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## MEDICINAL VESSELS OF THE FIRST GILDED AGE (1870-1929): PROPERTIES OF PROMISE OR HOKUM OF FALSE HOPE?

By

### DAVID L. COOK

Under the Direction of Jeffrey B. Glover, PhD

#### ABSTRACT

From the excavation of Atlanta's first municipal dumps, a collection of the city's oldest and most popular medicines has been analyzed. The process of identifying and exploring the stories behind the medicinal vessels of the Metro Atlanta Rapid Transit Authority (MARTA) archaeological collection has led to several paths of inquiry. One such avenue is a look at local manufacturers, their impact, and their products.

Focused on embossed glass bottles from 1860-1920 this thesis investigates the roles of medicinal bottles as symbolic for Atlanta's Gilded Age. I gathered detailed information on nearly 100 products represented by 222 vessels. These artifacts are derived from three sites unearthed during the MARTA excavations conducted by Georgia State University archaeologists during the late-1970s. Each site represents an urban dump in a different way: core, periphery, and

neighborhood. Beyond analyzing the vessels, special attention is given to the economic connections between Atlanta's growth and medicine producers.

INDEX WORDS: Archaeology, Historical archaeology, Glass bottles, MARTA, Atlanta history,

Proprietary medicines, Gilded age, Garbology

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### PROPERTIES OF PROMISE OR HOKUM OF FALSE HOPE?

by

### DAVID L COOK

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

2014

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December 2014

#### **DEDICATION**

I would like to extend my most sincere thanks and apologies to all of those people who have endured the results of my passionate labor to complete this research. First of all to my lovely wife Krystal Cook, and our brilliant children Xavier and Maya: thank you for your patience over the years. Thanks to all of the close friends who listened to me riff, rant, and gnaw away at their patient ears: Robbie Finch, Jordan Ososki, Je' Atkins, Amber Powers, Christos Karpis, Mike "Paul Simon" Johnson, Emma Mason, Meagan Moran, Brittany Thompson. I was only able to complete this work because of all of the people who have loved and supported me throughout this process.

> Dedicated to the memory of Craig Adam Crosby, *my brother not forgotten*. 1984-2008

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#### **1** INTRODUCTION

In the heart of Atlanta, the nation's fifth most populous metropolitan area, sits a university that hosts an archaeological collection that chronicles the city's past. I was thrilled to be afforded the opportunity to engage with the massive collection and carve out my own research amongst the forgotten histories of my home city. After months of preliminary work, helping with methods courses and familiarizing myself with the collection and its past, I eventually settled on an aspect of the collection to study in detail. I decided that for the city borne onto the front page of the world by a soft drink – nee patent medicine, the history of such medicinal enterprises, via the vessels left behind, would be my focus.

I have learned a tremendous amount about Atlanta's history and landscape, and the businesses that are indelibly linked to both, in my research. The vessels that carried promises of salvation from deleterious health conditions in the past inspire certain awe as I behold them. From the process of creating the glass, to producing the concoctions, to marketing them as remedies, to depositing them below the streets; the stories implied in every embossed glass vessel interests me now in a way that makes further inspection of every bottle and their makers so hard to resist.

With the patient guidance of numerous colleagues, professors, and experts, I have gathered detailed information on nearly 100 different products represented by 220 glass vessels or vessel fragments. These artifacts are derived from three sites unearthed as part of the Metro Atlanta Rapid Transit Authority (MARTA) excavations conducted by Georgia State University archaeologists during the late-1970s, led by Dr Roy S Dickens, Jr. Each of the sites represents an urban dump in a different way: core, periphery, and neighborhood. The core site lies at the center of the city among dense populations and daily activity, the periphery site is a few miles

northwest of city center in what was then a sparsely populated area, and the neighborhood dump lies about a mile east of city center representing a medium distance or a moderate example in relation to population density.

The behaviors, fears, and passions of late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Atlantans can be glimpsed from these deposits. The illnesses they faced or wanted to avoid can be ascertained by studying the compounds people were consuming. Additionally, national trends in medicine production, marketing, and consumption are revealed through careful research related to the artifacts dumped as waste so long ago.

While my initial goal was to reveal class dynamics associated with the consumption of patent medicines and nostrums (meaning ineffective compounds sold as effective medicine), what my research revealed was more subtle and far-reaching. The consumption of patent medicines was prevalent across class lines for the better part of their roughly 75-year heyday, spanning from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century to the 1930's. Some products may have been marketed toward specific populations or at the expense of others. For example, Burdock's Blood Bitters ads suggested them as an alternative to the Irish love of whiskey and other nostrums played on stereotypes of Native Americans. However, the popular consumption of proprietary medicines spanned the entirety of American society (Wray 1996).

The primary focus of my research was discovering how the patent medicine boom of the First Gilded Age (see Mathews 2012; Reich 2014; Twain 1873; Zinn 2010) impacted Atlanta, in terms of consumption, trade, and landscape modification. In addressing this main question, it became important to recognize what medicines were popular in Atlanta, what medicines were produced in Atlanta, and who the major medicine producers in Atlanta were during this time frame. Finally, my analysis of three archaeological dump sites addresses how these temporally similar dumps compare and contrast in terms of depositional activity, use-life, and content. My investigation of these bottles has shed light on three aspects of Atlanta's past: 1) History of ethical and proprietary medicine producers; 2) changing marketing strategies and growing connections between various parts of the US; and 3) how conceptualizations of illness and appropriate treatments changed over the 75 years between the Civil War and the Great Depression.

The success of patent medicines of the 19<sup>th</sup> century also helped entice entrepreneurs from the primarily agrarian populations to join in the production of proprietary compounds. Additionally, the ability to net tremendous gains from cheaply made nostrums helped entrench the wealth of those already firmly rooted in production. In this sense, my research did elucidate class dynamics as they related to patent medicines. Despite not being able to identify the purchasers and their homes, I did my best to trace back from the dump sites to the store shelves, from the drugstore to the factory, the factory to the mortar and pestle, to the herbalist, to the antebellum legend of an "Indian chief" and his miraculous cure. The chain from symptom to legend is one of clouded links, although each left at least a subtle trace in the material record and the history of these vessels and their contents.

#### **1.1 Outline of Thesis**

In Chapter 2, I address a series of case studies that represent the theoretical influences on my research and compare them to the work of Dickens and the MARTA excavations. These case studies confront issues of class, consumption, agency, and landscape analysis in archaeology. Additionally, they exemplify the type of urban historical archaeological work which resulted in the collection from which my research is based.

Chapter 3details the history of the aforementioned MARTA excavations and how I came to work with the resulting archaeological collection. In this chapter I also explain the current efforts to work with the collection, a multifaceted series of research endeavors dubbed The Phoenix Project. I conclude Chapter 3 with explanations of how we envision this research will continue to aid various interested groups into the foreseeable future.

I address the actual sites from which the subset of artifacts that I analyzed was excavated from in Chapter 4. Detailing the location and histories of four sites, this chapter explains why only three of those sites were chosen for further research and what I expected to find, as well as what I was surprised to find during my analysis. Entitled Antique Garbology, I compare the three main dumps and consider why their similarities and differences are significant, couching them in the broader history of Atlanta.

Chapter 5 addresses my methodology and explains the processes that I used to approach the MARTA collection and identify and analyze each vessel. Additionally, Chapter 5 describes how I performed further research into the stories that each vessel hinted at, and how I was able to uncover them through extensive investigation of historical documents, including newspaper archives, historical journals, and the existing research of historical archaeologists and bottle collectors.

A considerable portion of this thesis is bound up in Chapter 6, which deals with the history of patent medicines and the eventual passage of the Pure Food and Drugs Act of 1906. Furthermore, I explain various results of the passage of this law. The backdrop for much of this chapter is Atlanta, Georgia. Here I focus on the agents of the city who helped rebuild after the Civil War and create an economic climate that would change the region. Moreover, I look at the ways Atlanta itself was modified by the actors who produced and sold proprietary medicines in Georgia's capitol and the businesses that maintained their prominence and influence on the lives of Atlantans.

In Chapter 7 I present the results of my research on the medicinal bottles themselves. Here I display a series of charts, graphs, and tables that represent the statistical data gathered from archaeological and historical analysis. These graphs display the frequency of products in the particular dump sites, and their targets, by which I mean the supposed "medical benefit of the product. Finally, I investigate the production locales of these products to gain access to the distribution networks at work at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

My broader analysis of the research conducted in this thesis is presented in Chapter 8. In this chapter I discuss my understanding of the relevance of my findings of each of the sites and how those results compare and contrast in the broader context of historical consumption and exchange patterns in Atlanta.

I present my final conclusions in Chapter 9. In this chapter I discuss the implications of the results of my historical research as well as the statistical analysis presented in Chapter 7. Finally, I conclude my assertions on how proprietary medicines, individually and as an industry that spawned new industries such as pharmacy and sodas, impacted the city at large. My conclusions include a brief narrative of how these larger systems may have played out in the lives of working class Atlantans during the Gilded Age.

This thesis contains an appendix that I hope will be of particular value to future researchers. The appendix is a collection of the most significant vessels from the subset that I studied. While it is not a full list of the subset's products, the products within the appendix are described in detail, including images, embossing, dimensions, manufacturers' information, source locations, site references, and short descriptions of relevant information on the specific histories of each product. The products are listed alphabetically and each begins on a separate page. I intend for this appendix to be a reference for those interested in any aspect of my research and an aid to those researching specific medicinal products from the Gilded Age.



Figure 1.1 Map of all three dump sites

### 2 THEORY: HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY AND ADDRESSING CLASS

Anthropology has long been known for focusing on the exotic, the Other. In historical archaeology, this same sentiment, bringing awareness of the poorly understood to the larger public also holds true. Most archaeological investigations, by definition, focus on bringing about an awareness of people who are no longer here today. Increasingly, archaeologists are also focusing on people who are forgotten, mis-, or underrepresented in traditional historical narratives. In this pursuit historical archaeology relies on the strengths of history to situate and corroborate specific stories. A complex dynamic is weaved through the actions of agents throughout history. The recorded events and ideas from history are poised to foil the artifacts and sites of archaeological investigation. This reciprocal interplay stands to strengthen both disciplines and elucidate even more about our collective past. This work is an attempt to give voice to the agents who do not receive starring roles in the history books, as well as discuss the roles of those who do, though rarely in this context, such as Asa Candler, Lemuel Grant, and John Pemberton. In this way I draw the connections between these major actors and everyday Atlanta citizens.

In an effort to exemplify the kinds of projects that relate to the work of the MARTA excavation, of which my research is based, I present a series of case studies from historical and public archaeology. These endeavors represent the methodological and/or theoretical approaches that influenced my own work. While my research dealt with the history of Atlanta and the patent medicine industry, these case studies illustrate the underpinnings of this research and how archaeologists have addressed issues of class, waste, patent medicine, and different challenges in urban Cultural Resource Management (CRM) archaeology.

### 2.1 Case Studies

The following case studies all relate to and inform my position in approaching my research. Each of the projects represents various aspects of the type of research that my thesis addresses or sets the stage for in future research. The first of the interconnected themes present in these case studies is that they are all urban archaeological projects, just like the MARTA collection from which my subset was derived. The second theme concomitant in these works is addressing issues of race, class, and/or ethnicity in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century US. In some of the case studies this work is performed through analysis of the built environment, while in others it is addressed from a study of the artifacts (the material reality of daily life) that people used. Finally, the third intersecting theme identified here is the need for civic engagement. While my own research does not explicitly address this, it is something that the larger work of the Phoenix Project (see below) is very much focused on.

Orser's (1994) work on the diaspora of Irish and their experiences in the United States points out that race and social status result in different material culture patterns in the archaeological record. Recognizing how to interpret these material correlates is the key aspect of this analytical pursuit. Orser ties in access to medicine to illustrate the very structural ways that race and class are enacted. This is an issue that is very much in the news headlines today in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The popular consumption of patent medicines in the post-Civil War United States fits easily within Orser's framework of the systemic maintenance of race and class in a capitalist and deeply individualist society. However, while Orser's clear distinctions between race and class are not evidenced as explicitly as I expected in the collection of medicinal bottles from Atlanta, a topic I return to below.

While my project focuses on glass bottles, I could not escape the impact that the producers of those bottles and their deposition had on Atlanta's built environment. I address the built environment from the perspective of horizontal agent-centered social construction of landscapes via daily placemaking activities. These processes can be viewed in the material correlates of the archaeological record (presence of features such as ovens or millstones, artifact assemblages, botanical remains, etc), from the design of structures and paths in terms of restricting our promoting access, as well as via referencing documentary data such as texts and inscriptions. While incorporating as many different and intricate lines of data as possible, archaeologists must also strive to develop an emic perspective of place and landscape

Individuals, through placemaking, can still leave behind enough evidence of non-state efforts to self-govern for the archaeologist to "read" their story. Numerous sites (Angelbeck 2009; Flexner 2014; Smith 2010) across the globe have through time yielded evidence that reveals non-statist urban landscapes. These neighborhood and residential sites display behavioral processes of horizontal agent interaction. Fischer describes the built environment as "a system for encoding information that the users must then decode" (Fischer 2009:443). As well, de Certeau (2011) describes the process of tactics for subverting top-down strategies for organizing the built environment to structure the behavior of individuals.

#### 2.1.1 Historical Annapolis

In his landmark work with Annapolis, Mark P Leone (1992, 1998, 2005) investigated early forms of capitalism in colonial Annapolis, considering African American identity, racism, and structural violence from a critical archaeology/Marxist perspective. The excavations focused on site planning and intentional effects of the built environment to reinforce embedded social distinctions. Leone makes good use of Foucault's (1977:201) panopticon as a key feature in

multiple levels of the landscape of Annapolis. He explicates precisely how the built environment through meticulous planning at the large-scale, embodies the intentions, fears, and desires of the owner class.

This city-scale panoptic feature allowed a physical re-entrenchment of the ideologies espoused by the enlightenment-touting class of colonial dominators in Annapolis. The citizenry was to be reminded that their behavior should be exemplary should they hope to be a part of the social exchange. They are to feel and recognize that they may be under surveillance and judged accordingly (Leone 2005). This model for a panoptic city layout was adopted in countless subsequent settlements, yet few are so strikingly obvious and well preserved as Annapolis.

As one of the primary "academic" examples of major urban excavations, Annapolis serves well to exemplify a progressive, class-conscious archaeology. Archaeologists have repeatedly shown that material culture is intimately tied to notions of class. By focusing on marginalized populations (an amalgam of gender, race, and class), Leone and others have shown that the *ways* in which things are used also reflects the performance of class and race (Leone et al. 1987; McGuire 2006; Mullins 2006, 2012; Orser 2007:44-52; Potter 1991; Shackel 1993). In Annapolis, class dynamics are laid bare in these assessments, especially by incorporating Foucauldian concepts of discipline and normativity (Foucault 1977; Mullins 2011:50-54; Shackel 1993:135).

#### 2.1.2 The Tucson Urban Renewal Project

In the late 1960's Tucson, Arizona embarked upon a major urban landscape-shaping project. The overhaul was called the Tucson Urban Renewal Project (TURP); it hired many archaeologists and had a lasting legacy on Tucson's population and preservation. The project has been critiqued from many angles, especially from a perspective of race and class in the production and elimination of place through urban renewal projects. The neighborhoods most strongly affected by the TURP were neighborhoods of color, especially Chinese and Mexican American neighborhoods. As the initial investigations moved forward entire blocks of boarded-up, abandoned former residences of Chinese laborers were discovered. The residences were largely intact, as the men had left them just before they died in the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The Tucson Urban Renewal Project was the largest historical archaeology project in Arizona and New Mexico. However, it was conducted in the area of Tucson most closely related to marginalized laborers as well as the Spanish settlement of the area. The project collected a vast array of artifacts from Spanish contact to 1920. "One of the unique features of this project was that it did not ignore post-1900 features and was the first systematically to excavate and collect artifacts from features dating as late as the 1920s" (Ayres 1991:19). This continued shift into investigating the more recent historic deposits in urban settings was pivotal to urban CRM projects.

While Ayres is able to highlight positive results of the TURP, others have criticized the end results of the project. While many of those results are outside of the scope of the archaeological investigations, the destructive results of TURP show a lack of proper community engagement on the part of archaeologists. Gomez-Novy (2003:94) goes a step further suggesting: "The sense of cultural betrayal lingers on. A profoundly important historic place has been replaced by an incoherent and confused collection of new buildings... Thirty-five years after the promise of urban renewal, downtown has yet to be reborn." The role of the archaeologist as consultant means he/she is also a facilitator. When we allow our work to be woven into immoral or

destructive projects, we are making a political statement that we approve of the project so long as we can collect artifacts first (Kintz 2010).

#### 2.1.3 Freedman's Town

In understanding the lived experience of community members through the built environment, it is best to see them as living infrastructure in the landscape. The new, gentrifying, residents of Freedmen's Town see the world outside of the homes as space, dotted by a particular set of valid places. This is an aspect of the detrimental social outcomes of spatial inversion, a process by which places of lived experience and cultural ties are eliminated to create non-places (Augé 1995) that suit the desires of capitalist consumption of place. This is a very similar pattern to what Leone describes in Annapolis, albeit through a different temporal lens.

In contrast the non-place world-view, a place-based and more factual representation of the interconnected landscape would be the *meshwork* (Ingold 2008). The experience is hollow for the gentrifiers because they are not embedded in the meshwork. They barely know it exists. For example, McDavid (2011:80) describes an afternoon of field work in Freedmen's Town during an attempt to salvage the remains of a church destroyed by developers without permission. Suddenly, four squad cars arrived at the site in response to a (new) neighbor's complaint of a naked man digging through the rubble of a crack house. The individual was actually a volunteer, an African American wearing brown shorts and t-shirt. Even the most involved members of Freedman Town's original population are assumed to be nonpeople in a nonplace. A volunteer, recovering archaeological material from an illegally demolished historic site becomes a wild, naked man, sorting trash in a crack house (McDavid 2011).

So long as our mental construction of the world involves disconnected, disempowered nonpeople scattered across a landscape of nonplaces (sites which have been divested of their meaning by capitalist/statist forces), our society will continue to abuse and neglect all sorts of populations, especially the poor. This brings us to the task of recognizing these geographic constructs and racial paradigms for what they are: convenient tools for maintaining class inequality. By isolating the landscape from those who travel through it, insulating commuters from the community, we generate a disconnection between social maladies whose roots are in fact intertwined. Through this process of disconnection, the mental construct of spatial inversion obfuscates the essential benefit of community: the empowering effects of being woven into a meshwork of agents and places.

#### 2.2 Historical Archaeology in the South

Mullins (as cited in Young 2000) asks that historical archaeologists in the South consider how we might read southernness in the archaeological record. Just as race and class are not represented in a single definitive way, so too must southern identity, thought, and behavior be divined through careful consideration of entire assemblages and consumption patterns. One collection of flatware may seem mundane and the mismatched pattern the result of Southerners clumsily flailing to emulate their northern sophisticate counterparts. Alternatively, Mullins suggests that this odd assemblage may represent culturally mediated patterns of exchange and representation (Mullins and Klein 2000:236).

Moreover, Mullins challenges critical/historical/urban archaeologists in the South to question the assumptive roles foisted upon Southerners of all kinds. The point here is that we, as archaeologists, not be lazy and superficial in adopting caricatures of the Southern people of the past or present whom we serve. Just as we must delve deeper to answer questions of how othering people of color benefits whites (Mullins 2006), we must also take care to uncover the subtle ways in which Southern agents were differently engaging with materials to identify themselves, juxtapose themselves against, or even emulate Northern Americans. Whether they understood themselves as "Others" in the American tapestry or embraced the Union into their concept of self, the story is waiting to be unearthed and told.

