

Western Michigan University ScholarWorks at WMU

Master's Theses Graduate College

4-1985

Patent Medicine Town a Social History of Patent Medicines in Marshall, Michigan

Teresa Lou Trupiano

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/masters_theses

Part of the History of Science, Technology, and Medicine Commons, and the United States History Commons

Recommended Citation

Trupiano, Teresa Lou, "Patent Medicine Town a Social History of Patent Medicines in Marshall, Michigan" (1985). *Master's Theses*. 1468.

https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/masters_theses/1468

This Masters Thesis-Open Access is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate College at ScholarWorks at WMU. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks at WMU. For more information, please contact wmu-scholarworks@wmich.edu.





PATENT MEDICINE TOWN A SOCIAL HISTORY OF PATENT MEDICINES IN MARSHALL, MICHIGAN

bу

Teresa Lou Trupiano

A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts
Department of History

Western Michigan University Kalamazoo, Michigan April 1985

PATENT MEDICINE TOWN A SOCIAL HISTORY OF PATENT MEDICINES IN MARSHALL, MICHIGAN

Teresa Lou Trupiano, M.A.

Western Michigan University, 1985

Marshall, Michigan, once known as "patent medicine town," had over fifty medicine companies. The medicine industry flourished in America until the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 regulated the trade. Marshall provides a microcosm of the industry.

The H. A. Peterman Co. (1870-1890) and Sharpsteen's Family Medicines (1873-1950) introduced Marshall to many techniques, from mail-order marketing to medicine shows. The Voltaic Belt Co. (1881-1593), Chrystal's Electric Belts (1893-1905), L. F. Page Co. (1891-1901), and H. A. Horton (1916-1928) sold remedies for "lost manhood." Success of the F. A. Stuart Co. (1893-1956) and Brooks Appliance Co. (1880-present) encouraged others to join the trade. C. E. Gauss Co. (1901-1924), E. R. Page Co. (1893-1969), and McWethy's Home Treatment (1933-1938) were exclusively mail-order.

The Food and Drug Administration, Federal Trade Commission and Post Office Department worked together to end quackery; many Marshall businesses felt the effects.

Marshall no longer has renown as "patent medicine town"; only one business remains. Rising costs and increased regulation make it unprofitable for most small concerns. Today Marshall reaps the benefits of its long-forgotten past through an annual home tour of historic houses built with patent medicine money.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to many people for assistance on this project.

First, I wish to thank Sid Dykstra and the Graduate College for the grant which made this thesis possible through research in Washington, D.C. However, if not for the assistance of James Harvey Young, I might have spent all my time trying to locate the various agencies and documents. I am grateful for all the letters and phone calls he made in my behalf; but especially for explicit instructions on finding materials. Wallace Janssen, FDA Historian, wrote me a letter of introduction to the Washington National Records Center and explained many nuances of the place. Micaela Sullivan of the AMA was also extremely helpful.

I spent what seemed like numberless hours at the Marshall Public Library at the microfilm reader; I especially want to thank the staff for their many kindnesses. I visited many libraries and archival collections; I was always given fast, friendly, efficient service—a researcher's dream. I also wish to thank the Marshall Historical Society for key access to their archives.

Some of my most enjoyable moments were spent in interviews. I wish to thank Larry Hughes, Verna Marple, Don Pace, Bill Page, Mary Ann Schnaitman, Louis Sinclair, Al Stuart, and Harry Wetherell not only for their time, but their gracious hospitality. I also appreciate the help of my proofreaders, Sheila Nugent and my mother, Ernestine Trupiano. I wish to thank my committee, Robert Hahn and

Graham Hawks. Peter Schmitt, my advisor, read the entire manuscript and made helpful suggestions on compositions. I am also grateful to my typist, Diane Rossi; every frazzled grad student needs a dependable, good-natured typist.

Ŧ

However, I am most indebted to my family and friends for muchneeded moral support, and for tolerance of my obsession with Marshall patent medicines.

Teresa Lou Trupiano

INFORMATION TO USERS

This reproduction was made from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this document, the quality of the reproduction is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help clarify markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction.

- 1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure complete continuity.
- 2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark, it is an indication of either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, duplicate copy, or copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed. For blurred pages, a good image of the page can be found in the adjacent frame. If copyrighted materials were deleted, a target note will appear listing the pages in the adjacent frame.
- 3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed, a definite method of "sectioning" the material has been followed. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. If necessary, sectioning is continued again—beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
- 4. For illustrations that cannot be satisfactorily reproduced by xerographic means, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and inserted into your xerographic copy. These prints are available upon request from the Dissertations Customer Services Department.
- 5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases the best available copy has been filmed.

University Microfilms International

300 N. Zeeb Road Ann Arbor, MI 48106 Trupiano, Teresa Lou

PATENT MEDICINE TOWN: A SOCIAL HISTORY OF PATENT MEDICINES IN MARSHALL, MICHIGAN

Western Michigan University

M.A. 1985

University
Microfilms
International 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106

Copyright 1985
by
Trupiano, Teresa Lou
All Rights Reserved

PLEASE NOTE:

In all cases this material has been filmed in the best possible way from the available copy. Problems encountered with this document have been identified here with a check mark $\sqrt{}$.

1.	Glossy photographs or pages
2.	Colored illustrations, paper or print
3.	Photographs with dark background
4.	Illustrations are poor copy
5.	Pages with black marks, not original copy
6.	Print shows through as there is text on both sides of page
7.	Indistinct, broken or small print on several pages
8.	Print exceeds margin requirements
9.	Tightly bound copy with print lost in spine
10.	Computer printout pages with indistinct print
11.	Page(s) lacking when material received, and not available from school or author.
12.	Page(s)seem to be missing in numbering only as text follows.
13.	Two pages numbered Text follows.
14.	Curling and wrinkled pages
15.	Dissertation contains pages with print at a slant, filmed as received
16.	Other

University Microfilms International Copyright by Teresa Lou Trupiano 1985

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLED	GEMENTS	. •	•		ii
LIST OF I	LLUSTRATIONS		•		v
INTRODUCT	rion	. •	•		1
CHAPTER					
I. PAT	CENT MEDICINES ON THE FRONTIER		•		5
II. MAR	RSHALL'S MEDICINE SHOW		•		24
III. ELE	ECTRIC BELTS AND OTHER RESTORATIVES		•		39
IV. GOI	DEN COMPANIES OF THE GILDED ERA		•		62
V. AGI	TATION, LEGISLATION, AND LITIGATION				84
VI. MAF	RSHALL'S MAIL-ORDER MEDICINES		•		104
VII. THE	E END OF AN ERA		•		129
APPENDICES					
A. PAT	TENT MEDICINE COMPANIES OF MARSHALL, MICHIGAN		•		145
B. GLO	DSSARY		•		148
C. PA	TENT MEDICINE PAMPHLETS				149
•	- Sharpsteen's Lavender Ointment		•	• •	157 166
D. SK	ETCH OF MEDICINE SHOW TENT SET-UP		•		182
DEDI TOOD	A DATE				40-

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1.	H. A. Peterman	4
2.	Advertisement, Peterman Family Medicines	9
3.	Advertisement, "Astoria"	0
4.	Advertisement, "Lavender Ointment"	7
5.	Poster, Sharpsteen Medicine Show	4
6.	Advertisement, Voltaic Belt 4	6
7.	Advertisement, Prof. Chrystal's Electric Belt 5	2
8.	L. F. Page Company, c. 1895 5	5
9.	Advertisement, Brooks Rupture Appliance 6	6
10.	Advertisement, Brooks Rupture Appliance 6	6
11.	Advertisement, Brooks Co. and Stuart Co	'3
12.	Advertisement, F. A. Stuart Co	7
13.	Advertisement, Pyramid Drug Co	'9
14.	Stuart Label, 1915	3
15.	Stuart Label, 1916	3
16.	Advertisement, Gauss' Catarrh Cure	i 1
17.	Advertisement, Gauss' Catarrh Cure	11
40	Manchall Book Opping a 1010	

INTRODUCTION

Marshall, Michigan, once known as "patent medicine town," had in its history over fifty patent medicine businesses. The patent medicine trade touched the lives of almost everyone. Illness proliferated in a society with few sanitation laws and a lack of medical knowledge. People already beset by disease were bombarded with advertisements offering a cure for any and all complaints. Proprietary medicine businesses affected not only the sick; newspaper editors came to rely on the advertising revenues generated by patent medicines. Indeed, some local economies depended on the trade.

In the late nineteenth century, the patent medicine business mushroomed. Nearly every American village and town had at least one or two entrepreneurs who tried to make a living selling medicines. Marshall was different; there the trade flourished. The proprietary medicine companies of Marshall provided consumers with every conceivable type of remedy marketed elsewhere in the United States—from baldness cures to catarrh cures, men's restoratives to female regulators, specifics to panaceas.

No innovations in the trade escaped the watchful eyes of
Marshall's medicine men. They faithfully followed the methods
established by the leading manufacturers; if a new scheme surfaced,
they quickly claimed it as their own. The medicine recipes came from

a variety of sources--doctors, druggists, Indians, folk medicine and even the <u>United States Formulary</u>. Neither medicinal value nor mystical sources guaranteed success in the trade; advertising was the key ingredient. To this end many would-be millionaires hired advertising agencies to promote their goods. Those who did not have sufficient capital to acquire an agent often started mail-order medicine firms which required less initial investment. Others used travelling shows to peddle their remedies. Marshall, as might be expected, had promoters of every category.

Lack of federal regulation nurtured the unparalleled growth of the nostrum industry. Anyone, regardless of background, education or medical knowledge, could market any product, from plain water to absolute poison, as a cure for any disease, real or imaginary. In such an environment charlatans proliferated—and Marshall had her share. As abuses reached intolerable proportions in the 1890's, the Post Office Department began to clamp down on the worst offenders through its statutes prohibiting mail fraud. Samuel Hopkins Adams wrote a series of articles for Colliers Weekly in 1904-05, called "The Great American Fraud," exposing the "Nostrum Evil." His reports, among the finest muckraking journalism in America, forced the

Now called the <u>United States Parmacopeia</u> (U.S.P.), it is the compendium of all known drugs and their applications, setting official standards for strength, quality, purity, packaging, and labelling. A convention held in 1820 published the first national drug formulary. By 1906, when the Pure Food and Drug Law was passed, it was recognized as the official U.S. formulary. In the nineteenth century, it was referred to under several different titles, including <u>The National Formulary</u>, the <u>The <u>U.S. Formula</u>, and <u>The Formula</u>. Variant titles and spellings of the nineteenth century will not be modernized or footnoted unless necessary for clarity.</u>

public to review the issue. Agitation for federal legislation soon followed. In 1906 Congress passed the Pure Food and Drug Act, the first law specifically designed to regulate the proprietary medicine trade. It defined certain labelling requirements and prohibited misbranding or adulteration. The Federal Trade Commission, established in 1914, gained jurisdiction over fraudulent advertising. Marshall medicine manufacturers, along with their national counterparts, promptly discovered paths of circumvention. Some stayed within the letter—if not the spirit—of the law; the less wily found themselves recipients of formal citations from the United States Government.

Marshall is a microcosm of the patent medicine trade in America, from heyday to decline. Yet statistically Marshall is atypical; surrounding towns had larger populations but fewer medicine businesses. Biographies of Marshall's individual companies and their founders reveal the conditions which fostered the trade in this unlikely spot. Local histories, by their very nature, reveal human foibles. The patent medicine story exposes the greed of purveyors and the gullibility of consumers—it is a tale of both comedy and tragedy.

The term "patent medicine" is actually a misnomer. America's first patent medicines came from England—a few had been granted patents by the King; but they were placed on the shelf side by side with unpatented varieties. Shopkeepers made no distinction between the two, and soon the term patent medicine referred to any packaged remedy. This arrangement pleased American manufacturers; it gave the

general public the mistaken impression that "patent medicines" had government sanction. Nothing could be further from the truth. While a few manufacturers actually secured United States patents, most did not. To obtain a patent the formula had to be revealed. Most nostrum vendors realized the commercial value of "secret ingredients," a standard in the trade, had more sales potential than possession of a United States patent, especially since most people regarded the latter as a foregone conclusion. As a result most "patent medicines" remained unpatented. The term proprietary medicine is used interchangeably with patent medicine. A glossary of other jargon peculiar to the trade will be found in Appendix II. Appendix I has a complete listing of all known Marshall patent medicine businesses.

CHAPTER I

PATENT MEDICINES ON THE FRONTIER

Mankind has sought relief from disease ever since Adam and Eve, victims of the world's greatest salesman, tried the elixir of knowledge and were ejected from the Garden of Eden. A mystical aura surrounded those who could alleviate suffering or effect cures. As a result unscrupulous characters entered the medical arena touting "miracle cures." Not all patent medicine manufacturers were charlatans; many entered the business with an honest belief in the value of their remedy - some even marketed a product which proved beneficial.

The first patent medicines in America arrived in the trunks of the earliest European settlers. Unsure of what evils might befall them in the New World, they sandwiched bottled tonics and elixirs between family heirlooms and other valuables. For a century and a half colonists relied on packaged remedies imported from England to treat fluxes, bellyaches, smallpox and a vast assortment of fevers. Dependence on the Mother country for patent medicines ended abruptly when the Revolutionary War curtailed supplies. But Americans have never been slow to take advantage of economic opportunities; domestic remedies soon appeared on the market.

By the time Marshall, Michigan was founded in 1831, a multitude of native patent medicine companies were well established. The field

of medicine experienced tumultuous changes during the next few decades. Several different theories of medical treatment developed—some in direct opposition to others. These contradictory philosophies helped foster the patent medicine trade which railed against doctors as indecisive and incompetent.

Most doctors followed the theory developed by Galen, a secondcentury Greek physician. He believed that all illnesses resulted from
an imbalance of the four bodily humors or fluids--blood, phlegm
(mucous), cholera (yellow bile), and melancholy (black bile).

According to Galen's philosophy, each illness could be directly
attributed to an excess or putrification of one or more of the four
humors. For example, a cold indicated an excess of phlegm, which was
naturally discharged through the nose. Doctors sought to aid the
body's natural healing power by helping it expel the excessive or
putrified humors--hence the heroic measures. Purgatives, diuretics
and enemas removed excess bile; sweating, puking and blistering
eliminated excess phlegm; and, of course, bloodletting extracted
excess blood.

Patent medicine makers, in a kind of strange irony,
condemned heroic measures yet marketed "galenicals" which supposedly
restored the harmonious relationship of the humors.

Samuel Thomson (1769-1843) opposed the heroic measures of regular practitioners. He denounced their methods stating they tried

James Harvey Young, <u>The Toadstool Millionaires: A Social History of Patent Medicines in America before Federal Regulation</u> (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 5.

²H. S. Glasscheib, M.D., <u>The March of Medicine: The Emergence and Triumph of Modern Medicine</u>, trans. Merwyn Savill (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, Macdonald & Co. Ltd., 1963), p. 154.

to see "how much poison [a patient could] be given without causing death."3 His theory, based on a misinterpretation of Greek philosophy, held that all disease was caused by cold, which had only one known cure--heat. "Thomsonianism," as it was called, consisted of steam baths and "hot" botanicals which acted as emetics, diuretics and purgatives -- hardly less dangerous than the heroics. theory took medicine out of the hands of medical professionals and, in keeping with Jacksonian Democracy, placed it in the hands of the common man. For twenty dollars anyone could purchase Thomson's book, New Guide to Health. which explained the doctrine and gave the buyer exclusive rights to practice medicine in his own family. Many state legislatures eliminated or revoked medical licensing requirements in direct response to public pressure instigated by Thomsonians who wanted a larger share of the market. Although Thomsonianism was on the wane by the 1840's the effect of medical deregulation was farreaching because it paved the way for quacks who boasted medical degrees from universities which were actually nothing more than diploma mills.

Homeopathy, which also challenged the authority of orthodox medical treatment, was the brainchild of Samuel Christian Hahnemann (1755-1843), a German physician. The theory arrived in America in 1825 but did not begin to spread until a college was established in Allentown, Pennsylvania. Homeopathic doctors considered infinitesmal

³John Duffy, <u>The Healers: The Rise of the Medical Establishment</u> (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1976), p. 110.

doses of drugs, diluted thousands of times, to be efficacious. Actually this therapy amounted to little more than letting nature take its course, but Homeopaths achieved the success which eluded regulars whose heroic measures tended to dehydrate patients and lower resistance. Hundreds of orthodox physicians adopted Homeopathy as its advantages or traditional methods became evident. By 1844, Homeopaths had sufficient numbers to form the first national medical organization, the American Institute of Homeopathy. The American Medical Association, formed in 1847, attempted to halt the inroads made by Homeopaths. It prohibited member doctors from consulting with Homeopaths and denied membership to "doctors" of the irregular school. Undaunted by these obvious rebuffs, Homeopathy continued into the twentieth century, propelled by its apparent proficiency in the medical arts.

The idea of allowing nature to take its course in certain diseases occurred to Jacob Bigelow, an eminent Boston physician. In 1835 he presented a paper entitled "On Self-Limited Diseases" to his colleagues in the Massachusetts Medical Society. He advocated a policy of non-intervention. Some disorders, which he classified as self-limiting, could not be cured by any known medical procedures, he declared; but, if allowed to run their natural course, they eventually disappeared. Doctors became mere observers. The patient was kept warm and still no treatment, harsh or otherwise, was offered.

⁴Ibid. p. 114

⁵Sarah Stage, <u>Female Complaints: Lydia Pinkham and the Business of Women's Medicine</u> (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1979), p. 50.

The Eclectic school, founded by Wooster Beach (1794-1859) was, perhaps, the most versatile theory. Eclectics emphasized the value of botanic medicines, but, as the name implies, they were not averse to borrowing ideas from other prevailing philosophies. Chemical or mineral remedies were prescribed as needed. Many eclectics adopted the Homeopathic rule of infinitesimals. Eclectic medical colleges sprang up all over the United States in the 1830's and 1840's. A strong emphasis on education and a willingness to borrow from other philosophies resulted in the Eclectics eventual assimilation into orthodox or Homeopathic practice.

Open rebellion against the regular school was the common denominator of all irregular sects. The regular school returned the sentiment. The American Medical Association fought against irregulars, particularly Homeopaths, and refused to admit them in the organization. The irregulars, in turn, condemned the bleeding, purging, blistering and administration of mercurials, such as calomel, practiced by the regular school. With open dissension in the ranks of the medical profession, circumstances were ripe for the unparalleled growth of patent medicines in the nineteenth century.

The pioneers who settled Michigan in the 1830's and 1840's had learned from the experience of their forebears that medicines were a precious commodity in the wilderness. Consequently, settlers brought their favorite pills and potions with them. Leaders of frontier villages actively recruited doctors. Andrew Hays, the first physician to settle in Marshall, was persuaded to stay by George Ketcham, a founder of the village. When Hays returned to New York to

take care of his personal affairs, he convinced his father-in-law, Luther W. Hart, also a physician, to emigrate to Marshall. These early doctors brought drugs and medicines with them and generally returned east twice a year to replenish their stocks. Since most physicians of this period had earned their title through apprenticeships which included a course on compounding medicines, it is not surprising that some opened drug stores. For most, the apothecary shop served as a side-line to the practice of medicine; however, some found the former more profitable and entered the mercantile business full-time.

Oliver Cromwell Comstock, Jr., one of the earliest Marshall physicians to enter the drug trade, never practiced medicine after locating in the village. He was born November 19, 1806 in Saratoga County, New York. Comstock studied medicine at Fairfield College in New York and later completed his studies at Philadelphia. He practiced medicine in Trumansburg, New York until 1836 when his health failed. That same year he determined to move west, and, according to biographical accounts, made the entire journey on horseback. When he arrived in Marshall, he found some old friends and acquaintances and decided to remain. Comstock wasted no time in establishing himself in the growing community. He bought a drug business then conducted by Drs. James P. Greves and John H.

⁶Unless otherwise noted, all significant dates, i.e. birth, marriage, and death dates, have been verified by official county records or biographical reports.

⁷ Memorial Report-Calhoun County, Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections 26 (1896):366.

Montgomery. Greves moved on; Montgomery remained in Marshall; and the business, Marshall Drug Store, continued as a partnership for a time. To conduct his business in more commodious surroundings, Comstock built the first brick business structure in Marshall, at the site of the present east end park on the corner of Exchange Street and Michigan Avenue. On March 16, 1838 Montgomery and Comstock placed an advertisement in the local newspaper, the Calhoun County Patriot, announcing "the completion of their splendid store." The ad continued:

[We] are now receiving the largest assortment of DRUGS & MEDICINES west of Detroit. . . . As we are each of us Physicians, and having carefully selected our stock in the city of New York, practitioners and others desirous of obtaining unadulterated medicines, may rely upon getting the genuine articles of us.9

Oliver Comstock did not remain in the retail drug trade long, he embarked on new enterprises which proved more lucrative. He was reputedly the first Marshallite to produce a patent medicine for more than local consumption. According to Harold Brooks, a Marshall historian, "Comstock's Ague Pills" were "the best in Michigan at the time" and were the source of Comstock's wealth. Ocomstock became a leading citizen of Marshall. He opened the first threshing machine works in the county at Rice Creek, operated a general merchandise business with Henry Halsey, and bought out Ketcham Mills. The latter

⁸C. B. Burr, <u>Medical History of Michigan</u>, 2 vols. (Minneapolis and St. Paul: Bruce Publishing Co., 1930), 1:256.

⁹Calhoun County Patriot, 16 March 1838.

¹⁰Although rumors usually have a grain of truth, research has not uncovered any corroborating evidence for Harold Brooks' Memorandum on Oliver C. Comstock, n.d., Biographical Notes, Marshall Historical Society Archives, Marshall, Michigan.

made him the subject of some notoriety. An outbreak of illness in the fall of 1841 led Marshall physicians to conclude "that the cause was the location of mill ponds in the vicinity."11 Upon publication of this statement "large numbers assembled [at Rice Creek millrace] and some excitement was manifested." The crowd shouted angrily and refused to disperse until Comstock posted a one thousand dollar bond for removal of the dam. Apparently his reputation survived intact; he was subsequently appointed acting Commissioner of Internal Improvements for the State of Michigan. In that capacity he supervised construction of the Michigan Central Railroad from Jackson to Kalamazoo. Comstock had a profound sense of history and, in 1876, helped organize the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. An active member of the society, he held various offices and presented many papers at meetings. At the 1892 annual meeting he delivered a report on the history of the medical profession in Michigan which included a sharp condemnation of nostrums and quackery. Comstock lived out his later years on a farm south of Marshall. He died, age 88, in 1895.

The 1840's saw the establishment of several new drug stores.

Augustus O. Hyde, a druggist by trade, came to Marshall in 1842. He was the first druggist in Marshall to belong to the Michigan

Pharmacists' Society. His drug store operated over fifty years offering Marshallites a "full supply of the most POPULAR PATENT MEDICINES."

MEDICINES."

A. D. Schuyler opened his drug store in 1847, a doctor

¹¹ Marshall Democratic Expounder, 2 December 1841.

¹² Marshall Western Statesman, 2 December 1841.

¹³ Marshall Statesman, 15 May 1861.

who chose to sell medicine rather than practice it. Dr. N. K.

Maniates did both. Arriving in Marshall in 1844, he set up an office
and the Marshall Dispensary, where he compounded medicines "strictly
adhering to the United States formula." He also offered "his own
bilious fever and ague pills." Beginning in 1847, Dr. Benjamin A.
Gallup offered Marshall his services as an Eclectic physician and a
compounder of botanic medicines. Actually, most doctors and druggists
of this era sold remedies of their own devising; few, however,
attempted to garner more than a local clientele. The prevalence of
disease on the frontier and the pioneer's preoccupation with
restoratives is reflected in the number of apothecary shops in the
tiny village. Marshall, in the 1840's, with a population of
approximately 2,000 people had no less than five drug stores. 16

Dr. Hiram A. Peterman was the first Marshallite to compound and market patent medicines full-time. Peterman was born April 27, 1822 in Sugar Loaf Township, Columbia County, Pennsylvania. In 1836 his mother, a widow, moved her family to Marshall, Michigan. There young Hiram received his basic education. He continued his studies at Ontario, Indiana and taught school for several years before entering the medical profession.

¹⁴ Marshall Statesman, 22 December 1846. Maniates is assuring the public that he used the <u>United States Formulary</u>.

¹⁵ Marshall Democratic Expounder, 28 February 1851.

¹⁶Statistics for drug store establishments are based on newspaper advertisements.

Peterman studied medicine under the tutelage of Dr.

Cyrus Thompson in Geddes,

New York. 17 In accordance with the customs of the mid-1800's, Peterman completed an apprenticeship program called "reading the office." This required more than simply reading a few medical textbooks. The average apprentice worked long hours for low pay. He



BA Pelerman M.S.

Fig. 1. H. A. Peterman, the father of patent medicines in Marshall.

was the doctor's assistant in every conception of the word. His duties included diagnosis and treatment of routine ailments, compounding medicines, and assisting in surgery and midwifery. 18 Although Peterman could have assumed the title "Doctor of Medicine" upon completion of his apprenticeship, he chose to enter Central Medical College in Syracuse, New York. He graduated in 1850 and opened a private practice at South Onondaga, New York. 19

A firm believer in formal education, Peterman left his practice in 1856 and entered Eclectical Medical College in Cincinnati, Ohio.

¹⁷ Portrait and Biographical Album of Calhoun County. Michigan (Chicago: Chapman Bros., 1891), p. 409.

¹⁸ Duffy, Healers, p. 167.

¹⁹ Portrait Album, p. 409.

As an Eclectic, a wider array of treatment procedures would be at his fingertips. At the school he met and graduated with his future wife, Miss Salome Amie Slout, who was destined to become his business partner as well. After graduation the Drs. Peterman returned to New York State where they operated a joint medical practice until 1859.

At that time Hiram decided to return to Marshall, the place of his youth. The Petermans then began a long trail of aborted career attempts until they came up with the right combination. In the fall of 1859, Hiram Peterman opened Michigan Eye Infirmary on Green Street in Marshall. On January 3, 1861 he placed an advertisement in the Marshall Democratic Expounder informing the public he had "a splendid assortment" of artificial eyes direct from the importers. The notice further advised, "Dr. P. will attend to all calls in the city and country, as a Physician and Surgeon."

The Michigan Eye Infirmary closed when the Peterman's developed a new brainchild. An advertisement announcing the opening of St. Mary's Lake Water Cure appeared in the Marshall Statesman on May 22, 1861. Located on St. Mary's Lake, sixteen miles northwest of Marshall, the Water Cure was a dispensary for prescriptions, "put up to meet the wants of each individual case," and a treatment center, with special attention given to chronic diseases. Perhaps, had fate not intervened, St. Mary's Lake Water Cure might have been the Peterman's final venture; but, on Monday night, June 16, 1862 it burned to the ground. Although the building was not insured and

²⁰ Marshall Democratic Expounder, 3 January 1861.

²¹Marshall Statesman, 22 May 1861.

losses amounted to at least four thousand dollars, the Drs. Peterman wasted no time in establishing a new business.²² "Michigan Ague Cure: The People's Remedy for all Malarious Fevers" appeared on the market just one month after the fire.²³

Ague remedies were common in the early history of Michigan because ague was a common affliction. The mosquitoes which caused the disease had ample breeding grounds—most swamps in the state had not yet been drained. Pioneers, in search of black bottom soil, tended to settle in low-lying areas where the mosquitos bred; naturally cases of ague were frequent. Though not fatal, ague attacked suddenly without warning. It began with chills which increased until the victim shook "like a miniature earthquake." Raging fever, throbbing headache and excruciating back pains followed the chills. The attack culminated in profuse sweating. The ague caused two serious problems. First, it left the victim weak, debilitated, and prone to other more virulent diseases; and, second, it recurred with irritating frequency. The Peterman's one inch ad, practically buried in the local paper, apparently met a distinct need—it proved to be the start of something big.

During the Civil War special taxes and license fees were levied to help pay the enormous costs of the conflict. Hiram Peterman paid his share. In 1863 he paid a tax of \$6.67 for a physician's license

²² Battle Creek Journal, 20 June 1862.

²³Marshall Statesman, 16 July 1862.

Andrew McClary, "Don't Go to Michigan, That Land of Ills," Michigan History 67 (January/February 1983):46.

and \$15.00 for a peddler second class license. The following year he paid \$10.00 each for a manufacturer's license and a physician's license. In 1865 Hiram was in the Army, but his wife was taxed. Evidently women were not subject to taxation unless they were head of the household. S. Amie Peterman paid \$10.00 for a physician's license and \$1.00 tax on a watch. The next year Hiram, home again from the military, paid the license fees and a tax of \$8.90 on an income of \$178. The watch was not forgotten, he paid a tax of \$1.00 for it. These statistics show that the United States government placed a higher premium on business than the medical profession, perhaps because the former was more lucrative.

As mentioned, Peterman briefly interrupted his entrepreneurship when he enlisted in the Ninth Michigan Infantry, Company H during the Civil War. He served under Major General Thomas from August 27, 1864 to September 15, 1865.²⁶ Upon his discharge, Peterman returned to Marshall and increased marketing efforts on behalf of "Michigan Ague Cure," which remained a staple of his inventory for years.

In 1870 the Drs. Peterman joined forces with Dr. Henry
Sharpsteen and Hanley Johnson to form H. A. Peterman & Co. (18701890), the first full-time patent medicine firm in Marshall.²⁷ The

²⁵Internal Revenue Assessment Lists for Michigan, 1862-1866, National Archives (Washington, D.C.: National Archives Microfilm Publication, M773, 1973). Only the income in excess of \$600 was taxed.

²⁶ Record of Service of Michigan Volunteers in the Civil War, 1861-1865 (Kalamazoo: Ihling Bros. and Everhard, n.d., c. 1903), p. 112.

²⁷ Portrait Album, p. 410.

company produced many "valuable remedies," including, of course,
"Michigan Ague Cure." Operations were set up in a building owned by
Sharpsteen, who also provided the formula for "Lavender Ointment," a
product marketed by the Peterman Company. Although the partnership
dissolved in April 1873 and Sharpsteen started his own medicine
business, extensive advertising had already been placed in newspapers
and directories. In fact, in 1873 Peterman placed an ad in the
Michigan Gazetteer and Business Directory for the first time. This
merchandising procedure promised new growth to the company, reaching,
as it did, potential distributors across the state. Peterman's first
ad was simply a regular alphabetized directory entry, typed in
boldface. By the late 1870's large display ads for the H. A.
Peterman Company appeared in the Gazetteer, as well as full page ads
in local directories.

During this early period the Peterman Company distributed its products through retail stores. In 1879, to further expand their sales market, the Petermans embarked on a new and profitable facet of the nostrum industry—the mail-order trade. Mail had advantages over retail distributorship. Any store which sold a product bought it at a wholesale price; but sales through the mail were made at full retail price, sometimes the customer even paid the postage.

Throughout the 1870's and 1880's the Peterman's continued to advertise mail-order service, whether they offered it to individuals or just to distributors remains unclear as no records survive.

²⁸ Biographical Review of Calhoun County, Michigan (Chicago: Hobart and Mather, 1904), p. 514.

DR. H. A PETERMAN & CO'S.

FAMILY MEDICINES

Consists of eight distinct articles, each prepared without refference to the other and

PETERMAN'S MICHIGAN AGUE CURE

hat beinde as the head of all fever remedies, caring the Agus and every firm an phase of Billous Fever, and frequently Typhoid in its early stages. It is also of great value in Liver Complaint, Jaundice, Dysintary, Disarrices, Neuralgia, Scarlest Fever, Mescales, Bheomaties, some firms of Kidney. Dissens, it beautifies the complainten, removing much, tan, den, it curse the burning sensation in the hands and feet, and increases the secretion of milk, and renders both mother and babe strong and healthy. It increases the appetite, improves digestion

PETERMAN'S TONIC COUGH ELIXIR,

In a reasory equally as positive, potent and powerful in carring Precessoria, (Infianmation of the Lumps or Lump rever) and all Coughs modified and infianced by Malaria, and a general aching of the bony system, as the Michigan Agre Cure is in

PETERMAN'S COUGH ELIXIR,

A fine, pleasant medicine that children leve. This medicine is a Febridge Expectus and and Balama consulted with Hypophosphine of Boda and Glycerine, a good remedy in all diseases of the Throat and Lungs. It reduces the fewer, bosons the cough and beats

PETERMAN'S PEPSIN

A positive resady for Indigestion, Dyspensia, Diabetes, and Neuralgia of the Stomach

PETERMAN'S LAVENDER OINTMENT

A preparation that gives immediate relief in Burns, Sculds, Punctured Wounds, Ague in the Breast, and is a sure ours for Piles, Chilbians, Frost-Bits, thundles in Children, Broochitis, Croux, Sore Throat, Cux, Bruissa, Indammation of the cros. Sore Nipples Creeks in CowwYcza, Gangyrus, Casarth, Chancel Ennds, Sore Lips, and in the place of a lintment for Spinal disease, Pain in the Side or Limbs, Sprains, Bruisse, or Broken Lips.

Peterman's Vegetable, Liver or Cathartic Pills

Positive, safe and reliable, no griping or fermentation in the stomacti or bowels, their

PETERMAN'S INDIA BALM

for Diagrams, Dysmary, Griping pain in the Bowels, Cholic, Cholers Morbus, Aci Stomach, Nursing, Sore Mouth, and Throsis.

PETERMAN'S NURSERY CORDIAL.

LABORATORY, 91 State Street, Marshall, Michigan.
H. A. PHTERMAN, M. D. H. SHARPSTEEN.

Fig. 2. Full-page advertisement, 1873 Calhoun County Business Directory.

Federal regulatory agencies hold most of the existing documents on patent medicine businesses; but, at the time the Petermans had their company, no federal laws governed the patent medicine trade, consequently H. A. Peterman Co. escaped federal scrutiny.

This does not mean
the Petermans employed no
questionable tactics or
marketed no worthless
products. In 1875 they
introduced a new product
called "Peterman's Nerve

H. A. PETERMAN & CO.,



*THE PERFECT HAIR DRESSING:-NATURE'S REMEDY.

To preserve the hair in youthful beauty, both in color and luxuriance of growth.

It renews the hair on build heads, turns gray hair to its natural, or a darker, shade, cleans the scaip of all dirt, grouse and dandruff. It stops the further death of the hair, preventing its further falling off, in a very short time (three or four weeks), and makes the hair soft and glossy. Of great value in relieving headache.

It is not a dye; it will not stain or even grease the most delicate fabric. No greasy pillow cases, hats or collars, from its use. It is a vegetable compound.

The bright, gay flowers that perfume the balmy air, contain those elements that beautify the bair.

We, the undersigned, citizens of Marshall, certify that we have used Dr. H. A. Peterman's Astoria, or hair dressing, and have found it in all respects as represented, and a pertect hair grower.

Wm. C. Pringle. Miss Edna Maymert. Mrs. M. Raymont. A. S. Cleveland. George Welch. N. J. Frink. G. W. Rabinson, Mrs. H. H. Robinson, U. E. Shumway, Wm. S. Smith, A. W. Raymond, Cyrus Gillner,

If your druggist or barber does not keep it, send one dollar to H. A. Peterman & Co., for a bottle which will be sent to you, expressing paid.

Fig. 3. Full-page advertisement Directory for Battle Creek and Marshall. 1883.

Pills." This nostrum was advertised as a remedy for "neuralgia, nervous and sick headache, spinal affections, paralysis, chronic rheumatism, also to rescue the brain from destruction in the early stages of insanity, and softening of the brain, and a perfect brain food." Even the state of medical knowledge in the 1870's does not excuse curative claims of this nature. Although the actual ingredients are unknown, similar products of the period contained a large percentage of alcohol and varying amounts of opiates, which

²⁹ Marshall Democratic Expounder, 30 September 1875.

have no curative properties but would certainly alleviate pain—at least temporarily.

Another product manufactured by the Peterman Laboratory for many years, "Astoria," was offered as a panacea for ailments of the head. Besides growing hair on bald heads, turning grey hair to its natural color, preventing dandruff, and smelling wonderful—"Astoria" relieved headache! Other drugs offered by the Peterman Company included: "Peterman's Tonic Cough Elixir"—a "positive, potent and powerful" cure for pneumonia; "Peterman's Pepsin"—a remedy for indigestion, dyspepsia and diabetes; and "Peterman's Nursery Cordial"—for teething, stomach, and bowel complaints of children.

In 1879 Hiram Peterman placed a notice in the Marshall Daily Chronicle stating that "Peterman's Michigan Ague Cure" and "Cough Elixir" were such valuable remedies that large quantities of each had been counterfeited. The advertisement informed customers that products bearing the initals "H.S." were "base counterfeits" and that the geniune article bore the Peterman trademark. While it is possible that someone decided to market bogus Peterman products; it is equally conceivable that such a claim, true or not, would generate sales. Counterfeiting patent medicines began in this country the moment the first bottles of imported elixir were emptied. Charlatans filled these empty containers with their own noxious concoctions, some even ordered new bottles for the purpose. When Americans began producing their own remedies, counterfeiting became even simpler.

