouraged by his Lynn supporters, Graham returned in 1838 to deliver another course of lectures. See advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 11 April 1838.
458. Article, "Literature and Diet," *The Health Journal, and Independent Magazine* (Boston: Joseph A. Whitmarsh), Vol. I, No. I (February 1843), p.23. This periodical was the collaborative effort of Mary S. Gove, Henry G. Wright, and David H. Barlow, all of whom lived in Lynn at the time. Wright had been a school headmaster in England and Barlow was editor of the *Essex County Washingtonian*, a temperance newspaper.
459. Article, "Literature and Diet," p.26.
460. Article, "Literature and Diet," p.25.
461. David Johnson, *Sketches of Lynn or The Changes of Fifty Years*, p.164.
462. Article, "Physiological Correspondence," *The Health Journal, and Independent Magazine* (Boston: Joseph A. Whitmarsh), Vol. I, No. II (April 1843), p.57. Stuck in a bad marriage, Mary Gove even considered her husband phrenologically to understand why he was so overbearing, controlling, and repressive, "I think my husband's phrenological developments are such, and he is the subject of so much disease, that scarcely any blame, if any attaches to him." Irving T. Richards, "Mary Gove Nichols and John Neal," p.353. The letter was dated "February 1<sup>st</sup>, 42."
463. Advertisement, *New England Galaxy*, 23 August 1834.
464. Elizabeth Mott, *The Ladies' Medical Oracle; or Mrs. Mott's Advice to Young Females, Wives, and Mothers* (Boston: Samuel N. Dickenson, Printer, 1834), pp.10-11.

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465. Advertisement, *New England Galaxy*, 23 August 1834.
466. Elizabeth Mott, *The Ladies' Medical Oracle*, p.207.
467. Elizabeth Mott, *The Ladies' Medical Oracle*, p.214.
468. Elizabeth Mott, *The Ladies' Medical Oracle*, pp.17-28.
469. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 12 March 1836.
470. Elizabeth Mott, *The Ladies' Medical Oracle*, p.12.
471. Elizabeth Mott, *The Ladies' Medical Oracle*, p.3.
472. E[izabeth] Mott, Female Physician, Boston, Letter to patient, 11 April 1843, manuscript. (Collection of the author: Rapoza.)
473. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 12 March 1836.
474. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 25 March 1837.
475. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 6 June 1838.
476. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 17 July 1839. This was also the last date that her advertisement ran in Lynn newspapers.
477. Anna Breed, Lynn, Letter to Abby Kelley, Millbury, Mass., manuscript (November 1838, Abby Kelly-Foster Papers, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA).
478. Article, "Instruction in Physiology," from the *Annals of Education*, as quoted in *Lynn Record*, 21 November 1838.
479. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 6 June 1838.
480. Article, "Instruction in Physiology," *Lynn Record*, 21 November 1838 (segregated); Article, no title, *Lynn Record*, 7 November 1838.
481. Anna Breed, Letter to Abby Kelley, November 1838.
482. Article, "Instruction in Physiology," *Lynn Record*, 21 November 1838.
483. Notice, *The Locomotive*, 4 October 1842.
484. Other lecture notices had Mary Gove in Boston and Millbury, Massachusetts. See Article, no title, *Lynn Record*, 5 September 1838 (Boston) and Article, "Mrs. Mary S. Gove," *Lynn Record*, 24 July 1839 (Millbury).
485. E[izabeth] Mott, Letter, to patient, 11 April 1843 (emphasis in original).
486. E [Elizabeth] Mott, *The Ladies' Medical Oracle*, p.3.
487. Article, "Gymnastic Exercise," *Boston Medical Intelligencer*, as quoted in *Lynn Mirror*, 18 February 1826 (vain search); obituary, *Lynn Mirror*, 2 January 1836 (Newhall).
488. Articles, "Cure for a Cough," *Lynn Record*, 17 December 1834; "Asthma," *Lynn Record*, 13 August 1834.
489. Articles, "Tight Boots," *Lynn Mirror*, 29 July 1837; "Extraordinary Cure for Consumption," *Lynn Mirror*, 3 June 1837.
490. Advertisements, *Lynn Record*, 5 September 1838 (Lummus), 21 January 1836 (Phillips).
491. Squib, no title, *Lynn Record*, 28 April 1836; Samuel Thompson, *New Guide to Health ... Description*, p.74, described the medicinal uses of the Balm of Gilead buds.
492. Article, "Pyrola," *Lynn Mirror*, 24 May 1828. Pipsissewa belongs to the botanical family *pyrolaceae* and has the bitter-sweet taste and other features of the pyrola plant described in the article.
493. Obituary of Sarah Lummus, *Lynn Mirror*, 26 April 1828.
494. Article, "A Patriarch," *Lynn Record*, 11 September 1839; advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 31 July 1839.
495. Joseph Lye, Diary, 29 May 1830.
496. Articles, "Journal of Health," *Lynn Mirror*, 29 May 1830 (Latin); "Journal of Health," *Rochester Republican*, as quoted in *Lynn Record*, 10 November 1830 (pain).
497. Article, "Journal of Health," *Lynn Mirror*, 19 March 1831.
498. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 4 March 1837.
499. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 6 August 1834.
500. Advertisements, *Lynn Mirror*, 1 April 1837 (Pommegranate), 11 February 1832 (Davenport), *Lynn Record*, 11 July 1839 (Indian).
501. Advertisements, *Lynn Record*, 13 September 1837.
502. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 6 February 1839.
503. Advertisements, *Lynn Record*, 13 September 1837 (Warner), 11 July 1839 (Indian) (emphasis in original).