Today, much as in the past, Atlanta has areas of neglect and areas of investment. Through numerous examples in historical archaeology, the relationship between certain types of consumption and the disposal of material culture has been shown to relate to distinctions in social inequalities. The landscape has been shown in numerous studies to be representative of a recursive process of change where people affect and are affected by the built environment. Landscapes, as imbricated collections of places, embody the complex dynamics of power and agency taking place. In the urban landscape, the evidence of millions of processes, resultant from the actions of innumerous people throughout the city's life, results in a living palimpsest of material culture. This living palimpsest is what Dawdy (2000) refers to as a hypercultural landscape. When investigators engage with a hypercultural landscape with the goal of understanding one or more of the multiple lines of recursive place-making processes, we are able to more accurately portray the social dynamics that created it. While the prospect is a daunting one, the line between archaeology, anthropology, and geography is ever being muddled through works such as Le Projet du Garbàge (Rathje and Murphy 2001), the Ludlow Collective (McGuire 2008), and hopefully, the Phoenix Project.

### 2.3 The Phoenix Project

The Phoenix Project in Atlanta is a contemporary effort to revive The MARTA archaeological collection that resulted from excavations performed for the construction of the original MARTA rail lines. The history of MARTA is intimately entwined with the cultural history of Atlanta in the last half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. One cannot describe the relevance of MARTA construction and planning without describing the hostile dynamics of Atlanta politics of the era. From the first documents concerning modern rail transit in 1954 to the opening of the MARTA train stations in 1979, Atlanta had been a battleground for civil rights and the site of violent resistance to integration. Opposition to MARTA has also traditionally been based on race and class.

To this day, Atlantan notions of MARTA are a tangle of regret, hope, disappointment, planning, investment, race, and fear. Despite the political turmoil within which the original excavations were taking place, the fact is that the sites which were investigated incorporated a broad range of Atlantan behavioral deposits and material correlates. The artifacts, documents, notes, and images from the collection span the entirety of Atlanta's history: from pre-contact to the mid-1980s.

Since 2011, a team of GSU professors and students including multiple archaeological methods courses, undergraduate student presentations, as well as master's students have all been directly involved with uncovering, sorting, re-bagging, and preliminary digitization of the collection. In addition, we have benefited from a continued relationship with the Greater Atlanta Archaeological Society, an avocational archaeology group, which has regularly provided volunteers. The arrival, or return, of this monumental collection has afforded a new generation of future archaeologists an opportunity to gain a unique perspective on the city, the past, and our discipline.

The Phoenix Project aims to make this legacy data relevant to contemporary Atlantans, future researchers, students, urban studies and historic preservation scholars. The entire database will be incorporated into an evolving project through integration with the successful Heurist software platform. To this end, the database will also be made publicly accessible, so that one of the

Southeast's most expansive urban archaeological projects can finally provide vital information about the history of Atlanta's development from a small railroad hub to the major metropolis in the Southeast.

Further analysis of our collection will be used to explicate the social differences in the historic landscape of Atlanta. Following the works of Leone, Orser, McGuire, and others, our work in analyzing the materials located in the various 30 sites located during the MARTA excavations will use a combination of historical data and comparative analysis of the locations/places of the sites as well as of the artifacts themselves. An example of this that is especially pertinent is Orser's work with the Irish diaspora in which he describes a clear reasoning for why the marginalized populations of racial and ethnic minorities were more likely to consume patent medicines rather than prescription medicines. While patent medicine consumption occurred across classes, the heaviest use patterns were among the poor. Because of this understanding, I expected that a local dump or midden that contained a disproportionate ratio of one type of medicinal bottle over the other is likely to verify. Instead, it appears that Atlantans were fairly consistent in their consumption of patent medicines, as they relate to my sites of research and the collections produced from them.

#### **3** BACKGROUND: MARTA, GSU, AND THE PHOENIX PROJECT

The MARTA Project conducted systematic excavations associated with the construction of the Metro Atlanta Rapid Transit Authority (MARTA) heavy rail lines. In the 1970's, a team of archaeologists, students, and builders began engaging in what would become one of the largest archaeological excavation in Georgia history. The process of scraping back the layers of urban life to lay the tracks for mass transit lines was revolutionary for all involved. For Georgia State University, it meant being involved in a massive archaeological project with real historical and cultural significance to the city around. For Atlanta, it was yet another transportation marvel bolstering our metropolitan status as well as a chance to peer back into the city's past. For Archaeology, it was one of the largest projects of a then-burgeoning form: Cultural Resource Management, commonly known as salvage archaeology. As Urban Archaeology has become an ever-more popular subfield, the MARTA collection offers many different participants a variety of avenues by which to approach periods of urban settlement through nearly three dozen sites and numerous temporal frames.

#### 3.1 The MARTA Project: 1974 - 1986

Beginning in 1974, Dr. Roy S Dickens, Jr. as head of Georgia State University's archaeology lab, was commissioned by MARTA to perform initial investigations for possible heavy rail lines through Atlanta. The first contract was for a domestic site that lay within the right-of-way in one of the tightest corners of DeKalb Avenue. The site was named 9Da89 and sits between Atlanta and Decatur on the southern edge of Edgewood community. Shortly after the initial surveys and site investigations, MARTA contracted GSU archaeologists, in partnership with the Georgia Department of Transportation (GDOT) to conduct archaeological recovery work of the entire area cleared during MARTA's first phase of construction, including potential alternate routes. In essence, the MARTA rail lines followed the pattern of the interstate system by splitting the city into four quadrants. Thus, the project's surveys created a north/south and east/west transect across the city.

Determining how to most effectively excavate, in an urban construction setting, proved challenging for Dickens and colleagues. In many ways, the process of conducting urban CRM work was a learning experience for all involved. The project began just a few years after passage of the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) that required archaeological investigation on federally funded projects. From the official documents it is clear that Dickens began conducting what was largely 'salvage' work - identifying sites as they were inadvertently destroyed by construction (Dickens 1977). However, the team quickly adjusted and adapted innovative methods for working with construction crews to identify and protect sites without delaying the larger MARTA project.

While Dr. Dickens's work conducting the excavations for MARTA began as an attempt to stay one step ahead of the bulldozer, by the end the team had found their rhythm and in so doing developed strategies for conducting successful CRM investigations in urban settings. The MARTA excavations remain one of the largest archaeological investigations ever conducted in the state of Georgia, the largest and most comprehensive artifact collection of Atlanta's past, and one of the southeast region's most expansive urban archaeology projects. The potential insight into the economics of Reconstruction and its impact on the development of central cities such as Atlanta remains largely untapped, despite its obvious value to the discipline and the region.

As an early undertaking in contemporary urban archaeology, the MARTA Project served as an example of how to successfully conduct urban archaeology in a CRM context. At the time both CRM and urban archaeology were relatively new subfields or adumbrations of archaeological investigation. Therefore, much of the cooperative efforts with construction crews and contemporary local populations were setting standards for performing investigations in these situations. The decade of the 1970s saw a handful of major urban CRM projects conducted across the United States in accordance with, the then new, NHPA of 1966. This has continued to have a major impact on the discipline as today the vast majority archaeological investigations in the United States are performed as CRM projects. Dr. Dickens wrote extensively on how to maintain a collection in perpetuity by approaching collections and documents as permanent, yet irreplaceable resources, as well as on interpreting behavioral patterns in material culture excavated in urban and historical contexts (Dickens 1982; Dickens and Bowen 1980).

Urban Archaeology is archaeological investigation of, or within urban settings. The performance of archaeological excavations within urban settings can present a whole suite of challenges not found in more remote settings. One challenge faced by the original GSU/MARTA team in conducting excavations in Atlanta was the degree of disturbance that the processes of demolition and construction caused to sites. A prime example of this is found in Dickens's initial impact study (Dickens 1977), in which he describes the loss of two sites due to construction crews tearing into, essentially excavating, and redistributing the soil and material culture to be used as fill in numerous locations. All of the information related to context and provenience for these sites was forever lost. In response the team developed a more engaged and anticipatory method for observing construction processes in hopes of recognizing sites as they were uncovered. To this end, Dickens believed they were subsequently successful (Carnes and Dickens 1979).

The vast majority of the collection of artifacts is the result of domestic and municipal depositional behaviors in Atlanta from 1880's to 1930's. The artifacts recovered during the

MARTA excavations are predominantly from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. At least 50 percent of them were deposited between 1890 and 1920, predominantly from two sites: 9Fu91, the "municipal crematory", and 9Da89, known as the Edgewood Dump.

The collection is the result of extensive excavations that took place all along the MARTA transects, spanning both Atlanta and Decatur. A team of Georgia State University (GSU) professors and students in the mid-late 1970's was responsible for all of the archaeological investigation. This investigation process included excavations, ethnographic data/oral histories, historical research, laboratory analysis, thorough numbering, and a series of curation techniques. While Dickens had begun work on what he called "computerizing" the data, which at the time involved creating an overwhelming series of detail report forms for each artifact and subsequent conversion into punch-cards for early computer data-processing technology, the process was never completed due to Dr. Dickens' untimely death in May of 1986 (Ward, 1988:227; Coe 1995:38).

To meet the ethical standards expected of a practicing public/critical archaeologist, one must effectively engage with the public. In a public archaeology sense, the public could be anyone outside of the profession and includes anyone in the world or the future (Hirst 2010). For the Phoenix Project our primary concern is to engage with local populations, young people, students, and interested parties such as avocational groups or enthusiasts.

Because much of the public engagement with local populations that took place during the original investigations appears to have been casual and spontaneous, little of Dr. Dickens efforts seem aimed at performing what might be considered engaging public archaeology by today's standards. However, Dr. Dickens was careful, organized, and meticulous in ensuring that all information possible was recorded and preserved for future access to archaeologists.

### 3.2 The Phoenix Project: 2011 - Present

Jumping ahead to the present day, working with legacy data presents archaeologists with opportunities as well as challenges. Dickens, in an essay that is as prescient as it is thorough and technical, implores archaeologists and curators to "begin to treat archaeological specimens and records as an irreplaceable, but reusable, resource" (in Eubanks 1981:63). While warning against common laboratory practices that can often damage materials if meticulous care is not employed, Dickens also reminds us that the discipline is likely to need these materials as unexcavated sites become rarer over time. He was right to be concerned. Today, funding is exceedingly difficult to come by, and collections housed in perpetuity need not collect dust. Rather, they provide students and researchers with an opportunity to build upon the efforts of previous scholars like Dickens. As Vitelli (2012:4) notes, we have "an ethical obligation to redefine stewardship as something other than benign neglect". It is with this sentiment in mind that we began the Phoenix Project as a contemporary effort to re-enliven this legacy data to make it accessible to scholars and the public.

The major focus of the Phoenix Project today is the digitization of the collection. Digitization involves data entry, scanning of field notes, reports, and maps, as well as the transformation of those data into an accessible dataset via the web. An archaeological project is only as good as its notes and records. This is particularly true when working with legacy data. No one from the original team of excavators is working with the collection today. Instead, an entirely new generation of students is engaging with a massive collection whose analysis was essentially paused for 30 years. My work is just a small, but important component of this larger effort. While today the Phoenix Project is not prepared to offer public access to the artifacts unearthed by Dickens nor the materials produced via his investigations (e.g. Specimen Catalogs, photographs, HARAS forms, original student documents, etc), our long-term goals certainly do include making this information available to Atlantans and the world. The first step is to engage with the massive project ourselves. Throughout this process we hope to better understand the full scope of Dickens' work and what this collection has to say about Atlanta's past. The next step is to streamline and reorganize the data so that contemporary and future scholars/students might have the opportunity to further investigate and extrapolate information from the collection. Only then will we be able to offer useful insight and interpretation for the local and global community.

The Phoenix Project plans to continue to assess and curate both the collection of artifacts that resulted from the original excavations as well as the original documents created in the process of conducting the excavations. This involves two major efforts: preservation and digitization of the MARTA collection. Each effort is crucial to make the collection, artifacts and documents, accessible and useful to artifacts and the public. Digitization is a slower process involving the tedious task of transcribing all of the accompanying documents into spreadsheets and electronic formats. This includes transcribing each of the more than 100,000 entries in the original specimen catalogues, scanning all original photographs, maps, documents, and reports. Digitization also involves verifying and often what amounts to translating original documents and notation.

Understanding, transcribing, and streamlining data for the collection is a crucial step in making the legacy data available to researchers as well as public consumers of the information gathered in the original excavations. As the collection spans the range of what Dickens defined as Atlanta's Industrial period, 1850-present (Dickens 1977:12), the data stands to be useful to
urban studies in a variety of fields, but most obviously historical and urban archaeology. Additionally, the history of the city is interesting to many residents and tourists making accessibility a goal for public outreach as well. Furthermore, the ability to post this information onto the internet with an interactive, illustrative, and adaptable format via online software means that people from all across the planet will have access to the information we are able to present about the collection. In this way, map products, raw data, images, videos, and scanned original documents can all be viewed in an integrated fashion bringing the larger collection to life through continued engagement.

Preservation is the second key component to our obligations to curate the collection in perpetuity. To ensure proper preservation of the MARTA collection, the Phoenix Project will involve housing the artifacts in climate controlled conditions, including dehumidifiers for all storage facilities. In addition, fireproof and acid free document storage is an eventual goal of the project. While all of the desired aspects of long-term storage are not yet available due to funding limitations, in the meantime we have the hefty task of re-bagging and carefully and accurately labeling the new bags with the same level of care and detail Dickens and his students applied so long ago. Today we are using archaeological quality 6mm clear plastic zip lock bags for storing artifacts. These bags will replace the brown paper bags and rubber bands used in the '70s. The original boxes, which were quite large and required custom shelving, have already been replaced by medium-sized "banker" boxes. Currently, the entire collection is stored in 469 of these corrugated boxes, but continued re-bagging and organization will likely result in additional boxes.

The results of the Phoenix Project will be a highly accessible online database that integrates all of the available lines of research and information associated with the MARTA collection. As public archaeologists our efforts are ultimately an attempt to engage the public, the descent populations impacted by the original depositional activities and associated material correlate, the populations impacted by the construction of the MARTA rail lines, and the populations of today and tomorrow. Our goal is to produce a set of data that can aid future research and interaction between academic archaeology and the people we work with and for. As a native Atlantan, my goal is to investigate and keep alive discussion and research opportunities on the city that I am a part of and that is a part of who I am.

#### **4** THE SITES: ANTIQUE GARBOLOGY

Focusing on multiple dump sites, including the former municipal dumps/incinerators for Atlanta and a local neighborhood dump, provides a glimpse into the lifestyles of Atlantans. Additionally, these reveal suggestions as to which groups of Atlantans were using these sites. Large quantities of glass bottles and ceramics may simply be signs of what remained through the incineration process, yet many bottles in the municipal dump bear embossed names of the nearby Atlanta Brewing Company, suggesting that proximity plays a large role in sourcing the items. Many of the MARTA collection's most significant and impressive artifacts were found within the dump sites, 9Fu91and 9Da89, yet the context of each site is vastly different. However, the difference in these sites is exciting for the purpose of contrast.

While 9Fu91 was the municipal landfill for roughly 50 years, 9Da89 was a neighborhood dump in the Edgewood community for approximately one year with the purpose of back filling a ravine. The Edgewood dump site would subsequently be the site of a house shortly after filling and covering the trench with a red clay cap (Carnes and Dickens 1979). Because of the variation in both location and context the most promising aspect of the sites is what the material culture within can tell us about the Atlanta's past. Additionally, Dickens asserts that despite the massive number of artifacts removed during construction and excavation at both 9Fu91 and 9Da89, each site still contains a vast amount of cultural material unexcavated and undisturbed (Carnes and Dickens 1979). This means that in the future, should the need, funding, or new investigative techniques arise, further in situ engagement with these deposits can be conducted by archaeologists.

Originally, Bowen gave an estimate for the depositional dates of 9Fu91 deposit as 1890-1920. However, in 1978 Carnes was able to further narrow this range down to 1892-1915. The

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municipal incinerator at 9Fu91 was again in operation by 1920 as hauling refuse to the Maddox Park dump (9Fu114) was considered to labor-intensive and time consuming. With a more efficient and higher capacity furnace established by the Destructor Company out of New York, the Municipal Crematory was able to keep up with demand for several more years before a more modern garbage collection and disposal system was established. This is one scenario where automobile (garbage trucks) technology was more beneficial than devastating to the health of Atlantans. In the 1870s, Atlanta's population reached almost 22,000, which created the necessity for extensive public utilities and sanitary services (Carnes and Dickens 1979:7). "By the 1900s, city services such as garbage collection, fire protection, a rudimentary sewer system, and scattered electrical and gaslight lines were available to some residents" (Bowen, et al 1977:15). However, historical records suggest that small garbage dumps, at the neighborhood and household level, were prevalent even into the late 1920s (Carnes and Dickens 1979, Ross and Webb 1988).

One such neighborhood dump that I initially investigated was near the corner of Garnett and Forsyth Streets. The site had a rubbish-filled well and gave a peek into the depositional activity of a single, or perhaps as many as a half-dozen residences surrounding the well. The context and location of the site was interesting and had several important associations (the adjacent house was once the home of Jacob Elsas, owner of the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mill, Fordist father of Cabbagetown). Unfortunately, the content was narrow in form and the most promising "probables" identified from the site turned out to be blake-shaped flavoring compound bottles. Some of these recessed-face rectangular vessels were unembossed. The embossed examples were produced by Saurer's Extracts or Greever-Lochtspeich. Both companies specialized in food additives. Initially the potential for these compounds to be used in flavoring or masking medicines was considered. However, further research suggests this conclusion to be unlikely and un-testable. For this reason site 9Fu118 was not under further consideration for one of the main sites of this research.

My inability to clearly and indisputably identify medicinal bottles at 9Fu118 highlights the reason I chose the three sites for study that I did. They all had large collections of embossed medicinal bottles that allowed me to generate a more robust sample size that I felt was needed in this first investigation of medicinal bottles from the MARTA collection. Below I describe the physical location of each site and provide historical background on them.

# 4.1 9Fu114 – Maddox Park – The Mayson-Turner Dump

Located in the Northwest corner of 19<sup>th</sup> century Atlanta's fringe, the first municipal dump for Atlanta was over three miles away from city center. Described as the intersection of Turner and Mayson Ferries Rd (Gandy and Draper 1978), today the Bankhead MARTA transit station sits just north of the park. The dump was likely used unofficially for years before becoming an official city dump site. By the late 1880's Atlanta was sending tons of garbage by wagon load to the dump. At that time it was referred to as the Mayson-Turner dump (Gandy and Draper 1978:6), today it is known as Maddox Park. Ten years later, an incinerator was installed at the site, along with substantial infrastructure for dealing with the tremendous amounts of nightsoil, animal wastes, and household garbage that was delivered on a daily basis (Webb and Roth 1988). Structures at the site included a blacksmith shop, stables, residences, temporary hospitals, and home for "homeless girls". The site even held a wheelwright for the numerous wagons and carts employed by the sanitation department (Wheaton et al. 1988:11).

Several issues exist surrounding the numbering of this site. While the Maddox Park excavations do not show up in any of Dickens' reports, the site number 9Fu111 is conspicuously

missing from an otherwise consecutive list of sites. The site number 9Fu114 *is* in his site list, but only as a "ceramic water pipe" that is listed as a single in-tact feature. The official excavations at Maddox Park took place in 1988, ten years after the excavation of Dickens' 9Fu114 and two years after his untimely death. The artifacts and site catalogue in the MARTA collection associated with the Maddox Park Dump were listed attributed to 9Fu111. However, in the state site files, the forms for 9Fu114 show an original number of 9Fu111, but it has been scratched out and replaced with 9Fu114. This discrepancy remains unexplained and unresolved. In the light of these issues, I have decided to follow the official SHPO documents and refer to the Maddox Park/Mayson-Turner Dump site as 9Fu114.

Most activity at Maddox Park ended around 1900, including the stabling of the sanitation department's mules and horses, which were moved beside the Hulsey/Rhodes site. While minor dumping may have continued in Maddox Park, by 1910 the site was quiet and had been scheduled to become a park for recreation, including a pool and tennis court (Reed 1988:12).