³⁰ Marshall Daily Chronicle, 15 August 1879.

Proprietors turned to the United States Patent Office for protection—not by patent, rather by trademark. This allowed the purveyor lifetime protection on the product names without divulging secret formulas. It seems likely that the notice in the Marshall paper was aimed at Henry Sharpsteen, who had established his own medicine company in direct competition with Peterman. Perhaps some personal animosity existed between the two.

Dr. Hiram A. Peterman was well-liked and respected in the community. He was a member of the Universalist Church and a strong Prohibitionist. In 1884 he ran for county clerk on the Prohibition ticket, polling 194 votes, 31 which is interesting since it is almost certain at least some of his products contained alcohol.

Shortly after his political defeat, Hiram and his wife moved to Akron, Ohio for two years where they "discovered" a cure for consumption using electricity and oxygen. During 1880's as scientists and inventors harnessed electrical power, many therapeutic claims were made in its behalf. The Petermans returned to Marshall and opened a Consumptive's Home, "fitting up a building for the reception and adequate treatment of patients." Because of the great social stigma attached to consumption, the Peterman's did not openly advertise their newest venture, but relied on word-of-mouth and their reputation as physicians.

³¹ Ross Coller Collection, Willard Library, Battle Creek, Michigan.

³² Portrait Album, p. 410.

Dr. S. Amie Peterman, one of the first women doctors in Marshall, died September 18, 1891. Hiram continued to practice medicine for many years. At the time of his death, February 23, 1906, he was the oldest physician in Marshall. His obituary refers to him as a pioneer, and, indeed, he was, coming to Marshall in 1836 before Michigan was even a state. But Peterman was a pioneer in the patent medicine trade as well, initiating Marshall to many of the practices then in vogue with the nostrum manufacturers across the country. Later generations of Marshallites entering the drug trade knew of the Petermans, their products, and their promotions; the H. A. Peterman Company became the role model for future patent medicine businesses in Marshall.

^{33&}lt;sub>Marshall Daily Chronicle</sub> 23 February 1906.

CHAPTER II

MARSHALL'S MEDICINE SHOW

The art of patent medicine promotion reached its apex in medicine shows. Mountebanks, travelling hucksters, had been selling their tonics and potions to an unwary public since the Middle Ages. Setting up platforms at fairs or in public squares, these itinerant charlatans capitalized on the ignorance and natural fears of the general populace. Designed to attract a large crowd, the show beguiled onlookers with magic, music, and comedy. When the time seemed right, the quack-salver began his harangue on the ills which beset mankind. He had one purpose: to convince members of the audience that they needed his medicines.

America's dependence upon imported remedies did not go unnoticed; the colonies soon teemed with performing quacks offering "English" elixirs. In 1773 the Colonial assembly of Connecticut passed legislation banning the appearance of mountebanks:

Whereas the practice of mountebanks in dealing out and administering physick and medicine of unknown composition indiscriminately to any person whom they can by fair words induce to purchase them ... has a tendency to injure and destroy the health, constitution and lives of those who receive and use them. ...

Be it therefore enacted . . . that no mountebank . . . shall exhibit or cause to be exhibited on any publick stage . . . any games, tricks, plays, jugling or feats of uncommon deceterity and agility of body, tending no good and useful purpose, but . . . to collect together numbers of spectators . . . Nor shall any mountebank . . . vend or

otherwise dispose of, or invite any person so collected to purchase or receive any physick, drugs or medicines. 1

Some town councils adopted similar measures; others at least required the itinerant hucksters to buy a license. Medicine shows were none too popular with the authorities, but they continued to grow in size and number because they were profitable.

By the nineteenth century medicine shows had developed a distinctive format. Although some shows travelled in metropolitan centers like New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, most circulated among the rural populace. Isolated from society and surrounded by a hum-drum existence, American farm families longed for excitement. Medicine shows fulfilled that desire. Promoters sent out advance men to case the area and advertise the show. Admission was generally free; sometimes a nominal fee was charged, but this often discouraged a large audience. Furthermore, free shows drew the most enthusiastic crowds. To keep audiences excited the first act had to be special—it often involved magic. About two-thirds of the show was devoted to entertainment; the rest went to lectures, demonstrations, and, of course, sales.

Most medicine show operators had sidelines to supplement the medicine sales. Soap or candy offers served the purpose admirably. Wholesale companies, which specialized in supplying travelling carnivals, provided these items at such low rates that the vendor

¹Cited by Brooks McNamara, <u>Step Right Up</u> (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1976), p. 7-8.

could sell them at "bargain" prices and still make one hundred percent profit.²

Marshall's first and only medicine show was also one of the last in the country. The company, Sharpsteen's Family Medicines, founded by Henry Sharpsteen, was well-established before the show took to the road. Sharpsteen may have benefited from Peterman's tutelage during his tenure with the H. A. Peterman Company, or perhaps it was the other way around. Regardless of how Sharpsteen acquired his skills, he became a master salesman and his business flourished.

Henry Sharpsteen was born in New York State in 1827. After high school he studied "dentistry and physic" at Metcalf Brothers Drug Store in Geneseo, New York. Upon completion of the three year course, similar to an apprenticeship, he was a licensed dentist and physician. In 1859, Henry came to Marshall from Wisconsin where he had spent two years as a clerk in a general store. Once in Marshall, he established a hardware business with his brother Daniel. In 1870, as previously mentioned, Henry joined with the Peterman's and began to manufacture patent medicines.

Upon dissolution of the partnership, in 1873, Sharpsteen formed his own medicine company, Dr. H. Sharpsteen, Manufacturing Chemist (1873-1950). He marketed products similar to those sold by Peterman—especially "Lavender Ointment" and "Liver Invigorator and Ague Cure." Although facts surrounding the break up of the partnership are unknown, evidence suggests it was not amicable.

²McNamara, <u>Step</u>, p. 58.

³Biographical Review, p. 514.



Fig. 4. Advertisement, <u>Michigan Gazetteer and</u> <u>Business Directory</u>, 1893.

Peterman's ad regarding counterfeit products specifically mentioned the initials "H.S." Sharpsteen counterattacked with his own notice, warning of bogus "Lavender Ointment." He stressed that he was "the only person on this continent" who had or knew the formula. This is too coincidental to be anything other than a thinly disguised feud between two competitors in the same small town.

Dr. Sharpsteen used many of the same techniques Dr. Peterman had used. For example, Sharpsteen advertised in the <u>Michigan Gazetteer</u> and <u>Business Directory</u> and offered mail-order service--but Henry Sharpsteen had a few of his own ideas on how to operate a patent medicine business. His company relied almost exclusively on whole-sale trade; he sold his products to jobbers, who, in turn, sold them to retail outlets. As a result, Sharpsteen spent few dollars in local advertising. Most of his efforts went toward creating a "need" for his medicines in markets across the United States and Canada.

Henry Sharpsteen, Medicine pamphlet, c. 1880, p. 9. See Appendix III for a reproduction of the entire pamphlet.

⁵Biographical Review, p. 514

Understatement was not a word in Henry Sharpsteen's vocabulary.

The hyperbole in this ad is typical of his claims.

WORLD'S CHALLENGE LAVENDER OINTMENT

PAIN DESTROYER FOR MAN & BEAST Is an Internal or External, Cheap, Harmless, Valuable, Vegetable Medicine that advertises Itself by giving Universal Satisfaction to all Faithful Consumers, and Instant Relief in Coughs, Colds, Whooping Cough, Sore Throat, Hoarseness, Croup, Quinsey, Diphtheria (a sure cure), Piles, Burns, Scalds, Catarrh or Hay Fever, Bee Stings, Poisonous Cuts, Punctures or Skin that is Poisoned, Sore Eyes, Granulated Eyelids, Floating Specks in the Eyes (treat as for Catarrh), Earache or Painful Gatherings in the Head, Dandruff, prevents hair from falling out (and keeps it a natural color), Toothache or Ulcerated Teeth, Gun Shot Wounds, Salt Rheum, Erysipelas, Scarlet Fever, [illegible], Scrofula, Swellings (apply thoroughly by rubbing the swelling), Inflamation of the Breast, Caked or Broken Breast, Chafes on Babies or Adults, Neuralgia, Backache, Inflamation of the Kidneys or Bladder, Contracted Cords or Callouses, Stiff Neck and Shooting Pains, Frostbites, Chilblaines, Bunions, Sore Corns, Feet that Sweat or [illegible], Warts, Sprains, Painful Injuries or Breaks, Old Sores and Fever Sores. Also a Rapid Curative [of] Kicks, Calko, Gallo, Scratches, Sweeney, Lameness, Thrushe, Caked Bag, Sore Teats, and sassy daily familiar Complaints that Flesh is heir to. Lavender Ointment is very cooling and will penetrate to the bone in Man or Beast. Cleans Proud Flesh from all sores, and flies will not remain where it is used. MY CHALLENGE IS, that there is not one Medicine on the Globe that has the Pain destroying and Healing Properties Equal to Sharpsteen's Lavender Ointment, it completing very many more cures, is Less Expensive, Harmless in quantities used (Overdoses operating as a Cathartic), working quite satisfactorily for the most Prejudiced People on Earth.

With everything the "Lavender Ointment" could do, it seems unlikely that a customer would ever need anything else, but Henry Sharpsteen was not taking any chances---"also," he added, "Sharpsteen's Asthmatic Balsam and Liver Invigorator."

⁶ Marshall Statesman, 21 September 1882.

Henry Sharpsteen published a pamphlet extolling the virtues of his various remedies. Patent medicine manufacturers of the late nineteenth century used pamphlets and circulars as easy, cheap, and virtually unregulated advertising. Outrageous claims of miraculous products could be made without fear of recrimination. These pamphlets were distributed to retail dealers who set them out on the counter for customers to take. The manufacturer encouraged the storekeeper to give each customer a copy because it gave the impression that the merchant personally recommended the product. Sharpsteen's pamphlet has several interesting features. Aside from touting his own products in exalted tones, the inimitable doctor throws in many valued and time-tested folk remedies--plasters, teas and washes--complete with recipes. Sharpsteen's recommendation of such medicines, used in conjunction with his own remedies, of course, was a ruse to convert wary prospective customers. For example, for treatment of measles the pamphlet prescribes "a tea that has been recommended by our grandmothers for a generation," then "rub Sharpsteen's Lavender Ointment over the skin to clean off scales." To a person raised with folk medicine, both remedies might sound perfectly logical. The last few pages of the pamphlet are printed in German, repeating the main points of the English version. Sharpsteen must have had a large clientele among German-speaking populations to warrant the expense of printing the pamphlet in two languages requiring two different typescripts.

⁷Sharpsteen, pamphlet, p. 7.

Henry claimed that some of his formulas came from the Indians who camped at nearby Rice Creek. They taught him the value of herbs which he combined with his medical knowledge to create medicines "that save lives when doctors fail." Chief among these herbal remedies was "Sharpsteen's Lavender Ointment," for which he obtained trademark protection in 1873. Other botanic concoctions included "Dr. Sharpsteen's Vegetable Liver Pills" for indigestion, "sick headache, dyspepsia, [and] liver complaints;" "Dr. Sharpsteen's Vegetable Female Capsuls [sic]" for "gleet, gonorrhea, [and] ulcers of the womb."

Verne Sharpsteen, Henry's son, who was to take Sharpsteen's Family Medicines on the road, was born in Marshall, May 27, 1869.

Verne's mother, Sarah Pulver Sharpsteen, died June 11, 1874, and his father subsequently remarried. Young Verne and his new step-mother did not get along well, so the lad was sent to Devlin Military School in Jackson, Michigan. After graduation he went to Chicago to seek his fortune. Verne, bitten by the acting bug, pursued a show business career during the late 1880's, working on show boats and travelling with road companies. Verne played comic, straight man, singer, actor, magician and musician. Sharpsteen had versatility, but his greatest asset was the gift of gab.

⁸Interview with Verna (Sharpsteen) Marple, Big Rapids, Michigan, 8 December 1984.

⁹Advertisement, Marshall Daily Chronicle, 17 June 1891.

¹⁰mDr. Sharpsteen's Vegetable Liver Pills, Sharpsteen pamphlet, p. 12, "Dr. Sharpsteen's Electrified Vegetable Cure, label, c. 1880; "Dr. Sharpsteen's Vegetable Female Capsuls, label, c. 1910.

Precisely what prompted Verne to combine his personal skills and his knowledge of show business into one venture is unknown. Perhaps he had a reconciliation with his step-mother; perhaps he was concerned for his aging father's health; or, most likely, Henry offered him a position with Dr. H. Sharpsteen's Proprietary Medicines. 11 Regardless of how it transpired, Verne, after graduating from National College of Chiropractic in Chicago, "sort of took over." 12

In 1890, "Doc" as he was subsequently known, formed Marshall's first and only patent medicine show. It operated for fifty-one years, the last medicine show to tour Michigan. The methods of mountebanks had not varied since colonial times. As James Harvey Young, noted patent medicine historian, wrote, "They set up their platforms, performed their shows, delivered their harangues, sold their remedies, and went their ways." Verne's show was no exception, but he was a master showman who demanded excellence from his troupe. He advertised in The Billboard, the magazine of the medicine show trade, to get the best acts. Among those who performed with Doc Sharpsteen's show are "King Felton," magician; Gene Sheldon,

¹¹ The name of the Sharpsteen medicine firm changed several times. The most common names were: Dr. H. Sharpsteen's Proprietory Medicines; Sharpsteen's Family Medicines; and, Drs. H. & V. Sharpsteen.

¹² Marshall Evening Chronicle, 15 December 1950.

¹³ Young, Toadstool, p. 190.

"the original stratosphere man;" Neil Barton, cortortionist; Bill Weaver, escape artist; and, the Keatons, parents of Buster Keaton. 14

The Sharpsteen Medicine show travelled the same circuit year after year, traversing southern Michigan. It appeared in such Michigan hamlets as Litchfield, Homer, Ida, and Maybee. It also played medium-sized towns--Jackson, Ypsilanti and Monroe. In the summer months the show took place outdoors in an open tent; during the winter it appeared in opera houses, generally to full houses. Doe had no fear of returning to the same towns annually for two reasons: first, he believed in the efficacy of his remedies; second, he provided top notch shows which he constantly updated.

People came to see medicine shows to be entertained, and entertained they were. Some shows adopted a theme such as the Kickapoo Indian Shows, presenting Indian skits, dances and songs, with generous doses of Indian herbs, oils and elixirs (for a modest fee). Other shows offered magic, hypnotism, ventriloquism, or trick shooting as the main fare. The audience knew medicines would be hawked, a small price to pay for an evening of laughter, song, and thrills. Medicine shows flourished because they fulfilled a need—not medicinal, but social. Appearing primarily in rural areas, the shows offered a change from the humdrum. It gave folks a chance to get together for pure fun.

Doc's specialty act changed from season to season; although often a magic act or blackface comedy routine headed the bill.

Sharpsteen had a book which listed songs, gags, plays, and sketches

¹⁴Marple Interview.

by ethnic grouping. Some songs appeared under several lists: the difference, apparently, was accent, costume, and audience. "Massa Lincoln's Hand" is an example of a typical "Coon song" of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It was completely acted out--Abe, St. Peter, and the "darkies" who wanted "to kiss old Massa Lincoln's Hand." 15 Other ethnic groups, such as Dutch and Irish, equally stereotyped, were also represented. For example, the Irish were depicted as toughs, or drunks, or both. Doc knew his towns and his audiences, he was careful not to offend prospective customers, which may explain his lengthy repertoire. He employed as many as twelve actors. His wife, Sophia, had an act which she performed night after night for years. Under hypnosis she was suspended between two ladderback chairs. Then, to the amazement of the audience, a large stone was placed on her stomach and crushed by blows from a hammer. Later, to assure the crowds she was not harmed, Sophia appeared in song and dance routines.

For a few years during the early 1930's, Doc Sharpsteen's Show took place under a big top with a ten cent admission charge; but the method proved unsuccessful and the troupe reverted back to the free show in the open air tent. Verne, a perfectionist, drew a detailed diagram of the tent set-up; he wanted the site prepared to his exact specifications. The show travelled by horse and wagon in the early days, later trucks were used to haul the equipment. Members of the

¹⁵ Massa Lincoln's Hand, Sharpsteen family papers, Big Rapids, Michigan.

¹⁶ See Appendix IV.

troupe slept in tents. time in the late 1920's or early 1930's, Verne furnished his family with the first travel trailer produced by Anderson Trailers of Marshall. 17 Verna, his daughter. who travelled with the show, was disappointed. Sleeping in a tent seemed much more exciting to a young girl than sleeping in a trailer. Soon other members of the troupe also had trailers. During his tenure in the medicine show

COMING

FOR ONE WEEK SHARPSTEEN'S

The Man of Mystery'



Have also a refined, clean entertainment, catering to ladies gentlemen, and children.

PRIZE to the OLDEST COUPLE

Please don't fail to be present the opening night.

He has more surprises for you than any other man ever in town.

GO AND SEE FOR YOURSELF A surprise every right. Din't mas it. Money is no object. I stand the expense!

TWO HOURS OF SOLID FUN EVERY NIGHT Free!

Fig. 5. Poster, Sharpsteen's Medicine Show, c. 1925.

business, Doc Sharpsteen saw the stage lighting change from gasoline torches to kerosene lamps, to carbide lights, and finally to electric floodlights. 18

Doc guaranteed a night of free fun and entertainment for the entire family. This meant candy for the kids. Some of the candy bars contained slips of paper with numbers which corresponded to prizes. Most of the items were inexpensive trinkets with lots of

¹⁷ Marple Interview.

¹⁸ Marshall Evening Chronicle, 15 December 1950.

"flash." The ninety-cent "gold" watch, for example, was a favorite among medicine show promoters. Each evening, depending on the size of the crowd, one or two large prizes, such as a set of cookware or a woolen blanket would be awarded. Candy sales, and profits, soared. Naturally this type of promotion caused great excitement and put the crowd in a receptive mood.

Actually manufactured by the Jergens Soap Company in Cincinnati, it was put up in wrappers labeled, "Dr. Sharpsteen's Pure Wonder Soap." The first night of the show the soap sold six bars for a dollar; the next night it was eight for a dollar; by the final night, a dollar bought ten bars. This practice ensured large crowds on each successive night. Doc's most exciting gimmick really packed the house—he threw money into the audience. Since the show was free, anyone who managed to get a quarter or two during the pandemonium of the money toss eagerly advertised the show to friends and neighbors. By the third night Doc played to capacity crowds and the entire promotion cost less than twenty dollars.

The climax of the show was Doc's lecture. His daughter, Verna, claimed, "He could sell an icebox to an Eskimo," which of course, was the trademark of the true medicine showman. He made audiences feel every symptom:

Do you ever feel like it is almost impossible to get up in the morning? You eat well and sleep well, but you hate to get up? Do you ever feel that way? . . . Well,

¹⁹ mFlash is the medicine showman's term for flashy inexpensive merchandise.

folks, you may not know it, but that's the first sign of the gallopin' consumption. 20

Doc Sharpsteen delivered a similar harangue. The people loved it—
the highlight of the evening. It was considered part and parcel of
the entertainment. One of his favorite, and certainly more
memorable, presentations revolved around tapeworms. "Hindoo Oil," a
staple remedy in Doc's inventory, "cured," among other things,
tapeworms. Satisfied customers sent the expelled intruder to Doc.
Sharpsteen's daughter recalled measuring them, "that was one of my
jobs," she said, "and I hated it." The tapeworms, duly measured,
were packed in jars of formaldehyde with labels asserting the name of
the patient, date, and, of course, length. The record-breaker, 160
feet long, came from a Michigan farmer. These jars, tapeworm and all,
were passed around at shows as proof of "Hindoo Oil's" efficacy.

Verne Sharpsteen was an intriguing man with piercing eyes and a wonderful sense of humor, a consummate actor who loved his craft and his troupe. He naturally attracted friends of similar temperment.

One of his comrades, trusting in Verne's sense of humor, memorialized Doc and his show in the following lines:

There was a man named Sharpsteen
He came from Marshall, Mich.
He used to sell his Dadie's [sic] dope
[To] clean up was his wish.
He had a fine bunch work for him.
About two years ago,

²⁰Thomas J. LeBlanc, "The Medicine Show," <u>American Mercury</u> 5 (June 1925):235.

²¹ Marple Interview.

And believe me kid he had a Show That used to get the dough. 22

Medicine shows began to decline in the 1910's, by 1930 few remained. As movie houses opened in small towns across America, medicine show promoters found competition where none had previously existed. The automobile made it possible for people to choose their own forms of entertainment, rather than being chosen as likely "simps," "suckers," and "rubes." The advent of radio dealt an even heavier blow. Radio brought entertainment, culture, music, and medicine advertisements right into the home. Most medicines, despite the quality of the entertainment provided, were unable to compete with the budget and sophistication of radio shows. Furthermore, radios helped create the mass culture: rural citizens were no longer hayseeds; they became discerning critics of culture. Medicine shows paled in comparison with movies and radio. By the 1960's they had become a memory of the American past.

Old Doc Sharpsteen did not let the decline affect him. He continued right up until 1939 when he was forced, by ill health, to retire. All during the depression, from the first of May to October first, his show travelled the southern Michigan circuit. He had long since given up performance during the winter months; the Sharpsteen's spent winters in Florida or California. If given a choice, Verne probably would have not retired. Financially he could have retired years before he did, but at age 69, "he was kicked [in the leg] by a

²²J. R. Comrie to Verne Sharpsteen, 7 May 1913, Sharpsteen family papers, Big Rapids, Michigan.

²³Terms used by medicine show promoters for easy customers.

drunk," the leg swelled, gangrene set in, and the leg was amputated; so, retirement forced itself upon him. 24

Although Verne quit show business, he continued the medicine business. Retailers along his old show circuit placed orders to replenish stocks. Doc also had a large mail-order trade and a few wholesale customers. In 1947 he dropped the mail-order business but continued to serve regular customers. But the medicine business was in his blood, just a few days before his death in December 1950, a shipment of chemicals, ingredients for his medicines, arrived at his Green Street address. In testimony to Verne's ability as a showman, and his popularity, his obituary appeared in papers across the state, including the Detroit Free Press.

Verne's death marked the end of an era in the patent medicine trade. Doc was well-respected in the community. Many young Marshallites, eager to reap the profits of the nostrum industry, went to Old Doc for advice. He was happy to show the ropes to anyone interested in the trade. Some benefited from his counsel; others, to their eventual chagrin, ignored his admonitions regarding the law.

²⁴Marple Interview.

CHAPTER III

ELECTRIC BELTS AND OTHER RESTORATIVES

In the late nineteenth century, many doctors and lay people believed in electricity's therapeutic qualities, particularly as a restorative for "lost manhood." Electric galvanic or voltaic belts made their appearance in the 1880's. Advertising efforts on their behalf rivaled even the crudest patent medicine promotions. Marshall had several electric belt companies, initial credit goes to Dr. Douglas A. Joy, inventor of one such device.

Douglas Arad Joy's stirring experience takes the reader on a vicarious trip to self-righteous Victorian America. Douglas, son of Henry L. Joy, a noted Marshall physician, was born in the village, February 14, 1854. At the age of ten, he attended a lecture on chemistry and became fascinated with the subject. C. A. Joy, an uncle who happened to be a professor of Chemistry at Columbia College, encouraged the lad to pursue his interest. C. A. provided Douglas with the necessary equipment to establish a small laboratory. When not experimenting in the laboratory, young Joy could be found reading chemistry textbooks.

In 1870, at age sixteen, Douglas, probably through the graces of his uncle, was appointed an assistant in the chemical laboratory at Columbia College. At the same time he entered the freshman class in

the School of Mines. Upon graduation in June 1875, Joy received an appointment from the United States government to be a geologist on the Wheeler Expedition, exploring southern California. During this journey Joy became separated from the rest of the company and was lost in the mountains. Members of the expedition assumed the worst and news of Joy's untimely demise was published in many newspapers before he rejoined the group after wandering in the wilderness for three days. He was cold, tired and hungry, but otherwise uninjured. 1

After his adventures, Joy returned to Marshall. In the fall of 1877 the University of Michigan awarded him a position as instructor of Chemistry. In this capacity he promoted the connection between science and medicine. To complement his appointment and personal interests, Joy entered the Medical School at the university, graduating in 1879. In 1878, prior to completion of his degree requirements, he joined the Medical School faculty, offering lectures on Electro-Therapeutics. The next school year, 1879-80, the Calendar of the University of Michigan announced that laboratory work in Electro-Therapeutics would be "included in course work" for all medical students. Electro-Therapeutics became an optional course the following year, which may have been a precursor of subsequent events.

Dr. Joy, with his ardent desire to promote the use of electricity as a healing agent, invented an electric belt. Designed

¹"In Memoriam," pamphlet, <u>Marshall Daily Chronicle</u>, 15 June 1887.

²Calendar of the University of Michigan, 1879-80, p. 68.

to stimulate the patient through low-grade shocks, it operated on a battery pack. The belt came with a set of devices, attachments to be applied to the afflicted areas, including nasal, anal and scrotal.

"Dr. Joy's Electrical Devices" served multiple functions, from healing wounds to curing impotency. Joy sold the manufacturing rights to Martin V. Wagner, an unscrupulous character who later became mayor of Marshall. According to a University Board of Regents report,

"Dr. Joy did not, by his written contract with Wagner & Co., protect himself and his associates in the Faculty from the unprofessional and unethical use of their certificates." As a result he incurred the enmity of several colleagues.

The matter was first brought to the attention of the Medical Faculty Board on June 27, 1881. Joy gained admittance to the meeting The invitation of the Dean to explain his connection with certain advertisements of an electric belt. A committee was then appointed to see what measures could be taken to prevent further illegitimate use of the names of faculty members. Apparently the committee was unsuccessful, on February 20, 1882, the following resolution, introduced by Professor Frothingham, was adopted by the medical faculty:

Resolved 1st--that in consequence of Dr. D. A. Joys [sic] connection with Wagner & Co.'s quackish operations great scandal has been brought upon the University and we regard Dr. Joy as responsible for the scandal, and believe that justice and the

³University of Michigan Board of Regents, <u>Proceedings of the Board of Regents</u>, <u>1881-86</u> (Ann Arbor: Courier Book & Job Printing Establishment, 1886), p. 231.

University of Michigan Medical School, Minutes of the Medical School Faculty, 1881-82, MS, p. 118.

best interests of the University require that Dr. Joy's connection with the University should cease. Resolved 2nd--that the Dean be instructed to present the foregoing resolution to the Board of Regents and ask their action in the case.⁵

Although Joy was allowed to respond in his defense, his statement, not recorded, was moot. The controversy went before the Board of Regents on May 2, 1882, who promptly tabled the matter for two months. Then, on June 28, 1882, the Board of Regents adopted a resolution which stated that although Joy had, through negligence, brought scandal upon the medical faculty, he had not done so intentionally. Therefore, the Board of Regents reported, "we do not find that he has been guilty of any conduct requiring dismissal from the University." However, the matter did not end there. On July 18, just one month later, the board reversed itself and "required" Joy's resignation effective August 10, 1882.

Drs. Frothingham and Maclean, professors on the medical faculty who had initiated the charges against Dr. Joy, were dissatisfied with the results of the June meeting. According to contemporary newspaper accounts, they contrived a plan to "bulldoze" Joy out of the University. The professors, senior faculty members, tendered their resignations "with the demand that they be accepted unless Dr. Joy

⁵Ibid., 129.

⁶Board of Regents, <u>Proceedings</u>, p. 231

⁷Ibid., p. 264.

⁸ Marshall Statesman, 10 August 1882; Michigan Medical News (Detroit), 25 June 1882.

was retired." Joy's adversaries did not merely rely on the hope that the University considered their services indispensable; they waited for the opportune moment to stage their counter-attack. Due to summer vacation schedules, two of Joy's most ardent supporters were absent from the July meeting. One of them, Regent VanRiper, had "openly expressed his disapproval of the actions of Profs.

Frothingham and Maclean." The outcome was not a foregone conclusion. It took two hours of heated discussion before a final decision could be reached.

Joy "respectfully decline[d] to accede to the request of the board." In an open letter to James B. Angell, President of the Board of Regents, Dr. Joy eloquently stated his case:

self-respect and virtually confirming to the profession that I was guilty of the base charges ... made against me...
... I do not believe that such an institution as the University of Michigan can, in the long run, profit by this sacrificing principle to expediency. ...
I think that to accede to the request would ... seem to acknowledge that it was based upon some error or wrong committed by me. Such a seeming confession I am unwilling to make, and therefore choose dismissal rather than tender my resignation. ... 12

Though written in the exalted tones of Victorian prose, Joy's youthful indignation is apparent. The letter represents the only available testimony by Joy on the subject.

⁹ Marshall Statesman, 3 August 1882.

^{10&}lt;sub>Tbid</sub>

¹¹ Douglas A. Joy to James B. Angell, President of the Board of Regents, 8 August 1882 cited by <u>Marshall Statesman</u>, 10 August 1882.

^{12&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

After his dismissal from the University, Douglas Joy went to New York where he studied diseases of the eye and ear at the College of Physicians and Surgeons. He then returned to Marshall and joined his father's practice. In 1887 Joy moved out west to Omaha, Nebraska to start afresh. A few months later he was dead of a "fatal disease," ending a short but never dull life. 13

And what of the purveyor of "Dr. Joy's Electrical Devices"?

Ironically, the same issue of the Marshall Statesman which recounted Joy's dismissal from the University of Michigan carried an article praising Martin V. Wagner for his "unostentatious" generosity. 14

Wagner had donated a "magnificient" flag, costing "in the neighborhood of fifty dollars," to the Marshall Horse Association. 15

The presentation, made just prior to the Marshall Races, August 8-10, 1882, recognized the efforts of the Association to make the event "one of the finest in the state. 16 Wagner's motives for the gift are subject to suspicion. His purpose may have been to quell any gossip connecting him with Dr. Joy's discharge from the University of Michigan—Wagner's name had been carefully omitted from local reports. Perhaps his objective was more mundane, he may have viewed the donation as an advertising expense for his own stables of blooded stock.

^{13 &}quot;In Memoriam, " Marshall Daily Chronicle, 15 June 1887.

¹⁴Marshall Statesman 3 August 1882.

^{15&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

¹⁶M. V. Wagner to John W. Fletcher, President of the Marshall Horse Association, 1 August 1882 quoted in the <u>Marshall Statesman</u>, 3 August 1882.

Martin V. Wagner was born March 4, 1845 in Wheeler, New York. In 1863, at the age of eighteen, he arrived in Marshall, a penniless stranger. But Wagner remained neither. "Cap" as he became known, found work as a clerk and joined numerous clubs and organizations in the city including the Young Men's Debating Society. At twenty he entered the study of law at the office of William H. Brown. During the 1868 presidential campaign, Wagner declared himself a Democrat, "took to the stump and made a series of brilliant speeches." However, his disappointment over the defeat of his party caused him to give up the study of law. Wagner then entered the business and, the Marshall Chronicle reported, "made a great deal of money." 18

He first opened a patent brokerage. As a patent broker, Wagner, for a fee, handled all the paperwork involved in obtaining patents from the United States Government. He was extremely successful in this enterprise. By 1870 he began construction of new headquarters for the firm, an elaborate, three-story brick structure with a stone facade. The patent brokerage occupied the upper floors and Wagner rented the store fronts to retailers. "Cap" probably learned of Joy's invention through the brokerage. Once he obtained the manufacturing rights, neither his life, nor Joy's would ever be the same. Joy was railroaded out of his position at the University of Michigan; and Wagner, already wealthy, made a fortune as manager of the Voltaic Belt Company (1880-1893).

¹⁷ Marshall Daily Chronicle, 3 September 1891.

^{18&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

Never one to do things on a small scale, "Cap" immediately launched a national advertising campaign--"after the manner of quack medicines."19 After Dr. Joy's dismissal from the University, Wagner terminated all use of Joy's name or connection with the device. He promptly hired Dr. A. M. Dye as medical examiner and

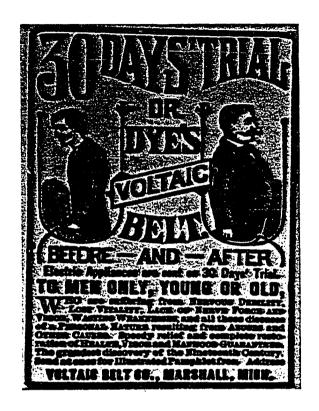


Fig. 6. Full-page advertisement, Michigan Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1885.

embarked on a new campaign. The primary focus of the revised ads was the "30 DAYS TRIAL," a gimmick designed to stimulate reader interest and motivate customer inquiries. The ads implied the proverbial ninety-eight pound weakling was miraculously transformed into a robust, virile man, complete with mustachios, simply by using the "Voltaic Belt" for thirty days. Wagner advertised the belt as a cure for any sexual disorder from venereal disease to impotence. His ads appeared in newspapers across the country. In 1885 he inserted the ad in the Michigan Gazeteer and Business Directory, using a technique

¹⁹ Burr, Medical History, 2:82.

called "white space." He purchased a full page, but the advertisement, which took up only half the available space, was centered on the page. It stood out in a directory brimming with advertisements.

The business expanded rapidly. Wagner hired the advertising agency of George P. Rowell, leaders in patent medicine promotion, to manage all commercial aspects of the company. At one time his credit with Rowell amounted to \$75,000. The Publisher's Commercial Union, the "Dun and Bradstreet" of the advertising world, listed the Voltaic Belt Company's worth in 1886 at five to ten thousand dollars. Two years later the amount had skyrocketed to an estimated \$15,000 - \$25,000. Mr. Wagner had a separate listing with a personal worth of five to ten thousand dollars. Publishers' Commercial Union, to achieve credibility among subscribers of their annual report, The Advertiser Reporter, printed conservative assessment of advertisers' worth and credit potential. However the editors who gave Wagner a good credit rating were unaware of his penchant for self-aggrandizement. This obsession led to Wagner's downfall. Statistics in the 1891 Advertiser Reporter reveal only the

²⁰Calhoun County Probate Court, Estate of Martin V. Wagner, file 5066, Marshall, Michigan, Charles N. Kent, Deposition, 7 July 1892.

²¹Publishers' Commercial Union, <u>The Advertiser Reporter</u>, <u>1886</u>, (Janesville, Wisconsin: Publishers' Commercial Union, 1886).

²²Publishers Commercial Union, <u>The Advertiser Reporter</u>, <u>1888</u>, (Chicago: Publishers' Commercial Union, 1888). After this date all annual reports were published in Chicago.

end result--the Voltaic Belt Company had an assessed worth of zero to one hundred dollars.²³

Wagner's descent into bankruptcy began in 1884. His proclivity for affluence prompted him to buy the Pratt mansion, one of the finest homes in Marshall.²⁴ Abner Pratt, former United States Consul to the Sandwich Islands and something of an eccentric, built the home in the style of Hawaiian architecture. When Wagner purchased the mansion with its fifteen foot ceilings and ten foot doorways, he found all available wall and ceiling space covered with murals of Hawaiian vegetation. Wagner, or maybe his wife, Mary, decided this was too much; so he commissioned an itinerant artist. F. A. Grace, to paint new murals. The job, by no means expensive, took three years to complete; over two hundred colors were used. As an example of the lengths to which Wagner went to create the most elaborately decorated mansion in Marshall, details of the carpet pattern in the main parlor were incorporated into the new ceiling design. "Cap" also spent enormous sums to modernize, remodel and furnish the home.

Wagner had lost none of his love nor ability for campaigning.

A political career offered him another opportunity to satisfy his craving for public acclaim. In 1883, despite common knowledge of his questionable business ethics and even more dubious product,

Wagner was elected mayor of Marshall. For all his short-comings,

²³The Advertiser Reporter, 1891.

²⁴The mansion, now called the Honolulu House Museum, is being restored under the direction of the Marshall Historical Society.

"Cap" was an affable chap and the people of Marshall liked him.

Wagner's frequent donations to civic causes made him a shoe-in for re-election in 1884 and 1885; he also served in 1887.

"Cap" Wagner, as might be expected, adopted the avocation of proper wealthy gentleman of the nineteenth century--blooded horses. Martin operated his own stables where he bred horses for sale, stud, and racing. He also enjoyed hunting. The townspeople, in appreciation of his many gifts to the city, presented him with a chandelier for his newly remodeled home, with globes depicting various hunting scenes.²⁵ In keeping with his station, Wagner and his family travelled extensively in Europe.

All these tugs on the purse strings began to have a telling effect. The Voltaic Belt Company, which had originally been so prosperous, was not producing well. By 1890, in order to mount a new advertising campaign an embarrassed, Wagner had to borrow money. On December 8, 1890, after the initial loan arrangements had been made, Wagner wrote to Charles N. Kent, a partner in the George P. Rowell Company, assuring him that the new "Voltaic Belt" pamphlet was a "hummer and [could not] help but pay better than the old one." The same letter contained a cautionary note, "I know by experience," wrote Wagner, "that not many orders are received until some two or three months after the advertising begins." The Rowell Company paid

 $^{^{25}}$ Both the chandelier and the mural painting are preserved in the museum.