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504. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 13 September 1837.
505. Advertisements, *Lynn Freeman*, 23 February 1839 (Brandreth); *Lynn Record*, 6 February 1839 (Gardner).
506. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 25 June 1835.
507. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 25 June 1835.
508. Advertisement, *Lynn Chronicle*, 6 June 1835.
509. Article, "Tooth Puller," *Lynn Mirror*, 28 October 1837.
510. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 14 - 28 April 1836.
511. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 3 April 1839.
512. An entry in the daybook of physician John Lummus for 15 July 1830 referenced one of his medicines as "J. L's Worm Syrup." In that he capitalized the product and used his initials to identify it, as opposed to just calling it "worm syrup," suggests it was something he bottled as a product for sale; if so, it preceded his brother Thomas's bitters by nine months as the earliest branded proprietary Lynn medicine found thus far.
513. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 16 April 1831.
514. Advertisements, *Lynn Mirror*, 16 April 1831 (Stomach), *Lynn Record*, 11 July 1838 (Wine), *Essex County Washingtonian* (Lynn), 16 March 1842 (Vegetable). There may have been branded Lynn medicines produced before 1831 but this is the earliest evidence found by the author (Rapoza).
515. Bottle in the collection of the author. Examples of this bottle are also found at the Lynn Museum and Historical Society and Old Sturbridge Village, Massachusetts, and a fourth is described in *For Bitters Only*, Carlyn Ring, Compiler (Boston: The Nimrod Press, 1980), p.312, item L133. The Sturbridge Village example, while pontiled, is clear glass and more professionally finished, suggesting it was produced later, perhaps in the 1840s. The other three examples are almost identical in appearance, shape and size, except for the length of the neck and the type of lip. Ring's illustrated example is 7 ½" total height with a long tapered collar, while the Lynn Museum and Historical Society bottle is 7 1/16" with a thin flared lip, and the Rapoza bottle stands 6 5/8" with a narrow square collar. No example of a bottle with the original name "Aromatic Stomach Bitters" or "Aromatic Wine Bitters" is known to exist; the A. V. Bitters could have been the first embossed bottle that Lummus commissioned.
516. Letter to the Editor, no title, *Lynn Freeman*, 24 August 1839.
517. Editorial, no title, *Lynn Freeman*, 24 August 1839.
518. Letter to the Editor (under the pseudonym, X), no title, *Lynn Freeman*, 31 August 1839 (emphasis in original).
519. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 15 February 1832.
520. Advertisement, *The Star*, 17 September 1836.
521. Advertisement, *The Star*, 10 September 1836.
522. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 13 September 1837 (Durkee); Notice, *Lynn Mirror*, 28 October 1837 (dissolution).
523. Johnson, *Sketches of Lynn*, pp.86-92.
524. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 18 November 1837.
525. Advertisements, *Lynn Record*, 6 August 1834 (groceries, baskets, and crockery), 31 March 1836 (sundries), and 15 October 1835 (German toys).
526. Advertisements for Dr. Phelps' Compound Tomato Pills and Harrison's Peristaltic Lozenges both solicited for agents; see Advertisements, *Lynn Record*, 6 February 1839. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 25 June 1835 for British Antiseptic Dentifrice and Dr. Relfe's Asthmatic Pills promised "large discounts to those who buy to sell again."
527. The occupations of all thirteen men can be found under their respective names in *Lynn Directory* (1841). Their medicine advertisements can be found in many of Lynn's newspapers for the decade 1830-1839.
528. Advertisement, *Lynn Freeman*, 22 June 1839.
529. Advertisement, *Lynn Freeman*, 28 September 1839.
530. Advertisement, *Lynn Mirror*, 30 December 1837.
531. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 6 February 1839.
532. Based on research performed by the author (Rapoza) on all issues of the *Lynn Record*, January 1834-December 1839, and one or two issues of each of the following 1830s Lynn newspapers: *Weekly Messenger*, *The Star*, *The Mirror*, and *Lynn Freeman*.
533. Advertisement, *Lynn Record*, 25 December 1839.
534. Aaron advertised Lummus's Head Ache Lotion, Lummus's Rheumatic Lotion, Aromatic Tincture, and Stomachic Elixir while operating a dry goods store in Lowell. He indicated the headache lotion was a new medicine but the

rheumatic lotion had been “tested for seventeen years.” See Advertisement, *Lynn Weekly Messenger*, 8 December 1832. There can be no question that Aaron Lummus was the proprietor who advertised these remedies. In Advertisement, *Lynn Freeman*, 22 June 1839, the proprietor was listed as A. Lummus, located at No. 2 Taylor’s Building. Aaron Lummus promoted his services as real estate broker and Justice of the Peace located at “a room in Mr. David Taylor’s Brick Block ... (entrance 2d door from the corner) ....” Advertisement, *The Engine*, 17 March 1838.

- 535. Advertisement, *Lynn Freeman*, 22 June 1839.
- 536. W. W. Bauer, *Potions, Remedies and Old Wives’ Tales* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc. 1969), pp.80-81, offers a sound analysis of a patient’s expectations and conclusions about medicines and medical treatments.

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