## 4.2 9Da89 – Edgewood Dump

The Edgewood Dump site (9Da89) was a residential dump site that was likely short-lived and primarily served to fill in a ravine for further house construction. A series of interviews and extensive research on title transfers and fire insurance maps lead to confirming a date of deposition. The 1911 Sanborn insurance map shows no dwellings on the block of DeKalb Ave between Clifton and Nelms Roads. The 1924 map shows two houses on the same block. These maps alone only narrowed the date down to a 13 year period.

However, the most conclusive records were actually the deeds for the land. The deeds for two houses on this block of DeKalb show that they were sold in 1915. The Grantee Index shows that the property was sold to a Mr. Buchanan in 1911, and there was mention of an as yet vacant and unnumbered house on the lot. This confirmed that the house was built sometime during 1911. The site was clearly a ravine prior to this, although the residents who were interviewed in the late 1970s did not recall a dumpsite at that location but did seem to remember a small, fetid pond. This supports the conclusion that the dump was only active for a short period (Gandy and Draper 1978). Despite these conclusions, Bowen et al (1977:15) describe the neighborhood dump as beginning in the 1890's.



Figure 4.1 Photo of 9Da89 deposit (after Dickens and Bowen 1980:Figure 10)

## 4.3 9Fu91 – Municipal Crematory at Hulsey/Rhodes

According to reports from early Atlanta newspapers, research, and city government, the Municipal Crematory was an incinerator and dumping ground near the intersection of Hulsey and Rhodes streets just a few blocks away from the Five Points area of downtown. An almost identical excerpt as the earlier one above is found in the north/south line report written in 1979, except it contained a description of the location and perimeter of 9Fu91. The boundaries were "Third Street on the north, Chestnut Street on the west, Atlanta Avenue on the south, and Waddell Street on the east" (Carnes and Dickens 1979:7). This was the second crematory in Atlanta, installed in 1899 by the Lester Furnace Company, a local firm, under contract with the city. This was a shift back to in-town destruction of waste, rather than the Westside outskirts of the Maddox Park dump (Webb and Roth 1988: Appendix B).



Figure 4.2 Site Plan for 9Fu91 (after Dickens 1979:62)





The central site was only used for two years before the Lester Furnace caught fire and was destroyed. While it was replaced within the year, the interim saw renewed reliance on the Maddox Park dump. The new crematory was built and operated by New York's Destructor Company on the same location as the Lester Furnace had been. The Destructor furnace was then the main depositional site for Atlanta's collected garbage after 1902 (Reed 1988:12).

## **5 METHODOLOGY**

The methodology for this thesis can be practically divided into two main categories: archaeological analysis and historical research. First, I reviewed the excavation reports and data on the collection and then performed the archaeological analysis of the vessels themselves. This involved reading several official and preliminary reports from the original excavation, as well as meticulously combing through the associated artifact catalogues for evidence of medicinal vessels in the collection. Second, I investigated the histories of each of the products and manufacturers associated with the medicinal vessels that I identified in the collection, paying special attention to their relationship to Atlanta. As is the case in historical archaeology, my research is informed by the interplay between these two data sets: artifacts and historical documents. While they are frequently complimentary, they can also conflict one another. Parsing out the most likely scenario is not always a simple task.

## 5.1 Archaeological Analysis

The artifacts analyzed in this research were embossed glass medicine bottles manufactured and/or sold between Reconstruction and the Great Depression. The bottles under investigation include both Ethical and Proprietary medicines, although many products would not fit the contemporary concept of the word medicine, and many more blurred the lines between ethical and proprietary. While many products initially considered for the project fell under the more peripheral category of cosmetics and would have been on drugstore and domestic shelves side-by-side, product advertisements were compared to differentiate those who made "medical" claims versus those that made more practical claims. For example: although Kendall's Spavin Cure was technically a liniment, the product's ads promised it would cure numerous serious conditions, whereas Jergens Lotion only claimed to moisturize chapped skin.

Glass vessel embossing is crucial to product analysis in my study. Embossing is defined as "raised letters and symbols created on the glass through use of fullsize moulds, either blown, pressed, or machine-made" (Jones 1989:17). This was the most common form of commercial marking on containers in the 19th century. For producers in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, unique vessel forms and embossed labels discouraged imposters. For producers in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, unique vessel forms and embossed labels discouraged imposters. In addition, it was clear that little evidence of paper labeling would remain on the vessels, as most of the artifacts had been through the destructive processes associated with discard, deposit, and decomposition associated with landfills. Without embossed labels on the bottles it would be very difficult to identify a product with any certainty, and more importantly to differentiate medicine bottles from non medicinal ones. Along with product information, embossing can aid in dating glass vessels to a more narrow date range than other aspects of glass vessel form such as mold/blowing techniques (Nayton 2000:172). While pontil scars and mold seams can be useful, typically they give broader ranges for dating and can be vague on some vessels. Embossed labels serve to confirm the type/brand of product, as well as adding another layer of information to be analyzed, thereby aiding in attributing a possible date of manufacture (Nayton 2000:172).

Narrowing my investigation to a subset of bottles with embossed labels helps control for confusion of one product with another. In addition, aiding in the identification process, embossing helps elucidate the type of products we have evidence of in these vessels. Therefore, information about the promises, contents, effects, and public perceptions of the medicines in the MARTA collection can be revealed by investigating the embossed labels in conjunction with other physical characteristics. Many of the glass objects deposited into the dumps studied here were unidentifiable. This was either because they were shattered into unrecognizably small fragments or they lacked diagnostic features. Often in midden or dump features the process of deposition either destroys the artifacts or the artifact's prior destruction leads to deposition. In such conditions, specific information about the contents of a medicinal vessel is typically relegated to embossed information on the bottle's exterior. While bases can be embossed with crucial information about who made the bottle, information about contents or the proprietary individual or company who made the medicine is most often embossed on the body panels of a bottle. Two exceptions from the subset come to mind: PE-RU-NA and Angier's Petroleum Emulsion. Both of these products relied more heavily on paper labels rather than embossed faces. On both of these products the only embossing to identify them was found on the base of the vessels. Angier's simply had the product's name embossed on the base. PE-RU-NA only had the initials of the proprietor on the base, requiring a bit more effort to confirm the product.

Although eliminating vessels that are unembossed from the subset reduces the sample size, this process also increases the accuracy of analysis. For example, many of the small unembossed vessels may have been homeopathy vials. These vessels are typically narrow, thin-walled cylinders with cork closures (Munsey 1997), as ours were, although none of the potential homeopathy vials in our collection had corks in-tact. However, describing them as homeopathic is only inference and far from confirmed. Confirming the original contents would be nearly impossible given available analytic techniques for this research. Furthermore, even residual contents would prove difficult for analysis as homeopathic nostrums contain only an infinitesimal amount of active ingredients. For these reasons, vessels such as these were not

considered. It should be mentioned that this entirely different subset of medicinal products would shine an interesting light on the various forms of therapies incorporated by Atlantans.

Another important, yet nearly impossible to confirm, subset of bottles were unembossed pharmacy bottles. These vessels usually had a traditional form that suggests medicinal products: blake bases, recessed panels for paper labels, union ovals, embossed increments along the side for measuring contents/doses, and/or tapered necks and flared mouths for pouring small amounts rather than drinking directly from the bottle, and on, and on. It was quite common for pharmacists and druggists to mix medicines directly for consumers at the drugstore. Sometimes these were done at the behest of a physician via prescription. However, the rules governing dispensation were practically non-existent prior to 1906. As mentioned below, Rankin's obituary suggests that he played a pivotal role in substantiating pharmacy as a legitimate practice in Georgia (Ga. Pharm. Assoc. 1892:110). The larger firms had pharmacy bottles embossed with their name and location. Others likely used generic glass vessels, but certainly many medicines were sold without the kind of specific embossing needed to identify them today. These products and concoctions cannot be recognized although, undoubtedly, many of their vessels are present in the collection.

With the focus on embossed bottles, several types of resources and leads were useful for identification and chasing down manufacturers' and medicines' histories. One of the most useful collections of information on glass vessels was the Society for Historical Archaeology's website (<u>www.sha.org</u>). As a nexus of historical archaeological insight and inquiry, the SHA bottle guides were invaluable to this research. Furthermore, the SHA provided links to other important collections of information on medicine bottles of the era, leading the research to productive results. One of the more useful web-based resources was Bill Hunt's Medicine Bottle Glass

Index, a National Park Service-sponsored website from the Midwest Archaeological Center (<u>www.cr.nps.gov/mwac/bottle\_glass/index.html#bib</u>). This website was very useful for making a solid identification of the products and filling in any gaps in embossing from omission due to partial bottles or fragments.

In addition to the academic sources on bottles, bottle collectors, hobbyists, diggers, or looters; depending on your perspective on their activities, proudly and enthusiastically compile and display the results of their labor. While the methodology of diggers often leaves much to be desired, essentially obliterating all context and all but eliminating any chance for drawing further conclusions, their collections and compendiums are vast and detailed. Collectors like Munsey (1970), Fike (1987), Taylor (personal communication), and Meyer (2012) provided tremendous amounts of confirmation and comparative examples for the identification of vessels from the MARTA Collection. While ethically and methodologically less than ideal from an archaeological perspective, the value of their research and information in these collections should not be overlooked. Moreover, their enthusiasm and genuine interest in the stories these vessels can tell us about the past is inspiring, even if the methodology of some is less than scientific.

### 5.1.1 Depositional Lag of Glass Vessels

The dating of artifacts is an important question for any archaeological investigation and is not always as straight forward as one might think. As discussed by Hill (1982), the processes of production, consumption, and deposition of glass vessels depend on a variety of factors. Hill (1982) describes eight stages of bottle use-life in her multi-site review of depositional lag. Her analysis suggests a typical lag-rate of 10 years for medicinal bottles (1982:298). However, at the Edgewood site the lag for medicinal bottles appears to be much higher. While there is some discrepancy in the finished work (text suggests 12.4 years, while graphs suggest 22.4 years) the unexpected length of lag-time is explained by the contemporary understanding of patent medicines as immoral due to the then-recently revealed high alcohol content of these types of products (Hill 1982).

As noted in Dickens' original report (Dickens and Bowen 1980), historical records show that the neighborhood of Edgewood had decided to remain dry during the period of deposition. In addition, the lag time for alcohol containing products was much lower than expected and their frequency was low. This suggests that the products were purchased recently and consumed quickly; likely in relation to midwinter celebrations such as Christmas, as they coincide with the central layer of the deposit based on faunal remains (Dickens and Bowen 1980).

After reviewing the work of Dickens (1980) and Hill (1982) concerning the depositional activity at the Edgewood Dump and the apparent depositional lag of some vessels, a possible alternative explanation occurred to me. It seems likely that this dump was in use, albeit moderately, for a number of years before the final push to in-fill the ravine. Given the established precedent of using neighborhood dumps in Atlanta, it stands to reason that some of the vessels identified at 9Da89 were in fact deposited several years prior to 1910, thereby giving the impression of substantial lag in the deposition of vessels. While this has not been substantiated, explaining the possibility here may aid in abridging the shock of prior claims to such considerable lag times, especially in light of the internal discrepancies found in Hill's work on depositional lag at the Edgewood Dump.

# 5.2 Historical Research on Products and Producers

The second phase of my engagement with the artifacts of my subset of the MARTA collection was historical research. This work involved creating a list of known information, primarily product names, and searching various databases for further information associated with

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these products. While the SHA website was incredibly useful, oftentimes my quest led me to Google for clues and further sources of information. However, my use of Google centered around historic journals such as the Era Druggists and the Southern Pharmaceutical Journal. Additionally, the archives of the Atlanta Constitution available through Georgia State University's library was a valuable asset revealing not only articles about the establishment, staffing, operation, and advertisements of several firms, but also for interesting articles detailing public interactions between local druggists. Time spent reading through historic journals and newspapers while performing this research in the past few years easily totals several hundred hours.

Research into the histories of the products of the subset also focused on source locations of the individual products which I divided into regional groupings to investigate distribution patterns. Following official US Census Bureau classifications the term "Southern United States" includes Georgia, the seven states that border Georgia, Kentucky, Virginia, West Virginia, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Texas, Maryland, District of Columbia, and Delaware. While the last three seem to hardly fit cultural notions of "Southern" from a Georgian perspective, I needed a clear demarcation to follow. With this in mind, I classified products like Bromo-Seltzer, made in Baltimore, Maryland, as a "Southern" medicine. On the other hand, medicines from Ohio were considered Midwestern. To further exemplify the difference between regional proximity and proximity of cities, Baltimore is nearly 200 miles further away from Atlanta than is Hamilton, Ohio. By considering source locations, I hoped to reveal what role, if any, geographic proximity and cultural notions of place played in the decisions of consumers in the post-war south.

# 5.3 The MARTA Project's Documentary Record

In analyzing the medicinal vessels of the MARTA Collection, the extensive records of Dr Roy Dickens, Jr. were the obvious first source for information and direction. His crew of GSU professors, students, and volunteers professionally documented their excavations and lab analysis. Dickens left behind detailed documentary records to aid in The Phoenix Project's engagement with the massive store of artifacts resulting from the MARTA excavations. While engaging with reams of handwritten catalogues can be daunting and even awkward in this digital age, The Phoenix Project only exists today because of the blessing of detailed and accessible legacy data.

These challenges of tackling legacy data and larger issues of curation in perpetuity have been in the forefront of archaeological discussions recently (Rivers-Cofield 2014; Vitelli 2012). The Phoenix Project is intimately familiar with the "problems of sampling, processing, classification, storage, and analysis" (Vitelli 2012:4) that is part and parcel to working with legacy data and older collections. However, like many archaeologists we see it as an opportunity more than a burden, a challenge yes, but also an adventure.

Dickens and colleagues organized the entire collection by accession numbers (ACC's) representing the Construction Contract Unit (CCU) and the order in which the excavation/demolition/construction was being conducted. According to Dickens:

In order to facilitate construction procedures, MARTA has divided the various rail lines into segments called Contract Construction Units (CCUs). Each CCU was then further divided into land parcels. These parcels signify previous land ownership and the order in which MARTA acquired various tracts of land. For the most part, parcels are of small size, averaging about 10,000ft<sup>2</sup> [Dickens 1977:24].

Within some CCUs were individual sites that were large enough to necessitate their own ACC number, yet most sites were small enough to be grouped with the content from the larger CCUs

and all were indentified under a single ACC. Because this thesis is focused on a specific subset of glass artifacts, the first goal was to identify large sites that might yield adequate sample sizes for comparison.

As discussed above, the first two sites selected were apparent from the beginning as they were our largest and mostly clearly defined: the Municipal Crematory (9Fu91) and the Edgewood Dump (9Da89). The third site was decided upon last, after careful consideration of several alternatives, including a dairy midden, a residential well that eventually served as a dump, and a municipal well. Ultimately, the Maddox Park Dump (9Fu114) site was chosen for its similarity of context and date to the first two sites, as well as an initial impression of relatively high quantities of medicinal vessels.

In approaching each site and the associated shelves of boxed artifacts, the catalogue was first combed over several times for references to glass vessels generally. More specifically, close attention was given to listings for embossed bottles, whole bottles, and embossed fragments. The most definite entries were those that specified that the associated artifact was actually a "medicine bottle". Each reference to the aforementioned artifact types found in the catalogue was then transposed into a master list of 'probables', which were then 'truthed' via extensive searching, identifying, and analyzing of each entry's associated artifact among the nearly 500 boxes of the collection.

With the list of probables, each artifact was analyzed for a set of criteria specific to medicinal bottles and glass production during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. For instance, a probable bottle once located, would be identified via embossing by referring to other sources such as the SHA bottle guide website and checked for obvious datable vessel features. These features include attributes like mold seams, applied necks, maker's marks, the word "cure" (pre-

1906 PFDA), threaded mouths, and plastic collars/caps. Once the bottle was identified and confirmed to be roughly pre-1930 it was measured, and its color, shape, embossing, and estimated date were recorded.

After truthing all probables, each entry was further investigated through extensive research to determine manufacturer, source, intended use, cultural significance, and history of production/reform before and after the passage of the 1906 PFDA. This process narrowed a collection of 1,268 artifacts from Maddox Park (the smallest of the three collections) down to 385 glass vessels/fragments further down to only 23 embossed medicinal bottles. The in-filled ravine of 9Da89 yielded 39 verified embossed medicine bottles. When truthing and analyzing a site like 9Fu91 with around 120 boxes, the process was much more tedious. That site's massive collection of artifacts was whittled down to 160 verified medicinal vessels.

Overall, I researched the form and origin of 224 embossed glass bottles from the MARTA collection. I accessed various historical resources including the Keenan Research Library at the Atlanta History Center, digital collections of Georgia State University, Emory University, Illinois State University, historic archives of the Atlanta Constitution, and numerous others. I consulted the archaeological site reports from several projects that shared backgrounds and materials similar to my subject. I spoke with several bottle collectors and read their research in books and online forums. I spent countless hours in the Phoenix Project archaeological laboratories at GSU, and likely inhaled enough glass dust to develop silicosis. While it was at some points a trying experience, the passion I felt for the project at the onset has only increased as I completed my research and began to develop a final product to share with colleagues and the public.

### **6 HISTORY OF MEDICINES AND THE PFDA**

As mentioned in Chapter 1, I initially expected my research to show a clear correlation between socio-economic status and differential access to medicine. My hypothesis involved people of lower socio-economic status being relegated to consuming nostrums to deal with troubling conditions while the more empowered owner class could visit physicians. While other researchers have found evidence of this class distinction in other case studies (e.g., Orser), a more subtle and complex dynamic was elucidated through my research. Rather than simply being unable to afford physicians, it has become apparent that many people were simply afraid of or mistrusted physicians (Sumner 2004:52).

This aversion to physicians culminated in the development of Thomsonian medicine in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Comfort 1863; Flannery 2002; Hitchcock 1847) by Dr Samuel Thomson. This medical practice and philosophy drew on older traditions of herbal folk medicine and even older, medieval concepts of bodily humors. Thomson expressed a core value of "democratic medicine" that all people should have access to the compounds that heal. His techniques related to associative properties of plants and treatments. In a time when a doctor would likely bleed you and force-feed you toxins like calomel (Sumner 2004:51), drinking a tonic might not be such a bad way to treat a cold.

The history of Atlanta was revisited by each of the assessments made for these sites. One of the most pertinent aspects to this study, aside from refuse collection and disposal, is that of labor and class. The workforce of Atlanta has traditionally been drawn from a "racially mixed element of the population" making the labor "plentiful, dependable, and relatively cheap" (Gandy and Draper 1979:3). According to contemporary reports, in 1894 a male laborer could expect to earn from \$0.75 to \$1.25 per day, while a mechanic would earn approximately \$1.50 to

\$3.50 a day depending on his skill (Annual Report of Atlanta 1894:23). These figures put the price of the average bottle of proprietary medicine at a day's wage. The modern correlation would be something akin to a mid-priced bottle of liquor. This suggests that workers were earning relatively little for their labor, and patent medicine firms were able to command relatively high prices for their products. Again, this speaks to the importance people placed on these products and their purported "cures."

These notions of cost can be seen as relevant to the larger context of my research about Atlanta history and the producers of ethical and proprietary medicines. Recognizing the sharp differences between the burdens of cost in terms of consumption for the poorest Atlantans and the dramatic benefit for the producers is crucial to understanding the sharp class divides that defined the Gilded Age. Evidence can be seen on the historical landscape as well when we compare the hovels and shacks of late-19<sup>th</sup> century mill villages in Atlanta (e.g., Cabbagetown, Rotsos 2002) and the palatial homes of Candler, Swift, and Rankin (discussed in this chapter).

#### 6.1 Access to Adequate Healthcare

The question of access is a difficult one to approach. The problems of insurance companies complicating issues of access would not have been a direct challenge for people in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Still, the upfront cost of a proper physician was likely prohibitive nonetheless (Flannery 2001). Beyond that, many people were skeptical of the efficacy of doctors. More rural populations trusted the herblore and concoctions of traditional healers (Flannery 2002; Sumner 2004). In the late 19<sup>th</sup> and especially early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the belief in the potency of Native American medicine was strong. The noble savage had captured the imagination of the white public as the white expansions had taken the Native lands and lives (Rosenburg 2012).