²⁶Martin V. Wagner to Charles N. Kent, 8 December 1890.

²⁷ Ibid.

little heed to this portent of disaster. On December 10, 1890 they sent Wagner four promissory notes of three thousand dollars each to be signed and returned. Although the original agreement specified that the notes were to be dated December 1, Wagner, in a forestalling maneuver, dated them December 15. By way of explanation he asserted that the advertising could not "much get underway until January 1."28 The Rowell Company accepted Wagner's argument without comment and proceeded to place advertisements for "Dr. Dye's Electro-Voltaic Belts" in newspapers across the United States and Canada. The new ad, similar to earlier promotions, showed a belt and wrist band with rays of electric voltage emanating from them. The ad copy was virtually unchanged, except that Wagner now offered "Ninety Days Free Trial."

Unfortunately, for everyone involved, the first note fell due in ninety days, on March 15, 1891. Wagner, unable to meet the payment, wrote to Mr. Kent offering his house as security for the loan. "While I dislike very much to encumber my house," he said, "nevertheless it is the only security I can now give." ²⁹ Wagner renewed his proposal on March 15, 1891. He stated, for the record, that the property had cost him "between fifteen and sixteen thousand dollars."

²⁸ Martin V. Wagner to George P. Rowell & Co., 13 December 1890.

²⁹Martin V. Wagner to Charles N. Kent, 9 March 1891.

³⁰ Martin V. Wagner to George P. Rowell Co., 15 March 1891.

The gravity of the situation did not become apparent until the Rowell Company accepted Wagner's offer. At that point Wagner turned the matter over to his attorney, Herbert E. Winsor. On April 1, 1891 Winsor wrote to the Rowell Company that Mr. Wagner was very ill. "He has been up and down financially several times in his business life," wrote Winsor, "so there is . . . hope." 31 Winsor did not mention the disposition of the house, nor did the Rowell Company ever receive the deed.

On August 31, 1891 Martin V. Wagner died of a heart attack and the insolvent estate became a matter of probate. The Rowell Company was not the only creditor, just the largest. Wagner, "not anticipating poor business," had ordered large stocks of materials, including six gross of belt buckles, copper plating, zinc, and felt—all components of the Voltaic Belt.³² When all creditors submitted their accounts, the total owed by the estate amounted to \$12,499.62.³³ Wagner's widow, Mary, was allowed to keep the house and some personal belongings; the rest of the property was sold to settle accounts. Creditors were paid at the rate of 11.3 cents per dollar. The Rowell Company received \$1,233.29 on a claim of \$10.890.08.³⁴

³¹ Herbert E. Winsor to George P. Rowell & Co., 1 April 1891.

³² Martin V. Wagner to George P. Rowell & Co., 28 March 1891.

³³Probate Court, Estate of Martin V. Wagner, file 5066.

³⁴ Ibid.

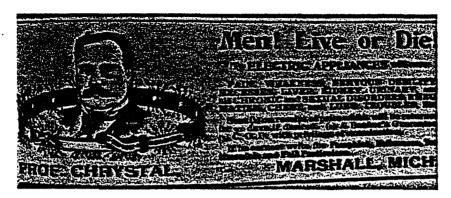


Fig. 7. Advertisment, <u>Michigan Gazetteer and</u> Business <u>Directory</u>, 1895.

Wagner's death and subsequent publication of his financial woes shocked most Marshallites. Mary Wagner temporarily assumed control of the Voltaic Belt Company; but, understandably, she was not enthusiastic about retaining the position. In 1893 she sold the business to Andrew Chrystal who had worked his way up from a groom in Wagner's stables to business manager of the belt company.

The changes under Chrystal's proprietorship were changes in name only. He suddenly became "Professor Chrystal; the name of the company changed several times; and the device, itself unchanged, suddenly cured more diseases including "liver, kidney, . . . chest and lung troubles." Chrystal enlarged the business which had declined since Wagner's death. By 1901 the "Professor" employed fifty-one people, twenty-one in the office, and thirty in the

³⁵ Michigan Gazetteer and Business Directory (Detroit: R. L. Polk Co., 1895), p. 1201.

factory. The shop ran six days a week, nine hours per day, producing a tidy profit.³⁶

If the adage, "imitation is the highest form of flattery," has any validity, Martin Wagner, had he lived, would have been extremely flattered. Perhaps a more fitting proverb might be, "nothing breeds imitation like success." Chrystal marvelled at "Cap's" financial ascendance. He not only followed Wagner's footsteps in the business world, the Professor also adopted "Cap's" avocation of raising blooded horses. Chrystal's business acumen allowed him to retire from the belt company in 1905 and devote full-time energies to the Chrystal Stock Farm. 37

With two financial successes to its credit, other Marshallites attempted to cash in on the electric belt. Edward W. Butler of Butler Electric Company produced belts from 1896 to 1900; Dr. J. C. E. M. Lane marketed electro-magnetic belts from 1902-1911. Neither achieved the wealth or position that Wagner and Chrystal attained.

Lucius Franklin Page had a better idea. He decided if a cumbersome belt proved lucrative, a more palatable treatment for loss of manhood would be worth a fortune. L. F. Page was born in Marshall in August of 1849. His brothers ran the highly successful Page Brothers Buggy Company, but Lute was unable to settle down to a

³⁶ Michigan Bureau of Labor and Industry, <u>Eighteenth Annual</u>
<u>Report of the Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics</u> (Lansing: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., State Printers, 1902).

³⁷A Marshall tonic firm was launched in 1905 under the name of Chrystal. Whether this was the "Professor" capitalizing on his knowledge of the mail order trade or someone else capitalizing on Chrystal's name is open to conjecture; the business was short-lived.

lackluster career at the factory. Although Lute did buy some stock in the Buggy Company, he looked for more exciting employment. He joined a travelling blackface minstrel show. After a few years on the road Lute returned to Marshall where he married Annie Bradley. Miss Bradley was the daughter of Lemuel Bradley, proprietor of a grocery store in Marshall which had a sideline selling parlor organs. Annie worked in the store demonstrating the marvels of the parlor organ; Lute often joined the concert, delighting people with his horn solos. 38

Although Lucius Page had returned to Marshall and settled down to a wife and home, he found no satisfaction as a carriage maker.

So, in 1890, he contracted with a Detroit drug firm to make "little pink pills" to restore lost manhood. As sole distributor for "Dr. Wilson's Restorative Remedies" (1891-1901), he embarked on an advertising campaign unparalleled in originality or audacity. His publicity targeted the less sophisticated people, in areas such as Appalachia and the rural South. Page made arrangements with rural druggists and storekeepers for distribution of his literature including a pamphlet entitled, appropriately, "Startling Disclosures." The circulars stated that "50,000 Young Men [were] Going to Premature Graves Due to Constitutions Impaired by Excesses." Scare tactics included before-treatment pictures

³⁸ Reuben W. Borough, "Saturday Afternoon Town," Michigan History 48 (1964):120. The author was a brother-in-law of L. F. Page.

^{39&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

⁴⁰ Quoted in Stewart H. Holbrook, <u>The Golden Age of Quackery</u> (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1959), p. 253.



Fig. 8. Page's Store, East Michigan Avenue, Marshall, Michigan, c. 1895.

of "victims of indiscretion" and a hard-hitting text which indicated immediate action was required to save the sufferer from imminent death.

Many readers of the circular, fearing they might be victims of indiscretion, wrote to the L. F. Page Company requesting information. The prompt reply must have surprised inquirers. It came not from the Page Company; instead, a Mr. L. S. Franklin of "Michigan Musical Supply House, Importers and Retail Dealers in Musical Instruments" of Marshall, Michigan responded. Franklin explained that he had once been among the ranks of the fifty thousand, and now he made it "sort of a hobby" to tell others that they, too, could be saved—for three dollars C.O.D. Furthermore,

Mr. Franklin had taken the liberty of sending the nostrum, billed as merchandise, in a plain brown wrapper to the correspondent.

Enclosed with the restorative was a personal note:

My afflicted Friend, do not despair. You <u>can</u> be cured. Try these remedies I beg of you and you will ever give thanks to your Friend,

L. B. Franklin. 41

The scheme had several illegal features. First, no L. B. or L. S. Franklin existed. But Page's middle name was Franklin and a person may legally adopt any name he chooses for business purposes, as long as the business itself is legitimate. Of course, in Page's case, this is questionable; he represented himself to be two different people, for the sole purpose of misleading and defrauding his customers. He claimed Tr. Wilson's Restorative Remedies cured Franklin—a man who never existed. Franklin's store was also a figment of Page's imagination; the closest Lute came to owning a music store was the concerts he gave in his father—in—law's store.

The unsolicited C.O.D. promotion is the most striking illicit feature of Page's scam. The temerity of this scheme is only overshadowed by its cleverness. Consider the scenario—a single young man living at home explaining to his mother, or worse a married man explaining to his wife, why he is refusing a C.O.D. package—how much easier to quickly and quietly pay the charge and dispose of the evidence. Obviously the Postal Authorities soon

⁴¹Ibid., p. 254.

⁴²U.S. Postal Regulations as explained in a letter from Assistant Attorney General of the Post Office Department to the Marshall Postmaster, 29 January 1913.

heard about Page's operations. On November 6, 1893 fraud order #210 was issued against L. S. Franklin, L. S. Franklin & Co., and L. F. Page & Co. by the Post Office Department. Fraud order #237 against L. F. Page and G. B. Wright quickly followed. Perhaps investigators, realizing the non-existence of L. S. Franklin, hoped to insure conviction by issuance of the second, more accurate fraud order. If so, they were sorely disappointed, both orders were revoked February 14, 1894 by order #53. Page probably filed an affidavit promising to discontinue illegal practices, if he were allowed to continue his business and remain within the laws of the Post Office Department. 46

Lute did suspend C.O.D. operations, but the business thrived under new mail order practices. By 1896 the assessed worth of the company had increased to \$25,000 - \$50,000. The Page merely increased his advertising efforts, strengthened his scare tactics, and sent order blanks to inquirers rather than C.O.D. medicine. His appeal was simple. He described general symptoms such as fatigue, which even healthy people experience, and coupled it with guilt-evoking

⁴³U.S., Post Office Department, Bureau of the Chief Inspector, Fraud Docket, 1883-1894, Record Group 28, Entry 55, File 409, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁴⁴ Ibid., File 425.

⁴⁵ Ibid. Files 409 & 425.

⁴⁶File 409 contains the notation, "see report in case 158516-C", unfortunately these records are unavailable, whether they have been lost, misfiled, or destroyed has not been determined.

⁴⁷ The Advertiser Reporter, 1896.

statements about youthful indiscretion and self-abuse. Playing to Victorians who viewed even the thought of sex as sinful, Page alluded to the predicament of one whose secret past would be exposed to public scrutiny as "the disease" progressed and became more apparent. As Page's brother-in-law remembered, "Money poured into the office: dollar and five- and ten-dollar bills in crudely addressed envelopes. "49

The postal authorities again took note. This time they had prepared their case more thoroughly, and Lute was worried. Ordered to appear in Federal District Court in Chicago, Lute asked his brother, William L. Page, to accompany him. The night before they were to take the train to Chicago, Lute went over to his brother's house, ostensibly to make sure Bill still planned to go with him. As he was leaving Bill noticed that Lute had left a satchel near the chair where he had been sitting. Bill raced out on the porch, and holding the satchel aloft, said, "Wait, you forgot this." Lute replied, "I don't want the damn stuff in my house"—the satchel contained fifty thousand dollars in cash. Lute had decided to leave the country until he was sure of the disposition of the court; but he also wanted to provide his brother with enough money to post whatever bond the court might set. 50 Bill convinced his brother

⁴⁸Self-abuse is a nineteenth-century euphemism for masturbation.

⁴⁹Borough, "Town," p. 120.

 $^{^{50}}$ Interview with William L. Page II, grandson of William L. Page, Battle Creek, Michigan 14 December 1984.

that the plan was foolhardy, and the next day the two of them set off for Chicago, with the satchel of money.

The judge read the citation of charges against the L. F. Page Company. He asked if the charges were essentially true, to which Lute replied, "yes." Lute asked the court what kind of advertising might be acceptable and the judge wrote out a sample. Lute replied, "but I couldn't sell anything with that ad, I might as well go out of business." The court said that would be just fine. The L. F. Page Company was placed under the jurisdiction of the court for a period of one year. Lute had to retain his staff for that period and return all money and orders received from that time forth. The envelopes would be stamped "refused" and "out of business," as opposed to "fraudulent" which the postal statutes allowed.

At the time the court handed down the order, the company was raking in money at the rate of one thousand dollars a week. But Page, who never held another job after the medicine company, remained unconcerned. According to rumor, he had made "over a million." He certainly never lacked for anything; he had a large house, complete with servants. Lute also owned the first electric car in Marshall, purchased after the medicine company had been closed down. On July 2, 1901, Page posted notice in the local paper that his store would be available for rent after August 1, 1901; he then retired to a life of gentility.

^{51&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>

^{52&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>

⁵³Borough, "Town," p. 121.

L. F. Page was wealthy, but he was also generous -- not ostentatiously like Martin Wagner, but in a quiet, almost deprecatory manner. For example, one cold winter day he noticed woolen blankets in the window of Perrett's Dry Goods store in Marshall. He went in and told Manlius Perrett. "You know people who really need these, but can't afford them. Give the blankets to those people and send me the bill. but if you ever tell where the money came from, I'll never do business here again." He made similar arrangements with fuel and grocery suppliers. Lute never turned anyone away, but he had a philosophy about people who asked for a handout -- they had to earn it. He kept two cords of wood in the back yard for that purpose. All drifters were given a free hot meal, but not until they had moved the wood from one side to the other. The fuel company, they were told, had stacked it in the wrong place. Sometimes the wood moved twice in one day. His obituary refers to his benevolence to the poor, stating that many in Marshall "would have experienced both hunger and cold had it not been for his splendid generosity. 55 At the time of his death in 1919, his estate, excluding cash and real property, amounted to over ninety thousand dollars.56

Others marketed male restoratives from Marshall headquarters, but none succeeded on the scale of the Wagner, Chrystal, and Page. In fact at least eleven of Marshall's fifty-two companies, over

⁵⁴Page Interview.

⁵⁵ Marshall Evening Chronicle, 27 October 1919.

⁵⁶ Calhoun County Probate Court, Estate of Lucius F. Page, file 13-854, Marshall, Michigan.

twenty percent, specialized in treatments for men only. Several sold a kidney, bladder, or prostrate remedy, intimating that the product also improved sexual prowess. The appeal to masculinity proved so lucrative that many attempted to join the march to success. Whenever a person achieved success in the patent medicine trade, others followed with monotonous predictability. Kalamazoo, Michigan produced a host of celery cures; Battle Creek became a center for health foods; and, Lynn, Connecticut, home of "Lydia Pinkham's," spawned a multitude of female remedies. Marshall specialized in male rejuvenation.

CHAPTER IV

GOLDEN COMPANIES OF THE GILDED AGE

The decade 1895-1905 marked the golden era of the patent medicine trade. Samuel Hopkins Adams had not yet awakened people to the "Great American Fraud," so public uproar against nostrums and quackery was still in the future. No federal laws regulated the drug industry; only laws regarding mail fraud had to be evaded. Advertising was cheap and anyone, regardless of background or education, could open a business to sell medicine.

The patent medicine business literally exploded in Marshall during the golden era. Thirty-seven of the fifty-two proprietary medicine firms in Marshall were established during that decade. Of the thirty-seven, only eleven were still in business ten years later; some barely lasted a year. All entered the trade in hopes of acumulating great wealth--only a few succeeded. To achieve that "pie-in-the-sky," a promoter needed the right formula. Not the right pharmaceutical formula, that was secondary. To achieve success in the patent medicine business, one had to have the right advertising formula. Marshallites Harold C. Brooks and Frank A. Stuart found that formula.

The story of Brooks Rupture Appliance Company (1880-present)
begins with Harold's father, Charles E. Brooks. C. E. was born
August 16, 1843 in Cape Vincent, New York. His parents emigrated to

Michigan in 1855 lured by the availability of farming land. In keeping with the customs of the time, C. E., at the age of fourteen, was bound out as an apprentice. At the Green Milling Company in Fredonia Township, just south of Marshall, he learned the milling trade which he practiced for almost forty years. A man of diverse talents and interests, Charles also became an ordained Methodist minister. Although he did not devote full-time energies to this calling, he did fill in as a supply preacher in the area around Marshall. As a young man, C. E. worked at different grist mills around the county, including mills at Marshall, Olivet and Ceresco. He put his inventive talents to work and he secured United States patents on improved milling machinery and water power wheels. 1

Around 1880, working as a stone dresser, one who sets the milling stones in place, C. E. disabled himself with a rupture.

A young man with a growing family, he had to continue working to support them. Rupture trusses of this period were crude appliances consisting of metal bands and steel springs. C. E. found the discomfort unbearable. Using his creative skill, he designed a more comfortable model, which his wife made to his specifications on the family sewing machine. With a new lease on life, C. E. not only continued in the milling trade, he bought the Perrin Mill just south of Marshall. Word travels fast in a small town, and people who knew of his former disability, began to inquire into C. E.'s new-found

Harold C. Brooks, "The Brooks Appliance Company," <u>Marshall</u> <u>Rotary Fountain Extra</u>, 11 December 1964.

vitality. As news of his invention spread, those at the mercy of steel clamp trusses asked for a Brooks model. C. E. was glad to oblige; for a number of years he conducted a small sideline business out of his home. But it was only a sideline. Business at the mill was good—that is, until the Panic of 1893 brought severe reverses. The farmers were unable to pay him, he was unable to meet his mortgage payments, and the mill was foreclosed.

After dabbling briefly in the feed and grain retail business, Charles Brooks, at the age of fifty, began to sell rupture appliances full-time. Desperate times for C. E., who at times could not provide enough food for his family, required desperate measures. He would take the Interurban to nearby Battle Creek and pound the pavement in search of customers.

C. E. Brooks had a "sixth sense" for spotting ruptured men. . . . Thus, he approached total strangers on the street saying, "Excuse me, sir, but I believe you have a rupture and I think I have something here which will help you." Then, if all went well, he would take them into the back of a saloon, strap them up, and then return home with money for dinner.²

By 1897, even though it was still a small operation, the company moved from its quarters in the home to rented offices above one of the drug stores on main street. In 1901 C. E. Brooks, who had continued to experiment with various designs and materials to improve the device, obtained letters of patent for the Brooks Automatic Air Cushion, which is still an essential feature of the "Brooks Appliance." In 1905, the company moved to its present location, the second floor

²Larry Hughes, "Life with Grandpa: Some Personal Recollections of H. C. Brooks," <u>Marshall Rotary Fountain Extra</u>, 1978.

of the Dibble Block. By 1907 the company had sufficient capital to purchase the structure, rechristening it the "Brooks Building."

Probably the most significant change in the firm at this time. other than address, was the addition of Harold Craig Brooks to the staff. Harold, C. E.'s youngest son was born in Marshall June 8, After graduation from Marshall High School in 1902, H. C. 1885. joined the office staff of the Voltaic Belt Company. There, at the hands of none other than Professor Andrew Chrystal, he learned tricks of the mail order medicine trade and techniques of successful advertising. After six months' training H. C. felt ready to try his own wings. In 1903 he joined the Brooks firm to handle all advertising and mailing operations. According to his grandson, the company "began advertising in the manner of Professor Chrystal, with highly salubrious results.ⁿ³ Of course, it was not that simple. Harold had to "pull and tug for advertising money." C. E. was a cautious man who had known economic reverses; he had no intention of throwing caution to the wind for the questionable advertising schemes of a nineteen-year-old boy. Gradually, though, Harold prevailed. his advertisements appeared in newspapers and magazines, orders began to pour into the office generating additional advertising dollars.

Larry Hughes, H. C.'s grandson, called it the "era of crass ads;" the "Agony" of "Truss Torture" was clearly depicted in lithographs of men in body vises or nailed to walls--complete with

^{3&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

⁴Interview with Larry Hughes, grandson of H. C. Brooks and current president of the Brooks Appliance Company, Marshall, Michigan, 8 November 1983.



Fig. 9. Advertisement proof, c. 1910. Courtesy Larry Hughes.



Fig. 10. Advertisement proof, c. 1910. Courtesy Larry Hughes

The pictures were simply reversed to get four ads from two drawings and two ad copies.

dripping blood!⁵ That four-letter word--CURE--no longer permitted, appeared frequently. Harold hired an advertising agency to prepare the ads and place them in the most productive sources. The patent medicine trade had developed an innovative scheme to check on cost-effectiveness. Each publication that carried an advertisement had a code number, cleverly disguised as the address. For example, all ads appearing in the New York Times might list the address as Box 211, the San Francisco Examiner might use 412 E. Michigan Avenue. If the local post office knew the addressee, the mail, despite incorrect box number or street address, would be delivered. As another money-saving device, the ad copy changed very little. Sometimes the same copy was used with several illustrations, for C. E. still made Harold account for every penny spent in advertising.

The success of Harold's creative advertising can be measured by the increase in staff. In 1908 the company had twenty employees, the number steadily rose, until 1920 when the company employed fifty-four people, an increase of 170%. By 1909, the company began to place advertisements in British newspapers and magazines. The response was phenomenal. So, in May 1910, the Brooks Rupture Appliance Company opened its first international branch in London. Later, branch offices were established in Manchester, Amsterdam, Buenos Aires, Chicago, New York and Los Angeles. T

^{5&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>

⁶Michigan Bureau of Labor and Industry, Reports, 1908 and 1920.

⁷ Marshall Rotary Call, 10 December 1952.

Even though the company experienced tremendous growth, it continued a policy of personal service. As an advertisement in 1953 stated, "This institution does not manufacture a stock line of trusses for wholesale or drugstore distribution. It has specialized, since 1880, in the fashioning and fitting of supports . . . following the details of personal requirements." To this end, the Brooks company has remained primarily a mail-order company, reporting in 1982 that ninety-eight percent of its business came from mail orders. The company mails all customers detailed order blanks, complete with a diagram and explicit directions for measuring, to ensure a proper fit.

When C. E. died in 1913, the business became a three-way partnership between C. E.'s widow, Ellen Craig Brooks; Louis E. Brooks, Harold's other brother and manager of the manufacturing department; and, Harold. Upon Mrs. Brooks death in 1932, the company incorporated with Harold as president, a position he held until his retirement in 1952; he served as Chairman of the Board until 1975.

Life is not without melodrama, and life at the Brooks Rupture
Appliance Company proved no exception. On the night of October 30,
1933, Louis Brooks was kidnapped by three men and a woman. Two of
the men were ex-convicts; and the woman ran a blind pig west of
Battle Creek where Lou was a frequent customer. When Brooks
attempted to fight off his assailants he was struck in the face with

⁸Advertisement, <u>Marshall Rotary Fountain Extra</u>, December 1953.

⁹ Marshall Historian, 9 September 1982.

the butt of a revolver. The kidnappers handcuffed him and drove him to the Rupture Company where Lou was forced to open the company safe. The thieves became angry when they found only four dollars in cash. Threatening Brooks with the statement "your money or your life," they forced him to open his private safe and took between twenty and twenty-five thousand dollars in bonds. 10 The perpetrators were eventually brought to justice, but the crime caused great agitation in quiet little Marshall; the phone company had to put on extra operators and reporters from Detroit, Kalamazoo and Jackson descended upon the city. 11

The Brooks family is better known in Marshall for its philanthropy than its rupture appliances. Harold Brooks, to celebrate the city's centennial in 1930 and as a memorial to his father, donated the illuminated fountain at the West End Park. That fountain, at the intersection of U.S. 27 and Michigan Avenue, former site of the county building, has become the very symbol of Marshall. H. C. was also instrumental in development of the Brooks Airfield south of town. C. E.'s widow, Ellen, donated the major portion of funds used to build the Brooks Memorial Methodist Church. Both C. E.'s sons served as mayor of Marshall—Louis from 1920—1922 and Harold from 1926—1931. Harold became known, especially in his later years, as a local historian. He collected Marshall ephemera, antiques and manuscripts. Before preservation was fashionable, Harold saved many historic Marshall homes from demolition by

¹⁰ Battle Creek Enquirer & News, 1 November 1933.

¹¹ Marshall Evening Chronicle, 1 November 1933.

purchasing them and holding them until the right buyer came along. He wrote a short unpublished history of Marshall. Several of his articles and book reviews appeared in <u>Michigan History</u>, the monthly publication of the state Historical Commission.

The Brooks Appliance Company, the only manufacturer of a patented medical device still in business in Marshall, remains a family company. Larry Hughes, great-grandson of C. E. is the current president of the company. Although considerably smaller than when the business had ninety-three employees and maintained international offices, the Brooks Company has increased production each year since Mr. Hughes took charge. Older men now constitute the majority of Brooks' customers. Today when young men have ruptures, they are usually treated surgically; with older men the risk of surgery is greater, so many choose the appliance for relief. Some doctors recommend use of an appliance as part of the post-surgical treatment; it serves to mind the patient not to overtax his newly-stitched muscles until the healing process is complete. Today most advertising efforts are aimed at magazines with a wide male readership, such as veteran's group's magazines and lodge journals. Ads also appear in such nationally distributed publications as Family Weekly, National Enquirer, Star and Grit.

As in the case of electric belts, the financial success of the Brooks Rupture Appliance Company did not go unnoticed. The first to capitalize on it was J. L. Brennan, inventor of the "Hollow Cushion,"

who started the Brennan Rupture Appliance Company (1913-1933). 12 He had prior experience in the mail-order medicine trade; from 1904-1907 he operated the Marshall Complexion Tablet Company. 13 Not only were the words "Hollow Cushion" similar to Brooks' "Air Cushion," Brennan's advertisements closely resembled those of the Brooks company. But Brooks' most interesting competitor was a grandson of C. E. Thomas E. Brooks, Lou's son, worked at the family business for some years, but he became disgruntled. In the early 1940's he established R-G Manufacturing (c. 1940-1944)--R-G meaning Rupture-Guard. Neither the Brennan Rupture Appliance Business nor R-G Manufacturing remained in business long; they were unable to compete with the reputation and advertising capital of the Brooks Rupture Appliance Company.

Frank Alfred Stuart founded Marshall's ether golden company of the gilded age; the F. A. Stuart Company (1893-1956) was the largest and most successful patent medicine business in the town's history. Frank Stuart was born in Marshall on November 28, 1863. He attended Marshall High School, graduating in 1882, and then got a job as a clerk at the Voltaic Belt Company. In this position he learned the inner workings of the mail-order medicine trade. As a clerk, he sorted mail, addressed and stuffed envelopes, and answered special information requests. He learned about the importance of wording in advertising—a lesson he never forgot.

¹² Interview with Louis Sinclair, grandson of J. L. Brennan, Battle Creek, Michigan, 27 February 1985.

¹³ Advertiser Reporter, 1904.

After several years at the Voltaic Belt Company, Stuart, in partnership with his future brother-in-law, William Frederick Church, founded a medicine company in Albion, Michigan, twelve miles east of Marshall. This business used several aliases: Albion Pharmacy Company; W. F. Church Company; and, F. A. Stuart & Company. In 1899 the firm incorporated as the Pyramid Drug Company (1891-1938) with Frank Stuart as president, William Church as vice-president. That same year the company moved its headquarters from Albion to Marshall.

Meanwhile, Stuart was busy starting the company for which he and Marshall became so well known—the F. A. Stuart Company. Originally called the Stuart Chemical Company, the firm marketed "Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets, " "Stuart's Calcium Wafers, " and "Stuart's Charcoal Lozenges." Though the company distributed other products, these three remedies remained the staples.

Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets became the most popular and widely advertised remedy sold from a Marshall address. For a time, prior to incorporation in 1898, the business was known as Stuart Dyspepsia Remedy Company. Frank, having learned the value of extensive advertising from his association with Martin Wagner, hired an outside advertising agency. Advertisements for Stuart's Dyspepsia appeared in newspapers across the United States, from the New York Christian Advocate, to the Denver Post, to the Chicago Examiner, 15 By 1901,

¹⁴Fraud Docket, 1883-1894, file 427.

¹⁵ New York Christian Advocate, 21 February 1907; Denver Post, 30 November 1911; Chicago Examiner, 22 October 1911.



Fig. 11. Full-page advertisement, <u>Michigan Gazetteer and Business Directory</u>, 1915.

international sales promotions began with campaigns in England and Canada. 16

Although the Stuart Company was a fledgling organization in the 1890's, Frank Stuart did not lack capital for advertising. F. A. Stuart seemed to have the golden touch in business; most of his enterprises succeeded. The Pyramid Drug Company was well established. It produced enough income to allow Frank to purchase a farm, between Marshall and Albion, at Brace Lake. At this site he started a poultry business which also yielded income. The poultry farm eventually became Stuart Acres, best known for its fruit orchards. Frank also invested in the dry cereal business. W. K. Kellogg and C. W. Post, in nearby Battle Creek, had established successful breakfast food factories, spawning a host of imitators. Among those joining the bandwagen was Colin F. Hardy of Marshall. Together with Frank Stuart and a few others, he founded C. F. Hardy Company, manufacturers of "Hardyfood."

The F. A. Stuart Company grew rapidly and soon produced the capital needed for new investments. In 1898, the first year of incorporation, <u>The Advertiser Reporter</u> listed the worth of the company at \$5,000 to \$10,000; one year later it was \$25,000 to \$50,000; and, by 1904, just six years from inception, it was \$75,000

¹⁶ Advertisement, Marshall Daily Chronicle, 16 September 1901.

¹⁷ Interview with Alfred Stuart, nephew of F. A. Stuart, Marshall, Michigan, 9 October 1984.

to \$150,000.¹⁸ The phenomenal growth of the company can be directly attributed to extensive advertising.

"Stuart's Calcium Wafers," one of the big sellers of the early period, gained its ascendance through appeals to women's vanity.

"Mortified by Pimply Face," asked a typical ad, "Stuart's Calcium Wafers Will Restore Good Looks and a Clear Complexion to Your Face."

Face."

Another widely used advertisement hinted at a more perverse problem—"obnoxious body odor and bad breath." "Perhaps you are a septic and don't know it. Try a bit of calcium and see. It can make all the difference in the world."

The pills reportedly made skin sparkle and eliminated sallow complexion; at the same time it cured constipation without "harsh cathartics."

Controversies with the Food and Drug Administration over the composition and therapeutic value of the tablets forced the company to change the formula.

Eventually the product was re-named "Stuart's Laxative Compound Tablets," presumably to squelch further bad publicity.

22

"Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets" remained the company's best-seller.

Thousands of dyspepsia remedies appeared on the market in the late

nineteenth and early twentieth century. Their ads filled the news-

¹⁸ The Advertiser Reporter, 1898, 1899, 1904.

¹⁹ Advertisement, Chicago Examiner, 16 November 1913.

²⁰Advertisement, <u>Chicago Tribune</u>, 19 December 1916.

²¹mF. A. Stuart Company (Calcium) Ad Sheet No. 9, Kling-Gibson Company, Chicago, Illinois, Ad. No. 206.

²²American Medical Association, Bureau of Investigation to Margery Milroy, 17 March 1942, AMA, Division of Library and Archival Services, Chicago, Illinois. Unless otherwise noted, all AMA records are located in the AMA library.

papers, for dyspepsia was a common problem. Over-eating seemed to be the national pastime. Americans ate too much, too fast; not only that, they ate the wrong foods. Their diets lacked fresh fruits and vegetables, and stressed starchy, fried foods. Stuart knew his consumers and addressed the problem directly:

The average American eats entirely too much... Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets should be employed to dispose of the surplus food eaten, and should be used after all full or heavy meals, banquets, champagne suppers, after-theatre-parties, etc., as they completely overcome the bad effects of excessive eating.²³

Stuart's ads told the public what they wanted to hear, "Eat what you want, when you want it ... then if you have indigestion, take

Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets and forget all about ... stomach

troubles."24 His ads were designed to give seemingly logical

explanations for the causes of dyspepsia, followed swifty with the

only solution—"Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets." Sometimes the

advertisements took a clever twist. Starting with the modest claim

that "Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets" will only cure stomach troubles,

stomach troubles become the root of all evil. "Poor blood, weak

nerves, sleeplessness and a general don't care feeling can always be

traced to imperfect indigestion. . . . [Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets]

give perfect digestion," and, by implication, cure poor blood, weak

nerves, sleeplessness, and that general don't care feeling.²⁵

²³Frank Stuart, "Indigestion is the Modern Sword of Democles," medicine pamphlet, c. 1912. See Appendix III.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵Ross Coller Collection, unidentified newspaper clipping, 26 April 1901.

Stuart's Dyspepsia

Tablets followed the first
commandment of patent
medicine promotion, "be
known." Beginning in 1894,
advertisements appeared in
newspapers and magazines
across the continent—with
almost boring repetition.
Week after week, month after
month, the same ad appeared,
again and again. Name
recognition proved itself.
The F. A. Stuart Company
distributed its products

What Is Wrong with
Your Skin?
Read This Beauty Secret
Does your mirror show that you have a dull or blemished skin? Any pimples? What you may need is a little
calcium. Taken in the form of Stuart's Calcium Wafers you have an easy way to correct faulty elimination of the bodily wastes which cause so much
complexion trouble. These little wafers also ac as a stimulus to skin vigor, help to make richer redder blood and to give the soft, rosy effect of youth. Keep the skin clean outside but also le Stuart's Calcium Wafers do their work inside in beauty that can never be rivalled by "makeup". Use them for a few days and learn by experience how quickly they may bring renewed charm an brilliance to your complexion. Try them without, cost. Send the coupon.
STUART'S CALCIUM WAFERS AT ALL DRUG STORES: 10c and 60c
FREE SAMPLE COUPON
A sample package sufficient to prove the value to you of Stuart's Calcium Wafers will be sent you if you mail this coupon to the Stuart Co., Dept. 37-G. Marshall, Mich.
Address

Fig. 12. Advertisement, Modern Romances, February 1934.

through wholesale drug suppliers, who in turn, sold the remedies to retail outlets. Stuart's ads urged customers to "ask [their] druggist," which lent an aura of respectability to the products. At the same time, it opened new markets, for if enough people asked for or about Stuart's products, the druggist ordered them. Possibly the greatest boon to the company came, when, in 1926, Sears, Roebuck and Company and Montgomery Ward Company began to distribute "Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets" and "Stuart's Charcoal Lozenges" through their mail-order catalogs. 26

²⁶Sears, Roebuck and Company, <u>Spring and Summer Catalog</u>, 1926; Montgomery Ward Company, <u>Fall and Winter Catalog</u>, 1926.

Like most proprietary medicine businesses of the nineteenth century the F. A. Stuart Company started out in a rented suite of offices on the second story of a building on main street. In the early days the firm manufactured all its own products in a large, open room with high ceilings. Mr. Stuart had a small office to one side of the factory area. Frank possessed sharp business skills; when he recognized the economic advantages of subcontracting, he promptly hired a pharmaceutical company. Over the years several different companies produced Stuart's remedies, including Frederick Stern & Company of Detroit, Paul B. Elder Company of Bryan, Ohio, and Allied Chemical Corporation of Chicago. 27 This led to a corresponding reduction in staff and overhead costs, which further increased profits. After this change, the firm employed approximately twenty employees, most of whom worked in repackaging the bulk product into individual retail containers. The company's growth during this golden age is marked not by the number of employees, but by rising profits and assets.

By 1925 the F. A. Stuart Company moved to larger headquarters at 117 South Jefferson Street. At the same time Frank, as controlling officer, relocated in Pyramid Drug Company to the second floor of the new Stuart Building. The following year Stuart completed negotiations with Sears Roebuck and Montgomery Wards for distribution of the F. A. Stuart Company products and the firm continued to grow.

²⁷U.S., Federal Security Agency, Food and Drug Administration, "Factory Inspection Report: F. A. Stuart Company," 26 October 1943; U.S. Federal Security Agency, Food and Drug Administration, "Factory Inspection Report: F. A. Stuart Company," 8 December 1948; Stuart Interview.

HEMORRHOIDS MAY NOT NEED CUTTING

Pyramid Has Saved Thousands from Painful Operations. Don't Miss This Special Free Trial Offer

Do you eaffer with piles? Certainly you can end their pain and bleeding anything else you ever have tried, but different and amazing in the duck relief it brings from pain, the sensitive swollen veins, even in chronic cases. Follow your doctor's advice if he recommends Pyramid our expense. Do not wait.

Write TODAY for Proof Box Wonderful

Suppositories



For only 60c you can get a full size package right now at any drug store.

However, we will gladly send you a complete trial treatment absolutely free if you act promptly, before this generous offer is with-

Remember you have nothing to lose and every-thing to gain. Do not delay,

Mail This FREE **Coupon NOW**

PYRAMID You may send for Piles.	DRUG CO., 1120-H Pyramid Bidg., Marshail, Mich. ms, at oher, in plain wrapper, peopleid, a free proof box of Pyramid
Name	
Address	
99.	Sun

Fig. 13. Advertisement, <u>Davenport (Iowa) Times</u>, 9 May 1928. Courtesy AMA.