At the same time the Thomsonians' crusade was quickly co-opted by less genuine concerns: hucksters who could take advantage of the new markets by mimicking Thomson's rhetoric on their labels while filling the bottles with alcohol, water, and flavorings (Flannery 2002; Sumner 2004:53). The medicines need not cure illness to be sold or bring return customers. So long as an effect was felt and symptoms eased, the patient/customer would likely return for another dose. This was found to be the case with various products, from the highalcohol bitters to the actually efficacious laxatives to the certifiably useless Liquozone.

# 6.2 Cultural Notions About Disease and "Cures"

Cultural notions of diseases and their vectors in microbiology were just developing in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The popular conceptualizations of medicine and treatments for diseases were also in a transitional phase. The patent medicine industry was on one end feeding on threads of traditional ecological knowledge from a variety of cultural sources including English, Italian, Spanish, African, and Indigenous Americans. On the other end, the modern impacts of things like biology, chemistry, commerce, and professional medicine had a sort of pulling effect on the industry. So, medicinal products tended to be borne out of herbal remedies and lean into suggesting that they 'cured' diseases, often explaining how with a mix of scientific jargon, glamour, and testimonials from 'doctors'. While some products were developed by true physicians based on the best knowledge of the day, many companies traded in artificial testimonials, or outsourced advertising agencies to generate them. Attaching the name of a fabricated doctor's name to the salutation was a simple trick that commanded a certain air of respect.

# 6.3 Defining Ethical v. Proprietary Medicines

Ethical medicines typically have been associated with physician prescribed compounds prepared by pharmacists. The term is meant to identify them as something apart from the proprietary medicines which flooded the market in the mid-to-late 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, without the orthodox there are is no unorthodox. Oxford Illustrated Guide to Medicine suggests that "quacks are essentially products of the development of medical orthodoxy seeking to define and enforce a single proper mode of medical practice" (Oxford Univ. Press 2002:208). In this way, the creation of "proper" medicine by necessity creates "improper" medicine out of the Others. The medicines left by the wayside (not converted into "food" like Coke or Pepsi), all the compounds that were not able to meet regulations, all the products that relied too heavily on ingredients too dangerous or ineffectual to survive the 20<sup>th</sup> century, have become the Others of medicine. Ethical medicines stand as a beacon against their own history as Thomsonian doctors developed tonics to remedy ailments in place of the severe techniques of "proper" physicians of their day.

Today, ethical medicine is again somewhat constrained in terms of multiclass access and challenges from "unorthodox" medicines and treatments. Modern ethical medicines are even considered spurious in terms of side effects like addiction, organ failure, or depression, and paranoia about vaccines by consumers who fear these powerful compounds. Further compounding the issue is the vague or explicit understanding of the economic, social, and political power dynamics associated with medical regulation, production, and dispensation. The preference for more natural, simplistic, and easily identifiable ingredients in medicine is another contemporary analogue to the days of the proprietary medicines. Contemporary issues relating these very dynamics include the ACA, anti-vaccine activists, medical cannabis, multivitamins,

and faith-healers, to name but a few are not terribly dissimilar from processes at play over 100 years ago.

### 6.4 Effects on Pathology

The medicines of the Gilded Age varied widely in their effects on consumers, although most had marginal effects beyond the alcohol, which was the medium used for preserving the herbal and chemical compounds, as well as being a key active ingredient. In this section I analyze the ways in which proprietary medicines addressed or did not address, the illnesses that ads and labels claimed they would alleviate.

# 6.4.1 Alleviating illnesses effectively

Mediating or soothing symptoms was the most that the vast majority of proprietary medicines could achieve, regardless of their fantastic labels, claims, and testimonials. Adams clearly addresses the pitfalls in soothing the symptoms of deadly diseases rather than healing the illness. Patent medicines tended to be excellent at easing the aches and pains of various conditions, but rarely addressed the underlying causes of disease. It has been argued from multiple sources that alleviation of symptoms was all most consumers were expecting anyway, and the orthodox medical treatments were often just as toxic as the alternatives, especially leading up to the disuse of calomel and bleedings.

# 6.4.2 Complications, poisoning, or death from products

With many proprietary medicines, the main effects were similar to a combination of alcohol and herbal teas. However, some products were dangerous or deadly even when used as intended. Products like Angier's Petroleum Emulsion or Vapo-Cresoline were mostly petroleum by-products. Using these compounds as directed often made people sick in addition to their original symptoms (Goffe 1900:768).

Many products, like bitters which were often 15-40% alcohol, enabled the continuation or exploitation of old addictions in a new package (Torbenson 2000:59). Certainly, new compounds often brought new addictions. Bromides, Laxatives, Coca-based compounds, opiates, all had their impacts on behavioral/consumption patterns. Many of the active ingredients had unrealized side-effects playing out in people's lives for decades before anyone realized it was this medicine or that medicine. Bromo-seltzer is a prime example (Adams 1912). The irony is that while the city's residents were ready to condemn those who drank alcohol, addictive narcotic medicines like Bromo-Seltzer were clearly being used at quite a high frequency.

## 6.5 **Proprietary Medicines in the US at the Civil War's end**

The Battle of Atlanta, in the summer of 1864 and the subsequent destruction of the city infrastructure by Union forces, ended in September. The Atlanta Campaign left the citizens of the young city literally rebuilding during Reconstruction. Despite being ravaged by warfare and gruesome military tactics at the end of the Civil War, Atlanta remained an important place for transportation and commerce in the South (Garrett 1969). The demolished infrastructure was primed for new growth. Reconstruction spurred on the fledgling city after Sherman's purgative fires had been finally extinguished. The railroads and Reconstruction funding of railroad expansion played a pivotal role in the construction of Atlanta as a regional center and site for commerce and exchange. With Atlanta a hub of southern rail lines, products were constantly flowing into and out of the city. This, of course, afforded Atlantans access to a vast array of consumer goods.

The city began growing rapidly in response to commerce and the growing city itself spurred on further commerce that inspired ever more people to come to the city: the miracle of urban growth and city formation. Yet Atlanta was a geographically important location. Given the moniker "The Gate City of the South" in 1857, Atlanta was actually a geospatial bottleneck for transportation of people and goods (Clarke 1877:130). In order for one to travel from Mississippi and the West to the Atlantic or from the Atlantic, West, one had to travel through Atlanta. However, as the Civil War began, Atlanta became a target because of its nature as a hub. In 1864, the city was razed by Gen. Sherman and his troops. The city rebuilt, and gained the new nickname "the Phoenix City", as it rose from the ashes of war. Reconstruction proved a prosperous time for many, especially entrepreneurs in the pharmaceutical/wholesale druggist industry (Young 1989).

### 6.6 Production: Peddlers, Dealers, and (Soda) Jerks

The production of chemical medicines in the US during the mid-19th century was partially the result of tariffs and embargos against medicines coming in from other nations. Thus, as the production of medicinals became a domestic affair, the impact on the economy was enormous, especially in burgeoning cities like Atlanta. Shortly after the war, several of the future druggists of Atlanta allege to have discovered secret remedies from old soldiers, Native Americans, and other exotic characters (Hart 2001; Munsey 1997; Young 1989). During the late 19th century the number of druggists in Atlanta increased significantly, from seven in 1870, to 52 by 1892, to 70 in 1902 (Atlanta City Directory 1870-1902; Georgia State Gazetteer and Business Directory 1896). In fact, Atlanta had become the leader in patent medicine production in the South. This position had aided Atlanta's recovery and boom during and after Reconstruction (Young 1989:16). The entire industry was booming on a national scale, and Atlanta's location on rail lines amidst a population of impoverished laborers made it a prime location to import ingredients, bottles, and medicines, as well as a market waiting to be tapped. Yet the market did require some coaching. Proprietary medicines were, ultimately, nonessential goods. They were cheap to make and there was lots of competition, so advertising was the only way to surely stand out and grab the attention of the consumer. That is precisely what they did. The patent medicine producer was forced to create a buzz about his/her product before the product's buzz even kicked in. With catchy slogans, almanacs, placards, stamps, postcards, sheet music, and posters galore, medicine men created fantasies of relief. As Coca-Cola chronicler Mark Pendergrast (2013:18) has noted: "Patent medicine makers were the first American businessmen to recognize the power of the catchphrase, the identifiable logo and trademark, the celebrity endorsement, the appeal to social status, the need to keep "everlastingly at it". Out of necessity, they were the first to sell image rather than product". They were the American entrepreneur personified.

From the perspective of the proprietor, the contents and efficacy of the patent medicine products was irrelevant. The key was making a product sell. While early pioneers and many doctors and pharmacists that produced tonics and nostrums had intentions of providing relief from some (or several) ailment(s), the industry was as much about advertising and marketing as it was medicine and health. Most of the products fell into one of three categories: Tonics (effective or not), Narcotics, or Poisons.

Tonics may have had some medicinal or healing properties, although most of this was based on traditional herb lore and/or (settler) legends of Native American practices. Many times, however, products were essentially flavored water/alcohol. Some, like The Mothers' Friend (see below) by Bradfield Regulator Co, contained little other than "oil with a little soap" (Cramp 1912:531; Rance 2011). Products like that are not misguided attempts to heal or wicked plans to create addicts. Rather, Mothers' Friend and products like it were machinations for extracting money from consumers with lies. The package promised pretty babies, easy births, and a cessation of menstrual pains, all from a swig of saponafied oil. The package, product, image, and producer were all lying to make money.

The most effective at relieving symptoms were typically narcotic laced, but they brought on new problems like addiction and intoxication. While opiates, cocaine, and alcohol were all dramatically able to remedy the pains and coughing from diseases like tuberculosis, the consumer who survived their illness was now burdened with the disease of addiction. The increase in opium consumption after the civil war was primarily associated with the high rates of use by injured veterans. The correlation was so strong that morphine/opium addiction was colloquially known as "the soldier's disease".

The poisons obviously did more harm than good, but proving the correlation was not always so simple. As an example, Vapo-Cresoline was recommended for addressing respiratory issues, even by some physicians. However, it was essentially coal tar that was warmed in a metal dish to fumigate a room with noxious gases (Adams 1912). When a patient died, people may blame the medicine, but proving that they were not already dying of respiratory diseases may as well have been impossible. Additionally, many of the complications from compounds we now consider poisonous, were not recognized before the advances in medicine and chemistry of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (see figs 6.1 & 6.2). To this end, products like Hicks' Capudine and Bromo-Seltzer were marketed as headache cures with little warning or public awareness of the toxic side-effects of regular consumption. Liquozone, as a final example, was a courageous concoction of red wine, sulphuric acid, and muriatic acid. Revealing these formulas and ingredients was crucial to ensuring public safety as well as reigning in the runaway train that was proprietary medicine marketing.

In turn of the century articles, proprietary medicines were already being questioned for their effectiveness as well as their potential harm by the medical field (Goffe 1900:768). Adams and Wiley were crusaders against the industry (Adams 1912, Pendergrast 2001, Young 1989). Their tone and temperament was akin to the teetotalers of the same era railing against alcohol. The temperance movement marched in step with the government chemists and muckraking journalists shouting down patent medicines.

Despite the obvious gains of the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906, many medicines were still dangerous to consumers. In reality, the law only required companies to disclose IF the product contained a compound that was on a short list of hazardous chemicals (Janssen 1981). The manufacturer was not required to explain the effects or toxic dose of the chemicals. Bromo-Seltzer remained both within the confines of the law as well as on Adams' list of dangerous over-the-counter remedies even after 1906 (Adams 1912). Only in 1938 (well after our last deposits were made) with the passage of the Wheeler-Lea Act, were producers of medicines required to further explain the risks of their products.

#### MODERN THERAPY, SURGICAL APPLIANCES, ETC.

The Petroleum Idea.—We emphasize the petroleum idea in medicine. Began twenty years ago in a small way, and have grown by easy stages until now we have a large and prosperous business, with a branch in England (incorporated under the laws of Great Britain), and selling agents in Cuba, South America, India, South Africa and Australasia. That means we know and are known the world over. Success grows with what it feeds upon. The largest feature of the business is a petroleum emulsion that practically supersedes cod liver oil, but we have other preparations, and this is the order in which they stand :

> Angier's Petroleum Emulsion for throat and lung troubles, Angier's Petroleum Tablets to supplement the Emulsion, Angier's Petroleum Soap for toilet and modicinal use,

and "Glymol," made from petroleum, and extremely useful in the treatment of catarrh and membranous troubles. Our appeal is largely to physicians, which means that ours are not "patent" medicines in any sense of the word. ANGER CHEMICAL Co., Boston, Mass.

Figure 6.1 Angier's Advert from Canadian Journal of Medicine and Surgery

Dr. J. K. Gailey, Clinical Professor of Surgery, Detroit College of Medicine, in giving his experience with "Maltine with Coca Wine," says it is unquestionably superior to anything he has ever tried as a galactagogue. In one case, particularly, the mother was enabled to nurse her child, which she had not done with previous children. He considers it doubly efficacious in that it builds up the woman while stimulating the lacteal secretions.

Figure 6.2 Advert for Maltine with Coca Wine

#### 6.7 Effects of Class on Consumption

Another significant aspect of proprietary medicines as a socio-economic phenomenon,

especially preceding the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906, was as an alternative to medical

treatment by practicing physicians. The poor, Black, Irish, and other marginalized groups were

often restricted in terms of access to traditional Western medicine. Orser has suggested as much

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even going so far as to explain why nostrums and snake oil are more than examples of dirty capitalism (2007). Instead, Orser (2007:119) asks that we consider that the fact that "many of these products were harmful or worthless only strengthens the connection between health care options and racialized social positions".

One important factor that Orser seems to ignore, however, is that contemporary medicine of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was often not trusted in the way it tends to be today, with good reason. Many of the "proper physicians" frequently employed calomel, a mercury-based compound that induced purgative reactions in violent proportions (Sumner 2004:51). In addition other practices such as bleeding and vomiting (Flannery 2002:448) would today be considered far more dangerous than most herbal tonics. Patients of 19<sup>th</sup> century physicians were often as not victims of medicine. In this socio-cultural context, Orser's suggestion that physicians would be reserved for the elite has little bearing on what even the elite would have thought about the prospect of going to a physician for their ailments. In fact, while the Edgewood Dump site was situated at the southern edge of a "middle class to upper-middle class" neighborhood (Gandy and Draper 1978:23), the deposit contained comparable medicinal products of both patent and ethical types.

To understand patent medicine consumption in the US at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it is important to frame the scenario within the state of medicine as a practice and a science. Chemically, we understood relatively little about how to effectively medicate patients. Doctors still commonly prescribed calomel and mercury. That leads us to the second point: The state of the practice was still relatively brutal. Many individuals, even if they could afford it, were avoiding physicians out of fear (Lock et al. 2001:208). Patent medicine producers did a great job of advertising to persuade customers that their products would do what doctors could or would not: bring them relief. While many of them were false or misinformed claims about the efficacy of their products, many more brought some abatement to the chronic ailments that afflicted their customers (Adams 1912; Vegotsky personal communication).

Orser asserts that the dominant class had access to medical treatment, yet the majority of the poor, especially ethnic minorities such as Irish or African Americans, had little chance of seeing a medical doctor (Orser 2007). The primary obstacle was economic, but the fact remained that the working poor were also often blamed for their own illnesses. Poverty, then much as today, was framed as the result of individual's failure to achieve success rather than as the result of structural violence and inequality. However, having access to professional medicine does not necessarily mean that they would choose to see a physician before gambling on a bottle of bitters or tonic.

The information at our disposal reveals little about the differential access to medicine along lines of class and race. Instead, the material has shown a relative ubiquity of patent medicines and a real blurring of the definitions of ethical and proprietary. These definitions and frequency began to shift of course after the turn of the century, with the development of scientific medicine and microbiology as a field. A decade of concerted efforts by journalists, physicians, and investigators to educate the public on the contents and nature of popular nostrums and the patent medicine industry had a profound impact. A wave of concern swept the public as well as the druggists and proprietors. The former feared for their health, the latter for their continued success.

#### 6.8 The 1906 Pure Food and Drug Act

The Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 was a law that arrived after the cultural sea change in attitudes toward patent medicines had really broken open the head. While Great Britain had passed laws regulating food and drugs by 1820, the US waited another 50 years before enacting similar legislation. "The Pure Food Movement -- a grass roots phenomenon that germinated in the 1870's -- was the original and principal source of political support for the Food and Drugs Act of 1906" (Janssen 1981). After the multiple exposés from periodicals like Collier's and Harper's Weekly public opinion of patent medicines quickly shifted. The passage of the 1906 PFDA led to a requirement that product labels disclose contents, punishing companies for mislabeling or misbranding (Janssen 1981). The restriction of certain over-the-counter narcotics such as cocaine and morphine to by-prescription-only did not take place until the passage of the 1914 Harrison Narcotic Act (Food and Drug Admin, www.fda.gov). Another effect was encouraging companies to adapt old products to new uses. Many producers were forced to change the way they marketed their products in order to continue selling them. A primary example is Bradfield's Mother's Friend. Originally marketed as a pregnancy panacea, preventing pain, complications, and mortality, the 1906 law saw Bradfield begin marketing it as a lotion instead. This is probably for the best since the PFDA tests revealed that it was little more than oil with a touch of soap (Cramp 1912:531)!

The Mother's Friend was one of the flagship products of J. Bradfield's Bradfield Regulator Company. The term "regulator" was a reference to the medicine's alleged ability to regulate the menses. A miraculous claim at the time, yet merely one claim among many for The Mother's Friend, whose primary claims to functionality were the ability to streamline and render painless the process of childbirth (Fig. 6.3).



Figure 6.3 The Mother's Friend Advertisement

The supposed benefits of consuming The Mother's Friend went on to include everything from a speedy "confinement" to helping make babies pretty and healthy in the womb. These claims would likely have continued ad absurdum had not the federal Food and Drug Act of 1906 required a bit more truth in advertising. Once the compound was chemically analyzed, the claims
toward the results of using the product had to reflect the facts. In this way, it was shown that The Mother's Friend should not be recommended for internal use at all. Instead, the compound should only be applied to the skin (*The Pharmaceutical Era* 1910:914). The advertisement entitled "Mothers: Do You Know?" may appear disingenuous by insisting that there are no potent drug-compounds such as strychnine, opium, or morphine within it. Despite the various other miraculous claims typically attributed to products that *did* contain those drugs, in the case of the Mothers' Friend, it was in fact true that no such narcotics were present.

While the compound was not a poison, neither was it the miraculous medicine it claimed to be. Consuming Mother's Friend internally would likely only regulate a woman's bowel movements, certainly not her menses or her pregnancy. However, twice during 1909, consignments of Mother's Friend were seized under the Pure Food and Drugs Act (1906) and deemed misbranded because of the claims made. Changing the claims made in regards to the compound's qualities allowed Bradfield to continue a relatively successful production of Mother's Friend as a lotion. In fact, the rights to produce the substance were bought in 1986. It is still being produced today, as a lotion for tight skin due to pregnancy. Ironically, the company to buy Bradfield's famous liniment was none other than the S.S.S. Company! The lotion is still available, as of this writing, in some stores and online.

In 1903, Asa Candler quietly removed cocaine from the ingredients of Coca-Cola. While he may not have been anticipating the 1906 PFDA, he was likely reacting to a general social response to the awareness that cocaine was a serious narcotic with addictive properties. The court of public opinion was actually a bit mysterious on the issue, as common names for Coca-Cola were, and largely remain today, references to the beverage's cocaine content. According to testimony from the PFDA, customers frequently ordered the increasingly popular drink by asking for: a shot-in-the-arm, Dope, a fix, Coke, or "another-brick-in-the-Candler-building" (Pendergrast 2000:68).

## 6.9 Atlanta's Medicine Boom: The Players

Two major groups of capitalists, involved in proprietary and ethical medicines, are evaluated here for the major impacts they and their companies had on the landscape and society in Gilded Age Atlanta. Each group has deep ties to Atlanta history and pharmaceutical trade in the South. First, the forefathers of the Coca-Cola Company and their path to failures and eventual success will be reviewed. Subsequently, the associates of Hunt, Rankin, & Lamar Druggists will be addressed. This second group is much less famous, but has equally impressive ties to Atlanta's landscape transformation in the Gilded Age, as well as extensive business ties to several other Atlanta druggists and entrepreneurs. Additionally, both groups were involved with several different products found in the Phoenix Collection's medicinal artifacts.