The Pyramid Drug Company had developed as a separate business. It marketed hemorrhoid remedies-- "Pyramid Ointment," "Pyramid Pills," "Pyramid Suppositories." and "Pyramid Pile Cure." later known, at the insistance of the Food and Drug Administration (FDA), as "Pyramid Pile Treatment. This company never achieved the affluence of the F. A. Stuart Company, but it always produced a tidy profit. William Church held the vice-president's position until Frank's death in 1931. At that time Church took over as president. Not surprisingly, the Pyramid Company advertised in the same manner as the F. A. Stuart Company. The Stuart Company tried innovative advertising and marketing techniques first, then, if they succeeded, the Pyramid Company followed suit. Since the F. A. Stuart Company had much more capital at its disposal, this policy made good economic sense. In 1935 Montgomery Ward Company finally marketed "Pyramid Pile Preparation," but the Pyramid Company never matched the sales of the Stuart Company. 28 Nearly everyone suffers from occasional indigestion -- only a minority are afflicted with hemorrhoids; consequently, the Pyramid Company drew from a smaller percentage of the consumer public.

Frank Stuart did not spend all his time at the offices of the medicine companies. When he was in town, Frank checked in at the office everyday to answer personal correspondence and handle special problems; but he had hired office managers to conduct the daily operations. Outside interests consumed most of his time. He belonged to the Free and Accepted Masons, the Union League of Chicago (an exclusive men's club), the Chicago Athletic Association, the

²⁸ Montgomery Ward Company, Spring and Summer Catalog, 1935.

Detroit Athletic Club, and the Battle Creek Country Club. He had life memberships in the Red Cross, the American Museum of Natural History, the Bird Lore Society, and the National Audubon Society. 29 A music lover since childhood, Stuart played the violin in the Marshall Orchestra, an organization which benefitted from his financial support as well. Frank collected fine violins, rare books and antique guns. He also enjoyed sports, hunting, and fishing. As an avid University of Michigan football fan, Stuart made substantial contributions to the building fund for the present stadium. One of Frank's favorite hobbies involved the study of birds. He built a bird sanctuary at Stuart Acres, published Bird Lore Magazine, and was instrumental in inducing martins to return to Michigan.

Frank Stuart's munificence was not limited to his personal interests. He contributed to many civic causes, but avoided the limelight; in fact, he often insisted on anonymity. Stuart financed the building of Brace Lake Road, the first paved county road in the vicinity. The road and lake were subsequently renamed "Stuart" in his honor. Frank also contributed to the beautification of Marshall, donating many of the trees which still line the city's residential streets.

The potential of the F. A. Stuart Company will never be known, for on August 2, 1931, at the beginning of the Depression, during which many patent medicine firms prospered, Frank Alfred Stuart died.

²⁹ Encyclopedia of American Biography (New York: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1938), p. 73 cited by Heroldene Stratton, "Nostrums Were Their Business," Marshall Rotary Fountain Extra, 1983.

His widow, Jessie Church Stuart, did not wish to change the business, which meant, in essence, she did not want to continue expansion. The company gradually eliminated national advertising; as it did so, sales obviously declined. But Mrs. Stuart had no financial worries, Frank had invested his money wisely; furthermore, even in its waning years, the business produced ample profits. In 1948, the last year the company distributed "Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets," production was valued at forty-three thousand dollars. After that date the company leased the manufacturing rights to Allied Chemical Corporation which paid a royalty fee on all sales. The last check arrived in 1968. 31

After Frank's death, the F. A. Stuart Company consolidated by assuming control of the Pyramid Drug Company. When Mrs. Stuart leased the manufacturing rights of the F. A. Stuart remedies, the Pyramid medications became the sole products of the firm. By that time, 1948, the Stuart Company had abandoned all manufacturing. It became merely a distribution center for repackaging and shipping the medicines. Very little advertising had been done by the firm since the late 1930's, and absolutely none after 1947; the company gradually declined until it finally ceased operations in 1956, which was in accordance with Mrs. Stuart's wishes. She had no desire to be involved in the business, and the older she got, the less inclined she felt toward it—and, thus, Marshall's largest patent medicine company passed quietly out of existence.

^{30&}lt;sub>FDA</sub>, "Factory Inspection," 1948.

³¹ Stuart Interview.

Both Frank Stuart and Harold Brooks achieved success in the golden age of patent medicines through the magic formula of advertising. The two men, though they had many similarities, also differed. Both were self-made men who built small medical companies into prosperous businesses; both became extremely wealthy; both pursued numerous avocations; and, both contributed generously to Marshall's improvement. There, the similarities end. Harold was as flamboyant as Frank was retiring. Harold loved the limelight; Frank shunned publicity. Marshall can be grateful to have had two such civic-minded gentlemen as community leaders. Nearly every Marshall family benefitted from their presence, either directly through employment, or indirectly through use of facilities donated by one or both of them.

CHAPTER V

AGITATION, LEGISLATION, AND LITIGATION

"Patent medicine town," with a population of 4361, supported no less than eighteen proprietary medicine busineses in 1905. Marshall, Michigan had become a center of the nostrum trade. In comparison neighboring Battle Creek, with a population of 23,000, had thirteen medicine companies; Coldwater, Michigan, twenty miles south of Marshall, with 6,500 people, had three. The phenomenal incease of patent medicine businesses in Marshall reflects the growth of the industry nationwide. The trade teemed with charlatans out to make a fast buck. 1905 marked the last year of unregulated commerce in drugs. Prior to that time articles and speeches against quackery had been confined to medical association journals and annual meetings. Occasionally an article denouncing an obvious fraud would appear in general household magazines, but no concerted effort against medical fraud existed.

Samuel Hopkins Adams changed all that. On October 7, 1905 he launched a major campaign against the "Nostrum Evil" in Collier's,

The National Weekly. "The Great American Fraud", as the series was called, exposed the unethical, immoral and even dangerous tactics employed by medicine promoters. Adams' muckraking journalism suited the Progressive Era. Just as Ida Tarbell and Lincoln Steffans kept

¹Statistics compiled from the Advertiser Reporter, 1905.

America posted on the evils of trust companies and corruption in the cities, so, too, did Adams reveal the chicanery of the patent medicine trade.

Not one to mince words, Adams wrote, "When one comes to the internal remedies, the proprietary medicines proper, they all [are] harmless frauds or deleterious drugs."

He denounced testimonials as fakes; and, indeed, many were. People who had never tried a nostrum agreed to sign testimonials praising its curative properties, said Adams, "for the joy of appearing in print as 'prominent citizens."

Another article in the series, "Strictly Confidential," revealed that personal letters written by customers to patent medicine companies were often sold to brokers, who categorized the letters by disease and remarketed them to other nostrum purveyors:

If you have been foolish enough to write to any of the quacks and frauds... you may know that your letter is now for sale. You may know that all the things you said about your health and your person—intimate details you carefully conceal from your friends and your neighbors—are the property of any person who cares to pay four or five dollars for the letters of yourself and others like you.

"The Subtle Poisons" cited, by name, nostrums containing poisonous ingredients. One article exposed the conspiracy between the press and the nostrum industry to suppress reports of pending anti-patent medicine legislation. Another disclosed the cruelly fraudulent

²Samuel Hopkins Adams, <u>The Great American Fraud</u>: <u>Articles on the Nostrum Evil and Quackery</u> (Chicago: Colliers, 1912), p. 4.

³Ibid., p. 6.

⁴Ibid., p. 144.

intentions of purveyors who specialized in incurable diseases, offering hope to terminal patients where none existed.

Samuel Hopkins Adams was not a physician, so he turned to experts for medical advice. Dr. Harvey Washington Wiley became a primary source and personal friend. Wiley, as Chief of the Bureau of Chemistry of the U.S. Department of Agriculture had been waging his own war for a pure food and drug law for over two decades. Like Adams, Wiley knew the value of the sensational. In 1902 he set up the "Poison Squad," a group of twelve hardy young men employed in the Department of Agriculture, who volunteered to eat foods containing preservatives to determine whether or not the substances were injurious to health. According to Mark Sullivan, a contemporary journalist and muckraker who participated in the campaign against patent medicines, Wiley's staff "caught and held the attention of the entire country."

Crusaders of the Progressive Era knew that public agitation and indignation was the first step toward reform. Wiley traversed the country giving lectures on adulterated foods and drugs. He advocated passage of a bill which would require complete formula disclosure on the labels of all proprietary remedies. Products with cocaine or alcohol should be available only by a doctor's prescription, he insisted. In 1903, the Proprietary [Medicine] Association of America declared that such legislation "would practically destroy the sale of

⁵Mark Sullivan, <u>Our Times</u>: <u>The United States</u>, <u>1900-1925</u>, vol. 2: <u>America Finding Herself</u> (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927), p. 520.

proprietary remedies in the United States.⁶ By 1905, the Association, realizing the shadowy specter of federal legislation was fast becoming a grim reality, urged its members to practice self-regulation. They called for an end to nostrums loaded with alcohol or narcotics and discouraged the use of advertisements written in hyperbole.⁷

However, the die was cast; after a series of intricate maneuvers resembling the plot of an Arthur Miller play, the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 finally passed both houses of Congress. "Dr. Wiley's Law," as it was known, stipulated that the labels must declare the presence and amount of certain dangerous ingredients: alcohol, opium, cocaine, heroin, acetanilide, and a few others. The new law did not prohibit or even restrict usuage of these narcotic substances; it merely required that, if present in the remedy, they be listed on the label. Likewise, the product had to contain the ingredients listed on the label. But the catch-all phrase, which said that the label could not bear "any statement, design or device false or misleading in any particular," wrought the most convictions. 8

Administration of the new law came under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Chemistry of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Dr. Wiley, so instrumental in its passage, was anxious to begin. The statute, although it did force manufacturers to change their labels, did not eliminate quackery as had first been hoped. Dr. Wiley was

⁶Young, <u>Toadstool</u>, p. 226.

⁷Ibid., p. 237.

⁸Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906, ch. 3915, 34 Stat. 768.

obsessed with the pure food question. According to him food adulteration posed a greater threat to the general public than patent medicines. Of the first one thousand notices of judgment posted under the law, only one hundred thirty-five concerned patent medicines. Convictions resulted in minimal fines. 9 Consequently, most proprietary businesses cited did not fight the charge, paying the low fines imposed was cheaper than legal fees and court costs.

As it became obvious to manufacturers that the new law did not have much bite, new abuses surfaced. The 1906 law did not regulate advertising, so whatever nostrum makers were prohibited from saying on the label was stressed in advertisements. In 1911 the Supreme Court dealt proponents of the law a severe blow; it ruled that false and misleading statements did not apply to curative or therapeutic claims. Although the Sherley Amendment closed this gap, officials now had to prove the purveyor's intent to defraud. The worst problem, ironically, came from the act itself. The law established a guarantee system to protect retailers from prosecution for the illegal acts of manufacturers; however, nostrum purveyors led potential customers to believe that "Guaranteed under the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906" meant that the U.S. Government guaranteed the efficacy of the product.

Despite the shortcomings of the 1906 act, it marked the beginning of a new era. The federal government had asserted its right to legislate in the area of patent medicines. In 1914 the

⁹James Harvey Young, <u>The Medical Messiahs</u>: <u>A Social History of Health Quackery in Twentieth Century America</u> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), p. 41.

Federal Trade Commission (FTC), another product of the Progressive

Era, was established to prevent "unfair methods" of competition, as

such, false advertising came under its jurisdiction. Long before

either the FDA or FTC was conceived, the Post Office Department had

been combatting medical quackery through statutes prohibiting mail

fraud. Under the FDA law the strongest measures taken against

violaters amounted to nominal fines and seizure of product on the

open market—a minimal loss. The FTC statute had a more stringent

enforcement policy, it could issue a cease and desist order requiring

the transgressor to halt unfair advertising practices. But the Post

Office Department had the best deterrent; when a fraud order was

issued, all mail addressed to the named business was stamped

"fraudulent" and returned to the sender—a quick and efficient way to

put a quack—salver out of business.

Marshall's medicine makers did not remain unscathed by national legislation. The first Postal Statute against mail fraud, established in 1872, initially applied to economic fraud, such as sale, through the mails, of non-existant securities. Eventually the Post Office collaborated with the Bureau of Chemistry to eliminate health fraud. Dr. Wiley and his fellow chemists analyzed medicines sent through the mail to establish fraudlent intent on the part of the sender--but not until after patent medicine town had handed the United States Post Office Department a crushing defeat.

On December 11, 1893 the Postal authorities literally descended upon Marshall. Although no mention of the invasion appears in the local press, fraud orders were issued against five Marshall

proprietary firms, and one each from Marengo, Albion, and Battle Creek. All the businesses cited are directly related to Marshall drug firms: some Marengo township addresses are served by the Marshall post office; the Albion citation lists many aliases, including F. A. Stuart and Company; and, the Battle Creek order cites the father-in-law and wife of L. F. Page as respondents. In an attempt at legal thoroughness the Postal officials named anyone and everyone possibly connected with the business. The Albion order catalogs nine separate aliases; Specific Medicine Company of Marshall has five other appellations. The outstanding characteristic of this campaign by the Post Office, however, is its dismal failure—the fraud order in each and every case was revoked. 10

What happened? Unfortunately the records which deal with these specific cases are unavailable; but examination of similar cases reveals that those cited generally signed affidavits vowing to discontinue practices deemed fraudulent by the Post Office

Department. Since the fraud order did not consider medicinal value of the product, the business was free to continue marketing the same pills and potions, as long as it did so within the limits of the postal statutes. For example, the L. F. Page Company continued to peddle "Dr. Wilson's Restorative Remedies" through the mail, but they no longer sent it via unsolicited C.O.D.

It was, perhaps, this vain attempt to terminate fraudulent businesses in Marshall which led the Post Office Department to seek cooperation from the Bureau of Chemistry in the late 1890's. Expert

¹⁰Docket, <u>1883-1894</u>, file 420-427.

testimony of chemists regarding the therapeutic value of the defendant's medicine became an integral part of the Post Office

Department's case. Collaboration did not cease with passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906. Although the Bureau of Chemistry was empowered to make seizures of misbranded or fraudulent medicines, the Post Office continued its fight against medical mail fraud. Dr. Wiley gladly assisted the Post Office, conviction under postal statutes often led to the dissolution of the business, whereas conviction under the Food and Drug Act only resulted in small fines and seizure of a shipment or two. The Postal authorities, due to prior experience, proceeded with caution, preparing invincible cases. Marshall proprietaries, perhaps as some sort of poetic justice, were to suffer numerous defeats under the new system.

In the meantime the Bureau of Chemistry, when not assisting the Post Office, mounted its own campaign against quackery. Of the first 1,000 cases only 135 applied to drugs, including a Marshall proprietary, as might be expected. On March 31, 1910 Inspector John F. Earnshaw of the Bureau of Chemistry purchased six packages of "Stuart's Catarrh Tablets" on the open market. A pamphlet enclosed with the pills asserted that the medicine contained a "large amount of antiseptic remedies." Chemical analysis failed to show the presence of such antiseptics; nor did it show "that the product contained drugs possessing therapeutic properties adequate to attain

¹¹U.S., Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Chemistry, Information Brief, I.S. (Interstate Sample) No. 18063-B, 16 May 1910, FDA Records, Washington National Records Center, Suitland, Maryland. Most information on this and other early cases are part of a large accession, 59A-2098.

the cures claimed for it." A citation was issued April 20. 1910. On October 12, 1910, Frank Stuart appeared in person, entered a plea of nolo contendre, and was fined ten dollars. 13 This incident marked the beginning of a life-long struggle against the F. A. Stuart Company by the Bureau of Chemistry and its successor, FDA. In January 1916 tragedy struck; a sixteen-month-old child swallowed a number of "Stuart's Calcium Wafers," was seized with convulsions and The subsequent autopsy revealed the presence of strychnine, and chemical analysis of the wafers showed that each contained approximately 1/120 grain of strychnine. 14 The Bureau issued multiple seizures. a tactic used to quickly remove dangerous products from the market, against "Stuart's Calcium Wafers." Shipments at Boston; New York; Denver; Macon; New Orleans; Charleston, West Virginia; Cedar Rapids, Iowa; and Jacksonville, Florida were seized between April 6 and June 27, 1916. This time Frank Stuart did not appear in court. The product in each case was condemned and destroyed.

The Stuart Company took immediate steps to revise the formula.

One April 4, 1916, two days before the first seizure of "Stuart's

Calcium Wafers," Mr. A. B. Osborne, General Manager of the F. A.

¹²U.S., Department of Agriculture, Office of the Secretary, Notices of Judgment under the Food and Drugs Act (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1911) Notice of Judgment (NJ) No. 718.

^{13&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

¹⁴ Arthur J. Cramp, ed., <u>Nostrums and Quackery</u>, 3 vols. (Chicago: American Medical Association, 1912-36), 2:620.

¹⁵NJ 4773. 4774, 4775, 4782, 4969, 5194, 5554, 5557, and 5655.



Fig. 14. Stuart Label, 1915. Courtesy AMA.

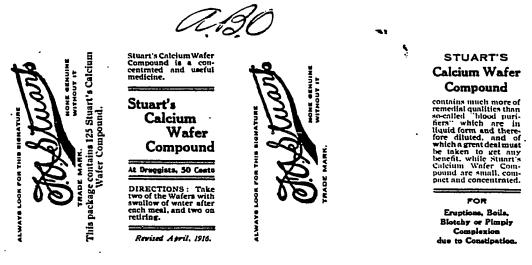


Fig. 15. Stuart Label, 1916:

The changes on the 1916 label reflect the effects of federal regulation.

Stuart Company, submitted the new formula and revised labels to the Bureau. Strychnine and belladonna were eliminated from the product. 16 Therapeutic claims on the label changed from ma concentrated and effective blood medicine... [with] ingredients to thoroughly cleanse and purify the blood, liver, kidneys, and bowels to ma concentrated and useful medicine. 17 Radical changes also occurred in the enclosure pamphlets. The old circular said, Children may take it with freedom and their delicate organisms thrive with its use; children are not mentioned in the revised pamphlet. 18 The old circular discussed the benefits of Stuart's Calcium Wafers as a blood purifier; the new one just stated it was a laxative.

The changes were too little, too late, and the F. A. Stuart
Company remained under the watchful eye of the FDA and other federal
regulatory agencies. The company also incurred the enmity of Dr.
Arthur J. Champ, Chief of the Bureau of Investigation of the American
Medical Association. Although the AMA had no legislative authority,
it campaigned just as vehemently. The organization's influence on
member doctors, and its unflagging investigation and exposure of
frauds in the Journal of the American Medical Associaton often

¹⁶A. B. Osborne, F. A. Stuart Company, to U.S. Bureau of Chemistry, 4 April 1916, FDA Records, Accession 63A-292, Washington National Records Center, Suitland, Maryland.

¹⁷ Stuart's Calcium Wafers, labels, FDA Records, Accession 63A-292.

¹⁸ Blood Troubles and Skin Diseases, pamphlet, AMA library; "Stuart's Calcium Wafer Compound, revised pamphlet, FDA Records, Accession 63A-292.

spurred federal regulatory agencies into action. Frank Stuart called the AMA as "the anti-patent medicine league," with some justification. 19

The AMA received numerous inquiries from the public, physicians, and members of the press. regarding the composition or therapeutic value of various patent medicines, including Stuart's remedies. Replies were blunt. For example, in 1942 the AMA informed a woman who wrote requesting information of "Stuart's Calcium Wafers" that analysis years ago revealed the presence of strychnine. "What the product contains now," they said, "we do not know," giving the erroneous impression that the wafers might still contain strychnine. 20 In fact, a report from their own laboratory in 1917 said that "strychnine has been omitted from the tablets now sold."21 Another typical case involved a doctor who wrote requesting the formula and therapeutic value of "Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets." If the tablets contain the ingredients listed by the manufacturer, he was told, they are "a therapeutic absurdity since . . . pepsin can act only in an acid medium in the stomach while diatase can only act in an alkaline medium." Facts, duly reported; but the letter went on to say:

Incidently, the government has brought at least thirteen prosecutions against the Stuart concern for selling another of

¹⁹Stuart Interview.

²⁰AMA to Margery Milroy, 17 March 1942.

²¹ AMA Chemistry Laboratory Report, "Stuart's Calcium Wafers," October, 1917.

its products, "Stuart's Calcium Wafers".... There has been at least one death reported following its use.²²

This was not only unsolicited information; the report was misleading. It did not indicate that the death had occurred seventeen years previously, that it was due to an accidental overdose, or that the company had revised its formula.

On the other hand, the position of the AMA was understandable. The F. A. Stuart Company had grown tremendously, and although it made sure its products contained no poisonous ingredients after the tragedy in 1916, its advertising used "typical quack verbiage" designed to mislead the public. Ads from the mid-1920's stated, "Calcium wafers will wean a child away from all need for any laxative," when, in fact, according to the company's own label, the remedy was a laxative. The AMA fought against the Stuart Company and other patent medicine concerns who employed such advertising methods. The editors of the Journal of the American Medical Association publicized any governmental action brought against proprietaries. The AMA also collaborated with federal agencies by supplying laboratory analysis reports and evidence of false and fraudulent advertising from its clipping files, called "fake files" by the Bureau.

²²AMA Bureau of Investigation to Dr. Daniel J. Hurley, 19 January 1934.

²³Oscar Dowling, Louisiana State Board of Health, to Harry McEnerny, AMA Library.

²⁴ Ad Sheet No. 9, Ad No. 200

The jurisdiction of advertising claims rested with the Federal Trade Commission. They were not concerned with false therapeutic claims unless the claims constituted unfair competition. Even so, the FTC examined promotions of the Stuart Company and found them wanting. The FTC issued several cease and desist orders against the company and accepted stipulations that the firm would abide by FTC In 1936 the Stuart Company signed a stipulation stating that it would cease distributing advertisements for "Stuart's Laxative Compound Tablets" which failed to reveal: that use of the product should be discontinued when a skin rash appeared, or when nausea, abdominal pain, vomiting or other signs of appendicitis were present; and that frequent or continued use of the product might result in a dependence upon laxatives.²⁵ The Stuart Company failed to follow through with the agreement and was taken to court by the FTC. The complaint stated, among other charges, the firm had misrepresented its product as harmless, when, in fact, it contained laxative ingredients making it dangerous for people with symptoms of appendicitis, that its use might cause a skin rash, and that frequent use might result in a dependence upon laxatives. 25 In other words, the very warnings it had agreed to publish in its advertisements. The Stuart Company was not singled out in this matter, all laxative manufacturers were under the same injunction. A hearing held in Battle Creek on January 22, 1943 resulted in issuance of yet another

²⁵U.S., Federal Trade Commission, News Release, 6 March 1941, FDA Records, Accession 63A-292.

 $^{^{26}}$ U.S., FTC, Complaint No. 4753, 30 April 1942, FDA Records, Accession 63A-292.

cease and desist order--ads in the future were to contain ample warning of potential health hazards.

Meanwhile, the FDA had not forgotten the Stuart Company. The administration, in an attempt to achieve greater compliance with the law, adopted a program of voluntary cooperation with the manufacturers. The F. A. Stuart Company, through its legal representatives and general managers, fully utilized this benefit. On January 18, 1939, Albert Hoexter, assistant manager of the company presented to the department new labels for comment. In 1938 a new law, the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act, had greatly extended coverage-including more stringent labelling requirements. Hoexter sought FDA approval before ordering new stock. The FDA reminded him several times during the interview that adherence to recommendations by the department did not guarantee the company freedom from prosecution; the new law had many ramifications which had not yet been tested.27 During the course of the meeting the FDA informed Mr. Hoexter that laxative products must have warnings on the labels regarding the dangers of prolonged use and recommending discontinuance if skin rash or symptoms of appendicitis appeared. Perhaps, had the company followed this advice, the FTC might not have prosecuted. The FDA also raised objections to the term "dyspepsia" as it appeared in "Stuart's (Dyspepsia) Tablets." Officials at the conference informed Hoexter that an earlier seizure of the product brought a judgment

²⁷U.S., Department of Agriculture, FDA, Memorandum of Interview, 18 January 1939, FDA Records, Accession 63A-292.

which stated that the term "dyspepsia" was considered misleading.²⁸ The company had changed the name; the product was formerly known as "Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets." The department did not consider this change sufficient; and the product was eventually called, simply, "Stuart's Tablets."

The FDA investigated the Stuart Company several times after this interview. Each time the company, to comply with the recommendations of the department, submitted revised labels and circulars for comment. Most of the subsequent correspondence dealt with minor objections to labelling features. The sales of the F. A. Stuart Company had declined due to discontinuance of advertising, and the FDA had mother fish to fry."

One of the "fish" netted by the inspectors was none other than Doc Sharpsteen. Although his medicine show promotions occurred only within the state of Michigan, Verne had a few out-of-state wholesale customers, principally Fort Wayne Drug Company of Fort Wayne, and Humiston and Keeling Company of Chicago.²⁹ This fact proved to be his undoing. Sharpsteen's products had never come to the attention of the FDA until 1936, when Inspector William Cavett of the Chicago Station purchased "Sharpsteen's Hindoo Salve" on the open market. The department made no seizures of the product, but issued a citation against the company. Charges stemmed from "claims for quick cure in pneumonia, lung fever, sores, ulcers . . . and other similar broad

²⁸NJ 21513.

²⁹U.S., Department of Agriculture, FDA, Summary and Recommendation, Sample No. 6166-C, 5 November 1936, FDA Records, Accession 59A-2098.

claims," from misleading use of the word "Hindoo," and from use of the statement "Guaranteed under the Food and Drugs Act of 1906" on the label. 30 On November 5, 1936, Verne Sharpsteen appeared at a hearing in Chicago. In his statement Doc indicated his business was small, amounting to only 5,000 boxes per year, only five percent of which was interstate. He further stated that he had been unaware of the requirements under the new Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act; now that the matter had been brought to his attention, he would take immediate steps to rectify the situation. Verne said that his father. Dr. Henry Sharpsteen, whom he represented to be a graduate of Johns-Hopkins University, had devised the medicine and the labels. He went on to say that he understood that the labels had been "passed on" by Judge Porter of Marshall, so he felt safe in making his claims.³¹ However, as proof of his intention to revise the labels, Verne submitted proposed new labels to the FDA through his attorney John A. Nash of Chicago. Nash figured prominently in many cases involving Marshall patent medicine manufacturers who found themselves on the uncomfortable side of law suits. Authorities placed the case against Sharpsteen in permanent abeyance; they doubted fraud could be proven against a defendent who voluntarily submitted revised labels.

The matter might have ended there, except for two details.

First, due to various delays, the new labels were still not in use seven months after the November hearing. Second, and more important, new interstate shipments were made under the old label. This time

^{30&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>

³¹ Ibid.

the FDA employed seizure tactics, not only against "Sharpsteen's Hindoo Salve," but "Sharpsteen's Hindoo Oil" and "Sharpsteen's Vegetable Tablets" as well. The products seized at Toledo, Ohio had been shipped interstate on January 27 and February 27, 1937. At the hearing Sharpsteen claimed the shipments had been made without his knowledge, which is probably true since he made a habit of spending winters in the warmer climes. He further stated that he had told his assistant, Eva McDonald, not to ship to Chicago; Sharpsteen supposed she must have assumed it would be permissable to ship to Ohio. In his defense Doc again submitted proposed label revisions for exhibit and stated he was taking immediate steps to have the new plates made.

Although Homer Runkel, Acting Chief of the Chicago Station, said that the products involved were "very badly misbranded" and that Sharpsteen appeared to be "more money-minded than therapeutically inclined," he still recommended permanent abeyance.³² Runkel felt that by the time the case went to court, Sharpsteen would have the new labels and "proof of fraud would be greatly jeopardized." In his opinion, the other charges of false and misleading claims would, under the circumstances, be viewed as technicalities.

Arthur E. Paul, Acting Chief of the Central District, disagreed.

He recommended prosecution and the file was forwarded to the

Administration in Washington, D.C. The action resulted in two
separate cases—one against the product and one against Sharpsteen.

³²U.S., Department of Agriculture, FDA, Summary and Recommendation, Sample Nos. 14650-C, 14651-C, and 14652-C, 11 June 1937, FDA Records, Accession 59A-2098.

^{33&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

In the first, a judgment of condemnation was entered and the seized product was destroyed. In the second case, Dr. Verne Sharpsteen, as sole proprietor, was charged with misbranding. Statements on the label, according to the information brief, were false and fraudulent and placed there "knowingly in reckless-and wanton disregard of their truth or falsity."

On December 9, 1937 Verne Sharpsteen appeared in court to hear the charges against him--misbranding as to therapeutic and curative effects; misdeclaration of ingredients, two counts; false and misleading statements regarding the government guarantee; false and misleading statements concerning possible food content; and, false and misleading statements as to the product origin through use of the word "Hindoo." Doc explained that the word "Hindoo" had appeared on the label because, originally, the product had contained Oil of Ceylon. He exhibited the new label which eliminated the incriminating word, and the last count was dropped. Sharpsteen entered a plea of guilty to the other five counts and was fined one hundred dollars for each count. Five hundred dollars was no small fine at a time when the country had not yet recovered from the Great Depression. Several handwritten notations in the file record the jubilation of FDA officials over the stiff fines imposed.

Sharpsteen's medicines never came to the attention of the FTC or the Post Office Department because his printed advertisements were minimal and his mail order trade was strictly re-orders. That the

³⁴U.S., Department of Agriculture, FDA, Information Brief, 30 November 1937, FDA Records, Accession 59A-2098.

FDA caught up with him was almost a fluke. To Verne, in retrospect, it may have seemed like a portent of the future. The following year he was forced to give up his beloved medicine show due to his leg amputation. Gross misrepresentation of Doc's medicine was part and parcel of the show; once the show closed down, curative claims on the label were less important. People who believed in Doc's products continued to buy them, despite new labels. But the business waned—not from the FDA conviction or less spectacular labels. The decline came because Doc, who "could sell an icebox to an Eskimo," was no longer on the road.

The medicine trade continued to flourish in Marshall. Many of the newer companies were to feel the sting of regulation in a manner that neither Verne Sharpsteen or Frank Stuart ever experienced.

CHAPTER VI

MARSHALL'S MAIL-ORDER MEDICINES

The Food and Drug Act of 1906 did not deter Marshall entrepreneurs from entering the medicine trade. Many businesses were established after the law went into effect; others did not prosper until after 1906. Stuart and Sharpsteen were the only Marshallites to be prosecuted under the law. To be sure, the FDA kept Marshall proprietaries under surveillance, maintaining advertisement clipping files and running test cases; but often the Post Office laws were more applicable. At least twenty percent, possibly fifty percent, of the Marshall patent medicine companies were mail-order firms. Businesses cited by the Post Office Department usually had one or more of the following characteristics: longevity; prosperity; or, blatant duplicity.

C. E. Gauss, sole proprietor of "Gauss' Combined Treatment for Catarrh," exemplified all three traits. Born Charles Edward in Marshall on March 5, 1874, Gauss like many of his counterparts in the medicine trade, entered local politics and civic affairs, serving as mayor, postmaster and school board president. He also ran unsuccessfully as a candidate for United States representative in 1932.

¹Research has not been able to determine the exact numbers of mail-order firms.

After graduation from Marshall High School, Gauss worked as a clerk at the First National Bank, then known as the Gorham Bank. At this post he saw first-hand the remuneration afforded by the patent medicine trade. Ed stayed with the bank ten years; when he left, his own medicine company was already established. In 1902 he began his national advertising campaign. The C. E. Gauss Company was, from the outset, a mail-order firm. As such it relied on advertisements to convince potential consumers to become paying customers.

Mail-order medicine business methods varied little from company to company. Each first selected a remedy. Sometimes the formula came from an old doctor or pharmacist; sometimes it was basically a folk remedy; and other times the formula was based on listings from the <u>United States Pharmacopeia</u>. Many purveyors felt adherence to the latter would protect them from prosecution; they were sadly mistaken. Next would-be millionaires wrote to various drug firms requesting bids to make the remedy. After the turn of the century, few companies manufactured the medicine itself; it was cheaper to have a large corporation, such as Parke-Davis of Detroit, make the nostrum and ship it, in bulk, to the home company for re-packaging. Once negotiations for manufacturing were complete, the minutiae remained: an office rented and outfitted; a post office box established; label, box and bottle contracts arranged; and letterhead stationery ordered.

After these, operations began in earnest. Ads, usually through the services of an advertising agency, were judiciously placed in newspapers and magazines across the country. Some agencies felt that certain geographic areas, including the Midwest and Rural South, were more susceptible to patent medicine ads; so, those territories often carried more advertising. The most prominent regular feature of such ads was a "free sample." This come-on gave the vendor the facts he needed to mount his campaign: a name; address; and admission of need. As requests for the free sample poured in to the office, the proprietor hired clerks to address envelopes and assemble sample kits. The free trial, packaged in three by five inch corrogated cards and wrapped in delicatessen-type paper envelopes, usually contained a ten day supply, with complete directions for use. Included with the free sample were testimonials, order blanks, return envelopes and the first of many follow-up letters.

Success in the mail-order trade rested on follow-up letters.

The art of writing such letters was, indeed, a delicate one. The customer had to be convinced of his need for the product, without offending his intelligence or sense of propriety. As the consuming public became more discerning, the ubiquitous "Dear Friend" salutation gave way to personally addressed letters. The missives were still form letters, duplicated on mimeographs, but typists filled in the "personal" salutation. The clerical staff generally outnumbered the packaging staff by ten to one.²

A series of follow-up letters from any given mail order medicine firm reveals a singularly monotonous pattern. The first letter, sent with the sample, declares the sufferer should get prompt relief from

²Figures based on a survey of Marshall medicine manufacturers factory inspection reports as recorded in <u>Annual Reports of the Michigan Bureau of Labor and Industry</u>, 1900-1920.

the trial sample. If he does, he is encouraged to order a full treatment to ensure a complete eradication of the disease; if he does not experience instant relief, it is because his case is serious and requires a full treatment. Either way, "send in your order now" is the message. If an order is not forthcoming after two or three weeks, the first follow-up is sent. It reiterates the information in the first letter, restating the curative properties of the remedy. Surprise that the patient's obvious need for the medicine has not resulted in an order is expressed, and intimations of the dangers of the said disease begin to creep into the letter.

The number of middle follow-ups ranges from two to ten, depending on the tenacity and financial ability of the company. Scare tactics become explicit, testimonials, more exultant. Ploys in these letters range from discussions of cost-effectiveness, to promises of cure, to money-back guarantees. If all else fails, the medicine man has one last weapon in his arsenal. He uses it reluctantly, and only does so as a final, desperate measure—he lowers the price. Sometimes this is a gradual affair, taking three or four letters to reach the "rock-bottom price"; with other companies. it is a "one-shot deal"—take it, or leave it.

The names of people who never ordered the product were usually held for a year or two. The company then sent out a letter offering a new free sample. No mention of the previous correspondence was made. If this ruse failed, the names were often sold to letter brokers.

A system of this nature required organization. Names and addresses of prospective customers, people who sent for the free sample, were organized on lists. If an order was placed, the name was crossed off the prospective list and added to the customer list. Those who did not order the medicine became the subjects of an ingenious scheme--the tickler file, consisting of thirty-one daily files and twelve monthly files. Since the follow-up letters were sent out at regular intervals, usually one month, the lists were simply deposited into the appropriate folder. Each day the clerical workers would be given lists from the corresponding daily folder. When follow-ups had been sent to all the names on the list, it was dated and a checkmark or code indicated which letter had been sent. The clerk then put the list into the file folder for the coming month. To avoid confusion, and the possible error of sending a customer the same letter twice, some companies adopted separate tickler filing systems for each follow-up letter; others had one clerk handle a customer from start to finish. At the end of the month, when all the daily files were empty, the lists in the folder for the coming month were sorted and deposited in the appropriate daily folders, and the process began again.

Ed Gauss adhered to the above rubrics as if they were gospel.

As a result his business prospered. "Gauss' Combined Treatment for Catarrh" consisted of two products: "Gauss' Catarrh Elixir" to purify the blood and eliminate the causes of catarrh; and, "Gauss' Antiseptic Catarrh Balm" to be used as a local remedy and eradicate

the "disagreeable symptems" of catarrh.³ Gauss sold 79,009 letters to a letter broker, a fact which Samuel Hopkins Adams duly noted in his article, "Strictly Confidential." Later, in 1917, the Guild Company of New York offered over 98,000 letters of the C. E. Gauss Company.⁵ In keeping with the follow-up letter formula, Gauss repeatedly warned potential customers of the dangers which could result from allowing catarrh to go untreated. "Catarrh is treacherous," he said in letter number three, "one year from now you might be treating something more serious." Follow-up number five was more direct:

There is one thing that I want you to remember, and that is, catarrh never cures itself, but each succeeding month and year finds the victim fixed more firmly in its grasp. This season . . . nasal catarrh . . . next . . . throat and bronchial tubes . . . later . . . the lungs.