The first group is the collection of individuals responsible for the development and subsequent proliferation of Coca-Cola. Among the most crucial to this enterprise was the product's developer, Dr. Pemberton. Physician, civil war veteran, pharmacist, morphine addict, father, cocaine enthusiast, and druggist; Pemberton was a man of many passions. However, he is now famous for having invented the syrup formula for Coca-Cola. His key ingredients were Kola nut from Africa for caffeine, Coca leaf from Peru for cocaine, and burnt sugar for color. Interestingly, Coca-Cola was what Pemberton referred to as his "temperance drink" (Blanding 2011; Pendergrast 2013; Young 1989). This is because it was developed as a non alcoholic version of his popular Coca-wine, a cocaine based drink that imitated the world famous Vin Mariani, a French coca-wine that innovated the use of celebrity testimonials and cocaine

(Dappert 2014:28). Three popes and numerous heads of state, among hundreds more, all regaled Vin Mariani as an amazing beverage (Harding 2005:10; Pendergrast 2013; Young 1989).

Pemberton's addictions began to catch up with him and he struggled to run his business by 1887 (Pendergrast 2013:35). With an uncanny business sense and thirst for capital, Asa Griggs Candler, in 1888 purchased the rights to Coca-Cola (Pendergrast 2013:38). He followed the most successful patent medicine strategy: brand recognition through massive advertising campaigns. He launched Coke to national and international success. Subsequently, and despite his best efforts, Candler became mayor of Atlanta, primarily at the behest of boosters. His fervent supporters often portrayed him as the economic salvation for the young city still struggling to develop infrastructure and provide jobs for the populace. However, Candler made clear after his election that he was strongly anti-labor and pro-capitalist. Despite avoiding a paternalist role during his time as mayor, Candler had a major impact on the city, especially after his time in office (Young 1989).

The final member of the Coca-Cola actors to be addressed here is Dr Joseph Jacobs, proprietor of Jacobs' Pharmacy, a highly successful Atlanta drugstore/company that worked with and supported Dr Pemberton and Coca-Cola. Jacobs' Five Points pharmacy location was the first place to sell Coca-Cola. Willis Venable ran the soda fountain at Jacobs' pharmacy. Venable bought 1/3 of the rights to Coca-Cola from Pemberton in 1887 and later sold it to Jacobs. Jacobs also bought rights to Pemberton's formula when Pemberton was struggling. He eventually sold out to Candler for shares in the glass bottle factory Candler owned with Jesse Rankin (Pendergrast 2013:38). Furthermore, Jacobs' drugstore expanded and by the 20<sup>th</sup> century he ran over a dozen storefronts in Georgia and Alabama. In fact, one of the Jacobs' Pharmacy bottles in the MARTA collection (9Fu91) was embossed with "*Jacobs' Pharmacy/Montgomery, Ala*".

A last note about Jacobs: he apparently had an ongoing argument with Dr Walter Taylor that eventually led to a fistfight on Whitehall (Peachtree) Street (Atlanta Constitution 1889:5) Taylor was a proprietor in his own right, producing Taylor's Cherokee Remedy of Sweetgum and Mullen. Jacobs also fought a print battle with the maker of King's Royal Germeteur. While Jacobs's articles in the *Atlanta Constitution* were correct in their debasement of King's product, they were also filled with ad hominem attacks. King's responses upped the ante by playing to anti-Semitic readers and suggesting that Jews were mean-spirited and untrustworthy (Atlanta Constitution 1892:3).

The second group of influential capitalists involved in the proprietary medicine craze of the first Gilded Age in Atlanta, were the members of Hunt, Rankin, & Lamar and their associates: Walter A. Taylor of the pharmacy trade, Charles T. Swift of the Swift Specific Co, and J. Bradfield of Bradfield's Regulator Co. These men worked in conjunction with one another and their businesses were so intertwined as to share many higher-level employees, and they sat on the boards of one another's companies (Hart 2001; Vegotsky personal communication). Several of the companies had prominent storefronts and buildings in the city and their activity directly affected the supply of proprietary medicines and pharmaceutical ingredients in Atlanta (Garrett 1969:103; Lock et al. 2001:208).

Accumulation of wealth in Southern hands was a statistical novelty, as most of the South was desperately impoverished. That became less rare in Atlanta during Reconstruction. Prior to Reconstruction, most work was agricultural and then only the owners of large farms would have access to capital accumulation. Lamar is a prime example of this, as he grew up on a large plantation and the other members of his family either continued to oversee large farms or became powerful political/legal figures, including Supreme Court justices and even a president of Texas.

While his monied background likely aided his beginnings, he certainly made a fortune in his own right from his drugstore enterprises. At the end of his life he owned several drugstores, had controlling stock in multiple medicine companies, was president of two banks, became an "extensive land owner, and operated plantations in several counties" (Atlanta Constitution 1896:2).

The entrepreneurs, who produced, marketed, and sold patent medicines in post-Reconstruction Atlanta had profound impacts on the built environment in numerous ways. Some built grand mansions like Swift or Candler, the latter whose home still stands at 1500 Ponce de Leon Avenue, although today it is a Melkite Greek Catholic Church (National Park Service, NRHP). Still others left brick and mortar structures that once housed their businesses, like Rankin and Lamar, whose building still stands at 91 Forsyth St. By the end of Rankin's life in 1892, the Lamar-Rankin Drug Co had become "the largest wholesale drug house in the South" (Ga. Pharm. Assoc. 1892:109)

#### 6.10 Landscape Impacts

Although my research began by studying glass bottles, the stories associated with these bottles reveal major transformations to Atlanta urban landscape. Now long gone and largely forgotten, Washington-Rawson, was Atlanta's superlative neighborhood. Surrounding the intersection of Washington and Rawson Streets, just southwest of the capitol it was another result of the economic impact of Reconstruction. The 1870 map of Atlanta shows the streets of the Washington-Rawson area, but the census data shows that the 2<sup>nd</sup> Ward was one of the least populous wards in the city (Hanleiter 1870). Many of its prominent homes belonged to individuals who made their fortunes from proprietary medicines and drugstores.

The Washington-Rawson neighborhood was once the heart of Atlanta's Jewish community as well as being a generally affluent area. Today the landscape of the old neighborhood has been decimated and replaced first by Atlanta/Fulton Co Stadium and eventually by Turner Field. The east side of Capitol Avenue, near Turner Field, once saw the palatial home of Charles Swift, proprietor of Swift's Southern Specific (S.S.S.). After Swift died the home was given to the new Piedmont Sanitarium, which later became Piedmont Hospital (Hart 2001). Furthermore, Jesse Rankin's home, according to an 1878 map of Atlanta was at the corner of McDonough and Jones Streets. Today, this location is on the eastside of Capitol Avenue right where the former federal archives building still stands.

Another important structural feature of Atlanta's druggists, the Swift Specific Co Laboratory, was located at the corner of Hunter St. (now MLK, Jr. Blvd) and Butler St. (today Jesse Hill Dr). Swift makes this list twice because his laboratory once occupied a prominent place on the downtown landscape. Swift's impact on Atlanta should come as no surprise as he employed a hundred men in production and "the specific manufactured by this company goes into every state in the Union" (Martin 1902:386). The laboratory was situated on the south-east side of the capitol building, on the same block as the old castle-like prison known as Fulton Tower. The Swift Specific Co lab was a three-story building with a prominent tower feature. Despite the impressive nature of its façade, the building was demolished long ago, sometime between 1949 and 1959 (Atlanta Time Machine; GSU Special Collection 1949 Aerial Map).

Numerous druggists and physicians held offices in the Five Points area of Atlanta during the last quarter of the 19th century as did hundreds of businesses (see fig 6.4 below). Research conducted with the City of Atlanta Directory across several decades revealed the ever increasing number of men plying the drug trade in the Gate City. In the year 1870, only seven businesses are listed as druggists. By 1875, the number had doubled and it tripled by 1881 when two dozen druggists were listed. Just ten years later, 45 druggists were providing every manner of concoction in Five Points. At the onset of the new century, the list topped 70 drugs sellers. Interestingly, the number of druggists seems to plateau around the years just before and after the passage of the PFDA. This makes sense as the trade was becoming more regulated and likely less enticing to crafty entrepreneurs.

Clearly a prestigious location to conduct business at the time, the Five Points area was one of the most intense sites of commercial exchange in the region. A list of businesses (fig. 6.4) in the area during the last quarter of the nineteenth century shows that dozens of druggists plied their trade and hawked their wares at this major junction of transportation and industry (Taylor personal communication; Georgia State Gazetteer 1896; Garrett 1969).

While Taylor's list from the Druggist Business Directory lists some 35 druggists, it is not exhaustive. Druggists such as F. King (Royal Germetuer) and W. A. Taylor (Cherokee Remedy) and nearly twenty others show up in the City Directory. Among those not listed in the smaller list include several African American business men like Amos Moses, who practiced the druggist trade for many years in Atlanta. In the listings, African Americans are denoted with a "(c)" for colored. Unfortunately, none of the vessels in the subset for this thesis were attributable to African American druggists. However, this specific avenue of research would be an interesting subject for future study.

Atlanta Company	Found in Subset		
Abernathy Bros			
Avary, M. B.	Pharmacy bottle		
Benjamin, H.			
Bratton, L. R.			
Brown & Allen			
Curtis, A. L.			
Curtis, W. M.			
Daniel, J. B.	Cheney's Expectorant		
Dawson, A.			
Elkin-Watson Drug Co	Pharmacy bottle		
Faul Mc Dr.			
Fetter, Anderson & Co			
Gibbs Drug Co			
Goldsmith & Edmondson	Pharmacy bottle		
Hodges, W. J.			
Inghram, F. A.			
Jacobs Pharmacy Co	Pharmacy bottle		
Kimball House Drug Co			
Lamar-Rankin Drug Co, the	Pharmacy bottle		
Man Gum Sing			
Moran, C. A.			
Newton, C. S.			
Palmer, R. L.			
Pieral, Dr. G. Y.			
Preston, W. J. & Co			
Rhyne, L. A.			
Sharp Bros	Pharmacy bottle		
Smenner & Co			
Smith, F. P.			
Smith, J. S.			
Timmons, Dr. H. C.			
Tyner, C. O.	Pharmacy bottle		
Westmoreland Pharmacy			
Westmoreland, J. W.			
Westmoreland, T. C.			

# 1896 Georgia Druggist Business Directory

Figure 6.4 1896 Georgia Druggist Business Directory

Georgia State University's campus spreads out across much of what was once Atlanta's premier commercial and business district. Because of this, many key landmarks of Atlanta's past can be found within the limits of GSU today. Certainly one of the most recognizable and historic extant buildings on GSU's campus is the original Coca-Cola building which stands today beside the Baptist Student Union at the corner of Edgewood Ave and Courtland St adjacent to Hurt Park. Additionally, the site of the S.S.S. Laboratory is on the periphery of the university, adjacent to the GSU MARTA station/ "Sloppy" Floyd Building. Tying in to both Coca-Cola history as well as the Swift/Rankin/Lamar group is Jacobs' Pharmacy, which was located on the southwest corner of Peachtree St and Marietta St in the Five Points intersection of Atlanta (see fig. 6.5). Today this is the site of the Andrew Young College of Business, but in the late 1800's Jacobs' was the site of Coca-Cola's first sale. However, Jacobs and his pharmacy were also the source of many other popular medicines and were a force to be reckoned with in Atlanta business for many decades.



Figure 6.5 Jacobs' Pharmacy, courtesy Atlanta History Center

Today, Coca-Cola is one of, if not the, most recognizable and popular brands of any kind of product in the world. The name is the second-most recognizable word among humans, the first being "Okay" (Metcalf 2012; Pendergrast 2000). Detractors at various points throughout the soft drink company's history have attempted to explain away and condemn the popularity of Coke by suggesting that it has addictive qualities due to cocaine. A more accurate assessment must consider the effectiveness of commercial advertising, a direct product of the patent medicine boom that helped create the modern advertising industry (Blanding 2011; Pendergrast 2000). The impact of Coca-Cola's economic success on Atlanta has been immeasurable.

There are several economic and spatial connections between the individuals behind the businesses the bottles represent to the city and neighborhoods/dumps where they were deposited. These interconnected personal and business relationships shaped the socio-economic and political landscape of Reconstruction and Gilded Age Atlanta. The individuals responsible for the names on the artifacts, whose actions called these bottles to be made, and so discarded, and found were directly and professionally involved with the most iconic and powerful members of Atlanta and Georgian society during the last half of the 19th century. Candler, Inman, Hutchinson, Elsas, Grant, Lamar, Fox, Haas, Glenn, Woodward, Howell, Hightower, and a few others participated in directing the flows of goods and resources, landscapes and facilities, transportation and policy together.

Rankin and Lemuel P. Grant (known today for the neighborhood and park that bear his name) went into business together with a couple of other men to create the Metropolitan Street Railroad rail lines. A system of mule-drawn vehicles that ran on rail tracks, the Washington-Rawson metro lines extended from Pryor Street near Five Points, downtown, to the upper class neighborhood whose name they bore. At the time, the neighborhood was considered idyllic and enviable. The rail company began in 1882 but was sold after six years to relatives of the founders. In 1892, just months after Rankin's death the firm was bought up by Joel Hurt who was attempting to consolidate all of Atlanta's transit lines (Garrett 1969).

Rankin's obituary published in the Pharmaceutical Journal of Georgia attributes Rankin with helping make the pharmacy trade legal in Georgia and recognized as a legitimate and respected practice in the state. Rankin's biography suggests that he and Swift founded the S.S.S. Swift Specific Company, producer of S.S.S. Tonic, a rather popular blend of herbs and tonic water. Additionally, the S.S.S. Company produced Bradfield's popular tonic-turned-lotion, Mother's Friend, which is still in production. Swift's biography suggests that it was Col H J Lamar who helped fund, found, and move the Swift Southern Specific Co to Atlanta in the 1870's (Garrett 1969; Hart 2001). Regardless, the three men were consistently invested in each others' firms.

Not surprisingly, Rankin, Lamar, Bradfield, Swift, Candler, and Pemberton all moved to Atlanta, either in the decade following the civil war, commonly known as Reconstruction (1863-1877) or during the period known as the Redemption (1877-1890), just after Reconstruction (Foner 1988:604). Reconstruction was a political strategy for rebuilding the devastated landscape as well as establishing a cultural relationship to foster civility between the North and South. Many Southerners also felt that the strategy was a ploy to rob the South of what little economic security was left after the war and force black suffrage at the expense of white supremacy.

Despite the introduction of public schools, railroad expansion, charitable organizations and protection of the rights of freedmen, Reconstruction has often been viewed as a failure. This disparaging view is due to the subsequent violent backlash and passage of enumerable Jim Crow laws. While Reconstruction policies may have been well-meaning, in many ways they only fueled resentment of both the North and African Americans, ensuring the very situation it sought to prevent. The Redemption was a period of reprisal from the eyes of southern Bourbon Democrats who were still bitter about the war and subsequent taxation and social change (Foner 1988:604).

The three main Atlanta drug companies whose origins were bound to Lamar were Bradfield's Regulator Co, Hunt, Rankin, &Lamar (later Rankin & Lamar), and S.S.S. Co. They likely shared many costs as they used many of the same products to produce their various compounds and proprietary medicines. One key to their arrangement was that Rankin and Lamar were wholesalers supplying raw materials for the concerns of Bradfield and Swift. Georgia Supreme Court documents show that Lamar III and Lamar II had a dispute over who would inherit what amounts of Lamar I's stock in three companies (Georgia Supreme Court, 1882:354). These companies were, perhaps not surprisingly: Rankin & Lamar Druggists, Bradfield's Regulator Co., and Swift Specifics Co. (S.S.S.).

The Swift Specifics Co and Bradfield's Regulator Co were working hand in hand for decades. At some point during the 20th century Bradfield's was sold. At the very least they sold off some of their brand names. Although I have not yet been able to pinpoint the exact transition, the S.S.S. Company owns and still produces The Mothers Friend lotion as of 2014 (www.S.S.S.pharmaceuticals.com). According to his biography, Swift made a fortune selling his nostrums. Bradfield's family had been Atlanta resident's before during and after the civil war, but faded into obscurity.

#### 6.11 Conclusions

The dramatic movement of these "medicinals" shows the economic changes taking place during reconstruction's industrial boom. Atlanta had taken form as a regional center for exchange and commerce during Reconstruction. Entrepreneurs were flocking to the city to bring their goods to market. Industrial producers were exporting goods all across the country to Atlanta's growing number of consumers. At the same time, by the turn of the century, the city of Atlanta had begun annexing outlying communities like the Edgewood Neighborhood and Summerhill (Dial 1972; Garrett 1969).



Figure 6.6 Map of Central Site and Historic Landscape Impacts (1906 Map of Atlanta)

While the modern concept of patent medicines is often one of hucksters shilling swill wreaking havoc on poor ignorant consumers, the truth is far more complex. A more accurate explanation is that these medicine producers were a class of entrepreneurs, part chemist, part physician, part salesman. They crafted an industry in a geo-spatial nexus of commerce and politics developing in a town of rebirth, populated by survivors of a war just past. The patent medicines were not only selling the extravagant promises in their adverts and packaging. They were also providing an alternative form of therapy, often based on accepted medical theory of the day, to the more caustic techniques of the medical establishment. Certainly many of the products contained little more than alcohol and a bit of herbal tincture. A few contained rather serious narcotics or even poisons.

However, the products were also bottles of hope. Vessels that guarded the chance that relief might be found. For the lucky consumer, that meant health. For the lucky producer that meant wealth. For the unlucky it meant a loss of one or both. The producers who were best able to navigate the regulation of medicine initiated by the PFDA, the old model translated into tremendous wealth and power. For firms like Rankin and Lamar it meant socio-political influence in Atlanta for the owners and their associates. For the most successful it meant dominating a global market place for the past 120 years, but only after they legally changed their medicine into a beverage (Pendergrast 2013).

## 7 RESULTS

In assessing the artifacts and their relevant variables, I have compiled a series of charts and graphs to aid in explicating the data. The following data sets reveal significant relationships and trends in vessels found in the subset of the collection. Each of the vessels in the subset was traced back to the cities where they were produced, as best as possible. By tracing their places of origin, I was able to make inferences about whether consumers in Atlanta were influenced by geographic factors when purchasing medicines. In this section I break down the data by site, then by source location. Then I consider what this information may suggest about how consumers were selecting their medicines.

Furthermore, I address the intended targets of each medicinal product, meaning the type of medicine and the conditions they claimed to relieve. The typology relates to both the various regions of the body where such medications were supposedly efficacious as well as more standard industry terminology like "bitters" or "specific". These categories helped reveal the intended foci of the products as well as the effects desired by the consumer.

	Span of				<b># of</b>	
Site ID	Deposition	Name	Range	Size	Vessels	SES
9Da89	1890-1911	Edgewood Dump	Neighborhood	1/2 acre	39	M/U
9Fu91	1892-1915, 1920-1940	Municipal Crematory	City	6 acres	160	M/U
9Fu114	1884-1910	Maddox Park	City	88acres	23	M/U

## Figure 7.1 Table of All Three Sites

## 7.1 Source Locations of Vessels

At the Edgewood Dump a slight majority of the products were found to have origins in the Northeast US, primarily from New York City. This is not terribly surprising despite my hypothesis that consumers would prefer "Southern" medicines over "Yankee" products as New York was one of the major sites for commerce in the world, including manufacturing. One of the main reasons why medicines from the Northeast are so prevalent is related to economies of scale. New York and other older urban sites had already been established manufacturing hubs for decades before the war, while Atlanta had only just begun to be a site of manufacturing.