Another letter states that "sconer or later [catarrh] must end in consumption, pneumonia, lung fever or a shattered nervous system." Gauss sent testimonials and order blanks with each follow-up. His system consisted of a series of six letters. The price was not

³mDirections for Using 'Gauss' Combined Treatment for Catarrh,'m leaflet, c. 1911, AMA Library.

⁴Adams, Fraud, p. 145.

⁵AMA Bureau of Investigation to Associated Advertising Clubs of the World, 20 October 1917.

⁶C. E. Gauss, form letter No. 3, to A. I. Camp, investigative alias used by the AMA, 3 December 1909.

⁷C. E. Gauss, form letter No. 5, to A. I. Camp, 14 February 1910.

⁸C. E. Gauss, form letter sent to those who sent for the free sample but never placed an order, to A. I. Camp, 6 July 1912.

reduced until letter number five, although letter number four allowed the customer to pay half with the order and half later. Letter number six offered a further reduction.

Ed Gauss added his own innovations to the standard methods of the mail-order trade. A "Certificate of Analysis," signed by A. L. Crooks, Analytical Chemist, Kalamazoo, Michigan, asserted that Gauss' products contained no poisons or other deleterious ingredients. It was enclosed with the free sample; and while it did not guarantee the curative properties of the nostrum, was Gauss to be blamed if people inferred that it did? Gauss employed another scheme, used in various forms by numerous patent medicine manufacturers; he had Marshall doctors, lawyers, businessmen and city officials sign a letter affirming his honesty and integrity. The letter, complete with signatures, was reproduced on the back of a large poster which featured a full-length portrait of Gauss. At the bottom of the poster, Gauss had this to say:

You Should Know the Man With Whom You Are Dealing . . . Marshall is not a large town. . . I was born here, and here I have spent all my life. 'I am known by every business and professional man in the city,' and I take pleasure in calling your attention to a facsimile of the statement to which each has personally affixed his signature.

The letter, of course, could easily be misconstrued as a testimonial for the medicine and not the man.

Perhaps his boldest scheme was the symptom blank, which he sent with the free sample. Designed to give the customer the erroneous impression that each case was given individual attention, the form

⁹mWill you Grasp This Opportunity, Advertising Poster, C. E. Gauss Company, n.d., c. 1909, AMA Library.



Fig. 16. Advertisement, unidentified newspaper, 18 March 1915. Courtesy AMA.

Catarrh Torture Cured

Triat Package Mailed Free to Convince You.

Was Searing You Cown, Fain is Fersheed, Nose and Threat Raw, Severe Headaches, Hawking Spitting and Sed Sreath. Three are with a feet in the many

page of the control o

This vineges is good for our titles phases of Canada Committee and the Canada Committee and the Canada Cana

Fig. 17. Advertisement, (St. Paul) <u>Farmers' Weekly</u> <u>Dispatch</u>, 29 February 1912. Courtesy AMA.

was never actually reviewed. It merely became part of the file. The symptom blank was audaciously headed with the statement, "Although I do not change the remedy . . . ," which, of course, was the whole story. 10

No letter campaign, regardless of its persuasive powers, was successful without the names of potential customers. Although names could be obtained from letter brokers. the most reliable method was via advertisements placed in newspapers and magazines. Charles Edward Gauss and his advertising agent ranked with the best for originality in ads. In one of him more imaginative notices, catarrh was graphically depicted as demons. In another, the illustration showed a man's head being crushed by an enormous hand, labelled "catarrh." But the favorite was a full page ad which appeared in newspapers across the country from 1910 to 1916. It featured numerous testimonials and "news articles" about the horrors of catarrh. Since his primary objective was to get new names to add to his lists. Gauss strongly advised customers to take advantage of his "exceptional" free offer. 11 When the ad appeared in some Sunday editions of the Chicago Herald, in September 1914, it brought not customers, but the wrath of the editors. The next day the following notice appeared at the head of the editorial page:

^{10 &}quot;Gauss' Combined Treatment for Catarrh," Symptom Blank, sent to W. A. Harbison, Spokane, Washington, AMA test case, 16 February 1912.

¹¹ Advertisement, <u>Detroit News</u>, 17 November 1910.

An Apology

The <u>Herald</u> desires to apologize to those of its readers who saw in one of its Sunday editions a page advertisement of an alleged catarrh cure. The advertisement found its way into the paper without the knowledge of the editor. As soon as he saw it he killed it. The <u>Herald</u> does not want the dirty dollars that come from this kind of advertising.¹²

Despite this setback, the company prospered. The AMA had been investigating the business since 1909 when Dr. Cramp, Chief of the Bureau of Investigation, initiated a test case under the alias A. I. Camp. However the AMA had no regulatory power, and the company continued to grow. As early as 1907 Gauss employed twenty people, even though the firm did not manufacture its own medicine. Ten years later the number had increased to twenty-four, but Gauss' day in court was fast approaching.

The Bureau of the Chief Inspector of the Post Office Department investigated "Gauss' Combined Treatment for Catarrh" in minute detail before issuing a citation. With the facts of the case finally assembled, a fraud order was posted and a hearing set for December 19, 1918. Ed Gauss, like other Marshallites before and after him, hired the law firm of John A. Nash to represent him. The case never went to hearings; Gauss signed an affidavit that he had discontinued and would not resume advertising. He further pledged to "entirely abandon the business" within sixty days, advising those who placed orders that the business had been discontinued. Gauss really had no choice. Not only did the Post Office have a number of

¹² Chicago Herald, 14 September 1914.

¹³ Michigan Bureau of Labor and Industry, Report, 1908.

¹⁴ Fraud Docket, Book No. 6, Docket No. 333.

test cases, they had reports from medical and chemical experts which proved that the medicines were of little therapeutic value. Chemists of the Michigan Food and Dairy Commission had analyzed the Elixir with the following results: water, 62.55 percent; alcohol, 14.25 percent; sugar, 22.20 percent; and, vegetable extractive, 1.00 percent. The vegetable extract contained a laxative drug, but no ingredients to cure catarrh or purify the blood. The balm, according to Dr. Wiley's report, was a vaseline ointment containing such well known antiseptics as menthol, thymol, [and] eucalyptol. Claims made as a catarrh cure, he said, were absolutely unwarranted.

At the time of the citation, the daily mail arriving at the offices of C. E. Gauss averaged five hundred pieces. ¹⁷ Although he had signed an affidavit vowing to discontinue the business, Gauss was loathe to give up such a lucrative career. Plans for a new company began immediately, but it was short-lived. As Ed Gauss became more involved in civic affairs, he had less time to devote to the medicine business. In 1914, he was elected mayor of Marshall; that same year he promoted Frank McWethy, who had been a clerk with the firm since 1908, to be office manager. McWethy handled the daily operations of the business and Gauss, while reaping the benefits of the medicine

¹⁵ Michigan, Dairy and Food Commission, Twenty-first Annual Report of the Dairy and Food Commissioner (Lansing: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., State Printers, 1915), p. 198.

¹⁶ Harvey W. Wiley cited in a letter from the AMA Bureau of Investigation to Associated Advertising Clubs of the World, 20 October 1917.

¹⁷ Fraud Docket, Book No. 6, Docket No. 333.

company, entered new ventures. By 1924 Gauss, no longer needing the additional income, retired from the medicine business.

Frank McWethy could not let such a golden opportunity slip through his fingers. He knew the tricks and idiosyncrasies of the trade. Gauss had all the necessary equipment; all Frank had to do was buy it and start his own medicine company. Thus, F. L. McWethy became sole distributor of "McWethy's Home Treatment for Bladder Irritation and Irregular Bladder Action." Frank L. McWethy was born in St. Johns, Michigan in 1880, but his parents moved to Marshall shortly after his birth. He grew up in a small town that looked with favor on the patent medicine trade, and he spent his entire business career in that field.

Unfortunately for McWethy, several federal agencies did not look upon his medicine business with the same favor. He had a standard mail order firm; but lacking Gauss' capital, McWethy had a shorter follow-up series consisting of only five letters. Nor did his messages have the finesse of Gauss' letters—they contained grammatical errors and malapropisms. In the interests of economy, he used the all-purpose salutation, "Dear Friend"; the letters were dated with a rubber stamp; and, the envelopes were addressed by hand—timesaving procedures which required fewer clerical workers and less overhead. His product was aimed at the middle-aged and elderly, especially men. Frank launched a typical mail—order campaign complete with advertisements offering a free sample and a series of follow-up letters. His gimmick—used by many in the trade—he

claimed to have been personally cured by the very medicine he was now "giving everyone an opportunity to try." 18

In 1932-33, during agitation for a new and stronger food and drug law, Frank McWethy became the subject of simultaneous investigations by the FTC and Post Office Department. When the citations arrived Frank, not surprisingly, hired John A. Nash to represent him. Nash's legal maneuverings worked well for McWethy. According to Nash, the FTC had approved certain changes in McWethy's literature. In actual fact, the FTC had ordered McWethy to cease and desist in representing his product as a remedy for prostatic, kidney, or bowel problems. He was also disallowed use of the word "cure," forbidden to call his medicine a preventative, and prohibited from claiming his treatment eliminated the causes of the affliction. He could advertise his product as a palliative for bladder irritation, and nothing more. 19 Nash explained that his client had signed a stipulation agreeing to the terms laid down by the FTC. On that basis, he asked for a dismissal of the fraud charge issued by the Post Office Department. Since the department felt it would be difficult to prove fraud under these circumstances, the charges were dropped in December 1932.

The FDA, unhappy with this turn of events, hoped to consummate its own case. In January 1933, George P. Larrick, investigator for the FDA, wrote the McWethy Company for a free sample in response to

¹⁸F. L. McWethy, form letter No. 1, to G. P. Larrick, investigator for the FDA, 15 April 1933.

¹⁹U.S., Federal Trade Commission, <u>Decisions</u>, vol. 17. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1934), pp. 541-542.

an advertisement in the <u>Sovereign Visitor</u>. He received the trial package and all the follow-up letters, but never ordered the product. In July 1933, after he had been appointed Acting Chief of the Department, he decided not to "base action upon a free sample." Larrick wrote to the Chief of the Central District and told him that if labels bore unwarranted claims within the scope of the law, an official sample should be collected. Apparently the labels were relatively free of hyperbole as the case proceeded no further. McWethy's radical claims appeared in his letters, and the Post Office had closed its case.

Although Frank had signed a stipulation agreeing to discontinue exaggerated statements on behalf of his medicines, he failed to do so. In July 1938, the Post Office issued a new fraud order, but by this time the business had declined considerably. In 1932, at the time of the first fraud order, McWethy's daily mail averaged 250 pieces; by 1938 it was only 17 pieces. Since the company no longer prospered, McWethy signed yet another affidavit swearing to discontinue the business. So it was, on September 8, 1938, that Frank McWethy quit the medicine business.

Frank McWethy was not the only recalcitrant mail-order medicine man in Marshall; Hazen A. Horton also fits the description. Horton was born August 6, 1860 in Illinois. In 1884 he married Nellie Shumway. At that time he moved to Calhoun County, Michigan and

²⁰G. P. Larrick, Acting Chief, to Chief, Central District, 17 July 1933, Record Group 88, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

²¹ Fraud Docket, Book No. 9, Docket No. 390; Fraud Docket, Book No. 11, Docket No. 259.

settled in the farming community of Tekonsha. There, besides engaging in agriculture, Hazen began his career in various mail-order schemes. He started, in the 1890's, with an insurance business.²² His next venture, a matrimonial bureau, proved much more profitable. Advertisements, placed where they would generate the greatest response, appeared in the "cheaper magazines,"23 For an enrollment fee of five dollars, each member was sent a pictorial correspondence directory of the opposite sex and had his or her name added to the other directory. Enrollees sent in a short biography including the amount of money they expected to inherit. 24 This enterprise was so successful that Horton soon opened a branch in Marshall. The Postal authorities made several investigations into the operations of "Select Club" in Tekonsha and "Pilot Publishing Company" in Marshall, but no charges were ever filed. The profits from this business allowed Mr. Horton to support himself, and his family, in luxury. His farm near Tekonsha had many elaborate outbuildings and his house was lighted by a private gas supply. Horton owned an automobile, in those early days when few could afford them, plus a "fine driving team. "25

In 1916 an incident occurred which ended the marriage bureau due to adverse publicity. Horton's wife, Nellie, sued for divorce,

^{22&}lt;u>Illustrated Atlas of Calhoun County</u>, (Fort Wayne: The Atlas Publishing Company, 1894), p. 102.

²³Battle Creek Enquirer and News, 5 April 1908.

²⁴ Ibid.

^{25&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

charging cruelty and naming Horton's secretary at the bureau as correspondent. Although she dropped the latter charge; the damage was done. It would be difficult for a divorced man to advertise that he could "find a life mate for anyone."

Horton so busy he barely had time to notice, married the young secretary and organized his first mail-order medicine company. As sole distributor of the "Ox-o External Treatment," Horton found new prosperity. The product was an alleged cure for male impotence.

Horton did not waste time or money advertising his product—he knew the legal limitations of such ads—instead, he bought "sucker lists" from letter brokers. This way, he had a ready market of men who had written other patent medicine companies in search of remedies for "lost manhood." As Morris Fishbein, editor of the Journal of the American Medical Association and ardent quackery foe, said "there's no fool like an old fool—particularly in matters of rejuvenation."²⁷

Horton sent letters to these men. "Dear Friend," he said, "the very life of the human race is dependent upon the existence of PERFECT MANHOOD for its continuance." He explained that he had been restored to sexual vigor, vitality, and happiness by the treatment, and he was now offering a free trial at great personal expense. His treatment, a salve containing capsicum and menthol,

²⁶ Battle Creek Enquirer and News, 9 May 1916.

²⁷Morris Fishbein, <u>The New Medical Follies</u> (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927), p. 98.

^{28&}lt;sub>H.</sub> A. Horton, form letter, n.d., c. 1922, AMA Library.

produced alternate heating and cooling sensations. Enclosed with the free sample was a letter which said, "If you experience any warmth in the organ . . . you should lose no time in ordering four full course treatments.²⁹

Horton had a facet to his business which displeased some of his counterparts in the patent medicine trade. He had fathered a child at age fifty-seven, and another at fifty-nine, events which became central to his advertising campaign. Perhaps if he had merely mentioned the fact and left it at that, he would not have become the subject of derision—but he had a photograph of his young son and daughter printed on the letterhead of his stationery. Even those in the business who employed questionable tactics felt using one's own children as bait for "suckers" was inexcusable.

A complaint filed against the company by Frank McKenna of Salt Lake City set the Post Office in motion.³⁰ An investigation, headed by D. F. Angier, Postal Inspector, began at once. Personal interviews are often standard procedure in these affairs; so, on August 1, 1922, Inspector Angier called on Horton at his home in Marshall, which doubled as his office. At the time of his visit, Angier ascertained from the Marshall Postmaster that Horton's average daily mail was approximately two hundred pieces. Horton admitted during the interview that his daily receipts averaged \$200 to \$350. When asked about the "Ox-o Treatment," Horton replied that he had

²⁹H. A. Horton, form letter sent with free sample, n.d., c. 1922, AMA Library.

³⁰ P.O. Inspector at Chicago, form notice, to Marshall Postmaster, 21 February 1922.

gotten it from an old doctor in Coldwater, Michigan. Horton said the treatment restored his manhood, although he did admit that

Dr. Gessner of Marshall had a different theory. In Dr. Gessner's opinion, Horton's rejuvenation could be attributed to his recent marriage to a younger woman and his divorce from a woman nearer his own age. Upon further questioning, Horton conceded that Gessner might have been correct, but that he had just started taking the "Ox-o Treatment" at the same time; so he gave it credit for his restoration. During the course of the inverview, Horton agreed to abandon the "Ox-o External Treatment" business, but he failed to keep his promise. 31

As a result, Horton was indicted on a charge of sending obscene matter through the mail. His attorney for the case was none other than John A. Nash; but Nash did not meet with his usual success. On March 10, 1923, Horton was arrested; he entered a plea of guilty and was fined \$1,000. He filed an affidavit with the Post Office Department promising to abandon the business and return all remittances thereafter received. The affidavit further stipulated that he would not, in the future, "operate any other business of like character."

But Horton, like so many before him, hated to give up such a remunerative trade. He immediately set to work on new operations.

³¹U.S., Post Office Department, Office of the Solicitor, Transcripts of Hearings of Fraud Order Cases, No. 205, p. 60-61, Record Group 28, Box 50, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

³²U.S., P.O. Department, Office of the Solicitor, "Memorandum for the Postmaster General," Fraud Order No. 8453, 9 November 1928, AMA Library.

He transferred the "Ox-o Treatment" business to M. L. Shedd of Battle Creek. Whether Horton actually sold the business, gave it outright, or underwrote the operations is open to conjecture. When the Post Office Bureau of Investigation became aware of this "new" company, Inspector Angier quickly remembered Horton. Angier wrote to the Marshall Postmaster who informed him that Mrs. M. L. Shedd was a niece of Horton's; she used to work for him and had moved to Battle Creek after his business was closed down.³³ Shedd was eventually put out of business by the Post Office on charges of fraud.³⁴

Horton, himself, had promptly inaugurated a new mail order scheme which marketed "Horton's Medicated Pile Treatment." When Inspector Angier visited him for a post-indictment interview on August 13, 1923, Horton was already receiving an average of one hundred letters per day, but gross daily receipts amounted to only twenty dollars. Horton, who, according to his own testimony, had just built a \$50,000 house, had too many creditors to survive on that kind of return. He had to do something to generate an income adequate for his luxuriant life-style; so, Horton turned to the most profitable business he knew--mail order restoratives for men. The new product, "Kori Treatment" was offered as a cure for kidney, bladder, and prostate weakness. It consisted of three separate remedies: "Kori"--an antiseptic and diuretic; "Nervo"--a light sedative; and, the "Potentator" (later called the "New Day Appliance")--a pneumatic ring to be worn around the penis and scrotum

³³Marshall Postmaster to D. F. Angier, 22 November 1924.

³⁴ Fraud Docket, Book No. 7, Docket No. 390.

to generate the effects of an erection. On his order blank, Horton described the action of the "Potentator":

This mechano-therapeutic appliance exercises its healing influences through elastic pressure on the spermatic cords.... The testes receive an increased blood supply, get better nourishment, and are stimulated in a natural manner to produce greater secretion of hormones.³⁵

Apparently it sounded logical to thousands of men who inundated the office with orders. As with his previous venture, the "Ox-o Treatment," Horton claimed to have been cured by his own medicine.

Not only that, he asserted both men and women had benefited from "Kori Treatment." On a slip of paper enclosed with the Potentator he stated:

I honestly and truly believe if you are suffering from weakness of the kidneys, bladder, or prostate gland that you will get quicker and better results by wearing a "potentator" while taking the "Kori Treatment."

Exactly how women were to wear the device, was, of course, not mentioned. Due to this and other misleading or fraudulent claims, Horton was once again cited for mail fraud.

This time things did not go so well for Horton. The Post
Office investigators led again by Inspector Angier, collected
evidence against Horton with no less than twenty-five test cases.
Because Post Office Statutes dictated that the mails were inviolate,
inspectors used pseudonyms to conduct investigations.

³⁵ Kori Treatment, order blank quoted in Fraud Order No. 8453.

 $^{^{36}\}mathrm{H}$. A. Horton, form letter to Joseph E. Stevens, investigative alias of D. F. Angier, Postal Inspector, cited by Fraud Order No. 8453.

^{37 &}quot;Potentator," leaflet, quoted in Fraud Order No. 8453.

Many of these names soon appeared on brokers lists as "suckers" for patent medicines; consequently, investigators often received unsolicited information. Most of the evidence against Horton was received in this manner, which constituted an important facet of the case; people who never made an initial request were induced to buy his products through false and misleading statements. Another significant feature of the government's case rested on test cases wherein the inspector, under an assumed name, requested health information. For example, in a test case under the alias O. B. Horton, Inspector Angier wrote a letter to the "Kori" Company which stated that Mr. O. B. Horton had a hard prostate, bad kidneys, and a sore bladder. "If," the letter went on to say, "you believe your product will cure me as it cured you, you can send it C.O.D." As a matter of practice, Hazen Horton never sent his products C.O.D., which he explained in his reply. He added:

I am going to be honest and fair with you, while no honest man can guarantee a cure in every case, I will tell you that I honestly believe if you continue this treatment for a time you too can experience the same results as I have. 39

Included with the letter was a special price reduction offer.

Although Angier made no follow-up in this particular case, the implication was obvious.

The Post Office, armed with this and other evidence, issued a citation, September 5, 1928, against H. A. Horton. He was ordered to appear at a hearing, scheduled for October 9, 1928 in Washington, D.C.

³⁸ Transcript of Hearings, No. 205, p. 44.

^{39&}lt;sub>Tbid</sub>.

to answer charges and show cause as to why a fraud order should not be issued against him. Life had certainly taken a turn for the worst for "Hazey" Horton. He was deeply in debt, and profits from the "Kori Treatment," which never equalled that of the "Ox-o External Treatment." were now being threatened. It was more than he could Horton's physical condition, after receiving the citation, deteriorated to such extent that he was unable to appear in person at the hearing. Nor was he able to afford the services of John Nash, or any other attorney for that matter. A friend of his, who handled his patent work, represented him. 40 The man was not a lawyer, nor was he versed in legal procedures. He told Horton, "I will do everything I can to present your case to the government, but I don't feel equal to the occasion. "11. Indeed, he was not. At the hearing he sounded like a backwoodsman, a "rube" in the midst of "city slickers," ill-at-ease in his Washington surroundings, but desperately and sincerely trying to present Horton's case.

The pathos of the hearing was not without comic relief. The government's medical expert, Dr. Lyman Kebler, submitted a report which expounded upon the nature and complexity of kidney, bladder, and prostate diseases. The ailments could have totally divergent origins; therefore, the report said, although "Kori" might act as an antiseptic, it was "wholly worthless" against a vast array of genito-

⁴⁰Due to the nature of this case, the anonymity of Horton's representative will be protected.

⁴¹ Transcript of Hearings, No. 205, p. 109.

urinary conditions such as prostatis, gonorrhea and cancer. 42

"Nervo," reported the doctor, contrary to advertising, had "no value as an aphrodisiac," nor as a remedy for impotence. 43 The

"Potentator," in direct conflict with claims, did not cause the testes to receive an increased supply of blood; it actually impeded blood circulation in the penis and scrotum. While impeded blood flow did cause a temporary engorgement of the parts, it could not and would not restore lost manhood or rejuvenate the body. On the contrary, the doctor asserted, it could cause serious injury to users. 44 Kebler testified that he had tried on one of the "Potentators" as part of his examination for the report. Horton's representative, seeing a possibility of proving the value of the device, began his cross-examination:

Question. The doctor states that he wore one of these "Potentators." I would like to ask him what he wore it for.

Answer. Just to find out whether it would congest the parts,

- Q. Did you find out it would?
- A. Oh yes, it will congest the parts.
- Q. . . . I don't know enough about your physical ability or anything of that kind--I don't know anything about your private affairs.
- A. You can go into them as far as you want.
- Q. You don't say now, Doctor, that you have lost your desire,
- A. I don't think any man ever does as long as he is alive.

⁴²Lyman Kebler, "Medical Report on 'Kori Treatment,'" quoted in Fraud Order No. 8453.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Ibid.

- Q. Well, there are some that might testify to that. But, on the other hand, after a man gets to be about fifty-five years old, from that on up, isn't it a fact that copulation is difficult; that he cannot erect?
- A. It depends on the individual. I never had any trouble.
- Q. You never had?
- A. No.
- Q. How old a man are you?
- A. Sixty-five.
- Q. You can beat me.
- A. I don't doubt it. 45

And, in fact, he did beat him. The harder Horton's representative tried to prove his case, the deeper he got caught in his own mire. He admitted he was "dealing with stuff out of school." In his plea for clemency, he confessed that Horton was in a state of nervous collapse, despite taking "Kori Treatment"—a fact which did little to advance Horton's case. In desperation, Horton's agent appealled to the court's sense of decency. "You will pardon me for being sensitive over this, Judge," he said in his closing remarks, "but I don't want to see that family thrown out on the world." It was the pathetic plea of a man who knew that he had failed his friend.

In the course of the testimony Horton's representative admitted that "Kori Treatment" was not a cure, only a temporary affair. He

⁴⁵Transcript of Hearings, No. 205, pp. 71-72.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 109.

even stated he did not think there was a cure for lost manhood and that no man had a right to put out a cure. The court agreed; on November 9, 1928, Fraud Order number 8453 was issued against Hazen A. Horton.

Before the final judgment, the Post Office Department investigated the veracity of statements made on Horton's behalf. Angier wrote to Platt Mumaw, Postmaster at Marshall, and inquired about Horton's health and financial status. Mr. Mumaw responded that Horton was in poor physical condition and aging fast. Mumaw further stated that Horton was in financial trouble and trying to sell his home to pay his debts. However, these unfortunate facts did not alter the fact that Horton had broken the law.

After the business was resolved, Horton invested heavily in the stock market. It seemed he was always in the wrong place at the wrong time: the insurance business in the 1890's, just prior to its phenomenal growth; the mail-order trade just as Postal authorities began to prosecute transgressors; and, the stock market in 1929. This final failure was more than he could handle, on November 14, 1929, just two weeks after the stock market crash, Horton like so many others during those tumultuous times, committed suicide. Thus ended one of the most colorful careers in the history of Marshall's patent medicine men.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 89.

⁴⁹Platt Mumaw, Marshall Postmaster, to D. F. Angier, P.O. Inspector, 15 October 1928.

CHAPTER VII

THE END OF AN ERA

Horton, Gauss, McWethy and the others previously mentioned were not the only ones to feel the long arm of the law sweep them into line or out of business. With more complex and stringent regulations, it became increasingly difficult to stay within the law and still reap a profit. Furthermore, services of a lawyer, as Horton's ill-fated encounter with the government had shown, were almost a necessity. Regulation even without actual citation put many proprietary medicine companies out of business; owners simply could not afford the possibility of litigation. Others were unable to bear the expense of printing new labels, boxes, and circulars to meet newly legislated requirements. Some well-established businesses withstood the additional expenses, but this did not necessarily protect them from prosecution.

The E. R. Page Company of Marshall, vendors of "Page's Pile Treatment," learned that sad fact too late. 1938 was an inauspicious year for them. Not only did it mark the passage of the new Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act; both the FTC and the Post Office served the Page Company with complaints. The Trade Commission acted first. On February 12, 1938 it charged the firm with unfair methods of competition due to unwarranted claims in advertising—claims which its competitors were not allowed to make. Though a hearing was set

for March 18, the company admitted, "solely for the purpose of disposing of [the] matter," that all material allegations were true. The FTC then issued a cease and desist order prohibiting the company from representing that use of its products would: "end pile torture or the pain incident to piles; ... eliminate the cause or causes of piles; ... heal or cure piles," or, "act as a permanent remedy for piles."

The Post Office citation came in September. This time the company had to make an appearance; for if it admitted guilt, a fraud order would be issued and the business dissolved. Attorneys John A. Nash of Chicago and James W. Mackey of Marshall appeared for the Page Company. After the charges were read, Nash, who in previous cases had some success with this maneuver, attempted to get the charges dismissed on the grounds of double jeopardy. The FTC, he explained, had recently issued an order to cease and desist use of the very same advertisements which the Post Office Department had collected in its investigation. Since, he continued, Page had complied with the FTC order, and since the FTC and the Post Office were both agencies of the federal government, the case should be dismissed on the grounds of double jeopardy. The motion was soundly denied. In the end, Page triumphed; the Post Office, due to insufficient evidence, did

¹John A. Nash, in behalf of the E. R. Page Company, to FTC, 28 March 1938, FTC Records, Docket No. 3334, Washington National Records Center, Suitland, Maryland.

²U.S., FTC, <u>Decisions</u>, Vol. 26, p. 1175.

³Transcript of Hearings, No. 380, p. 45-46.

not issue a fraud order. Several factors had a bearing on the verdict: Page had voluntarily complied with the FTC decision, halting all advertising, except those ads which, by contract, could not be cancelled; also, even prior to citation, he had hired Nash to review his literature for compliance with the various laws; and last, the Post Office failed to prove fraudulent intent. On the contrary, some of the government's evidence seemed to prove Page's honesty. In a test case, under the pseudonym Mack Grayson, the Post Office Bureau of Investigation had written a letter to the E. R. Page Company complaining of severe rectal pain and bleeding; they enclosed a money order for the treatment. The Page Company sent the treatment by return mail with a warning that it was only for piles:

We do not claim that this treatment will help all ailments—it is intended for pile troubles only. If you find that your pile trouble was not helped by use of the treatment, we will gladly refund your money. . . .

... We have a pile treatment only, and do not want your money if you have complications requiring the attention of your doctor. 5

The judge did not feel these words represented fraudulent intent, and, thus, the E. R. Page Company was vindicated.

The E. R. Page Company began in the 1890's as many other patent medicine companies did--part-time. Edwin R. Page sold real estate full-time and operated his mail-order medicine firm as a sideline. The company was not incorporated until 1916, just a few years before Edwin's death. Edward B. Page, son of E. R., took over management of the company in 1923. It survived bouts with the federal government

Fraud Docket, Book No. 11, Docket No. 276.

⁵Transcript of Hearings, No. 380, p. 45-46.

and was the last patent medicine company to operate from a Marshall address, closing its doors in 1969.

Although the federal government disbanded several other Marshall remedy companies, including Kerek Company and the F. S. Olds Company; most dissolved for other reasons. Lack of adequate capitalization caused many new ventures to fail. Some established businesses, such as Wagner's Voltaic Belt Company, fell victim to over-expansion. But the great majority folded due to one or more of the following elements: rising mail costs; increasing public participation in health insurance programs; or burgeoning bureaucratic regulations. Also, as with other industries, larger corporations bought out smaller concerns.

Today "patent medicine town" boasts no pill or potion makers, and only one company producing a patented medical device. This drastic decrease in proprietary medicine businesses parallels the national scene. In the post-Depression era, after the new FDA law went into effect, fewer entrepreneurs chose the patent medicine trade as a means to wealth. More businesses failed or were taken over by larger pharmaceutical corporations. Marshall not only presents a microcosmic picture of the decline of proprietary medicines in the United States; it also reflects the nascent period. Marshall illustrates, in one concentrated area, all facets of the patent medicine trade—both good and bad.

⁶Interview with Mary Ann (Page) Schnaitman, daughter of Edward B. Page, Marshall, Michigan, 29 October 1983.

When the village was founded in 1831, the Jacksonian Age of the Common Man had just begun. With the democratization of the professions, chaos often ensued. In medicine—as laymen entered the profession via diploma mills and irregulars quarreled with regular doctors over proper treatment—it was the patent medicine man who triumphed. Prior to this time most proprietary remedy companies served only local customers. Widespread discontent, coupled with explosive growth in the newspaper industry, opened larger markets to medicine manufacturers.

In an almost symbiotic relationship, as newspapers grew, so, too did patent medicines. The first goal of the medicine maker was to be known—by name, and newspaper advertising provided the perfect medium. Marshall's first newspaper, The Calhoun County Patriot, is filled with notices for various nostrums. Drug stores and apothecaries used it to advertise the availability of such patent medicines, "fresh" from Detroit or New York; and, from it, doctors and druggists plugged their own concoctions. As Marshall grew, other newspapers were established, spawning more patent medicine ads. The earliest issues of the Daily Chronicle, begun in 1879, feature quarter-page advertisements of the H. A. Peterman Company. In later years the patent medicine trade fostered new newspapers. Frank Stuart supported the Marshall Statesman, and William A. Lane, "Doc" as he was known, proprietor of "Lane's Kola Compound," financed the Marshall News."

⁷Stuart Interview; Interview with Donald C. Pace, owner of Pace Press which did much of the printing in Marshall during this period, 25 November 1984.

With improved paper production and printing processes, the already burgeoning newspaper trade expanded even further, quickly followed by a surge in weekly magazines and the religious press. Patent medicine ads found their way into all of them. Modern methods may have reduced production expenses for publishers, but it was advertising revenues which generated the profits. Throughout the nineteenth century, the patent medicine industry remained the largest single source of advertising fees. Ads appeared everywhere, and newspaper and magazine editors often admitted that they accepted advertisements from anyone who could pay the price.

Since the primary objective of patent medicine advertising was to make the name of the product a household word, the value of repetition did not go unnoticed. Large corporations such as Cheney Medicine Company, manufacturers of Hall's Catarrh Cure, used the method; as did the H. A. Peterman Company of Marshall. When Peterman wished to introduce a new remedy, "Peterman's Nerve Pills," he placed seven different advertisements in one column of newsprint. Fierce competition for eye-riveting ads led many patent medicine companies to advertising agents, to capture a corner of the market. At first advertising agencies simply placed the notices in various newspapers and magazines; eventually, they handled all aspects of advertising including lay-out and copy. Several Marshall companies employed advertising agents. But it was costly, only those with sufficient capital could afford such services. By the 1880's it took approximately \$50,000 annually to create sufficient demand for a

⁸Marshall Democratic Expounder, 30 September 1875.

product and make a profit. Martin Wagner's \$12,000 quarterly campaign in 1890 was near this annual mark.

Most proprietary concerns lacked that kind of capital. Those who could not afford the services of an advertising agency, with a few notable exceptions, soon failed. However, the men who entered the medicine industry in search of wealth and position were a hardy lot, undaunted by minor stumbling blocks; as long as cheaper methods of advertising existed, they "gave it a whirl." The Sharpsteens, by far the most successful Marshall company that did not engage an ad agent, used two common advertising schemes -- free pamphlets and the medicine show. Neither technique was the exclusive property of smaller, less prosperous patent medicine companies; Ayer's Company, manufacturers of "Ayer's Cherry Petoral," issued annual almanacs for years, and Dudley J. LeBlanc, promoter of "Hadacol," produced the largest medicine shows in America. The great outdoors offered another inexpensive advertising medium -- anything that could be painted. Rocks, barns, trees and billboards were all fair game. C. E. Gauss used this method even after he hired an advertising agency. 10 And, of course, one could always launch a mail-order medicine company on a shoe-string budget.

As patent medicine advertising became more brazen, critics began to agitate for federal regulation. Marshall newspaper editors, averse to biting the hand that fed them, paid little heed to the

⁹Young, Toadstool, p. 103.

¹⁰Borough, "Town", p. 121.

Great American Fraud and other exposés of the nostrum industry. In fact, as the battle for legislation raged in Congress several

Marshall papers carried a series of articles supporting the patent medicine trade and denouncing the selfish interests of those seeking passage of the law. Newspapers across the country did likewise. As states began to enact pure food and drug laws, medicine manufacturers adopted use of the "red clause," developed by the Cheney Medicine Company. This sentence, which rapidly became a standard clause in all patent medicine advertising contracts, stated that the contract would be considered null and void if the state in which the publication was printed enacted any law "restricting or prohibiting the manufacture or sale of proprietary medicines.' In the interests of self-preservation, most newspapers, even if they did not openly support the trade, maintained silence on the issue of federal regulation.

Not all groups in America held this view. The American Medical Association, from its inception in 1849, fought steadily against quackery. The Calhoun County Medical Society followed suit. In 1877, the newly reorganized society met in regular session and passed a measure of condemnation against Dr. Matthew Gill of Marshall for manufacture and sale of Ta secret remedy for hemorrhoids. Hiram Peterman and Henry Sharpsteen, who were producing remedies at that

¹¹ Hopkins, Fraud, p. 125.

¹²Burr, Medical History, p. 448.

time were not condemned; however neither they nor any Homeopaths were offered membership in the organization. 13

Perhaps if Gill had come along later he would not have been the subject of condemnation. As the patent medicine industry grew in Marshall, so did its influence. During its heyday the very economy of Marshall depended on it. For example, in 1902 Andrew Chrystal employed fifty-one people; in a town of just over 4,000, this obviously constituted a major employer. By 1908, eighty-one people were working for the major medicine manufacturers—Brooks, Stuart, and Gauss. This figure does not include ten smaller companies, which employed, on the average, two or three workers.

Over the years Marshall had fifty-two different patent medicine companies. Of these, only seventeen remained in business for a period of ten years or more. Obviously few achieved that "pie-in-the-sky" they were seeking; but that did not stop others from trying. The number of people who attempted to enter the nostrum industry is, in all probability, greater than these figures indicate. Only businesses with some degree of success leave any kind of records; failures seldom do.

While Marshall reflected of the history of patent medicines in the United States, it is atypical as far as individual cities are concerned, as the number of proprietary medicine firms in several

^{13&}lt;sub>Ibid.</sub>, p. 449.

¹⁴Michigan Bureau of Labor and Industry, Reports, 1902.

¹⁵Ibid., 1908.

nearby towns show. Charlotte, Michigan and Coldwater, Michigan are, like Marshall, county seats. Though both approximate the populations of Marshall, neither had more than two or three remedy companies at any given time; Marshall, at its apex, had eighteen. Battle Creek, which until the 1870's was smaller than Marshall, soon overshadowed the population of the county seat, but not until 1931 did it exceed Marshall in the number of patent medicine concerns. Battle Creek had a flurry of patent medicine activity at the turn of the century. Much of it centered on the fame of the Kelloggs, capitalizing on the sanitarium founder or the cereal maker. In 1906, just before the first federal law took effect, Marshall and Eattle Creek each had seventeen proprietary drug firms—but Marshall had a population of 4361, while Battle Creek had 22,213.16

By this date, 1906, Marshall, Michigan had earned the title
"patent medicine town." A history of the major companies does not
reveal the reasons for the development of the industry in the town.

A combination of factors fostered the trade. Initially, of course,
Marshall was no different than any other town on the Michigan
frontier, having several doctors who compounded remedies for the
local market. Even establishment of the H. A. Peterman Company did
not set Marshall apart from the rest; most towns boasted one or two
proprietary remedy firms. Sometime during the decade of the 1890's,
"the golden age of quackery," Marshall crossed the threshold of the
average small town with a few medicine concerns and began to foster

¹⁶Figures compiled from various sources including city directories and the <u>Advertiser Reporter</u>.

the trade. No one person can be given credit, or blame. His obituary hailed Frank Stuart as a primary force in Marshall's designation as "patent medicine town." Obviously his success motivated others to enter the field, but to give him full credit is to ignore other facts.

The prosperity of the earliest patent medicine manufacturers is probably the leading cause for the growth of the industry in Marshall. Dr. Peterman was highly successful in his patent medicine venture, a fact which could not have escaped notice. Stuart and Brooks, after years of hard work and through adept stewardship of their advertising dollars, became two of the wealthiest men in Marshall. However, most who sought to "get rich quick" probably looked to Lucius Page as their role model. After his business was halted by the government, he continued to "consume conspiculously" and never worked another day in his life. Of course, he had several advantages over those who attempted to emulate his success. He started out with a tidy sum; he had ingenuity; and, he made his money in the days before the increased vigilance of the Post Office. Unfortunately for them, the would-be millionaires had no way of knowing of Page's advantages.

"Experience is the best teacher," said Poor Richard, and

Marshall patent medicine men seem to have taken that advice to heart.

At least seven men, who eventually headed their own companies,

learned the tricks of the trade from their predecessors. 17 James Brennan, proprietor of Brennan Rupture Appliance Company, married F. A. Stuart's private secretary. She gave him practical advice, and actually ran the company for several years after his death. 18 But most students underwent a short apprenticeship, and then, with high hopes. opened their own medicine firms. Andrew Chrystal adopted a more patient attitude, which was rewarded when Wagner died bankrupt, allowing Chrystal to acquire the business under advantageous circumstances. Regardless of the length of the apprenticeship, the opportunity to gain first-hand knowledge of the patent medicine trade was a major factor in its growth in Marshall. Even those who did not come up through the trade had the benefit of turning to the "old masters" for advice. Doc Sharpsteen counselled several newcomers to the business, including Frank McWethy, Hazen Horton, and Harry Wetherell of Kerek Company. It is not merely coincidental that attorney John A. Nash represented so many Marshall medicine vendors; secrets are not well-kept in a small community, and later companies benefited from the experience of the earlier ones.

The cordial reception of city authorities also encouraged the development of remedy companies in Marshall. Marshallites had always fostered a dream that Marshall would one day rival Detroit

¹⁷Henry Sharpsteen worked for Hiram Peterman, 1870-73; Andrew Chrystal for Martin Wagner, 1882-1893; Frank Stuart for Martin Wagner, 1882-1885; Harold Brooks for Andrew Chrystal, 1902-03; Frank McWethy for Charles Gauss, 1908-1924; Floyd Olds for Charles Gauss, 1908; and, Thomas Brooks for Harold Brooks, 1935.

¹⁸Sinclair Interview.

and Chicago in size and wealth. As a half-way stop on the stage route, and later the railroad, this hope did not seem unrealistic. From its founding, people worked to have Marshall named capital of the state. It only lost by one vote, but that dashed confidence temporarily. Soon though, the Michigan Central Railroad, which reached Marshall in 1844. chose the town as the site for its machine shops. Oliver C. Comstock Jr., supervisor of the railroad project, may have been instrumental in that decision. Marshall was again thriving; however, in 1874, the railroad yards moved from the city to Jackson when Marshall failed to raise the necessary bonds. The city once again struggled for existence. Patent medicine companies appeared to be a possible solution to the problem. They not only pumped new money into the economy through employment of city residents; they attracted the "right" kind of employees--white collar workers. They also stimulated the growth of other Marshall concerns, especially newspapers and printing companies. The Marshall Post Office grew tremendously during the heyday of patent medicines, resulting in additional employment opportunities. In 1902, Marshall "jumped to a first class Post Office" with twenty-four employees. 19 Business had increased from \$16,000 in 1892 to \$80,000 ten years later. The patent medicine trade, especially mail-order companies, were directly responsible. Kerek Company, a relatively small mail-

¹⁹ Marshall Expounder, 25 May 1906.



Fig. 18. Marshall Post Office, c. 1910. The baskets are filled with patent medicines to be mailed out.

order medicine firm, sent out 13,000 letters per week in the early 1940's.²⁰

Perhaps the patent medicine industry developed in Marshall because nothing existed to prevent it. No city ordinances prohibited the trade or regulated it in any way. The first city charter established a board of health, but its primary concern was sanitation; it had no power over medicine manufacture. Although Michigan created a Dairy and Food Commission in 1893 to investigate adulterated foods, it did not begin to probe fraudulent drugs until passage of the 1909 act prohibiting the sale or manufacture of such

²⁰Interview with Harry Wetherell, owner of Kerek Company, Marshall, Michigan, 14 September 1984.

drugs in the state. By that time the federal law had been in effect for three years, and producers of bogus drugs were either out of business or adept at side-stepping regulations; honest manufacturers attempted to stay within the law.

So Marshall, for a period of about forty years, from the 1890's to the end of the Depression, attained renown as "patent medicine town." As with her other visions of glory, this, too, subsided.

Today the city is known as "Historic Marshall," featuring one of the oldest annual home tour celebrations in the country. People come from all over to visit the historic mansions which once housed the patent medicine leaders. The homes of Brooks, Wagner and Gauss are all standards on the tour. Unfortunately, Frank Stuart's home was torn down to make room for a supermarket, or it, too, would have been a tour favorite.

In this sense, Marshall is still reaping the benefits of a longforgotten past. The income from the patent medicine trade built,
remodeled, and furnished the homes now placed on tour. The
beneficence of men such as Brooks and Stuart planted the trees that
line Marshall streets and placed the beautiful fountain in her midst.
But history is strange; it is shaped by the present. While full
credit is given to the men for their contributions to the city, the
source of their wealth, as if by some tacit agreement, remains
unspoken. The history of these men and their businesses is part of
Marshall's history; it gives clues to the motivations of previous
generations. Not all were quacks, nor merely out to make a "fast
buck;" some entered the field with a firm belief in their product, in

hopes of benefiting mankind. Wholesale judgment against the industry in light of present day medical knowledge is unfair.

But quackery is not merely a ghost of the past. Two recent women's magazines, Good Housekeeping and Better Homes and Gardens, issued warnings against medical fraud and mail-order quackery.²¹ Nor are patent medicines gone, though they are no longer called by that Any over-the-counter drug, available without a doctor's prescription, from aspirin to merthiolate, is a patent medicine. majority of these products are now produced by large pharmaceutical companies, such as Upjohn's and Parke Davis. Marshall's largest proprietary concern, the F. A. Stuart Company, leased its formula to a larger corporation. Most Marshall firms were squeezed out of existence by rising costs. The Brooks Company, the only medical device business left in Marshall, operates on a smaller scale than in former years; but it still puts out the same high-quality, hand-made rupture appliance that it did in years past. The firm does not market its product through drug stores because the "custom fit" feature can only be done through personal contact -- via the mail.

A resurgence of the medicine trade in Marshall, mail-order or otherwise, is unlikely. The factors which fostered its growth no longer exist. Complex laws regulate the industry; no masters of the trade remain to take on apprentices; the memory of the self-made men in the business has faded; and, Marshall, at last, is content with her status as a small town.

²¹ Good Housekeeping, "The Better Way," January 1985, p. 168; Better Homes and Gardens, "Medical Quackery: Could You Be Victimized?," October 1984, p. 211.

APPENDIX A

PATENT MEDICINE COMPANIES OF MARSHALL, MICHIGAN

Names	Dates	Major Products
Acme Remedy Co.	1895-96	unknown
Be Gole, M. & Co.	1901-07	unknown
Benner, Henry & Co.	1902-22	unknown
Big Rapids Medicine Co.	1898–1901	Dr. Brown's Rheumatic Cure
Blake Suppository Co.	1895	pile remedy
Brennan Rupture Appliance Co.	c. 1913-1933	rupture appliances
Brooks (Rupture) Appliance Co.	1880-present	rupture appliances
Butler Electric Co.	1896-1900	electric belts
Butler, William	1895-97	pile remedy
Chrystal's Electric Appliances	1893-1905	electric belts
Chrystal Tonic Co.	1905-07	unknown
Columbia Medical Co.	1900-07	unknown
Crampton, L. H., Co.	1896-1917	unknown
Crown Manufacturing Co.	1897	unknown
Danola Medical Co.	1904-07	unknown
Day, C. C., Co.	1901	unknown
Drake & Rhodes	1899-1901	unknown
Freed's Ointment Co.	1899–1925	medicated ointment

Names	Dates	Major Products	
Gallup, Benjamin A.	1847-1855	botanic medicines	
Gans, Charles	1896	unknown	
Garland Medicine Co.	1898	unknown	
Gauss' Combined Treatment Co.	1901-1924	Catarrh Balm, Catarrh Elixir	
Gold Cure Co.	1893-c. 1922	Addiction Cure	
Hayward, Mrs. W. W.	1898–1918	Dr. Sharpsteen's Lavendar Ointment	
Horton, H. A., Co.	1916-1923	Ox-o External Treat- ment, Kori Treatment	
Houston-Drake Medical Co.	1895	unknown	
Howard, L. C.	1895-97	unknown	
Infallible Tablet Co.	1899-1921	pile remedy .	
Kerek Co.	1940-44	kidney & bladder remedy	
Klaumbush, W. F.	1898	unknown	
Kola Vigor Co.	1897-1902	unknown	
Lane, Dr. J. C. E. M., Co.	1902-11	electro-magnetic belt	
Lane, W. A. Co.	1897-1914	Kola Compound	
Landsdowne Medicine Co.	1897-98	unknown	
Marshall Complexion Tablet Co.	1904-07	pimple cure	
McWethy's Home Treatment	e. 1933-38	bladder remedy	
Michigan Appliance Co.	1910-c. 1923	headache cure	
Olds, F. Stephen, Co.	1914–16	unknown	

Names	Dates	Major Products
Page, E. R., Co.	1891–1901	Dr. Wilson's Restora- tive Remedies
Peterman, H. A., Co.	1870-1890	Michigan Ague Cure, Astoria
Pyramid Drug Co.	c. 1897-1938	Pyramid Pile Treatment
Reliable Remedy Co.	1915-c. 1922	goiter cure
R-G Manufacturing	c. 1942-1944	rupture appliances
Rheumatic Medical Co.	1898–1905	Sure-Cure Rheumatic Tablets
Roberts, W. F.	1895 - 98 1910 - 11	unknown drugless cure
Royal Drug Co.	1900	unknown
Sharpsteen's Family Remedies	1873-1950	Lavender Ointment, Hindoo Salve, Hindoo Oil, Vegetable Tablets
Sherman, N. A.	1905-06	goiter cure
Stuart, F. A., Co.	1893-1956	Stuart's (Dyspepsia) Tablets, Stuart's Calcium Wafers
Sure Corn Cure Co.	1896–1906	bunion, corn, & chilblaine cure
Voltaic Belt Co.	1881-1893	voltaic belts

APPENDIX B

GLOSSARY

Botanic: a vegetable drug

Catarrh: inflamation of the mucous membrane, especially the nasal air passages

Come-on: an inducement used by patent medicine promoters, especially medicine show promoters, to lure customers to buy their products

Diuretic: a drug which increases the flow of urine

Dyspepsia: indigestion

Emetic: an agent which induces vomiting

Mountebank: a person who sells quack medicines from a platform

Nostrum: a medicine of secret composition; quack medicine

Patent medicine: a medicine of secret composition; a medicine available without a doctor's prescription

Pitch: sales talk to audiences at medicine shows

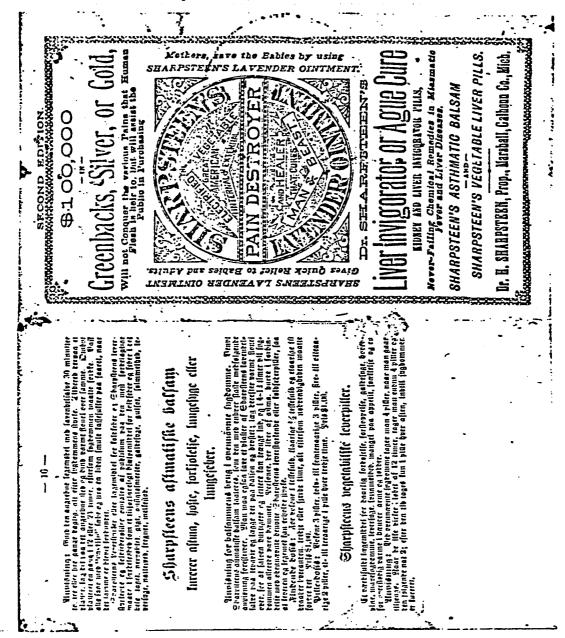
Purgative: a cathartic

Testimonial: a statement testifying to the benefits derived from using a patent medicine

APPENDIX C

PATENT MEDICINE PAMPHLETS

"Sharpsteen's Lavender Ointment"



r. Sharpsteen's Lavender Ointment

Lo not a New Remedy; its virtues increasing as the Doctor has applied it to New Forms of Disease for the past 40 years; and now quite extend that it has no equal as a flate or Consuced, and when used in place of a Linimen, in this wide, wide world.

The rapidity of its cures—removing pain, cleaning and heafing the founders of cores—it one of the greatest wonders of this age. The proprietion on nation yay to one and all, that if you use Sharpsteen's Lavender Contouring for any of the following complaints, you will find your investment wouthy a trial, and may say worth its weight in gold:—

Over doze of Dr. Shapnteen's Lavender Unitment act as a catharde.

The size of a common pill is he doze the tabek. For children, from a small to a large heart in size. For and such that teapondin! In croup, or when drawer is inaginable, the doze should be taken every so to combourer, until relieved, and ergy doze should remain in the mouth until it disabled with the spirite, before it is availoned, and it will operate wery quickly in Ashma, Unit, Cough, and the main of memorial until it is disabled with the spirite, before it is availoned, and it will operate wery quickly in Ashma, Unit, Cough, and the maintened. Over due, act a a catharte.) For Inflammation of Paninh Vortions, but the Shappasco's Lavender Olimment, and it is well to have an apistre with the Shappasco's Lavender Olimment, and it is well to have an apistre and the Kilingy, Hickarthe, Citick, Hoken Kilis, Hoken though in this mainton of the Kilingy, Hickarthe, Citick, Hoken Kilis, Hoken though the citic of the papiere, as the peaters, and interes in such illumination, new plasters in a or a dioust; as the patters will draw as well as a or a dioust; an of the amprentation of the distant. Construct will draw as well as a patter, in drawing inflammation of the distant. Constructs with warm castile assigned; also sprinkle grandiated or coffee sugar over the wound or our; before applying Dr. Shaptusco's Lavender Unite.

For sale by struggists and dealers in medicines at 25 and 30 cents, the targe box bolding, three times the quantity of the smill.

If your dealer to medicines does not keep the atove Uniment, the 30 cent piece by addressing, cent piece by addressing, cent piece by addressing, fig. 11. SHAR(FSTREN.

Da. H. SHARI'STEEN

Manhall, J

MOTHERS, SAVE THE BABIRS,

by using Sharputen's Larender thinment, the best medicine in use for Craylia, Cold to the Head to Smulle, Cloud, Dipthiesis, Sinna, Schid, and satious diseases that takes are adject to; a vegetable remedy dat is laptical to the most deficial.

Ladies and Continued; if you was to keep dandrud from collecting, your haif form clining or gaining gray, and to stitulations a soft, flug-frauding growth and to stitulations on the frauding growth or planty har in as to twelve minish, use Dis. Sinansana LAVENDER CHNTMENT, the best hair toilet in the world. If thoroughly rubbed into na routs at the bair s or 3 times a week, will shibly rubbed into na routs at the bair s or 3 times a week, the distribute soluble improvement in your scale and half at the anythments.

For Asthme, Goughe, Golds, Indammation of the Lungs (Pasumonia), or Lung Bever, and Pisuriay.

Every 30 to 60 minutes, dues as shove, with Dr. Sharpaten's Lavue-der Ohiment, and let it distolve before availusing it; site operad a plaster of Lavender Ohiment on tea-pape, and place it over the throat sadings. Inten place warm famed over the planer, that it may sirile is quickly. This will assist the laward dusts indooening that iginness of the lungs, and help to break up the complaint. Apply new plasters every as hours.

For Ganker Sorse in Mouth, Throat, and Stomach, Sore Throat, Hourseness, Swelled Tonelle, In-fluonze, Quiney, and Mumps,

Trest as for Atthm, &c.; also, mind to gargle Sharpsteen's Lavendan Gistment in the throat thoroughly for tumediate relief. Bor Gatarrab, Hay Baver, or Catarrhal Deafness, Done as directed on the Singla page, with Dr. Shaputener's Lawninter Organisation Country, and with the Shaputener's Lawninter Organisation Country, and rubbing the Chimment broughly around the east over the furthered and nose, and paces a pill site of the Chimment in each east, then gets a suitable among time throughly around the east over the furthered and nose, and places a pill site of the Chimment in each east, then gets a suitable among time times the number of the first time the foreched it publish, to draw the Olimment up in the head, which will noon east the dopints and sorness with a flow of mucni. Which the Gerhead it publish, and the note its closed on that you cannot be supply planters over the forchead on this leftwed.

Singli new milk through the treat and suggifiel in the athest morning and supply and your will find it of more value than must navel douched washers, at it will concer increasing a most preparation will not locer.

In May Fever, treat as for Chimrity also spread a planter or to find Oliver manning and apply over the Lungs, changing the planter areas swenty-loss

For Headache, Neuralgia, or Pain in the Temples, Forehaad, Neck, Stomach, Buwels, and das of the Stomach and Bowels, Bour Stomsol, Dee Stings, and Ohafes.

Dose so directed on the first page, with 111, thereiver's Invender Olisa mast once in three hours, until relieved of franche, Keinshijs, and Cases; also rub the above Olisacent over the stillered portion to infinite and apply planters to Headache, Neuralgia, Gasenos Stomacha and Bora, bl, and the Stiller.

With babes quickly relieved by rubbing the stomach and bowels with Dr. Shaputens's Lavenier (timutent), then applying a platter of the Uniment over the same, stand pill does seery yo or to almute until relief and a cure appears.

CHOLERA IMPANTUM AND COLIC PAINS

SNOVALES OR COLD IN THE HEAD,
How wanderful! One of the greatest reneille as record! Rub the

Ds. Sharpateer's Laveader Ointment feely, and keep the child comfortably warm, to that the Gintment will operate quickly, and the spilleation will travaitably open the head in ten to thirty minutes. The above treatment for Smull on the Call in the Read has the desired effect on all ages.

INFLAMMATION, OR ELONGATION OF THE

yor oroup, membranous oroup on dipe.

Rub kercaces of aver the acck and breast thoroughly, then opraed a plas-ise of Sharpneen's Lavender Chianzen on tea-paper, or old liben cloth, and place it over this each and bleast. Place a good hickness of dannel around the acid a day over the breast, so that the Unmann will strike in quictly, then also a thorated on fair page of the above Chianzen's that about, andiung it with the tongue before availowing, and it will address to the infarmed puriting string the patient insize it elic!

Membracons Croup.

TEETH THAT ULCHRATE OR ACHE.

Barsobs, Painful Gatherings in the Bar, and Ring-

Mell and drop two to these drops of Shartestean's I to the east married and eventual and eventually as the east with the friends and eventual and a day. Use a small break don't, to write the east out before each applications the free paint and gradually relieve the ringing; also as gestering.

BALT-RHEUM, TETTER, RING-WORM,

Use the Wash recommended under throns or Scalds, then rub the vested as plaster of the above distingued on the recommend. If you wastered a plaster of the above distingued on the register, and place it off diseased portion. Sume prefer to rub the Chimment on and others to a plaster. Use the Wash ledore making applications of the Olimens to a prefer to the Wash ledore making applications of the Olimens. We will standard the Chimmen operates nitely and quickly that the disease of Course though the transfer Olimens.

Inflammation of the Breast, oaked or Broken Breast, and Canceh of The Breast,

HIVES OR SHINGLES

Berofuls, or Muscular Swellings of the Faon, Neck, Brunst, Gredien or Breken, Bona, Barninen or Stendard or Nashed Ymere Muslis, Fleel, or Inquirel Bruines, or Puln

NERVOUSNESS, OR DISPASED SPINE, AND MILK LEG.

Take inward doses, as directed on first page, of Sharpsteen's Lavender (Hattment four or five times a day; also aponge the spiral column in the morning and evening with hot water, then rub Sharpsteen's Lavender Ointerment lightly over the whole length of the spine. It will give you a comfortable night's rest, and you will gain strength daily. In Milk Leg, continue the rubbing of the Unitment over the thigh and leg, and apply plasters over sores, if any.

DISLASES PECULIAN TO MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS

Itave been successfully treated with Sharpsteen's Lavender Olntment, by taking internal doses every three or four hours, until relieved; also use plentfully of the above Ointment over the affected portion, and where convenient, apply platters after bathing thoroughly with hot water.

For Whites, use equal quantities (large harelnut-sized) of Globar Salts and Sharpeteu's Lavender Omitment, wrapped in linen cloth, and plared to the mouth of womb on retiring.

For Barbers' Itch, Sore Lins, Festery or Eaty Sores that appear around the Rails, Back of the Hands, Face, or on the Head; Scales or Roughness of the Skin.

Where the sores are festery or scalibed over, use the wash under Burns and Scalds until you get the fester or scal loose, or well softened, then apply Sharpsteru's Lawender Dinnent freely by rubbing; then, if you can spread a plaster and bind that over the sore, for it will take the inflammation out sooner than where you can but rub the Ointment over the sore. Wash and dress the sores morning and might.

FOR CHAPPED OR ROUGH HANDS,

Rub Sharpsteen's Lavender Ointment over the cracks in the skin freely a few minutes; also for Roughness, role the Ointment over your hands until they are fairly dry, and it will soften the akin and reliave it of its roughness with one good application. Where you can, the a worken thread in the crack, then saturate the thread with the above Ointment, and then let the thread remain in the crack until located, which will be trost twelve to twenty-four home where, the skin is suff.

In liurns, ficalds, Poisonous Wounds from Tools, Nails, Forks, Poisonous Punctures, or Sumach Poison, and Painful Eruptions,

Sharpateen's Lavender Olitiment gives instant relief. If not burned or scalided enough to remove the skin, and the above Olitiment on ficely; will semove the pain and prevent a blister. Where blistered from a burn or scald, a plaster of the above Oliminent, apread on tea-paper or old line cloth, and plaster of ver the blister (changing the plaster every twelve hours wall healed), will remove the water, leaf the akin down, and prevent his

peeling or showing a scar. Where the skin sloughs off, sprinkle coffee-auguover the wound, then apply a plaster as directed above. Dress Buras of Scalda every twelve hours, and where the surface is raw, wash the wound with a solution made from Messrs, Tilden and Co.'s Elair Todo-Branide Calcium Compound. If Messrs, Tilden & Co.'s Elair is not kept by your druggist, use a wash made of twenty-five drops of crystal carbolic acid in four ounces of rain-water. Use the same dressing and wash for Wounds from Tools, Nalls, Forks, or Punctures, as directed for Buras or Scalda.

Soreness in the Feet, Burning Foot, Sweaty Feet, Sore Corns, Bunions. Chilb:aius, Frosted Feet, and Ingrowing Toe Natis.

Rub Sharpsten's havender Ointment on the affected part freely for they minutes, then agreed a plaster of the above Clininent on tea-paper, and place it over the diseased purilon, and many times one grad application will save you hours and days of torture. Continued applications will rapidly effect a cure.

BLIND OR EXTERNAL PILES.

All unessiness about the lower lowed or anus, such as itching, burning, sunarting, or aching pain when walking or sitting, is the result of Poles, Pr. Sharqueter's Lawender Ontment cannot be excelled in treating Pilea, if taken in doses every three hours, as directed on first page, also worked up the anus two and a half to three inches morning and night. Two to six days' treatment will effect a cure on regular pilea. Locancess of the anus, such as comes down by slight strains or pressure, are not warranted curable, but can be helped by the above treatment. Treat pis-worms the same as pite.

OLD SORES, FEVER SORES, OR GANGRENE.

Every twelve hours cleanse the sores with the Wash under Hurns or Scalils, then sprinkle collectuars over the sore very evenly. Spread a plaster of Sharpsteen's Lavender Unintent on old inten cloth, and place it over the sore. In placing your bandage over the plaster, do not draw it too tight. After a few days' treatment, the sore will have a better appearance, and by continuing the applications, it will heal readily. Always use coffee-sugar with the Unitment on sores.

ERYSIPELAS.

Do not neglect to take Sharpsteen's Kidney and Lever Invigorating Pills (per directions on the box as to the age of the patient), for six or eight days; also spired glasters of Sharpsteen's Lavender Unitment on teapager or old linen, and place over the patches, or where the skin is reducing, or burning. The above Ointment is cooling, and will extract the water from the blisters in Erysipelas in two or three hours; therefore should change the plasters two or three times a day.

MEASLES

Commences with a chill, heat, pain in the head, back, limbs, sore throat, a dry, hacking cough, and the tongue will be white, with sed edges. The third day the white of the eyeball will look red. The fourth day a yellowish quiple rash appears; and if it does not come out till, give a tea that has been recommended by our grandmuthers for a generation, made of saffron and Virginia snakeroot, four or five times in twenty-four hours. On the seventh day the rash will gradually decrease on the face; then commence to rub Sharpisten's Lavender Cintinent over the skin to clean of the sacks and prevent taking cold. For some throat in hieraste, see directions for sore throat. For cough in bleastes, use Sharpsteen's Asthmatis

Commerces stealy the same as Meavies. The rask is red, very much the sole of a boiler folluter, making its apparance the second day on the stee, and is serving the boiler folluter, making its apparance the second day on the stee, and is a fact, and will about on the follute of the mouth, through and ears, and will about on the day, and other son, the tonger. If the rask does not consour full the second day, slick that the very find the Meavier. If the rask does not consour full the second day, slick that the very find to Meaving the second technic will be referred by when the second technic will be referred by subling has projected a service Unitment service the skin. For the completion for the the time of the second son the lings, use blancuter Astulmatic lists any for the through second son.

HORSES AND CATTLE,

Olement is used.

Please bear in called to wesh all Flesh Wounds on hones and callis Please bear in called to see the control call water (one counce of acid to four cances of rain-water), or but Canile conjude; site be very justicular to prinkle colfesugar over the wound before you make an application of Sharpstees's Lavender Olemens.

Better of the Canile Called Forest, Hone Fover, Hone Thind Theory, and Europe Lunge, Lung Fover, Hone Throat, and trouble a Plesh Wound where Sharpsteen's Lavender

Give Sharpsteen's Lavender Ointment in tablespoonful doses every population, when used alone; but when used with Sharpsteen's Asthurate Balsani, give three tashryspoonful of the Balsani at a dose every form flutter, bringing the Chiument and Balsani dotes 30 minutes, prainting the Given dealershyspoonful of the Balsani at a dose every littly minutes until the beat appear before yet given, continuing a dose every littly minutes until the beat appears before yet given, continuing a dose every littly minutes until the peat a appear of the wind of the peat appear of the silver of the wind given dose dose one of the read of the peat will of Lavender Ointment in each say, and prepar every weeke hour. In pither of the unique Chiument in each say, and prepar every weeke hour. In pither of the unique the gives, to east the longs and keep the glands from the hit is granted at a verton around the little pant at hund become so hally secoler before treating that the east minute and unique weet the given; to east the longs and keep the glands from increase and inflammation not with the beat will drink with case.

For Given to five hours the single in cold weather; if will reduce the percues and inflammation not that the beat will drink with case.

For Given the control is countril to bear will drink with case.

For Given the case of the plants premiting and evening; also place a bick.

A & Suarpeleca's Lavender Claiment plenifully aver the injured por

enc-sisth its situral ilms, placing the worthy streed on valuable footing once more. For it, houre-water, and become consinced that the short statement. For it, houre-water, and become consinced that the short former site.

Bee Stings, Lamoness, Lice, Scratches, Grease, Swell, Maris, Siffeness, Sweeny, Wate, and Poisons.

Rub Sharpsteen's Lavender Olatment over the effected portlone to minutes twice a day. Will toon reward you for your labor. Oracked or Sore Teats, Caked or Garget Bag, Bys, and Hollow Horn,

Treat freely as above. Black Tongue. Treat as for Canker Sore Mouth.

The popularity of Sharputen's Lavender Oliment has fadd the state of t OATTON:

RELIEVES ASTHMA, COUGHS, COLDS, INFLAMMATION OF THE LUNGS (PNEUMONIA), OR LUNG FEVER. SHARPSTEEN'S ASTHMATIC BALSAM

-52.

Directions for Treating the above Complaints.

The Human Body is a wenderful machine, and one that the human annote are unable to initate in form of arrangement or durability. The fond, taking the place of feel, is converted into blood, the atomach and howels acting as the communing and heating department; the heast and arterial pipes labring as a force pump, and in conjunction with the lungs and liver, assist nature to perfurming its labors. The nerves and the tissues are the fungers that unite the human frame; and the brain is the governor over all. While the vital urgans are in general health, the human mind does not stop to consult its delicate fabrics. But as soon as diseased, man is at less to know which organ is brong wratiny. Hence, if Physiology and Anatomy were placed in our commons shoots as a study, they would throw light on our human machinery so that man light know himself.

Oguess and flyingtoms of Fevers.—No class of diseases requires more attention than Fevers, and they are prevalent in all parts of the United States. Sudden changes in the weather, overexercise, perspiring firely then cooling anddenly, deficient drainage or sewerage, are some of the various causes which produce fevers. The symptoms of Fevers are a languid feeling, but akin, thirst, quick pulse, becoming pile, yawning, stratching, cold sensation in the back and timbs, gradually extending over the whole body until declied alivering takes place, headache, bones ache, with wandering pains. Malarial Fevers are not contagious; are caused by malarial poison rising from wet low land exposed to the heat of the sum; breaking up new soil; building ratiroads, canals, drainage, etc. In Fevers, where the skin is dry and hot to the touch, the patient should be aponged with lukewarm water twice daily, then wiped very dry and kept quiet. In cases of Fevers the sick-room should be well wentilated, and the patient well protected from any drate draingle of air. When to trutted with headache, the feet may be bathed is hot water with ground mustard in it. The found should be very nourishing, such as strong beefter, plenty of feeth eggs and new milk. A refreshing dish may be composed of one egg (new) weil beaten with a teaspoonful of sugar and one teap-pointio of pure wise or brandy is a tumbler of new milk; easily digested and strengthening.

Directions for Using Sharpsteen's Liver Invigorator or Ague Cure, and Sharpsteen's Kidney and Liver Invigorator Pids. They operate appendially in Fevers, either separately or in union. The Liquid Ague ture should be given in traspondul dases every two hours until ten or welve doses are taken, which stops further progress of the diverse; also, for three days, dove four times duly to neutralize the malarial poison. Six days from the first dosing, take eight to ten doses to pre-ent a relapse, and it there are any symptoms on the twelfth, eighteenth, e-, wenty-fourth day, take eight to ten doses. Occasionally a dose will counted as appetite and give strength.

The Pill Ague Ours should be used in three-pill dores by adulta every three hours until two or six doses are taken, and it there should be avanatous on the sixth, twelfth, or eighteenth day, repeat the above dones always the package of Shaqasteen's Kidney and Liver in Foorator Pills with

ach house of she Liquid Acue Cure. (6 pills.)

a Whon Using the Liquid and Pills Togother, first take
the Pills, accound the Liquid, hind the Pills, fourth the Liquid, until you
take ten or twelve dozes, three hours apart. On the sixth, twelfth, or eightcenth day, if three are any symptoms, doze as above; will break the clusare
and give you both vigor and strength. Also it can be used by all ages with
asfety, not keeping the patients sick weeks and months with the discuss lingering like various remodies that are on the market.

Liquid Dogo, -- For an adult, one teaspoonful; tea years, one half teaspoonful; five years, one third teaspoonful; one year, ten drops, once in two, three, or four hours, as required.

Pill Done. -- Adults, three pills; twelve to fifteen years, three pills; for to eight years, two pills; one to three years, one pill, once in three hours. Proce each, 50 cents,

Ague and Fover is ushered in with a languid feeling, yawning, stretching, cold aentation in the back and limbs, gradually extending over the while body until decided shivering takes place. At the expiration of thirty to sixty minutes there are flashes of heat, which increase until you have a regular fever. The heat, back, and hones will ache severely for some time, then moisture will appear, increasing to a profuse perspiration. At the expiration of forty-eight hours the account child will appear, unless the disease as broken, which can be accomplished readily by using Sharpsteen's Remedice as directed above. Where the system has a warning that some disease is approaching, by yawning, stretching, distincts, horrid dreams, short breath or pressure of the lungs, a few doses of Sharpsteen's Liver Invigorator or Ague Cure (liquid or pills will break the disease, thus saving a fit of sickness, as well as time and money. "A dose in time saves time."

Dumb Ague, or Billous Intermittent Fever has much the same synupons as Ague, with pain over the eys, through the forehead and back part of the head, with slight child, but the lever runs much longer and disappears with perspiration, which can be cured by using Sharpsteen's Liver Invigorator or Ague Cure (liquid or pills). Does as for Ague.

Remittent Foyer has the semblance of Ague, but the fever continues for several days, with remissions (usually in the morning) of two or three hours in twenty-four; it can be cured in four or five days' treatment with Sharpsteen's Liver Invigorator or Ague Cure (liquid or pills) as for Ague. See directions above.

Chill Fovor or Norvous Chills are similar to Intermittent Fever with congestion of the liver (unnatural accumulation of blood or lumnous), high fever, free perspiration, and slight chills running down the back and limbs. As soon as the congestion is removed, the fever assumes its ordinary form (intermittent or remittent), which may be successfully treated by taking three doses of Sherpsteen's Liver Invigorator or Ague Pilts, according to the directions above, before using Sharpsteen's Liver Invigorator or Ague Cure, every two hours for four or five days, to make a segment cure.

Bwamp, March, Mud or Congostive Chill Fover commences with chills, with congestion of the liver; head, back, and bones ache prefusely, with frequent vomiting. The patient is a great sufferer, and at times passes into a state of invensibility, from which he can be aroused by using Sharpsteen's Laver Invigorator or Ague Citre (liquid or pills) every hour until three is a change for the better; then done every two hours.

Typhoid Fover.—It is generally admitted that the numerous forms under which Typhoid Fever appears, are chiefly regarded as inflammatory infections on the Hrain. Spline, Lungs, Howels or other organs with which it becomes complicated; thus giving rise to many symptoms not manifested in the simple or regular course of the disease. In a majority of cases of Typhoid Fever the patient is low apirited, farigued, complains of a pressure at the chest, griping pains in the bowels, aching of the back and limbs, with disturbed sleep. The fever commences with cold shifts, shivering, flush of heat, pulse full and quick, or oppressed, distinces, headache, the face

flushed or pale, constant thirst, and tongue coated. Where Sharpsteen's Liver Invigorator or Ague Cure (figuid or pills) has been used at the commencement of the above symptoms, five or ala days' treatment has brought the nations to a convalencent state, and prevented the disease becoming contagious. Dose as above.

Periodic Neuralgia or Rheumatic Pever usually com-Portonio Neutraligia or sanoumagio Povor ununy com-mences with jain cunning through the face, over the eyes and forcelead, crown, and back part of the head, shouting, jerking, or steady pain in the conticer musch a office next, shoutders, arms, back, and legs, with a slight the ward fever. Treat as for Chill Fever; also make thorough applications with Sharpsteen's Lawredce Ontment as for crange in the neck. The above treatment will relieve you of the torture in a very few hours.

For Rhoumatiom try the above treatment.