Figure 7.2 Source Locations for vessels from the Edgewood Dump



Figure 7.3 Total Sources of vessels from Edgewood Dump

When addressing the data from the Municipal Dump (9Fu91) it was immediately clear that the products found therein reflected a much more diverse group of source locations. This site contained medicinal vessels from at least 35 different cities, although a few were from unknown locations. The Municipal Dump deposit was the only one out of the three analyzed to contain international vessels. Additionally, only 9Fu91 contained a US-based product from a company located west of the Midwest region.



Figure 7.4 Total Sources of vessels from Municipal Dump (9Fu91)



Figure 7.5 Municipal Dump (9Fu91) Southeastern Locations (excluding Baltimore)

While Maryland is considered by the United States Census to be a part of the Southeast, predominantly for historical, sociopolitical reasons, the fact that this geographic outlier also represents an outlier in terms of vessels in my subset (Bromo-Seltzer was produced in Baltimore), lead me to produce a bit of analysis that excludes Baltimore, Maryland and Bromo-Seltzer from the data-set. Above is a chart (fig 7.5) that shows the Southeastern vessels, excluding those from Maryland. When adjusted in this way, it becomes apparent that Atlanta is the primary source of vessels at the site. However, further analysis revealed that a majority of those bottles were from pharmacists rather than branded proprietary medicines.



Figure 7.6 Maddox Park Dump (9Fu114) Targets sorted by Regional Sources



Figure 7.7 Total Regional Sources of vessels from Maddox Park (9Fu114)



Figure 7.8 Source Locations – Cities for Municipal Dump (9Fu91)

It may come as no surprise that goods should be imported to Atlanta from Ireland, but Reconstruction was the beginning of industrialized production in the South. This time it was not just cotton leaving the city (although agriculture was still by and large the dominant industry and cotton the primary cash crop) (Clarke 1877:116; Foner 1988). Ireland is considerably further away than Lamar's home in Eatonton or Pemberton's old office in Columbus. It is equally important to note that an equivalent series of economic and product related exchanges taking place here. Not only do we have goods from Ireland, New Jersey, Vermont, and Louisiana in Atlanta, but advertisements for many of Atlanta's patent medicines are found in national papers. This shows that Atlanta's medicine was being sold across the country as well while just a couple of decades prior, the antebellum economy of Atlanta had little to offer other than cotton. These exchanges of products, capital, and individuals shows an economic system unified through commodity production and exchange.

## 7.2 Targets of Medicines

Another aspect of data analysis pursued in this research was the type of medicine, referred to as the Target. The targets range from Respiratory to Panacea, and each type is detailed in the Appendix. Overall, the high frequency of Bromo-Seltzer bottles meant that Headache remedies were the most common type of medicine in the subset. However, the target of the various proprietary medicines is a useful category for understanding the ways in which people conceived of illnesses and how best to ameliorate their conditions in the First Gilded Age.



Figure 7.9 Total Vessels from all three sites by Target



Figure 7.10 Percentage of Total Vessels from all three sites by Region

A final area of analysis was in the assessment of frequencies of various colors of glass vessels. While I expected this avenue of research to reveal trends in patent medicine vessel production, the trends were broad enough to apply to glass bottle production more generally, especially because the high frequency of Bromo-Seltzer bottles skew the perception of the frequency of cobalt blue glass bottles. In fact, Bromo-Seltzer vessels are recognized for this exceptional characteristic and cobalt remains a relatively rare color among glass bottles from the period. This proved to be exceptionally positive in terms of brand recognition, ever a problem in the patent medicine industry. In fact, competitors like Chelf's CCC (another headache remedy found in the collection) mimicked Bromo-Seltzer's cobalt blue bottle.



Figure 7.11 Atlanta-made Products by Target

The high frequency of drugstore bottles from Atlanta clearly relates to the proximity of the drugstores to residents and the dump sites, while the female regulator products directly relate to Bradfield's Regulator Co in Atlanta. Nearly half, 16, of the Atlanta-based vessels were drugstore bottles, with 10 of these coming from the Municipal Dump. Once again relating back to proximity, the frequency of drugstore bottles seems directly related to the frequency and nearness of drugstores in the Five Points area just northeast of the dump site.



Figure 7.12 Frequency of Repeated Products in Subset

## 8 **DISCUSSION**

Analysis of the subset of artifacts detailed in my research elucidated consumption and production patterns of medicinal products during America's First Gilded Age in Atlanta. Although the research isolated only a relatively small fraction of the entire collection's artifacts the results aided in weaving a more coherent tapestry of life in Postbellum Atlanta. By crosscomparison of vessels found in each of the three sites studied here, information relating to the products as well as their producers brings to light several of the systemic engagements with manufacturing, distributing, advertising, consuming, and disposing of proprietary medicines.

A surprising find occurred when comparing the quantities of glass catalogued for each site in this research. While the Municipal Crematory (9Fu91) was a much larger site and constitutes more of the total collection, the Edgewood Dump (9Da89) had a much higher number of glass fragments. The difference was initially a shock, but the threads of reason can be sorted out into a tapestry of explanation. The difference in the two sites is tremendous despite being synchronically overlapping depositions just a few miles apart.

First of all, the Edgewood Dump was a relatively small (0.25 acre) residential dump while 9Fu91 was a 6 acre municipal dump 30'-50' deep. Beyond that, the excavation processes were different as well. The Edgewood Dump was excavated years earlier before construction activities were intense enough to interfere. Additionally, the Edgewood excavations took place before the system used by Dickens and his crew had been fine-tuned. Edgewood's material culture could be removed fully, at the excavator's pace, while the Municipal Crematory material was excavated ahead of the buckets of construction vehicles. The massive excavation of 9Fu91 meant that archaeological crews were working neck and neck with construction crews, although they did also perform controlled excavations. Dickens explains that although he learned how to make this work effectively, initially these interactions led to much stress and confusion. Once, it even led to sections of 9Fu91 being hauled away as backfill to four other locations, now designated as four separate sites: 9Fu93, 9Fu94, 9Fu95, 9Fu102 (Dickens 1979:55).

At the Municipal Dump (9Fu91), products from a variety of sources were recovered. Vessels from outside of the Eastern half of the United States were not found in the other two sites. The reason for the diversity appears to be two-fold. First, the site is located at the heart of the downtown area, the most metropolitan point of the city, the most likely point to experience an influx of goods from around the country and the world. Second, this site is the most recent deposit and so, most likely to be the result of more advanced exchange networks.

Despite, and even because of, the differences in content as well as collection, each site had much to reveal. By comparing the ratios of various types of products in each site, issues of health, consumption, and perceived usefulness of products can be inferred. Additionally, because the Edgewood Dump was a residential deposit intended to fill in a ravine for house construction rather than a municipal incinerator, the inclusion of nightsoil, animal carcasses, et cetera is more likely. Therefore, we can expect the deposit to include artifacts that might otherwise have been destroyed in the incinerators at 9Fu91 or 9Fu114. The knowledge that Edgewood was a dry community throughout the research period (1890-1930) is important to my interpretation of the site. This explains why much of the glass was not alcohol related, unlike 9Fu91, which contained high numbers of amber beer bottle glass. The inclusion of so much beer bottle glass is most likely related to the dump's proximity to downtown taverns as well as the Atlanta Brewing Company. As well, the work of Hill (1982) suggests that the deposition at 9Da89 of medicinal products that may have contained alcohol or other narcotics in this context may be seen as part of a purging process for the residents as the ravine was filled in rather quickly. However, due to questions about depositional lag and the broader use-history of the site this has not been confirmed.

At what point do seltzer medicines and tonics diverge from sodas? Certainly, by the time the 1906 PFDA was passed Coca-Cola was still under the scope of Wiley and Adams who insisted that it was a drink that, like alcohol, produced a high rather than simply being a food. Adams seemed to recognize the risks of products like Bromo-Seltzer, but the Edgewood neighborhood may not have, nor did most if any other people in the city. While the residents of Edgewood did expressly state that their community was to be dry, they did not forbid sodas, tonics, or medicines. Bitters were not common in the assemblage, and it can be reasoned that recognizing the high alcohol content of such drinks would have been easy enough. However, recognizing the addictive mind altering effects of bromides might not have been such a simple task for the residents. Certainly they were consuming these headache compounds in higher quantities than alcohol. I should like to address soda consumption in future research in relation to the temperance movement and dry communities of Atlanta.

The Maddox Park site in comparison to the Municipal Crematory site of 9Fu91 gives us an opportunity to compare and contrast two very similar depositional activities. Being of overlapping dates and each site originally serving the same purpose, their comparison should be straightforward. The more interesting question may be: how were the sites and associated depositional behaviors different? Hill (1978) and Webb (1988) reveal the series of ineffective incinerators lead to problems with effective handling of the influx of wastes. This suggests that upon acquiring an effective incinerator at 9Fu91 would lead to less remains and more fire damage in the depositional material (i.e. melted glass). As the source location categories only reveal a location on a map, rather than the social ties or cultural notions of place, the statistics were vulnerable to being skewed by two main factors: national brands flooding local markets or a higher frequency of local products influenced by proximal availability. In this way, Bromo-Seltzer heavily sways statistics at 9Fu91 in favor of southern products even though it is produced in Baltimore, a city that has more in common with New England and the nation's capital than it does with Atlanta.

Other than this anomalous product, most medicines were represented by no more than two or three bottles. The products from all three sites favor one broad area of production: The Atlantic states. Relatively few products were found to have been produced in the Mid-West or further afield. Four exceptions were found. One product, Newbro's Herpicide, was from Butte, Montana. Two products, Turlington's Balsam of Life and Steer's Opodeldoc, were from London, England, UK. The third outlier, a drugstore bottle from Fellows & Co Chemists, was produced in St John, New Brunswick, Canada.

Analysis of these results elucidated a pattern toward national products over local ones. Despite having identified medicines from all over the country, local proprietary brands were outnumbered in every category aside from Druggist Bottles. More specifically, products from New York tend to dominate the assemblages. Products like Bromo-Seltzer, Mexican Mustang Liniment, and Fletcher's Castoria appear to be replacing smaller, local concerns like Baby-Ease and King's Royal Germetuer. This happened much the way Atlanta's own Coca-Cola outcompeted the myriad sodas that were produced small-scale all over the nation.

Inferences about the high presence of headache medicines are difficult to make, being that so many are of a single product. While frequent headaches, addiction to bromides, or happy customers are all likely factors, definite conclusions are hard to make. Given the proximity to Jacobs' and other pharmacies to the Municipal Dump, it is possible that Bromo-Seltzer was simply very popular. The many drugstore vessels do not directly relate to a specific target as that information would have only been listed on a paper label long since destroyed. The third most frequent type of target was external remedies, which may suggest a different understanding of or vehicle for medicine than we have today with our tendency toward medicines in pill form and other generally internal remedies.

The Mayson-Turner Dump at Maddox Park is the only dump site of this period in Atlanta that has documentation that explicitly projects from where the trash had been collected. These 'sanitary maps' (Webb and Roth 1988:10) split the city into sections for collection of solid wastes, but were only available for a short period. Many alterations were made as the city repeatedly undertook adjustments to the garbage collection and storage system.

Despite these maps, it is impossible to know precisely who was partaking in the collection of refuse from domestic sites. We can however, still be certain of their class status. Bowen(1977), Carnes (1979), Hill (1978), Gandy and Draper (1978), Futch (1980), and Webb (1988) all point out that collection, sewerage, plumbing, and other utilities were initially available only to upper class residents. Eventually these services were extended to the entire municipality, but there were certainly residents without full access to garbage collection into the 1920s in places like Cabbagetown and other poor communities (Rotsos 2002). In this way, even residential sites that fall within the maps but were located behind larger dwellings, as was the case for many African American homes at the turn of the century, may not have been eligible for collection. These residents would likely have continued to use local pits and ravines to dispose of wastes. Identifying sites directly related to these poorer neighborhoods would provide a critical data source for teasing out issues of class in future studies.

## 9 CONCLUSIONS

The central theme of this research was to explicate how the patent medicine industry growth during the First Gilded Age affected Atlanta's consumption and trade as well as the impacts on the landscape of the city. In addressing this primary question, I focused on recognizing what medicines were popular, produced, and who produced medicine in Atlanta during this period. In answering these questions, I was able to identify the main producers of patent medicines in Atlanta, and to reveal some of the most popular products in terms of locally produced and consumed medicines.

Furthermore, I analyzed the vessels identified from the excavations of three archaeological dump sites addressing how these nearly synchronous dumps compare and contrast in terms of depositional activity, use-life, and content. Investigating the histories of each of these dumps, I revealed differences between the neighborhood dump activity at 9Da89 and the larger city-wide dumps of 9Fu91 and 9Fu114. The comparison of contents within these collections revealed the possible differences in access and consumption at least partially due to proximity of commerce and transportation activities in the city center.

So, were the people of Atlanta conscious of the regional impact of their medicine consumption? What is the pattern of consumption from Reconstruction into the 20<sup>th</sup> century? Is there a trend toward or away from local products versus national products? (e.g. less consumption of Cheney's Expectorant and more consumption of Hall's Balsam for the Lungs?) Certainly this is the eventual pattern. A trend away from local goods is seen on a national scale, even with Atlanta's own Coca-Cola. Other soda manufacturers were out-advertised and outcompeted by Candler. Seeing as how advertising was the lynchpin to the proprietary medicine

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industry, it stands to reason that the bigger, more effective advertisers would dominate the market. They would have the crucial advantage of brand recognition.

The question then becomes: what do the assemblages say about this? While most of the drugstore bottles were from local firms, most of the proprietary medicines appear to be from outside of the Southern United States. After much consideration of the findings, the trend is clearly toward national products over local ones. Well-known medicines like Pinkham's Vegetable Compound eventually replaced smaller southern products like Wine of Cardui or Woman's Best Friend.

The lives of countless individuals in Atlanta, and afar, were intertwined by processes of commerce, exchange, inspiration, desperation, sickness, addiction, manipulation, belief, consumption, and disposal of these lost bottles of hope. The factory worker, too poor to see a doctor, may go to the drugstore to buy a proprietary medicine instead. She is pregnant, and having terrible morning sickness. A local product, Mothers Friend, from Atlanta's own Bradfield Regulator Co. catches her eye. It promises to ease all manner of disease associated with pregnancy and childbirth. It guarantees a prettier baby! The price of the product is nearly a day's wage (Gandy and Draper 1978:3), but a fraction of what a doctor would charge, if he'd even see her. Drinking the 'medicine' will likely ease any constipation the woman has, but do little else for her. The next product on the shelf is probably no better.

The men who produced, marketed, and profited from this illusion of healthcare were working in small groups of integrated associations to manage nearly all of the local resources, commanding labor forces, paying little, and reaping dramatic profits. Men like Fiddlin' John Carson were working 14-hour days in the mills, earning a few dollars a week, living in shacks without plumbing, getting injured all the while. The same bosses that worked Carson to the brink and booted him and dozens of others when they dared ask be treated civilly were working with the druggists, bankers, newspapers, and developers to extract wealth from Atlanta. The deposit at 9Da89 represents this class dynamic and how the low instance of ethical bottles may suggest a lower rate of access or affordability. However, as Atlantans may have been skeptical of ivory tower physicians and preferred to take their chances with the nostrums and their promises. Ethical medicines may be held on to longer than proprietary medicines for the dual reasons of the shame associated with patent medicines consumption and the relative ease with which patent medicines can be replaced (much less expensive).

With the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act in 1906, the nation's medicine men were forced to adapt. Those with power and prestige shifted toward becoming druggists. This tended to mean wholesale distribution of medical compounds to pharmacies. Others shifted toward developing the trade of pharmacy itself, such as Atlanta's Rankin. Those who remained tethered to the patent medicine tree were the ones bound for a crash, as they would face the harshest scrutiny of society and the law. The public's eye was focused through the lens of magazines like Harper's and Collier's whose editorial section was regularly filled with the scathing reviews of Cramp and Adam. The Law was hearing more and more cases against nostrum producers.

While the limits set forth by the 1906 law were fairly mild, new adumbrations continued to be rendered until finally, in 1938, congress passed the most substantial law regulating food and drugs in the US. The Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic (FDC) Act of 1938 was armed with new provisions. The new law extended control to cosmetics and therapeutic devices, required new drugs to be proven safe before being marketed, which started a new system regulating drugs. Authorized factory inspections, and set standards of identity, quality, and fill-of-container for foods. The FDC Act also provided that safe tolerances be set for unavoidable poisonous substances. Additionally, the new law eliminated the Sherley Amendment requirement to prove *intent* to defraud in drug misbranding cases (Janssen 1981).

While exact dates for many of the products were difficult to identify, generally the bottles fell within the range of the known dates of depositional use of the dumps. While knowledge of the broad areas of collection for the municipal dump sites of Maddox Park (9Fu114) and the Hulsey-Rhodes/Municipal Crematory (9Fu91) was available, the populations that were being collected from were less well known. The Edgewood community deposited the materials in the Edgewood Dump (9Da89), however nothing more specific about this population in terms of individual contributions, could be identified. Therefore, rather than focus on when or who was making the deposits, my research has focused on what was being deposited, who had produced the items, and the impact the medicines and their producers had on Atlanta. In focusing on impacts, the areas of scrutiny were medical and economic.

This research has revealed a crucial period of Atlanta history framed specifically within the context of medicine production and consumption. The story of the producers of these compounds helps to explicate the ways in with commerce of proprietary medicines in Atlanta affected the growth of neighborhoods, industries, and the cityscape itself. The agents involved in the manufacture, exchange and consumption of these products left their mark in ways they likely never intended to: through their waste. However, these unintended traces have made it easier for research to recognize and re-enliven the impacts that they made with clear intent. In a city of ever changing landscapes, the histories of these actors can become hidden beneath the layers of progress and construction. The MARTA collection and my research are evidence that occasionally these forces, which can seem destructive, can also contribute to uncovering forgotten moments and people of times gone by. It is my sincere hope that by revealing these connections and activities that this work will in some way benefit future researchers by filling in previously unidentified gaps in the complex tapestry of Atlanta's past.
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#### **APPENDIX**

#### **Appendix A: Medicinal Dossiers**

This collection of informative synopses are the result of concerted research to dredge up the most useful and interesting facts and associations related to the medicinal bottles and products found within the MARTA collection. Each glass vessel holds several stories: the company's history, the product's contents, the hopes and needs of the consumer, the networks of production and exchange that brought it to market, and so on. This section will draw those radial lines, evidencing the connections that tethered Atlanta residents to so many other cities and people across the nation so long ago.

Each page contains the product name, either as found embossed on the bottle, or the most common form associated with a specific bottle design; an image of the bottle from the MARTA collection, and an assessment of the product's history, usefulness, harmfulness, frequency in the collection, relative cost (when possible), how it was effected by the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906(PFDA), and any possible ties to Atlanta, Georgia and her residents.

#### Appendix A.1 Categories of Medicinal Products

The following categories were selected after all of the artifacts had been identified and reviewed for examples of packaging claims, advertisements, and/or external references to either the product's consumption or the use of similar compounds. Some products only had packaging references available to determine the appropriate category. Other products only had advertisements available as references.

These categories are somewhat broad and flexible as I wanted to establish inclusive groupings that could give a sense of comparative analysis between sites given the relatively small sample size. Additionally, the inherent flexibility in categorizing these products is a result of the flexible and sweeping statements in marketing used in during the time period. For instance, some products that qualify as bitters may also claim efficacy in aiding digestion or kidney troubles. Certainly, some products marketed for female use was also marketed to alleviate various ailments in addition to "female troubles".

**Bitters** – This class of medicine typically had a high alcohol content and a series of herbal tinctures, which added flavor as well as claimed to bestow positive health effects. Most of these medicines were little more than alcoholic beverages in decorative bottles. The addition of bitters in mixed drinks was popular before national prohibition of alcohol. The use of bitters in alcoholic drinks was largely discontinued after prohibition was repealed in 1933, being lost to American popular culture until a revival at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Original bitters bottles with unspoiled contents can command exceptionally high prices on the bottle collector/liquor aficionado circuits.