Billiousness, Jaundice, Disziness, and Liver Com-plaint seccaused by deficiency of bile, and its not flowing through its nat-oral channel, being togged by mucus or gall-stones. It is thrown back into the Gall Bladder, where it is alreaded by numerous small vessels hard fine the call manner, where it is another by mine to a mine we shall be spine and empties into the large vein of the left shoulder, thence conveyed to the heart, where it becomes mixed with the blond that enters the system, and produces sickness at the stomach, headache, dieriness. It invariably shows itself in the small veins, eyes, nails, and akin, tinging them a yellowish color, At times there is soreness and pain over the region of the liver or pit of the nomach. If above ayunttoms are allowed to run, they bring on slight chills of fifteen or twenty minutes, ending with a fever that lasts twelve hours, Shapiteen's Liver Invigator or Ague Cure (liquid or pills) has the de-sired effect on the above diseases. Dote with the liquid every one or two hours as the case may require. I'llis but once in three hours.

Night Swoats or Night Stratching Cured by a few dozen of Sharpsteen's Liver Invigorator or Ague Cure (inquit or pills) to carry of the impurities of the blood, warm up, and strengthen the system.

Moth and Frocklos .- Sharpsteen's Liver Invigorator or Ague Core (liquid or pills) may be used as a cosmetic in removing Moth and Freekles by its positive action on the Liver and Skin. A few weeks' treatment with the above remedies will remove the patches, and give you a healthy countenance.

Nalk .- Mothers who are not supplied with a sufficient amount of nourishment for their children, will find Sharpsteen's Liver Invigorator or Ague time will increase the flow of milk, and give vigor as well as strength to both mother and child.

Dr. Sharpsteen's Vegetable Liver Pills.

A valuable remedy in Indigestion, Costiveness, Diliousness, Sick Headache, Dy pepsia, Liver Compinint, Dirriness, Loss of Appetite, Weakness, and Sensational Heat of the arms, hands, and feet.

Indication and consepation have caused many invalids to fear that they were troubled with Heart Disease, Tape-Worin, or Inward Cancer, by the action on the heart, stomards, and howels, the gas in the bowels gradnally moving about for home wemont escaping, and the patient suffering an incomfortable pressure or bloat. Symptoms of diseased liver: Invariably, irregular pain under the should be to the should be the should be to the should be to

der blade, pain in the right or left shoulder and arm, with a sensational heat of arms, hands, and feet, the heart sympathizes, flutters, or palpitates, skips its beat, varies its motion, nearly stops beating, and the invalid feets very its beat, varies its motion, nearly steps beating, and the invalid feels very much pressed for breath, darting pain or tenderness about the heart, she left side too sensitive to lie on, troublesome headache, dizziness, heavy, thesome feeling in the back part of the head and neck, which in time produces loss of memory, loss of appetite, with sickness at the stomach, rising or spitting up foot, the leet are cold, with spells of burning, the hands become prickly, and Erydiclas commences its work; also a dry, hacking cough may appear. Not very many patients have all of the above symptoms, unless the diverse is allowed to run.

If treated punctually and faithfully with Sharpsten's Liver Pills at the some necessant of the disease, it will soon separate the innounties from the

If treated punctually and faithfully with Sharpareon's Liver Fills at the commencement of the disease, it will soon separate the impurities from the blood, and create a healthy circulation, giving vizor to the Liver and flowers, regulating the beat or motion of the licart. As a cathartic, Sharping pains in the stomach or bowels, and act very middly. Directions, For any of the above complaints (or symptoms) take 4 pills on going to bed. If they do not operate in twelve hours, take 4 noise pills. The usat night, take 2 pills. For aix nights in succession take 2 pills, then take but 1 pill each evening at bed-time until you feel well, by the liver's promoting a healthy accretion of mucus or phlegm. Price 25 Conts.

When troubled with Piles, use Sharpsteen's Lavender Ointment; es with a Hacking Cough, use Sharpsteen's Asthmatic Balsam.

GEBRUIKT SHARPSTEEN'S LAVENDER ZALF.

Vour Aambeijen, Speld Wormen, Spruw of Kanker Zeere Mond, Kroen, Dipheria, Ontsteking of Verlenging van de Palaat, Zuure Maag, Aamborstigleid, Hoest, Verkoudeli, pleuris, Getwelle Aumanlela, Schorheid Keelontstekig, en Zeere Keel. Donis .- Neemt een Pil, de grootte van een hazelnoot, in de mond iedere een, twee, drie, of vier uuren, als het ge-val noudig heeft, en laat den l'il amelten voor men hem doorslikt; en op desellde tijd apreid ook een pleister van de Lavender Zalf en plaatst dies over dat gedeelte dat ontstoken is, en bind warme flancelle lappen over de pleister. Voor Aambeigen, werkt de Lavender Zalf twee of drie duimen is

de rectum lederen morgen en avond.

Brand Wonden, Verschroijingen, Wonden veroorzaakt door gereed schap, aplikers, en vorken, Punt Wonden, Aangezigtspijn in het voorhoofd. Verstuikingen, Bij Steken, Lendenwislag, Kramp in de Nek, Slijve Nek, Zeere Konsilen, Schin, Ontstokene of Gebiokene Borst, Gekraakte of Gebrokene Beenen, Inwendige Kneuzingen, Gekneusil of Verpletterd Vicesch. brokene licenen, Inwendige Kneuringen, Gekneust of Verpletterd Vieesen, Gekneusde Duim of Vinger Nagels, Zere Lippen, Zere Oogen, Gehersta of Ruige Handen, Zand Wratten, Zere Ekster Orgen, Puisten door de koude verwekt, Ruwen of Bevroren Voeten, Kiespijn Zinkens, Kwale Vochten, Steenpuisten, Oude Zweren, en Koorts Zweren. Gebruiks Annwijziogen —Wrijft Sharpateen's Lavender Zali over het ontstokene geslecite vor 30 minuten, twee, drie of vietmaal per dag, as het geval noodig heeft. Spreid eene pleister en plaatst dien er op, su bind warms flantelle lappen over den pleister; verandert de pleister lederen twaalf of dieset with un were goals het boodig is. Wascht de sweren in warm manache sappen over den jueister; verandert de pleister iederen twaalf of vierentwining uuren, sooals het noodig is. Vascht de sweten in warm reeprop van Spaanshe Zeep, en aprenkelt koffij suiker over de sweren wanneer men het bekieed.

Gebruikt Bharpsteen's Asmboratig Balsam >

Voor Asmbornigheid, Jioest, Verkoudheid, Ontsteking van de Longes (Longsiekte) of Long Koorts. Gebruiks Asnwijzingen.—Waz-

Gebruikt Sharpsteen's Lever Versterker of Koorts Middel, en Lever Versterker en Koorts Pillen.

Gebruikt Sharpsteen's Landaartig Lever Pillen

wastwordinge Hitte van de gemen, handen, en voeten. Gobrulks Annwilzingen: "Nesme film wanneer men naar bed gan; indien dere miet werken in de man unter niet meer. Neemta Pillen den volgende nacht. Neemta I lillen voor see aachten la vervolging; peemt dan z Pil lederen avond totdat gij wel voelk. Voor Hantillytyheid, Galachitaheid, Zieka Hooldpign, Slechte Spijsvere dog, Lever Kwalon, Duireligheid, Verlies van Bellust, Zwakheid en Ge

Sharpfeen's afthmatifcher Bacfam enriet Ջիիկաս, Ծոլիշս, Եւքոննոսց, Ջասցշոքունյ oder Lungenfieber.

Sharpsteen's vegetavilisas Leberpillen.

SHARFSTEEN'S LAVENDER ONTMENT, KIDNEY AND L'A ER INVHORATING PILLS, LIVER INVIGORATOR OR AGUE CURE, ASTHMATIC DAISAM, AND VEGETABLE LIVER PILLS,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

. .

GAUSS'

Combined Treatment

For Catarrh

It takes you about a minute to use it, You use it every day faithfully for a certain length of time, and go about your work as usual. You'il get better at once. You'll first notice the change in your disposition,-you'll feel better and sweeter, and the cure should follow.

Gauss' Catarrh Elixir

and

Gauss' Catarrh Balm

are the two parts to the Gauss Treatment. They are exceedingly simple to use, and contain no poison, oplates or drugs of any kind. No one need know you are taking the treatment.

Gauss' **Combined Treatment**

Relieves Catarrh Effectually and in a New Way

De People Shan You, Because of Foul Breath?



GAUSS' COMBINED TREATMENT for CATARRIE

is a quick, radical, complete and simple remedy, ridding the system of every particle of catarrhal poison, and stopping all local inflammations



C. E. GAUSS,
Solo Prop. Gauss' Combined Treatment.

Long ago I cut looke from the bondage of old theories about catarrh.

Catarrh is what I have found it to be, and I have found it to be different from what most people think it to be,

Many of the statements I make in this little book may be a surprise to you; some of them may appear to you to be exaggerated,—but I want to ascure you before you begin to read this book that I give you nothing but facts based on the experience of thousands of my patients and upon my own theories.

I write as I feel,—and usually I feel that I am right. I am more interested in ilie than in literature, and if occasionally I walk all over old-time rules of medicine,—you are the gainer.

The Curse of Catarrh

The Dangers of It, What It Is, and How to Remove It Quickly and Completely.

CATARRH is a very common name for a very common disease,—so common that most people do not realize how fearful, dangerous and disgusting it is. It gives you a bad atmosphere, and whether you think people notice it or not, they do. A cold in the head, hawking, spitting, pulling and blowing of the nose, bad breath, stuffiness, drowsiness, bad humor,—this is the way it starts.

And wheredoes it end? Frequently in catarrh of the atomach, catarrh of the bowels, catarrhal abscess of the brain, cancer of the throat, bronchitis, pneumonia or consumption,—and death!

There is probably no more prevalent disease than this insidious vampire, catarrh, because, perhaps, its origin, "a little cold," is deemed of such slight consequence and so little effort is made to stop it at its very beginning; and again, because when once it has found lodgment in the mose and throat, it never cures itself, but quickly apreads and taints the mucous membrane wherever it may be found, from the head, throat, bronchial tubes, and downward to the stomach, and other vital organs.

The theory that catarrh is only a local affection, has been found to be partly erroneous,—an error which has probably been responsible for thousands of deaths in the past which would otherwise have been averted.

The Discovery of My Remedy.

It is this appalling mistake, as I saw it, which resulted in so much preventable misery, that led me to seek out a remedy for it, a remedy that would be a remedy in every sense of the word, true, reliable, honest, bringing results that would count, a remedy that would do things as



to the saferer,

promised, one wherein promises would not be made which could not hold water, but promises made which because of their logic and good sense, backed up by the successful remedy, would from the very start receive the full confidence of the sufferer, and prove me, not a false prophet, but a real doer of good to humanity!

And so, what have I harvested from mylabor?

A remedy which has exceeded my own most brilliant expectations, a remedy which I thoroughly believe has done more good for the short time it has been in existence than many of the old, true and tried remedies used in other

I have the remedy which has rescued thousands from that unutterable disease of catarrh. and there is no reason why, as catarrh comes from one source, the remedy should not be your reliance as well.

It is natural that I should speak with enthusiasm about my own remedy, but be assured that there is neither bombast nor exaggeration in my story. Probably I have exploded pet theories of some archaic physicians, if so, well and good.

Every statement made in this little book is based on facts, gleaned from the experience of thousands of sufferers. From their letters, some of which we send you, you will notice that the question of a

QUICK RESULT

has been settled by the Gauss Method of Treatment. Catarrhia such an obstinate disease, and hangs on with such force, that It requires an unusually effective treatment to dislodge it, and kill it. This question is settled by the Gauss treatment.

Just as the value of some new uncommon mechanical device is first called into question without trial, so my remedy was first doubted and decried by those who thought they knew.

have been "doubting Thomases"



Naturally, there Cuarth destroys appellis, and often dere

who, clad in the armor of old and rusty theories about medicine, have refused to believe that there could possibly be any improvement upon the old doctrine. But progress never comes with-out opposition. It would have been unnatural if the force and power of my proof and magnetism of my success had not captured their reason and forced the doubters to revise their antique ideas about catarrh, its cause and its cure.

. So, I hold before you the remedy for catarrh. -my remedy, the successful remedy. It is Gauss' Combined Treatment for Catarrh. That tells the whole story.

There are two different parts to the treatment, and I will explain their peculiar operation later on, when I have told you what catarrh really is.

What Is Catarrh?

It is now known that catarrh is not only a local affliction but that it is also a blood disease,

The question always comes up in the mind of the sufferor, "When will I getrid of my catarrh?" "Is there any danger of it returning?" Gauss' Treatment is a

PERFECT REMEDY

because it destroys the cause,-the rost of the catarrh itself, and is not eatlefied with merely allaying inflammation. The cause in in the blood as well as in the nasal passages, head, throat, or other parts, and by destroying it in every part of the body, it is destroyed effectually.

amount of lotions and sprays, nor blood remedies now sold, can kill it. It needs a powerful blood elixir to put it to rout, an elixir that is at the same time harmless to the patient, and this Gauss' Catarrh Elixir is, beyond question or argument.

What does the Antiseptic Catarrh Balm do? In every case of catarrh there is somewhere a local irritation, where some catarrh germa have gathered in one favorite place, usually in the nasal or throat passages.

Gauss' Catarrh Balm can be applied very easily to any local irritation, and as a soother and healer of soreness, inflammation and swelling, we doubt whether it can be equaled by any treatment yet discovered.

Gauss' Catarrh Dalm also destroys, where applied, the germs which have assembled in the particular spot where the inflammation exists.

Isn't this a simple treatment? But it was not simple in trying to discover it. The results, however, give such a fullness of satisfaction to its author that all the labor of research and frequent disappointments is at oned for, many times.

Result Is a Perfect One.

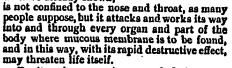
By the use of these two parts of Gauss' Combined Treatment for Catarrh, the direct cause of catarrh can be absolutely destroyed,—the blood is entirely purified and the inflammation and discharges cease. The treatment is absolutely painless in every respect, as well as rapid, and as far as its effective results are concerned, words fail to express the relief felt at the release obtained from this blighting disease.

However chronic, or severe, or malignant the case may be, if taken according to directions, Gauss' Combined Catarrh Treatment will not disappoint you. Of course, every case is different and needs a different length of time for a cure, but the patient may rest secure in the assumance that as long as he is faithful to the treatment, he can be relieved completely from this, one of the most distressing and threatening of chronic diseases.

A "Cold" as the First Warning of Catarrh.

Catarrh and "cold in the head" are similar in sensation, and so catarrh is often mistaken for a bad cold. Theignorance of this fact is responsible for thousands of cases of malignant catarrh, which probably would have been easily cured had proper treatment been taken at the very beginning.

Catarrh, however, as we have already shown,



Don't wait: as soon as you find that your nose is stopping up, or running, or a cough has started, and you "strangle" every once in a while, start on Gauss' Causr' Remady. Your trouble may be a mere cold; and,—it may not be. There are even chances it isn't. It's catarrh.

But remember that catarrh usually comes from a cold, and though you imagine your cold has gone away, catarrh perhaps remains, and in a few days' time, after getting a good start, it will clutch you in its grasp with such force that you will then only awaken to the full realization that caturrh is just what we said it was, fearful, and dangerous, as well as intensely humiliating.

Gaust Catarrh Remedy will stop that pulling and blowing of the nose, coughing and stopped up feeling. Just try it. It will tell its own story.

Nasal Catarrh.

This form of catarrh is, to say the least, sickening and disgusting, besides being most com-



To be taken with sadder gagging and hawking at the dinner table to disgusting and humiliating.

9



Spends many elections nights splitting and conghing.

mon and highly dangerous. The changes of weather render the delicate nuccus membranes in the nose and throat very susceptible to inflammation, and thus encourage the birth and growth of catarrhal germs.

That nasal catarrhis: nauscating disease, any one knows who has had to sit close to, or talk face-to-face with a person

recking with purulent catarrh. To get a while of the bad breath of such a person is to sicket at once and turn away.

Have you ever had to endure, in sickening silence, the hawking and gagging of a catarrh victim, or have to sit close to such a person and experience a disgusting, appetite-losing, foul odor, which you couldn't explain and didn't know what it was? That's catarrh, and there are plenty of people who have it.

You can get rid of your case, without much delay, and avoid becoming an object of aversion to others, or even to members of your own tamily, by merely taking the simplest remedy in the world,—Gausi Catarrh Treatment, the remedy that cures catarrh.

Results of Nasal Catarrh.

Nasal Catarrh, if allowed to go unchecked, often brings fatal results, if not loss of eye-sight and complete loss of the senses of smell and taste. Pneumonia, lung fever and consumption are to be found in the list of results of nasal catarrh.

How often the pitiful, emaciated wreck of humanity, the death-marked consumptive, who totters around with withered limbs and glassy, listless eyes, down toward the grave, can look back to the source of his trouble as merely a very bad "cold in the head"!

Bronchial Catarrh.

There can hardly be said to be a more distressing and fear-creating affliction than to have your throat, and your lungs, constantly choked up with a mucous discharge and having to constantly hawk, and gag, and spit up, wherever you are, to your own great humiliation and the disgust of your friends, or fear that your case will develop into pneumonia or pleurisy.

And it hardly need be said that the dangers are exceedingly serious, because catarrh grows quickly, and will attack those parts of the mucous membrane which have not yet been affected. In this way it will grow down along the respiratory ducts, along the alimentary canal and finally into the stomach and other vital organs, often producing consumption, catarrh of the stomach, cancer of the stomach and, of course as a direct result of the latter disease, death.

Bronchial Catarrh is nearly allied to bronchiis, and anyone who has suffered this latter disease knows full well that in many cases it develops into pneumonia, which is itself, in 60 or 75 per cent of all cases, fatal in its results.

Gauss' Combined Catarth Treatment is a perfect antidote for this serious disease, for the simple reason that, just as explained in the case

of Nasal Catarrh, it destroys the catarrh germs found in the blood, thus destroying the root of the trouble and allaying the inflammation, and of course when the root of trouble is destroyed, the body itself is absolutely rid of the disease.

Catarrh of the Stemach and Bowels.

Many cases of cancer of the stomacharise from stomachic catarrh. To



The final cell. Calurrh may receit in fatal passuments, or other deathdraling diseases.

110

be deprived entirely of one's appetite, to be unable to eat the simplest foods, to rebel at the eight of one's meals, and finally, to live in the constant danger of falling into the grasp of a deadly cancer,—is certainly not very pleasant to think about.

But one who suffers from catarrh of the stomach and of the bowels runs a great risk of becoming, instead of a healthy bread winner,—a



BACTEMIA IN SPUTUM.
Type of germ expecterated from the air passages. Attached in
contract to the saint and broatchief passages.

hopeless expensive invalid, without energy, spirit memory, ambition or health, and without hope. Gauss' Combined Catarrh Treatment is held out as the salvation of all those who are either afflicted with this disease or who are endangered by it.

Other Symptoms of Catarrh.

The most usual evidence of the presence of catarrh is felt in a peculiar dryness and fullness in the nose and in the forehead. Dull frontal headache, itching and tingling sensations in the nose, attended by frequent sneezing, swelling that hermetically seals one or both sides of the masal passages, chills, fever and loss of appetite frequently accompany these symptoms. The senses of smell and taste become partially or entirely lost. Constant dripping in the throat occasions frequent blowing of the nose, coughing and gagging, discharge of blood, and in many cases excruciating pains on account of the intense pressure upon the nerves, caused by the catarrhal swelling.

This is the beginning,—and a very small beginning. The results have already been told you.

Catarrh Never Cures Itself.

Catarrh is such an obstinate disease that, even when the patient's system and blood is in the best condition, and even though the attack of catarrh may be mild, it never cures itself. Most people are so accustomed to having frequent colds that they do not realize that instead of a cold, they may be suffering from a case of malignant catarrh which has been growing steadily for many weeks or months.

Chronic Catarrh.

After catarth has become chronic (which it does in a very short space of time,) the symptoms are similar to the foregoing with the exception that the discharge is quite thick and yellow. In some cases the secretions will be free for a few days, followed by a period of dryness when scabs and plugs will form in the nasal passages, the expulsion of which causes considerable exertion. The dryness of the nostrils is severe, the secretions form far back in the nasal passages, the inflammation spreads into the pharynx, the acrid mucous passes down the throat, inflaming the mucous membrane on its way, and viciously attacking the stomach. Sleep is often disturbed

by the mucus dropping into the throat and causing severe choking.

Offensive breath shocks the sensibilities even of the owner, and friends, and even members of one's own family, are impelled to fall back from the poor victim in disgust.

The Real Test of a Cure.

The real test of the merits of any treatment, is whether or not it cures the chronic condition of any particular disease. Chronic catarrh means to most people nowadays, "incurable catarrh". But without using exaggerated terms, it can safely be said that Gaust Catarrh Treatment is perhaps the only treatment yet found that cures tatarrh in its chronic form.

So that no matter how long you have suffered, whether from your very youngest days to the present time, there is a remedy ready and waiting for you—a remedy that is one in every sense of the word. And this is not said idly, but with full realization of what the statement means.

It simply means what it says,

Gaust Catarrh Treatment will cure chronic catarrh in its worst forms, if you follow instructions.

Hearing and Sight May Become Affected.

In some instances the catarrhal inflammation will spread from the throat along the eustachian tubes, into the middle-ear, causing much pain and interfering materially with the sense of hearing, and the lachrymal ducts also may become inflamed, and the eyes red and swollen with burning, stinging sensations.

What protection, therefore, is there against this fearful visitor? It is for you to decide. Just the moment you begin to feel the least uneasiness or discomfort from what you think is a mere cold, take Gauss' Combined Catarrh Treatment. Then stop worrying. The grim visitor will disappear, and your hearing and sight be protected and preserved.

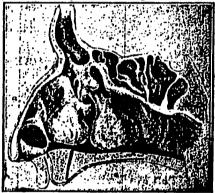
Complete deafness or blindness may be the terrible price you will pay for delay; the moment

you notice any symptoms of these approaching troubles, you should learn whether or not you have catarrh, and if you have, cure it at once.

What Gauss' Treatment Has Done.

Gauss' Combined Catarrh Treatment has performed some of the most remarkable cures ever recorded, as is evident by reading our testimonials.

This treatment, according to statements of those who have used it, has rescued from the pit of unutterable despair, humiliation, prostration and misery,—many who before had given up all hope of ever being cured.



OATABHHAL TUMORS.

Secures of constant non-running, having and threat-dripping. May
devolop into cancer, frenchile, consumption, old
Tumora are marked as, as.

This statement may seem to be overdrawn, but our testimonials will confirm it. Right here it may be said that whenever we make a statement we aim not to overdraw it but, on the contrary, to be conservative in the telling of it, so that the patient, after getting substantial results, may feel that we have only told him the half.

Particular attention is called to the character of our testimonials, the equal of which, as

evidence of superior merit and quick results, may be difficult to find. Every one of them is genuine and speaks from the heart.

Cure Yourself at Home.

quest Combined Catarrh Treatment is put up in convenient form for home use, and the directions for taking it are exceedingly simple. No one needs to know that you are taking treatment for catarrh. Most people do not care to have anyone know that they are treating themselves for this affliction, for to have the disease at all is humiliating and distressing.

There are no sprays to use, no bulbs to squeeze, no vapor bottles to handle,—you take Gauss' Catarrh Elizir internally, several times a day, and apply Gauss' Balm at night, in one minute.

That's all.

You go about your work as usual, and if you are faithful to the treatment, you will get up some morning and find your caturth gone.

You'll be cured, and you'll wonder how it could have been done so quickly. Gauss' Combined Catarth Treatment is as much for you, as it is for any other catarth sufferer, and it remains with you whether you are going to continue to go about in your present condition or be cured quickly and with the least expense.

Tell Me Your Trouble.

The first thing to do, as soon as you have any intimation whatever that you are suffering from catarrh, is to write to me at once and tell me the details of your case.

Catarrh affects different people in different ways. That is why I ask you the few questions you will find on the symptom blank I send you. All I ask is that you answer only those questions which directly affect your case. Then I will know what special advice to give you. This advice will cost you nothing. I give it merely because I want you to derive the greatest possible benefit from my treatment in the quickest possible time.

To those suffering from catarrh, the longing is to secure a quick, certain and positive cure that will rid them from the disease which makes their friends turn away from them, their acquaintances avoid them, and even the members of their own family disgusted with them

o Let me help you to save yourself all this danger and humiliation. Do not spend many of your hard-earned dollars by applying to a specialist for treatment. I consider such a course a waste of time and money, for what more can a specialist do than give you probably the same thing which your family doctor would give you, but charge you more for it. Besides, the latest perfected treatment is Gauss' Combined Carrh Treatment, and you secure results from this treatment which you cannot obtain elsewhere. You get results, and get them quickly.

. Use Gauss' Combined t'atarrh Treatment. I say it is par excellence—the most thorough, rapid and effective treatment ever prepared for the cure of this distressing malady, and I say it because of the results obtained from it.

It speaks for itself. All I ask is to give it a chance to cure you, the one who suffers.

Rid yourself, once and forever, by a treatment that you know will cure you, and come again into your own, happiness, good cheer, contentment, energy, ambition, hope, new life and perfect health.

Address all your letters to

ŧ

C. E. GAUSS,

MARSHALL, - - - MICHIGAN

Copyright 1804, hy

Marshall, Mishigan-

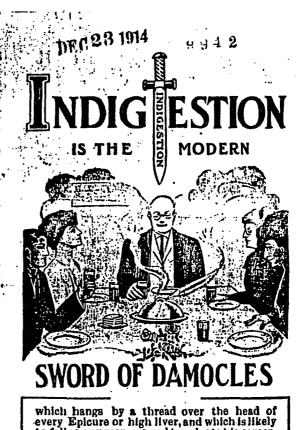
—A man may imitate my remedy, but he could never give it that individuality that makes Gauss Combined Treatment the peer of all remedies for catarrh.

O. E. G.

References

As to my integrity, honesty, etc., I respectfully refer you to the following citizens and business firms of Marshall, Michigan: The Mayor, Recorder, City Treasurer, Chief of Police, The Sheriff of Calhoun county, Register of Deeds, County Clerk or Treasurer and also THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK.





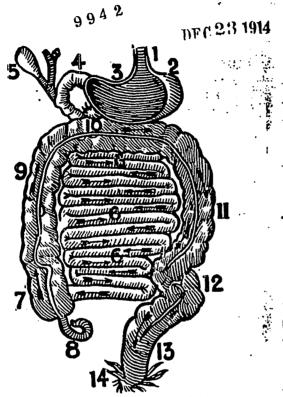
which hangs by a thread over the head of every Epicure or high liver, and which is likely to fall at any moment and terminate his career.

Never before in the history of the world have there been so many sudden deaths from Acute Indigestion.

STUART'S DYSPEPSIA TABLETS

used after meals, digest the food thoroughly.

Chie dyspensia in all its varied forms, and provent audden death from Acute Indigestion.



THE ALIMENTARY CANAL

1. Lower end of esophagus (meat pipe) which conveys the food from the throat to the stomach. 2. Cardiac end of stomach.
3. Pyloric end of stomach. 4. Duodenum.
5. Gall bladder. 6, 6, 6. Small intestines.
7. Caecum. 8. Vermitorm appendix. Ascending colon. 10. Traverse colon. Decending colon. 12. Sigmoid flexure. Rectum, 14. Anus.

1914 - U 1914

The Great Increase in Indigestion

One hundred years ago, indigestion or dyspepsia was a great rarity; today one person in every three has this disease, and the trouble is constantly on the increase, which is attributed largely to our present day artificial and rapid mode of living.

The disease called Neurasthenia or nervous exhaustion, is usually complicated with nervous dyspensia, and nearly always dependent upon the latter. More Americans are affected with nervous and dyspeptic diseases than ever before, but these troubles are by no means confined to the American people. Emerson has said: "America spells opportunity," and it might be added that the strenuous life of today in business and other fields of endeavor. too frequently spells "nervous exhaustion," and "nervous dyspepsia."

The modern business-man who develops indigestion and nervousness, usually pursues a course similar to the following:-Awake at six A. M., he hurries through breakfast, mixing a steak and an omelet with a business problein, washing down the half-masticated food with a cup of coffee, and at the same time poring over a newspaper in order to learn the state of the markets, thus dividing the blood supply between the stomach and brain, when it should be concentrated at the former.

After a rushing experience at the office, he goes to dinner or lunch, and eats rapidly, drinks lots of water, or other fluid, flushing the stomach at an inopportune time, causing deficient nutrition, chemical irritation, food decomposition and cell fatigue.

Notices of protest come from the abused stomach and nerves and other affected organs, but are usually disregarded. The busy business-man has no time to bother with such things. Then follow headaches, vertigo, and a sense of weakness, mental and physical, together with vague, mysterious messages of a nervous origin, never experienced before and not understood. This man has always been well, and declines to believe he is ill now. Finally a complete nervous breakdown occurs, the stomach gives out entirely, and the husting business man is obliged to seek rest, recreation and a possible recovery in a sanitarium.

The Stomach is the Key to Health and Human Power

As long as the stomach is in good condition, performing its functions thoroughly, and secreting a sufficient quantity and a proper quality of digestive juices, so that the food may be reduced to such a condition as to be readily absorbed and assimilated, the general health will continue good; but when the stomach once gets out of order and fails in its duties, the rest of the system is sure to suffer, for the reason that it does not receive a sufficient amount of nourishment from the food.

On the other hand, when the general health is impaired from any cause, the digestive process invariably suffers, thus it seems that cause and effect are often transposed, with the stomach as the chief sufferer in any case. In many instances, people try to prop up the failing powers of the body by overtaxing the stomach, and thus dyspepsia is added to the old disorder. No one can be stronger than his stomach.

Infringements of the immutable laws of digestion and health are being constantly committed by indiscreet persons. Some commit great faults in the relative amounts and distribution of meals, eating possibly a small breakfast and dinner or lunch, and a very heavy supper, which either causes them to DEC 23 1919

suffer from insomnia, or from disagreeabledreams and nightmare.

If the gastric juice is insufficient in quantity and inferior in quality, and the amount of food taken exceeds the digestive power, another material cause of dyspepsia arises.

The Physiology of Digestion

The digestive function is one of the most complex, intricate and wonderful processes carried on by nature. It is by means of digestion, absorption and assimilation of the food taken into the stomach that the body is built up, health maintained, heat and energy produced and life continued.

Digestion comprises all the processes which food taken into the body is subjected to, and includes the resulting chemical changes it undergoes while being prepared for assimilation by the tissues. It is the transformation of food constituents, which in their original crude state could not be used by the cells of the system, into substances which can be readily absorbed by the blood and assimilated by the

The chemical action which changes the food so that it can be used by the body is brought about by means of digestive julies called ENZYMES,—substances possessing the property of "splitting up" foods and converting them into absorbable elements. The active principle of the saliva is called PTYALDN; those of the gastric julce, PEPSIA, HYDRO-CHLORIC and LACTIC ACIBS; and of the pancreatic julce, TRYPSIN and AMYLOPSIN, the gastric julce is acid in reaction, while the saliva and pancreatic julces are alkaline.

The food in the alimentary canal is subjected to processes of two types—chemical and mechanical. Salivary digestion is the preliminary preparation of food-stuffs for the stomach. Gastric digestion is a mechanical as well as chemical process, the foods being brought into

a condition of finer sub-division, and one better suited for absorption.

When food is first taken into the mouth, it is mixed with the saliva, and undergoes a process of "milling," or grinding with the teeth, which reduces it to a semi-liquid substance, after which it is passed back to the throat and down the gullet by a series of muscular contractions, which send it into the stomach, where it is acted upon by the gastric juice, and this, together with the churning movement of the walls of the stomach, reduced the food to a pulpy condition called CHYME.

It now passes through the pyloris and into the duodenum or second stomach, where the pancreas pours out the pancreatic julce, and the liver pours bile upon it, which changes the chyme into a whitish fluid called CHYLE. This chyle is separated from the waste matters, and by a wriggling, twisting, muscular movement of the intestines, it is propelled along the alimentary canal, and the nutriment parts are absorbed by millions of small lacteal and lymphatic glands, whose openings exist on the inside surface of the intestinal system. It finally reaches the small capillary blood vessels of the lungs where it becomes red blood.

Slow Digestion

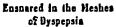
This is, by far, the most prevalent form of indigestion. It is the bane of those who ignore natural laws, and forget that the healthy action of the stomach is dependent on the condition of both body and mind. Those whose pursuits oblige them to pass much of their time within deors—men of letters, and of business, whose minds are seldom relaxed, administrators, speculators, politicians, book-keepers, professional men and women, whose callings compel them to live the strenuous life—fall ready victims to it.

It occurs oftenest in persons of nervous

temperament, and its victims usually have an irritable disposition, and an anxious aspect of countenance, popularly referred to as "dyspeptic looking." Eating too rapidly is a common exciting cause of this trouble, as is also imperfect mastication from loss of teeth.

In slow digestion the food remains in the stomach much longer than it should, instead

of digesting in the proper length of time. The stemach is derelict in its duties, and does not . furnish a sufficient quantity of gastric juice; and the victims of the trouble experience so much discomfort after meals that they are frequently heard to say that they "would bo quite well, if it were not necessary to eat." In fact, many of them actually dread the approach of meal-time.



quickly cured by using Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets, which by completely digesting the food, toning up and strengthening the stomach walls, compelling the organ to furnish an increased amount of gastric julce, rapidly brings about a permanent cure, and the food no longer remains in the stomach longer than necessary.

Slow digestion is

Acid Dyspensia

In this functional stomach trouble, there is entirely too much hydrochloric acid secreted. By physicians it is called "HYPER-CHLOR-HYDRIA," by patients, "sour stomach." It is a condition of perverted function of the stom-

ach. The appetito is generally bad, and there is often a loathing of food. Eruciation of a

watery fluid into the mouth so sour in taste, that the teeth are "set on edge," is a frequent symptom.

Even the saliva, which is normally alkaline, becomes so strongly acid, that the teeth are rapidly destroyed, unless measures are taken to cure the acid dyspepsia. Many a good set of teeth have been prematurely lost through the corrosive action of acid saliva.

Stuart's Dysnepsia Tablets contain calcium carbonate, which is alkaline, and they rapidly neutralize and remove the excess of acid in the stomach by their action; while at the same time, the pepsin, diastase, and other powerful digestive ingredients, which also exist in this remedy, digest the food very efficiently, giving the stomach valuable assistance in the performance of its functions.

Melancholy and Mental Depression

The distressing symptoms of melancholy and despondency from which many dyspeptics suffer are very marked in numerous cases. The brain is so intimately connected with the stomach through the pneumo-gastric nerve of the sympathetic system, that chronic dyspepsia very readily produces a disturbance in the head, with "low spirits" and "the blues" as the result.

Dyspeptics who develop melancholy, dejection, and despondency present the following anomalous symptoms: They imagine that some great danger or impending evil is threatening them, and develop a somberness of disposition, become unduly sensitive, and imagine they have all the diseases known to Pathology, and some not recorded there. Some get the idea that they are losing their minds, or their memories; but very few persons discover the connection between these symptoms

7.54. De 100

and the chronic dyspepsia, supposing that they are entirely separate and distinct.

This disorder is, however, known to be intimately connected with the deranged digestive function, and the quickest way to cure these morbid, melancholy manifestations, is



to correct the functionally diseased condition of the stomach, and cure the dyspepsia by using Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets after meals and whenever any of these distressing symptoms are experienced.

Insomnia or Sleeplessness

The inability to sleep is another one of the many symptoms resulting from indigestion. The victim may lie awake half the night, or practically all night, tossing and rolling, vainly endeavoring to compose himself, and obtain some rest in sleep. Finally, toward morning, he falls asleep from sheer exhaustion, and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

· · · c 23 1914

when the time comes to get up shortly afterward, he feels completely exhausted.

In other cases the confirmed dyspentic falls asleep at the accustomed time, but it does not bring rest or repose; and dreams occur in which fear, anxiety and other disagreeable emotions take part. Nightmare, with its horror of overwhelming waves, falls from precipitous bluffs or heights, pursuit by enraged wild animals, and other implacable monsters, are all traceable to an enfeebled state of the stemach. The grinding of the teeth, and talking during sleep, also occur.

Sufferers from chronic insomnia should avoid the use of sleeping powders, potions, etc., which have frequently been known to set up incurable drug habits, and have even caused sudden death, and they should undertake to cure the sleeplessness by removing the cause.

By the consistent use of Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets, one or two after each meal, and the same quantity at bed time, the dyspensia, which is the usual cause of insomnia, is rapidly-cured, and with the removal of the stomach trouble, the inability to sleep, and the nightmare which troubles so many people, are quickly gotten rid of.

Sick Headache

Migraine, or sickheadache, is the bane of some people's existence. Many experience it almost daily; and while in many cases there are numerous symptoms which point unmistakably to the stomach as the prime offender in headache, in others, the frequently recurring aching of the head, is the only prominent symptom which tells of the existence of the stomach trouble.

The headache of dyspensia is of every variety, from the dullest and least defined, to the most acute pair. Sometimes the whole mass of the brain seems racked with anguish; at others it is confined to the front or back part of the head, or to one or both of the eye-balls. There may be also a "awimming" or "lightness" in the head; dizziness or vertigo, or a sensation of motion while the body is still.