**Female Products** – While this class of medicinal product was the precursor to many contemporary and legitimate medicines, most of the examples from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century were spurious. An outlier for several reasons, Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound was at least based on the best knowledge of medicinal plants for her day, some of which have confirmed therapeutic properties. However, more products were akin to Bradfield's Mothers Friend, which alleged numerous absurd and miraculous properties for a concoction that was predominately oil.

**Digestive/Laxative/Antacid** – The category of products relating to the digestive system contains quite a variety of products, most tackling certain aspects of digestion such as stomach acidity, flatulence, constipation, or diarrhea. Some of the products in this category alleged to remedy all of the aforementioned ailments, though as tends to be the case, these claims were rarely substantiated upon scientific review.

**Blood/Liver/Kidney** – Another broad, yet interrelated category of proprietary medicine deals with illnesses of the blood and kidneys. While today we recognize the differences in these organ systems, many products were billed as remedies for both liver and kidney troubles. Products such as Dr Kilmer's Swamp-Root claimed to "cure" liver and kidney diseases, typically via purifying the blood itself. Another exceptional example of this class is the local, and exceedingly rare, Dr Durham's Blood Purifier. Blood purification was the gist of several products that used the term in their name or advertising. Understood in the context of Thomsonian and older European constructs of bodily humors, this class can be seen as a logical cornerstone of a 19<sup>th</sup> century medicinal typology.

**External** – Possibly the broadest type presented in this research is the External category, which includes: lotions, liniments, hair restoratives, creams, dentifrices, and salves. Some of the products like Royal Foot Wash were fairly straightforward and made simple claims about products and their effects. Others, such as Mexican Mustang Liniment and Liquid Opodeldoc were oils and alcohols that did little to treat ailments or prevent disease.

**Respiratory** – From Cheney's Expectorant to Vapo-Cresoline, respiratory medicines were a category of products that were primarily marketed to treat symptoms or diseases related to the respiratory system. Some of these products were for internal use, while others were strictly for external use, as their consumption was as lethal as the disease of the same name.

**Panacea** – The cure-all is a patent medicine stereotype and while many products did claim to address a wide, and often absurd, number of conditions, few of the products in this set of vessels met the definition. Products like Liquozone and PE-RU-NA began wih assertions that they could address certain ailments and quick y rationalized an accelerated number of additional uses. The strategy for PE-RU-NA was to claim that the product was a cure for catarrh, an antiquated term for mucus. Soon though, the manufacturers were suggesting that nearly every human malady was the result of excessive catarrh of variable form. Likewise, Liquozone concocted a description of the method of the product's efficaciousness and expanded that description so as to suggest that Liquozone could cure nearly any ill. The company regularly advertised the product, technically a mixture of red wine and acids, was a positive cure for over thirty different conditions. The claims were, of course, unfounded.

**Specific** – this category is similar to that of the Panacea although for the opposite reason. Typically, proprietary medicines were billed for a wide range of uses. This lies in both the origins of the alternative medicine practitioners like the Thomsonians as well as competitive marketing. The more reasons to use a product, the more likely the consumer will choose it over another. However, specifics were marketed to address one, often common, disorder. For example, Smith's Worm Oil and Mother's Worm Oil were used to treat intestinal parasites. Piso's Cure for Consumption was marketed as just that: a cure for "consumption", a disease now known as tuberculosis. However, its use and efficacy were far different. Piso's was allegedly made with opiates and cannabis with alcohol for good measure. It would not cure tuberculosis, but it would certainly alleviate the pain of slowly dying, for a while.

**Headache** – By far the most ubiquitous in terms of vessel quantity across the three sites sampled, Headache remedies were clearly popular in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century just as they are today. Headache medicines like Hicks' Capudine, Chelf's Celery Caffein Compound, and Harper's Cephalgine were popular remedies and showed up with regularity in the collection. However, Bromo-Seltzer was far and away the product that appeared with the greatest frequency. A widely distributed and popular medicine for decades, Bromo-Seltzer vessels make up 21% of the total vessels from the three sites in this research.

### Appendix A.2 Products

# Product Name: Angier's Petroleum Emulsion Dates produced: 1889-1960 (Fike 1987:152) Type: Respiratory Source Location: Boston, MA Artifact ID: P1487 Site ID: 9Da89 Glass Color: Aqua Base: Oval Dimensions: 18x6.5x3.5cm Embossing: "ANGIER"S PETROLEUM EMULSION" Producer: Angier Chemical Co.





An entry from a volume of the Pacific Medical Journal shows one of the way products were recommended and just how strange (and harmful!) some of the products' ingredients would seem from an early 21<sup>st</sup> century perspective:

"The following treatment for chorea is highly recommended by Dr. L. E. Lemen, Professor Clinical Surgery in the Gross Medical College, of Denver; Health Commissioner of Denver; Surgeon to St. Joseph's Hospital; Division Surgeon of Union Pacific Railway; President of State Board of Commissioners of Insane Asylum, etc. "Put the patient on Fowler's Solution of Arsenic " and continue until the eyelids show distention, then stop the arsenic and " administer 'Angier's Petroleum Emulsion1 until this symptom disappears." Dr. Lemen claims that by alternating these two remedies in this way he has never failed to cure the worst cases in from three to five weeks." (Anderson 1895:126)



Product Name: Anticephalgine Dates produced: pre 1906 Type: Headache Source Location: Raleigh, NC Artifact ID: 9Da89 Site ID: P1399 Glass Color: Colorless, Base: Handy Dimensions: 8.5x3.5x2cm Embossing: "ANTICEPHALGINE/ THE GREAT HEADACHE CURE/// PATJUNE 17 88/A/S.B." Producer: Jason I. Johnson



Anticephalgine was a headache medicine produced in Raleigh, NC likely before 1906 as the embossing referred to the product as "The Great Headache Cure". The word cure would have brought on challenges and fines after the passage of the PFDA. Anticephalgine was produced by Jason I. Johnson of Raleigh, NC. In 1917 the ingredients were listed as 19% alcohol, 6.9% sodium bromide, 0.86% sodium salicylate, 0.72% acetanilide, 0.63% caffeine, and 1.29 grams per 100cc antipyrine. Taking a look at these ingredients and what their effects may be: Antipyrine was a popular headache remedy for many decades, but was eventually replaced with safer derivatives. Hicks' Capudine was also an antipyretic as are modern medicines ibuprofen and aspirin (AMA 1917).

Product Name: Atwood's Jaundice Bitters Dates produced: 1840-1918 Type: Bitters Source Location: Georgetown, MA Artifact ID: P1904, P3128 Site ID: 9Fu91 Glass Color: Aqua Base: Octagonal Dimensions: 15.5x5.5cm Embossing: "ATWOOD'S//JAUNDICE BITTERS//MOSES ATWOOD//GEORGETOWN//MASS." Producer: Moses Atwood, M. Carter & Sons, and Hall & Ruckel

According to Fike (1987:30) Atwood's originally contained over 25% abv and produced by Moses Atwood of Georgetown, MA in 1840 under the official name "Genuine Vegetable Physical Jaundice Bitters". By 1855 the rights to the "Jaundice Bitters" was procured by M. Carter & Sons, also of Georgetown (Singer 1982). The Smithsonian Institute's American History collection suggests that Atwood's Jaundice Bitters was produced by Hall & Ruckel from 1908-1918 (http://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/search/object/nmah\_1298259)



According to the manufacturer, Hall & Ruckel, Atwood's Jaundice bitters was useful for treating: "jaundice, headache, dyspepsia, worms, dizziness, loss of appetite, darting pains, colds and fevers. For cleansing the blood of humors and moistening the skin. Also for liver complaints, strangury, dropsy, croup and phthisis". The product was 16% alcohol and also contained

Atwood's Jaundice Bitters | National Museum of American History http://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/search/object/nmah\_1298259, accessed May 8, 2014. Product Name: Baby-Ease Dates produced: 1900-1917 Type: Digestive/Antacid/Laxative Source Location: Atlanta, GA Artifact ID: P1399, P3627 Site ID: 9Da89, 9Fu91 Glass Color: Colorless, Aqua Base: Blake Dimensions: 14x5x2.5cm Embossing: "BABY EASE" Producer: Baby-Ease Co., T.P. Marshall (Fike 1987:153)



TP Marshall applied to declare himself "a bankrupt" in 1912. (Kennedy 1912:804)

MARSHALL, T. P., Atlanta, Ga.		Bat
	Dist.	Bat
Buby Ease, 25c, star	\$2.09	6 d
Baby Edde, 554, 4164, 117, 117, 117, 117, 117, 117, 117, 11	12.53	
Finity Ravel, 50c with	4.40	1 d
d (anen, )ets, is there from the decompositions,		(Dr
3 from the, 3 per rent, discourt, definerel.		(DI

Baby Ease, 25c size ... \$2.00/doz Baby Ease, 35c size ... \$2.75/doz Baby Ease, 50c size ... \$4.00/doz 6 dozen lots, ½ dozen free; 12 dozen lots, 1 dozen free, 3 per cent discount, delivered. (Bridgman 1917:244)

"Soothing" It was proposed to provide gastric relief for children. Meant to address colic, Baby-Ease falls within the Digestive/Antacid/Laxative category. Much like Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup, Baby-Ease likely contained alcohol and/or morphine for some time. Product Name: Balsam of Life Dates produced: 1857-1935 Type: Panacea/Cure-All Source Location: London, England, UK Artifact ID: P3213 Site ID: 9Fu91 Glass Color: Aqua Base: Rectangular base, vessel has a distinctive angular-pear shape Dimensions: 6.5x3.5x2cm Embossing: "ROBT/TURLI/NGTON/FOR HIS/INVENTED/BALSAM/OF LIFE//LONDON//BY THE KINGS/ROYAL/PATENT/GRANTED//JANY" Producer: Robert Turlington, this bottle may have been produced in the US by Whitall-Tatum Co of Millville, NJ



(Fike 1987:27)

http://www.mohawkvalleybottleclub.com/ArchiveArticles/TurlingtonBalsamOfLife.asp http://mountvernonmidden.org/wordpress/?p=1129 http://www.gutenberg.org/files/30162/30162-h/30162-h.htm Product Name: Blood Wine Dates produced: 1895-1903 Type: Blood/Liver Source Location: Worcester, MA Artifact ID: P1874 Site ID: 9Fu91 Glass Color: Colorless Base: Rectangular Dimensions: 9x3.5x2cm Embossing: "FREE/SAMPLE/BLOOD/WINE//THE LOUIS DAUDELIN CO//WORCESTER MASS" Producer: The Louis Daudelin Co



Research within the historical archives of the Atlanta Constitution only yielded references to Daudelin's Blood Wine for the year of 1903. Seven advertisements by J.J. & J.E. Maddox, druggists are the only confirmed references for the Blood Wine within the Constitution's full archive between 1881 and 1945 (Maddox 1903:7).

A trademark for the term "Blood Wine" was given to Louis Daudelin in Worecester Mass, in 1895 (Oldberg 1895:92). Apparently, Daudelin was also near bankruptcy by 1904, as reports show they were promising repayments once they sold their stock of products and labels (Kennedy 1904:387). Product Name: Botanic Blood Balm Dates produced: Advertised from 1887 - 1935 (Fike 1987:153) Type: Bitters Source Location: Atlanta, GA Artifact ID: P607 Site ID: 9Da89 Glass Color: Amber Base: Blake Dimensions: 22x9.5x6cm Embossing: "B.B.B. Atlanta, GA" Producer: Blood Balm Co., J.P. Dromgoole, Asa Candler, J.B. Brooks



The rights to this product were purchased by Asa G Candler in 1890 from a Mr J. P. Dromgoole just two years after securing the rights to Coca-Cola. He likely bought it for a bargain price as it had just been condemned in a court case where the medicine had allegedly caused serious injury to a consumer. However, in 1891 Candler sold B.B.B. to a J.B. Brooks to devote his full attention on Coca-Cola (Pendergrast 2000:48-51). Ads for the product make claims for curing numerous serious ailments, among them Cancer.



Under The Pure Food and Drugs Act: Hearings Before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce BBB was charged with misbranding and fraudulent claims. This should not be surprising as the product that had already been found liable in court for injuring consumers still claimed to cure rheumatism as well as "permanent relief of all blood and skin diseases" (US Congress 1912:201). Official analysis showed that it was primarily composed of "potassium iodide and a small proportion of vegetable ingredient" (US Congress 1912:201). The maker's mark on the base of this vessel appears to be one of

the Chattanooga Glass Company between 1901 and 1913.

Product Name: Bromo-Seltzer Dates produced: 1890-1954 Type: Headache Source Location: Baltimore, MD Artifact ID(s): (9Da89) P1052, P118, P1376, (9Fu91) P1452, P1334, P1616, P1480, P638, P1798, P1874, P1314, P1559, P1769, P1569, P1580, P1812, P1841, P1791, P1970, P1904, P3030, P3141, P2000, P3158, P3189, P3279, P3410, P3452, P557, P3213 Site ID(s): 9Da89, 9Fu91 Glass Color: Cobalt Base: Circular Dimensions: 6.5x3cm , 10x4cm, 12.5x5cm, 16.5x7cm Embossing: "BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG CO./BALTIMORE MD" Producer: Emerson Drug Co

Remedy for nervous headache, neuralgia, brain fatigue, sleeplessness, over-brain work, depression following alcoholic and other excesses, mental exhaustion

Physical Description: acetanilide, 20 grains per ounce (drug active ingredients) <u>http://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/search/object/nmah\_1298372</u> Bromo-Seltzer was hugely popular for decades, selling an average of \$20,000,000 a year. However, it contained two addictive, poisonous compounds, encouraging its popularity by creating addicts, and eventually ensuring its own demise. The first of the compounds to be recognized as potentially harmful was acetanilide. While the 1906 FDA did require that acetanilide be listed as one of the active ingredients, the more crucial information – namely that the compound could be fatal in regular doses – was not required on the label. (Fike 1987:111, Munsey 1992:5, Munsey 2010)



Bromo-Seltzer bottles and embossed fragments make up 48 of the medicinal vessels found in the MARTA collection. By far this is the most numerous product represented within the sample, both in quantity and variety. The four sizes are present, as well as one more recent bottle, shown in the above image. This post 1950 bottle was not included statistically but gives an impression of both the consistency of form as well as the variation of style and technology in bottling this popular medicine.

"Bromo-Seltzer is commonly sold in drugstores, both by the bottle and at soda fountains. The full dose is a 'heaping teaspoonful.' A heaping teaspoonful of Bromo-Seltzer means about ten grains of acetanilid. The United States Pharmacopeia dose is four grains; five grains have been known to produce fatal results. The prescribed dose of Bromo-Seltzer is dangerous and has been known to produce sudden collapse" (Adams 1907) Product Name: Chelf's Celery Caffein Compound Dates produced: 1910-1948 Type: Headache Source Location: Richmond, VA Artifact ID: P1203 Site ID: 9Fu91 Glass Color: Cobalt Base: Circular Dimensions: 10.5x4cm Embossing: "CHELFS COMP/CELERY CAFFEIN/TRADE CCCC MARK/FOR HEADACHE/MANFD D ONLY BY/CHELF CHEMICAL CO/RICHMOND, VA USA" Producer: Chelf Chemical Co (Fike 1987:84)



Chelf's Celery Caffeine Compound was produced by the Chelf Chemical Company of Richmond, Virginia. Referred to as CCCC, producers claimed it was a mild laxative, gas-reducer, and headache and cold remedy. Sold over the counter, Chelf's contained acetanilide, a more dangerous form of the active ingredient in Tylenol, acetaminophen.

"A mild laxative; efficacious in flatulence, excessive gas in stomach, headaches, neuralgia, head colds"

Product Name: Dr F.M. Cheney's Expectorant Dates produced: ca1890-ca1906 Type: Respiratory Source Location: Covington, GA; Atlanta, GA Artifact ID: (9Fu91) P3011, P3145, (9Fu114) P51 Site ID: 9Fu91, 9Fu114 Glass Color: Aqua Base: Blake Dimensions: 11.5x4.5x2.25cm, distinctive tiered-shoulders Embossing: "EXPECTORANT//DR F.M. CHENEY'S//COVINGTON, GA" Producer: J.B. Daniel

Manufactured by J.B. Daniel, referred to by Thomas Martin as "one of the oldest and bestknown manufacturers of [patent medicines in] Atlanta" (1902:386)





WHAT DOES IT CURE? It cures Croup, Influenza, Bronchitis, Coughs, Colds and all affections of the throat, lungs and nasal tubes.

HOW DOES IT TASTE? It is pleasant to take and children even like it.

HOW DOES IT ACT? It acts almost immediately. It will prevent a cold if taken in time, or cure it if taken after the cold is contracted.

HAVE YOU ANY CERTIFICATES? Hundreds, from all sec. tions of the country. A great many families are never without a bottle in the house. Even physicians endorse it. Here is a sample:

> WEBSTER, N. C. I have used CHENEY'S EXPECTOBANT in my family and unhesitatingly say that it is the best remedy I ever used for Croup. I always keep it will cure any case of Croup. WALTER E. MOORE. in the house. If taken according to directions it

PRICE 25 AND 50 CENTS A BOTTLE.

FOR SALE EVERYWHERE.

#### JOHN B. DANIEL,

Wholesale Druggist, 34 Wall Street, ATLANTA, GA.

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Figure A.2.1: Ad found in the Georgia Pharmaceutical

Prepared by

Product Name: Dr Cloud's Antimalaria Dates produced: Unknown Type: Specific Source Location: Atlanta, GA Artifact ID: P1841, P1970 Site ID: 9Fu91 Glass Color: Colorless Base: French Square Dimensions: 14x4.75x4.75cm Embossing: "DR CLOUD'S/ ANTIMALARIAL/ ATLANTA, GA" Producer: Unknown

This is currently the most mysterious bottle in the subset. Absolutely no leads or references have been discovered in relation to this product or producer. While record of a Civil War veteran named "Dr Cloud" in Atlanta just after the Civil War, and a physician in Austell in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century was also a "Dr Cloud", neither of these individuals appear to be directly associated with this product.



Product Name: Dalby's Carminative Dates produced: 1770-? Type: Digestive/Antacid/Laxative Source Location: Brooklyn, NY Artifact ID: P1904 Site ID: 9Fu91 Glass Color: Aqua Base: Circular Dimensions: 9.5x4cm Embossing: "DALBY'S//CARMINATIV" Producer: E. Fougera & Co.



A product used for calming sick/fussy/teething children that contained opium. (Fike 1987:160) Ingredients were listed in Taylor (1904:173) and The Dublin Journal of Medical Science (Hodges

and Smith 1843:418) is translated as follows: 1drachm of tincture of opium, 2.5drachm of tincture of giant fennel, 1drachm of oil of caraway, 2drachms of peppermint oil, 6.5drachms of tincture of castor, 6drachms of rectified spirit of wine.

### Dalby's Carminativ.—Pulv. rhei, magnes. carb., glycerin, sugar, ol. menth. pip. and ol. anethi, and a small quantity of laudanum.