There is another variety of headache which generally comes on the day following the meal which caused it, and some people are subject to a regular "Sunday headache" and may be free from it the rest of the week.

We have an example of the close nervous relation between the head and the stomach in that sharp pain over the eyes which attacks some persons after eating ice cream or taking iced drinks.

Those who are subject to headache rarely ever think of the fact that the stomach is causing it until their physician calls attention to the fact.

Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets have cured the chronic sick headaches of many dyspeptics, by strengthening the stomach, curing the indigestion, and thereby removing the cause of the headache.

Victims of headache who have been dosing themselves for years with headache powders, tablets, seltzers, etc., have been completely cured by treatment directed to the stomach, although these hendache sufferers did not previously suppose that the stomach was the cause of the trouble.

Water Brash

Pyrosis, or water brash is a stomach trouble in which there is an eructation of a watery fluid from the stomach into the mouth. It usually comes on in the morning and forenoon when the stomach is nearly empty of food.

The fluid eructated is usually almost tasteless, but in cases of super-acidity of the stomach, it becomes very sour to the taste.

Many dyspeptics are annoyed with this dis-

DEC 23 1914

and thus cures diarrhoes, without uring the general systers.

Escape of the Stomach Self Digestion

addition to pepsin, which are capable of dis-integrating and digesting foods of all kinds, including ments, vegetables, cereals, fruits, It has always been a puzzilng problem with digest itself. When we consider the fact that the gastric juice contains powerful acids in physicians as to why the stomach does not etc., there seems to be no plausible reason why the stomach itself should not be digested also.

principle. In the stomach tissues protect it from self digestion; but Dr. Bernard successfully demonstrated that the hind legs of a living freg when passed through a fistula or artificial opening, into the stomach of a dog, and held there a few hours, underwent complete digestion. A Dr. Pavy tried a similar experiment with a rabbit's ear, which was digested Some physicians have declared that the "life principle" in the stomach tissues protect it in the same manner.

It does happen, however, that in some cases of long continued indigestion, with undue acid-try, and perverted action of the stomach, the nucous membrane libing the organ is completely eaten away, and gastric ulcer may be set up which eats its way clear through the stomach wall, and causes a fatal peritonitis.

In order to prevent the development of diseases of this sort, the digestion should be kept up to the highest point of efficiency, and when-

Intestinal Indigestion

to give the stomach a toning op, which puts it in such a healthy condition that the vater brash soon exases. readily cured by using Stuart's Dyspepsia Tublets after meals, and the effect of which is

agreeable symptom, which however, is very

The majority of persons innains that all of the food is digested in the stonach, proper, but such is not the cuse. The larger part of it is done in the diodenum, and small intestine. The gristic juice of the stonach digests only the proteids, nitrogeneous and albuminous foods, such as meat, eggs, milk, cheese, whole wheat, etc.; while the juncreatic juice of the small intestine digests the fast and starchy foods, or carbo-hydrates, such as rice, pourtoes, while bread, etc.

Amylaccous dyspepsia is the fnability to di-gest starchy foods, and this trouble, more than anything else is the underlying cause of con-stipation, diarrheea and appendicitis.

In Stnart's Dyspepsia Tubleta there are several ingredicults admirably qualified for the cure of intestinal indigestion, amylaceous dyspepsia, and diarrhoea. Besides containing pepsin which digests meals, eggs and other albuningous foods, they also comin diastase which is a provential digestive of starch, and changes it rapidly into dextrose and grape sigar, and it is then quickly absorbed, as starch in its ordinary condition cannot be assimilated by the system.

tion. Any physician will tell you that there is no better remedy for diarrhoaa than carbonate, which is contained in this digestive remedy. This ingredient acts as a mild though effective astringent to the bowels, and at the same time as a mit-These tublets are also excellent in diarrhoen, which is often a sequel of intestinal indiges-

Nervous Dyspepsia and Neurasthenia

Nearly everyone nowadays is more or less "nervous." Never before in the history of the world have so many persons been victims of Neurasthenia, also known as "nervous exhaustion," "nervous debility," and "nervous prostration." People who have this disease complain of being constantly tired; cannot stand on their feet any length of time; cannot walk as far as formerly. They have difficulty in concentrating their minds on any given subject, and are incapable of sustained exertica. They are very excitable and irritable; suffer from insomnia, languor, lassitude, Estlessness, trembling of the hands, and jerking



One Person in every Three has Dyspepsia, and it is Constantly on the Increase.

of the limbs and facial muscles. Neurasthenia or nervous exhaustion is invariably found associated with nervous dyspepsia, and is usually dependent upon it. The nervous condition is due to the fact that the nerves do not receive a sufficient amount of nutrition for their sustenance and rebuilding, hence the exhaustion.

Instead of wasting time and money on nervo

9.9.4.2 pre 23 1914

tonics, the stomach and weakened digestive powers should be treated and strengthened, in order that the nervous dyspepsia may be relieved and cured, and with the disappearance of the stomach trouble and the complete digestion of the food, which the use of Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets will invariably bring about, there naturally follows a much larger amount of nutriment supplied to the starved and weakened nerves, with a consequent gradual elimination of all the nervous symptoms.

All sufferers from nervous weakness should eat plenty of wholesome food, and then have it digested properly by using these tablets.

Heartburn

By cardialgia, or heartburn, is commonly understood that burning sensation at the pit of the stomach, which is generally attended with the rising or eructation of a small quantity of fluid of so acrid a character us to produce a most disagreeable sensation, often referred to the back of the mouth. Sometimes the fluid cructated is not only acrid, but also intensely bitter.

The burning sensation may extend along the entire gullet, often distinctly commencing in the cardiac portion of the stomach.

Heartburn occurs at the middle and advanced periods of digestion, and rich living is a common source of its production. It very soon disappears when the indigestion is treated and gotten rid of.

Loss of Appetite

Anorexia, or loss of appetite is a symptom often complained of by dyspeptics. No matter how tempting and dainty the food may be, they do not feel the slightest desire to eat, and the small amount of food they do take is usually forced down, the quantity being so small with many sufferers from indigestion, that one

14fet\$99a

wonders how they manage to live on so little. In extreme cases of anorexia, there is experienced a positive disgust and repugnance for food.

There is no trouble in getting rid of this complaint, and restoring the lost appetite when Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets are employed, as they are powerful tonics to the "appetite nerves," in addition to strengthening all the vital processes of the stomach.

Ravenous Appetite

Bulimia, or ravenous appetite, is just the opposite of anorexia. Some nervous dyspeptics complain that no matter how much they may eat they are still hungry afterward; in fact they feel more or less hungry all the time, and it is impossible to satisfy their unnatural appetites with even a very large amount of food.

This trouble is supposed to be due to the nervous irritation of the "hunger nerves" of the stomach, which continue to "telegraph hunger sensations" to the brain even after the stomach is filled and should be satisfied. It is probable that from long continued indigestion the stomach nerves are not properly nourished, and the unceasing hunger sensation is the cry of those irritated nerves for food.

Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets have been equally successful in curing ravenous or unnaturally large appetites, as in loss of appetite, for the reason that when the food is digested in so complete a manner, the nerves are well nourished and the nervous irritation

The Growing Period of Life

During the adolescent or growing period of life, children not only require sufficient nourishment in the form of well digested food for their immediate needs in the building up of tissue caused by natural waste, but also a large extra amount to supply material for the construction and enlargement of bone, muscle, teeth, nails, nerves and brain, etc.

There are many weak and sickly children who never attain their full growth or an average amount of strength, because their stomachs and digestive powers are weak, and cannot digest the food thoroughly enough to build up bodily power, strong nerves, large bones and tissues.

Parents should make every endeavor to



The Indigestion of Growing Children.

strengthen their childrens' digestion in order that they may attain a good growth, superior strength, large bone and muscle, and powerful nerves and brain, which will enable them to endure the strain of hard study at school without breaking down. and develop their powers fully, so that normal health may be an inheritance in later years, and for this purpose Stuart's

Dyspepsia Tablets take precedence over all other remedies.

The use of cod liver oil does more harm than good as it upsets the digestion and makes matters worse, while these powerful tablets have just the opposite effect, improving the digestive powers immeasurably, and causing the building up of the entire syst m

.!

DEC 2 to the 12 C at

Effects of Smoking and Drinking

These habits have long been recognized as causes of indigestion. Excessive smoking produces a depressed condition of the digestive system, and a great waste of saliva; while the inmoderate use of tea, coffee and alcoholics interefere very considerably with the function of digestion, as well as with absorption, so that from 30% to 50% or more of the food taken into the stomachs of persons who indulge in these things will not be digested or assimilated, and of course is simply wasted.

In order to keep the digestion good, all persons who are accustomed to the use of tea, coffee, tobacco, alcohol, whether moderately or in excess should use Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets after meals, in order to overcome the bad effects of such indulgences, and assist the stomach to digest the residue which would otherwise be left undigested.

Health Granks and Food Faddists

One of the results of the strenuous living of today, with the great prevalence of dyspepsia, has been the development of numerous "health cranks" and "food faddists," whose "dyspeptic brains" have evolved some strange, wonderful and absurdly ridiculous theories and ideas concerning diet, and the treatment of the stomach.

So-called "health foods" by the score have literally flooded the market, each claiming to be a "brain food" or a "nerve food," and guaranteed to cure all the ills that flesh is hely to.

Then we have the vegetarian who holds that it was never intended for mankind to eat meat, but to subsist upon vegetables exclusively, despite the fact that his ancestors for 6,000 or more years back were meat eaters, and all the great thinkers and workers of the past and present have used meat. Next comes the crank who declares that the way to cure

stomach troubles and all other diseases, is to try a complete fast for several weeks, during which time all food of every description is withheld from the stomach, in order "to give that organ a rest." But the question is, what is the rest of the system going to do for nourishment while the stomach is resting? The other organs of the body are dependent upon the stomach for their nutriment and sustenance, and if it "goes on a strike" so to speak, the rest of the works are likely to close down. Suppose the heart would stop to rest awhile, it is needless to say that immediate death would occur.

Of late years there has arisen a "cult" which claims that the "low proteid diet" will preserve health and lengthen life. Now the foods rich in proteids are the ones which build up nerve, muscle, bone, blood, etc., and to cut down the amount of proteids means that the body will undoubtedly suffer.

It is utter nonsense to concern one's self with all these absurd and illogical theories. Eat what you want, when you want it, and as inuch as the system requires to replenish the tissue which is lost through natural waste, and then if you have indigestion, take one or two of Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets, and forget all about food fads and stomach troubles

Importance of Mouth Digestion

The average person never thinks of the fact that a part of the digestion is done in the mouth. In the process of grinding up the food with the teeth, a large quantity of saliva is secreted, and the PTYALIN which it contains, partially changes the starch into sugar.

Very few people devote sufficient time to masticating the food thoroughly, but swallow it, prematurely, and leave the stomach to do the work the teeth should have performed. The food instead of remaining in the stomach only two or three hours, as it should, stays there

BFC 23 1914

from five to seven hours, giving the organ an immense amount of extra work.

After a time gastric catarrh develops, and later such diseases as ulcer, tumor, or cancer of the stomach may occur. Napoleon Bonaparte, who was fond of good living, and in the habit of bolting his food, died of stomach cancer, as did also his father and sister.

Rapid eating is one of the most common evils of our modern civilized life, and the "quick lunch" is largely responsible for this. People seem to think that the quicker they get the food into their stomachs the better, without considering the burden they place on that already overcrowded, abused organ.

Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets have been the means of saving many persons who were in the habit of bolting and half-masticating their food, from serious stomach troubles, as these tablets counteract to a large extent the pernicious effects of hurried eating.

When Old Age Comes On

There is a process, known as METABOLISM, constantly going on in the body, and by which new material from the food eaten serves to build up the system, while on the other hand, the old tissues which have served their purpose are torn down and cust off.

As long as this great process is properly performed, and a correct balance between the building up and tearing down is maintained, the person will hold his own and enjoy good health; but when old age comes on with its weakened powers of digestion and assimilation, the system rapidly loses ground, and the senilty and feebleness incident to advanced life, gradually takes place.

Every middle-aged and old person should use Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets, which by digesting all the food caten with great thoroughness, and promoting the process of assimilation, will go a great way toward staving off the infirmities of old age, and maintain the functional powers for many years.

Try These Tests Yourself

In order to prove the efficacy of Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets as digestives of all kinds of foods, try the following experiments: Take a hard boiled egg, and cut or macerate it into very small pieces, as though it had been actually chewed up.

Place this chopped up egg in a chemist's glass test tube, or in an ordinary two ounce bottle containing water heated to 98 deg. Fahr., which is the heat of the body, then add a Stuart Dyspepsia Tablet. At the end of three and a half hours, you will see the egg completely digested, exactly as though it had been passed through the digestive process of a good, strong, healthy stomach. This experiment proves that these tablets will digest albuminous foods or proteids, also called the nitrates, which build up muscles, nerves, etc.

Now try this experiment: Make a stiff jelly by boiling 500 grains of potato starch or tapico, in four ounces of water; then cool to a body temperature, and add one of Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets. In 30 minutes the jelly-like starch will be converted into a watery solution, and in 60 minutes the potato starch will be entirely digested. This second experiment proves that these tablets also digest all starchy foods, or the carbo-hydrates, as they are called, and which supply heat and caloric energy to the body, and build up fatty tissue. Thus it is plainly evident that this product is an all-around digestive remedy.

Anaemia or Bloodlessness

In anaemia or thinness of the blood, with sluggish circulation, the victim suffers from

extreme paleness of the skin, which is often wax-like in color. There are dark circles under the eyes, lips and nails are often blue, while "that tired feeling" is an ever-present symptom.

In normal health the little red corpuscles in the blood number 5,000,000 to the cubic millimeter, but when anaemia is present they are frequently reduced as low as 2,000,000, which indicates a very devitalized and depleted condition of the islood, and one which requires immediate attention.

The use of iron tonics and cod liver oil is resorted to by some people in the hope of building up the blood, but the trouble is they make them worse. The only way to build up the thin blood and increase the red corpuscles is to strengthen the digestion. The blood is recruited from the food caten, and when well-digested, which can readily be accomplished by using Stuart's Dyspejsia Tablets, it is not long before the cheeks become rosy, the eyes bright and full of luster, the skin assumes a healthy appearance, while the generally rundown condition gives place to one of perfect health.

The Epicureans of Modern Times

In ancient Greece there were two opposing schools of philosophy known as the Epicureans and the Stoics, the former being founded by Epicurus, and the latter by Zeno and Pinto.

The epitome of the Epicurean philosophy was that as life is short, mankind should make every effort to enjoy themselves, while they may, "to eat, drink and be merry," and indulgo themselves, without stint, especially in the pleasures of the table. The Stoles held exactly opposite views, and declared that mankind should practice self-denial and self-abnegation.

Although these two schools of philosophy have long since ceased to exist, the American people may be justly called the Epicureans of

today, as they are exceedingly fond of the good things of life, and do not believe in denying themselves anything, particularly as concerns the pleasures of the palate.

From a great many observations made on persons by stomach specialists and expert dieticians, it was concluded by approximate determination of the amount of calorics contained in their food, that the average American eats entirely too much, while similar observations on Europeans, especially of the middle and lower classes, indicate that they do not eat enough.

The caloric is a unit of measurement as regards the heat and energy production of foods, and it was found that the average number of calorics taken by the average American was 4,040 per day; for Europeans, 2,020. As the amount of caloric energy required by a person of moderate muscular work is 3,500, the excess of food taken by the American and the deficiency by the European is very evident. While the American develops Nervous Dyspepsia, the European acquires a general hyperesthesia from insufficient nourishment, and the latter is worse off, for while the system can dispose of a surplus, it cannot make up a deficiency, without drawing upon its own tissues.

Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets should be employed to dispose of the surplus food caten, and should be used after all full or heavy ineals, banquets, champagne suppers, after-theatre parties, etc., as they completely evercome the bad effects of excessive enting.

During Convalesence

During recovery from any serious or long existing illness, when the whole system is very much run down and enervated from the effects of the disease, by using these tablets, restoration to health will be hurried forward and the system built up much faster than it otherwise would be. Following all such diseases as typhold pneumonia, and after all sur-

** ******

gical operations where restoration is slow, Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets will prevent the patient from going into a rapid pulmonary consumption.

Not a Secret Remedy

This famous digestive remedy is not a secret one as are most proprietary medicines. Analyses show that Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets contain vegetable and fruit essences, natural digestive ferments or enzymes, among which is pure aseptic PEPSIN, a powerful digestive of albuminous foods, nitrates and proteids, a single grain of this pepsin being capable of dissolving and digesting 3,000 grains of food.

They also contain HYDRASTIC CANADEN-SIS, or golden seal, which acts as a tonic to the nucous membrane of the stomach, promoting the secretion of digestive fluids, and overcoming gastric catarrh or gastritis.

CAPSICUM, a powerful gastro-intestinal stimulant, increasing the flow from salivary, gastric and intestinal glands. It also increases the blood supply to, and stimulates the walls of, the stomach.

CALCIUM CARBONATE and BISMUTH SUBNITRATE, are antacids, and anti fermentatives, act as sedatives to the stomach; excellent in gastritis, and painful conditions resulting from deficient secretion of gastric julco. Particularly useful in counteracting excessive acidity or sour stomach. Bismuth also absorbs gases.

NUX VOMICA, a powerful nerve and stomach tonic; strengthens the stomach and intestinal nerves, increasing functional activity. Unsurpassed for the treatment of nervous dyspensia.

DIASTABE, a wonderful digestive of starchy foods, such as bread, potatoes, rice, cereals, etc. One grain of diastase will digest 2,000 grains of starch.

These powerful digestive ingredients are combined into the form of lozenges or tablets,

nicely flavored with lactose, or sugar of milk, and zingiberis, or Jamaica Ginger—in itself an excellent stomach tonic—and this combination—makes a digestive remedy unequalicd—and unsurpassed by any other on the market.

Advantages of This Remedy

The great advantages of using medicines in tablet form instead of liquids, is that the dose is never uncertain, but always uniform, while in liquid medicines, even when you "shake well before taking," the dosage is not likely to be correct each time of taking, and you may get too much of certain ingredients one time, and too little the next.

All liquid medicines contain a certain amount of alcohol, which from a chemical standpoint, is necessary to hold the medicinal ingredients in solution, and as alcohol has a very deleterious effect on the mucous lining of the stomach, and also actually interferes very decidedly with the process of digestion, it is anything but a desirable constituent in a stomach remedy. That is why liquid "stomach remedies" are universally unsuccessful in relieving or curing indigestion.

The alcohol contained in such remedies, of course, stimulates the system, and temporarily makes you feel better, but a short time afterward, when the reaction has set in, a period of depression occurs, and the last condition is worse than the first.

How the Tablets Are Sold

Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets are put up in convenient form, in large and small tablets, and in 50c and \$1.00 boxes. Each fifty-cent box of Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets contains forty-five large tablets, and twenty-three small ones. Each dollar box of this remedy contains one hundred large tablets, and fifty small ones. The dollar size thus contains

about two and one-quarter times as many tablets as the fifty cent size. If the druggist does not happen to have the dollar size he will get it for you from h.s wholesaler or jobber.

Directions for Taking

The large tablets should be allowed to be dissolved in the mouth, thus mingling with the saliva and enter the stomach in the most natural manner. The small tablets should be taken one after each meal, and being somewhat bitter, should be taken like a pill, in the following manner: Place one small tablet as far back on the tongue as possible and take a large swallow of water immediately, and no taste will be noticed. They induce healthy action upon the walls of the stomach and entire intestinal tract.

For Sale By All Druggists

Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets are sold at all drug stores in 50c and \$1.00 sizes, but be sure to get the genuine, and accept no substitute. If your druggist happens not to have them in steck, or does not offer to get them for you, send us your remittance, and we will send them by return mail.

None Genuine Unless Signed

Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets are never sold in bulk, or by the hundred. Any druggist who offers them in any other form than in our regular boxes with our trade-mark thereon is perpetrating a fraud and attempting to substitute a spurious imitation for the genuine Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets.

Look for the signature "F. A. Stuart" across the race, on the top of each box. $p_{\rm k} (23.194)$

SYMPTOMS OF INDIGESTION

All of These Symptoms Quickly Disappear when Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets Are Used.

- A feeling of weight or fullness about the stomach, or region of the liver.
- 2. Heartburn, waterbrash and acid eructations.
- Distension of the stomach and intestines with gas or air: a "lump-like" feeling in the throat.
- A feeling of oppression and weariness; aching paintn
 the limbs; great sleepiness during the day, espec,
 fully after meals.
- Tongue becomes furred, with a clammy, bitter or sour taste in the mouth, especially in the morning.
- 2 Appetite usually poor, and at times a disgust for food and nausea are felt.
- Excessive secretion of thick muons at the back of the throat and nose.
- 8. Paipitation of the heart, particularly after meals.
- Constipation usually present, but diarrhoea may occur at times. The excrementitions substances are either too dark or too light.
- 10. Frequent attacks of frontal headache.
- Insomnia, restlessness at night, bad dreams, nightmare, talking in sleep, grinding of teeth.
- Attacks of vertigo or dizziness, specks floating before the eyes, occasional dimness of sight, particularly after enting certain indigestible famils.
- Melancholy, despondency, "low spirits" "the blues," sombreness of disposition, considerable depression, possintam, a proneness to look on the dark side of life, dark forehollings.
- 14. Creat irritability of temper and sour disposition.
- 15. Languor, lassitude, listle..sness, "that tired feeling."

it's only a matter of a very short time before you will be restored or greatly benefitted.

PERFECT MANHOOD

Is certainly the greatest thing in the world. It is the one great source of happiness, the parent of wisdom and prosperity. If a man is IMPOTENT he can accomplish but little that is really worth accomplishing. With Perfect Manhood the world is before him and few things seem impossible. He thrusts back his shoulders and walks with springy step as he proceeds to his daily duties. He carries his head aloft and looks the whole world in the face with eyes of a man who is not afraid. He is eager for work and eager for pleasure.

The laugh comes readily to his lips, his voice is pleasant to the ear and his wit is keen and ready. People gaze at such a man and feel that he is good to look upon. For himself he journeys through life with senses afert, ready to grasp every opportunity. He sees the beauty of the world with a vision clear and discerning. His life is like a ray of joyous sunshine.

He brightens the world and the world is better for the fact that he is in it. The man with PERFECT MANHOOD is like a bright day in June. The IMPOTENT man is like a wet day in November. One is wholesome clear and brilliant-The other unwholesome, dark and gloomy.

DON'T WASTE TIME

If you are failing in any of the essentials of Manhood, give your case immediate attention. If you are lacking power and ambition and you could instill "Pep" sexual vim and vigor into your body in a perfectly harmless way, would you not do it!

HAZEN A. HORTON, Dist.

MARSHALL, MICH.

Perfect Manhood Vigor of Youth



HAZEN A. HORTON, Dist.

OX-O EXTERNAL TREATMENT FOR MEN ONLY

THE VIGOR OF YOUTH

If you could retain the vigor of youth with the energy, the enthusiasm, the vivid imagination forever you would always be happy, contented and successful. If you have grown old before your time, if your sexual desire is weakening, if your vitality is gone then you should be interested in my OX-O EXTERNAL TREATMENT for its mission important. I have heretofore plainly and vividly set forth the truth of the statement of what the OX-O External Treatment did for me. I have stated the facts so plainly, and clearly that a child can understand the meaning and the object of the retainment of youthful activities.

LOST MANHOOD

If you suffer with (impotence) Lost Manhood you should take a chance to regain your youthful powers if possible. The result you may receive and the length of time it requires will depend largely upon the condition of your health at the time you commence the treatment. If I can bring relief, joy and the pleasure of living into your life I consider it's my duty to do so. The OX-O EXTERNAL TREATMENT is easily, quickly and pleasantly applied. I found it effective in my case. It proved itself a safe, gentle and soothing treatment and stimulated the circulation of blood in my sexual organ and restored me to normal condition. What it will and can do for you remains yet to be seen. The continuance of any treatment for any trouble is what counts. If your case is of long standing or of a stubborn nature you should take this into consideration when using the OX-O External Treatment and give it a good, fair trial.

ELDERLY MEN

If your sexual decline attending extreme age is due to almost TOTAL EXHAUSTION

don't be discouraged. Remember the sunshine a always the brightest on one side of the street only. I say to you, "Come out of the shadow and be a real man again". I have the same unselfish interest in ELDERLY MEN as I do in the younger men with an honest regard for his best interest and welfare. I believe that the spark or ember of the vital fire may lie dormant and inactive for years but the great truth is that the spark is still there, still alive. This being true then it appears reasonable to believe that if one can assist nature in bringing back into the weakened parts new blood, vigor, energy, and life that a man's sexual vigor should be maintained to at least one hundred years.

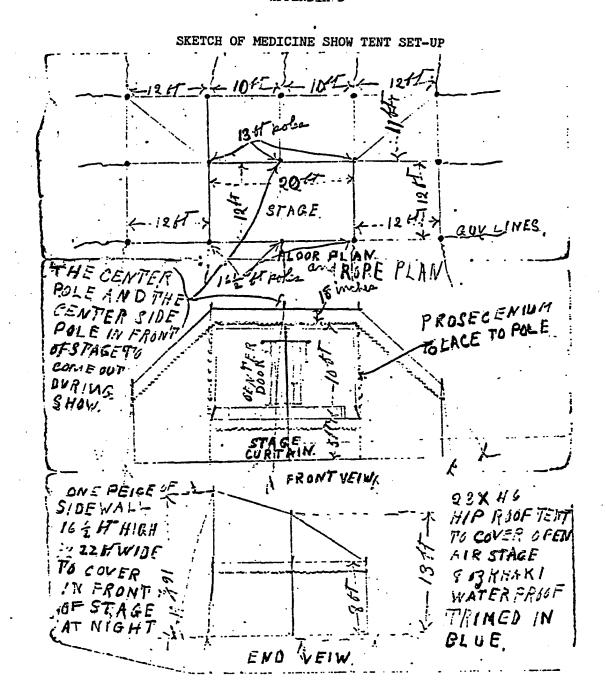
Thousands of men in seemingly perfect health may experience weakness or incapacity sexually although their outward appearance would not indicate such a trouble. Then if this is the case, which no one can dispute, of what possible good can drugs taken into the stomach do. They are of no real service in a case of IMPOTENCE or LOST MANHOOD.

MY CONSTANT AIM

Is to bring lasting relief to every man suffering IMPOTENCE or LOST MANHOOD and I want to impress upon you the importance of continuing with the OX-O External Treatment until you regain your strength, vitality, and vigor.

SEXUAL REJUVENATION

I feel absolutely sure if you will continue the OX-O External Treatment for a reasonable length of time that you will soon be on the road to SEXUAL REJUVENATION. You will then acknowledge that it is the best investment you ever made in all your life and will thank me for urging you to continue the OX-O Treatment. I believe



BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS

- Burr, C. B., ed. <u>Medical History of Michigan</u>, 2 vols. Minneapolis and St. Paul: Bruce Publishing Co., 1930.
- Clark, Thomas D. <u>Pills, Petticoats, and Plows: The Southern Country Store</u>. New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1944.
- Cook, James. Remedies and Rackets: The Truth About Patent Medicines Today. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1958.
- Cramp, Arthur J. <u>Nostrums and Quackery</u>. 3 vols. Chicago: American Medical Association, 1912-1936.
- Duffy, John. <u>The Healers: The Rise of the Medical Establishment.</u>
 New York: McGraw-Hill Book., 1976.
- Fishbein, Morris. A <u>History of the American Medical Association</u>, 1847 to 1947. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1947; reprint ed., New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1969.
- _____. <u>The New Medical Follies</u>. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927.
- Fuller, George N. <u>Michigan: A Centennial History of the State and Its People</u>. 2 vols. Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1939.
- Glasscheib, H. S. <u>The March of Medicine: The Emergence and Triumph of Modern Medicine</u>. Translated by Merwyn Savill. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, Macdonald & Co., 1963.
- Holbrook, Stewart H., <u>The Golden Age of Quackery</u>. New York: Macmillan Co., 1959.
- Hopkins, Samuel Adams. <u>The Great American Fraud: Articles on the Nostrum Evil and Quackery</u>. Chicago: Colliers, 1912.
- Jackson, Charles O. <u>Food and Drug Legislation in the New Deal</u>. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970.
- Kallett, Arthur, and Schlink, F. J. 100,000 Guinea Pigs: Dangers in Everyday Foods, Drugs, and Cosmetics. New York: Grosset & Dunlop, 1933.

• -

- McNamara, Brooks. <u>Step Right Up</u>. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1976.
- Pickard, Madge E., and Buley, R. Carlyle. <u>The Midwest Pioneer: His Ills. Cures. & Doctors</u>. New York: Henry Schuman, 1946.
- Schaller, Warren E., and Carrol, Charles R. <u>Health</u>, <u>Quackery</u>, and <u>the Consumer</u>. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1976.
- Solomon, Charles. <u>The Traffic in Health</u>. New York: Navarre Publishing Co., 1937.
- Stage, Sarah. <u>Female Complaints: Lydia Pinkham and the Business of Women's Medicine</u>. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1979.
- Sullivan, Mark. <u>Our Times: The United States 1900-1925</u>. Vol. 2: <u>America Finding Herself</u>. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927.
- Young, James Harvey. <u>The Medical Messiahs: A Social History of Health Quackery in Twentieth-Century America</u>. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967.
- Medicines in America Before Federal Regulation. Princeton: Princeton Press, 1961.
- United States Pharmacopeial Convention. <u>The Physicians' and Pharmacists' Guide to Your Medicines</u>. New York: Ballantine Books, 1981.

ARTICLES

- Borough, Reuben W. "Saturday Afternoon Town." Michigan History 48 (1964):117-129.
- Brooks, Harold C. "The Brooks Appliance Company," <u>Marshall Rotary</u> Fountain Extra, 11 December 1964.
- Hughes, Larry. "Life with Grandpa: Some Personal Recollections of H. C. Brooks." <u>Marshall Rotary Fountain Extra</u>, 1978.
- McClary, Andrew. "Don't Go to Michigan, That Land of Ills." Michigan History 67 (January/February 1983):46-48.
- "Memorial Report-Calhoun County." <u>Michigan Pioneer and Historical</u>
 <u>Collections</u> 26 (1896):366.
- Stratton, Heroldene. "Nostrums Were Their Business." <u>Marshall</u> Rotary Fountain Extra, 1983.

GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS

A. United States

Department of Agriculture. Food and Drug Administration.

Administrative Files. Suitland, Maryland. Washington National Records Center. Accession 63A-292.

Advertisement Clipping Files. Washington, D.C. National Archives. Record Group 88.

Notices of Judgment under the Food and Drug Act. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1907-1933.

Seizure Files. Suitland, Maryland. Washington National Records Center. Accession 59A-2098.

Federal Security Administration, Food and Drug Administration. Seizure Files. Suitland, Maryland. Washington National Records Center. Accession 59A-2098.

Federal Trade Commission.

<u>Decisions.</u> Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1934-1939.

Internal Revenue Service.

Internal Revenue Assessment Lists for Michigan, 1862-1866. Washington, D.C.: National Archives Microfilm Publication, M773, 1973.

Post Office Department.

Fraud Dockets. Washington, D.C. National Archives. Record Group 28.

Transcripts of Hearings of Fraud Cases. Washington, D.C. National Archives. Record Group 28.

B. Michigan

Bureau of Labor and Industry. Annual Reports of the Bureau of Labor, and Industrial Statistics. Lansing: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., State Printers, 1900-1920.

Census of the State of Michigan, 1904. Lansing: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., State Printers, 1906.

Compiled Laws, 1970. Ann Arbor: Lithocrafters, Inc., 1971.

Dairy and Food Commission. <u>Twenty-first Annual Report of the Dairy and Food Commissioner</u>. Lansing: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., State Printers, 1915.

C. Calhoun County

- County Clerk's Office. Records of Births, Deaths, Marriages, and Divorces. Marshall, Michigan.
- Probate Office. Probate Office. Marshall, Michigan.
- Register of Deeds Office. Record of Deeds and Mortgages. Marshall, Michigan.

D. Marshall

- <u>Charter and Ordinances of the City of Marshall</u>. Detroit: Detroit Free Press Mammoth Book & Job Printing House, 1861.
- <u>Charter and Ordinances of the City of Marshall and Rules of the Common Council.</u> Marshall: Z. H. Denniscn, Printer, 1890.

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

- Ann Arbor, Michigan. Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.
- Battle Creek, Michigan. Willard Public Library, Ross Coller Collection.
- Battle Creek, Michigan. William L. Page, private collection.
- Big Rapids, Michigan. Verna Marple, private collection.
- Chicago, Illinois. American Medical Association, Division of Library and Archival Services.
- East Lansing, Michigan. Russell B. Nye Collection of Popular Culture, Michigan State University.
- Marshall, Michigan. Ricard Carver, private collection.
- Marshall, Michigan. Marshall Historical Society Archives.

LOCAL HISTORIES AND ATLASES

- Biographical Review of Calhoun County, Michigan. Chicago: Hobart and Mather, 1904.
- Gardner, Washington. <u>History of Calhoun County. Michigan.</u> 2 vols. Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1913.
- History of Branch County, Michigan. Philadelphia: Everts & Abbot, 1879.
- History of Calhoun County, Michigan. Philadelphia: Everts & Abbot, 1877.
- <u>Illustrated Atlas of Calhoun County</u>. Fort Wayne: Atlas Publishing Co., 1894.
- Portrait and Biographical Album of Calhoun County, Michigan. Chicago: Chapman Bros. 1891.

DIRECTORIES

- Battle Creek City Directories. Various titles, publishers, and dates, 1871-1940.
- <u>Calhoun County Business Directories.</u> Various publishers and dates. 1869-1873.
- <u>Coldwater</u> <u>City</u> <u>Directories</u>. Various publishers and dates. 1900-1940.
- Farm Journal Illustrated Rural Directory of Calhoun County, Michigan. Philadelphia: William Atkinson, Co., 1916.
- <u>Jackson</u>, <u>Marshall</u> and <u>Battle Creek Directory</u>, 1860-61. Detroit: Loomis & Talbot, 1860.
- <u>Marshall City Directories</u>. Various titles, publishers, and dates. 1885-1971.
- <u>Michigan Gazetteer and Business Directories</u>. Various publishers and dates. 1843-1940.
- Physicians, Dentists, and Druggists Directory of Michigan. Chicago: Galen, Gonsier & Co., 1893.
- Polk's Medical and Surgical Register of the United States and Canada. Detroit: R. L. Polk., 1900.

Publishers' Commercial Union. <u>Advertiser Reporter</u>. Various places and dates. 1886-1922.

Record of Service of Michigan Volunteers in the Civil War, 1861-1865. Kalamazoo: Ihling Bros. & Everhard, n.d.

NEWSPAPERS

Battle Creek Enquirer & News, 1900-1933.

Battle Creek Journal, 20 June 1862.

<u>Calhoun County Patriot</u> (later the <u>Marshall Democratic Expounder</u>, and finally the <u>Marshall Expounder</u>), 1838-1910.

Marshall Daily Chronicle (later the Marshall Evening Chronicle) 1879-1980.

Marshall Historian, 1982.

Marshall Western Statesman (later the Marshall Statesman), 1841-1891.

PERIODICAL SOURCES OF PATENT MEDICINE ADVERTISING

Black Book Detective, n.d., c. 1942.

Detective Novel Magazine, April 1945.

Dream World True Stories of Love and Romance, March 1932.

Family Weekly, 14 October 1984.

Inside Detective, September 1941.

Love Story Magazine, 1 December 1923.

Modern Romances, February 1934.

National Detective, January 1942.

Phantom Detective, Summer 1950.

Popular Detective, March 1950.

Ranch Romances, 25 April 1927.

Real Detective, November 1948.

Texas Rangers, March 1951.

True Confessions, August 1932.

Western Story Magazine, 2 January 1926.

INTERVIEWS

Hughes, Larry. Brooks Appliance Co., Marshall, Michigan. 8 November 1983.

Marple, Verna (Sharpsteen). Big Rapids, Michigan. 8 December 1984.

Pace, Donald C. Marshall, Michigan. 25 November 1984.

Page, William L., II. Battle Creek, Michigan. 14 December 1984.

Schnaitman, Mary Ann (Page). Marshall, Michigan. 29 October 1983.

Sinclair, Louis. Battle Creek, Michigan. 27 February 1985.

Stuart, Alfred. Marshall, Michigan. 9 October 1984.

Wetherell, Harry. Marshall, Michigan. 14 September 1984.

PATENT MEDICINE PAMPHLETS

"Gauss' Combined Treatment for Catarrh." c. 1922.

"Indigestion is the Modern Sword of Damocles." Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets. c. 1912.

"Perfect Manhood or Vigor of Youth." Ox-o External Treatment.
c. 1922.

"Sharpsteen's Lavender Ointment." c. 1880.