This carminative was primarily intended for children: "recommended in the flatulence, gripes, convulsions, etc of infants". Described in the Dublin Journal of Medical Science as "one of the most ancient and popular arcana of Great Britain" (Hodges and Smith 1843:418), Dalby's Carminative was originally attributed to James Dalby in 1770. However, being a nostrum that predated modern branding it was replicated and produced by innumerable druggists (Cannon N.d., Griffenhagen and Bogard 1999) Product Name: Darby's Prophylactic Fluid Dates produced: Type: Disinfectant/Antiseptic Source Location: Philadelphia, PA Artifact ID: P1904 Site ID: 9Fu91 Glass Color: Aqua Base: Circular Dimensions: 19x6.5cm Embossing: "J.H. ZEILIN & Co//DARBY'S/PROPHYLACTIC/FLUID//PHILADELPHIA" Producer: George Darby, J.H. Zeinlin & Co



http://www.antique-bottles.net/forum/Darbys-Prophylactic-Fluid-m298388.aspx John M. Darby was a successful medicine man and academic. He invested heavily in a women's college in Georgia and another school that would eventually become Auburn University. His "prophylactic fluid" made claims similar to many other proprietary medicines. Darby's ad from 1866 issue of Scott's Monthly Magazine

Product Name: Davis Vegetable Painkiller Dates produced: pre-1928 Type: Panacea/Cure-All Source Location: Providence, RI Artifact ID: P2000 Site ID: 9Fu91 Glass Color: Aqua Base: Blake Dimensions: 15x4.75x2.25cm Embossing: "DAVIS/VEGETABLE/PAINKILLER" Producer: Davis & Son

"A Purely Vegetable Medicine" Produced from 1880-1920 (Griffenhagen and Bogard 1999:80)

Some lay sources claim that the product was mostly opium and alcohol, but a 1930 seizure and declaration of misbranding by a US attorney describe the product as containing mostly: "camphor, capsicum, myrrh, alcohol, and water". While Davis' Vegetable Painkiller may have contained opium early on, by1930 the laws against medicines with contents like opium were set in place. Regardless, the claims of curing consumption, cancer, etc, were found to be misbranding/misrepresentation. (Brown 2002) (Fike 1987:130)



Figure A.2.5 "Joy to the World" Davis' Vegetable Pain Killer, arrived by cherubim
## Product Name: Dr Durham's Blood Purifier

Dates produced: ca1900 Type: Blood/Liver Source Location: Atlanta, GA Artifact ID: P122 Site ID: 9Fu91 Glass Color: Aqua Base: Blake Dimensions: 3 Fragments, Original bottle was >7" x 2 3/8" x 1 5/8" Embossing: "DR DURHAM'S/ BLOOD PURIFIER" Producer: Walter H Durham, M.D. Under the newly passed PFDA, a "Durham's No. 1 Tonic" was confiscated for false claims

and misrepresentation. Not certain if the two are identical, but a dearth of possible alternatives paired with the coincidence of claims at blood purification, name, and location, these are believed to be the same products/producers. "Dr. Durham's No. 1 Tonic, distributed by Walker H. Durham, M.D., Atlanta, Ga., was promoted by claims on bottle labels and in placards which represented the tonic as effective for treating all diseases of the blood, liver, kidneys and stomach; and for arthritis, rheumatism and other chronic diseases of men and women. The bottle label listed the ingredients as triticum, macrotys, yellow root, cascara amarga, sarsasparilla, yellow dock, prickly ash bark, stillingia, phytolacoa and fringe tree bark. It was charged that these ingredients would not be effective for the diseases named, and that the labeling claims were false and misleading. The tonic was seized in possession of the distributor." -

http://www.aging.senate.gov/publications/1171963.pdf



Product Name: Fink's Magic Oil Dates produced: Type: Panacea/Cure-All Source Location: Springdale, PA Artifact ID: P1745 Site ID: 9Fu91 Glass Color: Colorless Base: Blake Dimensions: 12x5x2.5cm Embossing: "FINK'S/MAGIC OIL//H.G.G. FINK//SPRINGDALE, PA." Producer: Henry George Greatrake Fink

Produced by Henry George Greatrake Fink, a former Methodist preacher, Fink's Magic Oil was found by the Connecticut Dairy and Food Comissioner and the Indiana State Board of Health to contain 87% alcohol (Potter 1908:18, Tucker 1909:284). Later, when fined under the PFDA, chemical analysis revealed that the medicine contained a "moderate" 46% abv. However, the primary infraction was misbranding as the product was not, and did not contain any, oil (Langlois and Goldstein 2011, Fike 1987:192).

### **Product Name: Fletcher's Castoria**

Dates produced: (product) 1868-present, (bottles) 1870-1900 Type: Digestive/Antacid/Laxative Source Location: New York, NY Artifact ID: (9Da89) P1218, (9Fu91) P1798, P3030, P3040 Site ID: 9Da89, 9Fu91 Glass Color: Aqua Base: Blake Dimensions: 14.5x5x2.5cm Embossing: "DR S. PITCHER'S//CASTORIA" Producer: The Centaur Company Originally produced by Dr. Samuel Ditcher in 1868, Castoria y

Originally produced by Dr. Samuel Pitcher in 1868, Castoria was marketed as a safe laxative for children and a pleasant replacement for Castor Oil. Variants with the name "Fletcher's" instead of the original "DR S PITCHER'S" were introduced in the 1890s. Our vessel predates this change in the embossed label (Fike 1987:177). The name has been sold multiple times but is still available in drugstores today as Fletcher's Laxative for Kids. -

## http://www.centaur.com/



Product Name: Harper's Cephalgine Dates produced: 1887-1907 Type: Headache Source Location: Washington, DC Artifact ID: P1559 Site ID: 9Fu91 Glass Color: Aqua Base: Blake Dimensions: 4 7/8" x 1 6/8" x 7/8" Embossing: "HARPER'S CEPHALGINE/FOR HEADACHE/WASHINGTON, D.C." Producer: Robert N. Harper



"A Seven Hundred Dollar Fine.—The first conviction under the Federal Pure Food and Drugs Act is that of Mr. Harper, of Washington, D. C., proprietor of 'Harper's Cephalgine.' Our readers are no doubt familiar with the cause of action. It is also indicative of the fact that Uncle Sam cares nothing for position and influence when a violation of his enactments is concerned. Mr. Harper of this case is a very wealthy and influential citizen of the city of Washington, but his money, position, and influence were unable to save him from the stigma of conviction. This phase of the suit and decision is very gratifying."—Midland Druggist, May, 1908.

Readers of the GLEANER will remember that they have been warned more than once concerning the matter of alcohol in medicines. When it is remembered that the label of the preparation for which Mr. Harper was fined stated that it contained thirty per cent alcohol, whilst the Government assay showed that it contained but twenty-four per cent, we can appreciate the necessity for observing that the alcoholic contents of every remedy be accurately stated on the label.

From the Eclectic Medical Gleaner (Felter 1908:317)

The first conviction under the Pure Food and Drug Act was Mr. Robert N. Harper. He was a Washington, D.C. druggist and his fine was \$700 for mislabeling as his label claimed his Cephalgine to contain 30% alcohol when in fact it contained only 24%. Both the Midland Druggist and the Eclectic Medical Gleaner seemed pleased by the demand for accuracy and willingness to fine even wealthy proprietors under the new law. Advertised as early as 1895, the product was temporarily rebranded as "Cuforhedake" (Fike 1987:165).

Product Name: Hicks' Capudine Dates produced: Type: Headache Source Location: Raleigh, NC Artifact ID: (9Da89) P1622, P365, P1218, (9Fu91) P2001, P1933, P1055, P1456 Site ID: 9Da89, 9Fu91 Glass Color: Amber Base: Blake, Philadelphia Oval Dimensions: 14.5x5.5x4.25cm, 15x4.5x2.5cm, 8.25x3.5x1.75cm Embossing: "HICKS' CAPUDINE/FOR ALL HEADACHES/COLDS, INDIGESTION, ETC."; "HICKS' CAPUDINE/HEADACHE CURE"; "HICKS' CAPUDINE/CURES HEADACHE"; "HICKS' CAPUDINE/FOR HEADACHES" Producer: Hicks' Capudine Co

Manufactured by Capudine Chemical Company for treatment of headaches, contained an antipyretic that was lethal in high doses. The Capudine Chemical Co called the primary ingredient "capu" and gave a structural formula for it. However, chemical analysis of the product found that the main ingredients were alcohol (8%), caffeine, and antipyrine (Cramp 1912:500). "Capu" is a made-up name for the antipyrine used in the medicine, apparently to allay the fears of a public already aware of the dangers similar compounds posed as heart-depressants. To highlight the seriousness of this falsehood, Cramp references an Atlanta Constitution article from 1908 describing the death of a Mrs Joe Winburn from Covington, Georgia who passed after consuming too much Capudine (Cramp 1912:503). Before 1906, bottle embossing often contained the word "cure". (Fike 1987:157, 166)



Product Name: Jacobs' Pharmacy Dates produced: Type: Drugstore Bottle Source Location: Atlanta, GA; Montgomery, AL Artifact ID: (9Da89) P319, (9Fu91) P1580, P1841, P3278 Site ID: 9Da89, 9Fu91 Glass Color: Colorless Base: Union Oval, Philadelphia Oval Dimensions: 12.5x5.5x4cm, 9.5x3.5x2.5cm, 7.5x2.75x1.75cm Embossing: "Jacobs' Pharmacy/Atlanta, Ga."; "Jacobs' Pharmacy/Montgomery, Ala."

 Located in Atlanta, site of first Coca-Cola dispensation. Mr. Jacobs was an influential businessman and longtime friend and/or supporter of Coca-Cola creator Dr Pemberton.

In one article from an 1889 issue of the Atlanta Constitution newspaper, a chance



meeting on peachtree st between Dr Jacobs and Dr Walter Taylor led to blows. On July 29<sup>th</sup>, Dr Taylor was getting into a cab on Peachtree when Dr Jacobs saw him from the doorway of his store. Dr Jacobs grabbed his hat and made his way to the "car" Dr Taylor was about to board. Dr Jacobs cursed at Taylor and one of the men suggested that they take a trip to the woods to settle the dispute. Jacobs said he'd not follow Taylor as he was known to fight unfairly. Taylor decked him in the jaw and as they scuffled threw Jacobs to the ground. The crowd separated the two men. The paper interviewed both men, who each gave similar accounts of the story. The reporter remarked that to anyone who knew the men the fight should come as no surprise. Apparently they had each written and distributed nasty circulars about each other and "for several years the relations between those gentlemen have been strained" (1889:5). The men were later called before a judge and each fined ten dollars for disorderly conduct.

Product Name: Dr Jones' Beaver and Oil Compound Dates produced: pre-1906 Type: External Remedy Source Location: Albany, NY Artifact ID: P365 Site ID: 9Da89 Glass Color: Aqua Base: Blake Dimensions: 5 3/4" x 1 5/8" x 11/16" Embossing: "BEAVER AND(inverted) OIL/COMPOUND" Producer: Morris Spiegel (Fike 1987:84)



This "medicine" was produced by Morris Spiegel of Albany, NY. The packaging claimed that the compound provided relief from a wide variety of ailments including toothaches, rheumatism, and sore throats. No beaver oil, nor oil from any other animal, was found in this product under chemical analysis. Instead, the primary components were found to be oleoresin of capsicum, oil of sassafras, and gasoline. That bears repeating: gasoline. They were fined for misbranding under the PFDA of 1906.

Product Name: Lamar and Rankin Druggists Dates produced: ca1875-ca1880, ca1880-ca1910 Type: Drugstore Bottle Source Location: Atlanta, GA Artifact ID: P243, P1812, P1874 Site ID: 9Fu91 Glass Color: Aqua, Amber Base: Blake, Circular Dimensions: 6 3/4" x 2 1/8" x 1 1/8", 22.5x7.75x4.75cm, 7x3.5cm Embossing: "HUNT RANKIN & LAMAR/DRUGGISTS/MACON&ATLANTA GA",

"LAMAR&RANKIN DRUG CO//ATLANTA, GA.", (base only)"LAMAR&RANKIN/L&R DRUG CO/ATLANTA, GA."

Producer: Rankin & Lamar; Hunt, Rankin & Lamar

The significance of the team of Lamar and Rankin in Atlanta's patent medicine boom and Gilded Age economy has been addressed at length in this text. Three vessels bearing the name of their wholesale company were found within the subset of the MARTA collection that is pertinent to this thesis. While the original contents of these vessels are unknown, it is perhaps worth noting their differences. Two of the bottles are blake-shaped panel bottle typical of early patent medicines. One bears the name of "Hunt, Rankin, & Lamar". This is the earliest name for the group's Atlanta-based endeavors. The second bottle is also blake-based with recessed panels. The third vessel is a much smaller, amber, circular/cylinder bottle which may have held pills or a powder. Importantly, these last two vessels have the name "Lamar & Rankin Drug Co", a later adumbration of the duo's enterprise. The company's name changed when Hunt left Atlanta and the firm ca 1880.



Product Name: Kauffman's Angeline Dates produced: pre-1906 Type: Specific Source Location: Hamilton, OH Artifact ID: P18 Site ID: 9Fu114 Glass Color: Colorless Base: Blake Dimensions: Fragment Embossing: "DR. J. KAUFFMAN'S ANGELINE/ INTERNAL RHEUMATISM CURE/ HAMILTON, OHIO" Producer: Dr John Kauffman, Jos. Schumaker & Co



Angeline was produced by a Dr. John D. Kauffman and assured consumers that the medicine would "permanently cure acute and chronic rheumatism" (Hoolihan 2008:571). Cramp also found that the company hired "clippers" to scour newspapers for references to local persons suffering from rheumatism. Kauffman's company would then mail the individual concerned a personalized advertisement for Angeline. Cramp clearly found the practice distasteful and doubted the efficacy of Angeline (Cramp 1912:689, Fike 1987:100).

Product Name: Kendall's Spavin Cure Dates produced: pre-1906 Type: External Remedy Source Location: Enosburgh Falls, VT Artifact ID: P1433 Site ID: 9Fu91 Glass Color: Amber Base: 12-sided Polygon Dimensions: 17.75x6cm Embossing: "KENDALL'S SPAVIN CURE///ENOSBURGH FALLS VT" Producer: Dr. B J Kendall Co.

(Fike 1987:101)

In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, twenty-two sales wagons would spread the word of Dr. Kendall's Spavin Cure from Enosburg Falls, Vermont, to as far away as the Rocky Mountains. B.J. Kendall was a Burlington Medical College graduate who developed his "Spavin Cure" in the late 1870s by experimenting with various herbs and chemicals. Spavin is a term for the bone disorder in horses' legs which corresponds to osteoarthritis in humans. The product was popular with farmers for their horses and themselves (Kendall 1884:81, Tucker 1901:919). Consumers often used Kendall's on their own aches and pains. The product was likely very effective at alleviating pain as it contained mostly alcohol and opium (Thurston 2006).

The Pure Food & Drug Act of 1906 forced Kendall to stop using the word "cure" in advertisements and labels. While the spavin treatment was produced into the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, Dr Kendall sold his portion of company before he passed away in 1922. Into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Enosburg Falls still had buildings standing from the days when Kendall shipped out his Cure and brought money to the remote Vermont village.

One bottle of Kendall's Spavin Cure was identified in analysis of the MARTA collection. Due to the context of the municipal crematory (9Fu91) it is not possible to determine whether this bottle was purchased for a human or a horse. However, Kendall was known for animal medicine as Fritschel notes, he "made a career of producing animal cures. His 12-sided, shoulder-embossed, amber "Kendall's Spavin Cure" is one of the most common of the "veterinary medicine" bottles available today. Variations of this bottle include "Kendall's Spavin Treatment", and "Kendall's Spavin Cure For Human Flesh". (Fritschel 2003:46).



**Product Name: Dr Kilmer's Swamp Root Dates produced:** 1880-1912 **Type:** Blood/Liver **Source Location:** Binghamton, NY Artifact ID: P1296, P1841, P1842, P1874, P1875, P3158, P3437 Site ID: 9Fu91 **Glass Color:** Aqua Base: Circular, Blake **Dimensions:** 21x7.5x4.5cm, 18x6x3.5cm, 10.5x2cm Embossing: "THE GREAT/DR KILMER'S/SWAMP-/ROOT/KIDNEY/LIVER&/BLADDER/CURE/SPECIFIC//DR. KILMER & Co//BINGHAMTON N.Y."; "DR. KILMER'S/SWAMP ROOT/KIDNEY LIVER/AND BLADDER CURE/BINGHAMTON/N.Y. U.S.A."; "SAMPLE BOTTLE/DR. KILMER'S SWAMP-ROOT KIDNEY REMEDY/BINGHAMTON, N.Y." **Producer:** Kilmer & Co., Inc. (Fike 1987:101, 209)



The indications or uses for this product as provided by the manufacturer are: A diuretic for the kidneys and a mild laxative. "Swamp-Root" tends to promote the flow of urine thereby aiding the kidneys in their necessary work of eliminating waste matter.

By 1930 the official ingredients list was: alcohol 10%, buchu leaves, scullcap leaves, golden seal root, colombo root, valerian root, cinnamon, oil of juniper, oil of birch, balsam copaiba, balsam tolu, venice turpentine, peppermint herb, rhubarb root, mandrake root, sassafras, cape aloes.

Kilmer's Swamp Root was introduced in 1879 by Dr. Sylvester Andral Kilmer of Binghamton, NY (Kilmer 1897:24-26). The bottles in the MARTA collection were all found at 9Fu91 with three different embossed labels. Six of them refer to the product as a "cure". The 1906PFDA made that claim illegal, suggesting that these bottles were manufactured before that date. One vessel uses the word "remedy" in place of "cure" signaling that its production was post-1906 (Griffenhagen and Bogard 1999:82). Oddly, this particular vessel was also the only sample size of Kilmer's Swamp-Root in the collection as well. While the swamp-root nostrum was invented and first produced by S. Andral Kilmer in 1879, his brother Jonas joined him and eventually bought out Andral. Jonas continued to maintain operations until his death in 1912. At that point Jonas' son Willis Kilmer took the helm of his uncle's "great cure". Willis Kilmer was a savvy businessman and made a small fortune producing Swamp-Root.

Product Name: Liquozone Dates produced: Type: Disinfectant/Antiseptic Source Location: Chicago, IL Artifact ID: P1841, P1874, P3189 Site ID: 9Fu91 Glass Color: Amber Base: Circular Dimensions: 15x6cm Embossing: "LIQUOZONE/MANUFACTURED ONLY BY/THE LIQUID OZONE Co/CHICAGO US" Producer: The Liquid Ozone Company (Fike 1987:68)



"Asthma Abscess— Ansomlr. Bronchitis Blood Poison Bowel Troubles Coughs— Colds Consumption Contagious Diseases Cancer— Catarrh Dysentery — Diarrhoea Dyspepsia— Dandruff Eczema— Erystpelas Fevers— Gall Stones Goitre — Gout Gonorrhoea — Gleet Hay Fever— Influenza La Grippe Leucorrhea Malaria— Neuralgia Piles — Quinsy Rheumatism Scrofula. — Syphilis Skin Diseases Tuberculosis Tumors— Ulcers Throat Troubles Also most forms of the following : Kidney Troubles Liver Troubles Stomach Troubles Women's Diseases Fever, Inflammation or catarrh— impure or poisoned blood— usually Indicate a germ attack. In nervous debility Liquozone acts as a vitalizer, ac complishing remarkable results." (Gompers 1906)

The advert above, from January 1906, lists a few of the more common illnesses which are (allegedly) combated effectively with liberal doses of

Liquozone. Certainly the manufacturers from the Liquid Ozone Co were more confident about Liquozone's efficacy than were the chemists who tested the claims on unfortunate lab animals. In a series of tests, four separate groups of guinea pigs were treated with Anthrax, Diphtheria, or Tuberculosis bacterium. All but the controls were also given doses of Liquozone. ALL of the animals died, except for the control group of the diphtheria tests. The chemist's assertions were essentially the opposite of the Liquid Ozone Company (Adams 1912:28).

"To summarize, we would say that the Liquozone had absolutely no curative effect, but did, when given in pure form, lower the resistance of the animals, so that they died a little earlier than those not treated". – Ernst J. Lederle, Lederle Laboratories (Adams 1912:28)

The chemical components of Liquozone were revealed to be Sulphuric Acid(0.9%), Sulphurous Acid(0.3%), and Water (98.8%). Needless to say, the product was not very "medical" or "effective" (Adams 1912:25).

Product Name: Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound Dates produced: Type: Female Regulator Source Location: Lynn, MA Artifact ID: P1978 Site ID: 9Fu91 Glass Color: Aqua Base: Oval Dimensions: Fragment Embossing: "YDIA E PINKHAM'S/EGETABLE COMPOUND" Producer: Lydia E Pinkham (Fike 1987:85)

"Widow Brown she had no children, though she loved them very dear; So she took some Vegetable Compound, Now she has them twice a year!" (Tyler 1995:25).

Unlike some other patent medicines, particularly medicines for women, Lydia Pinkham's vegetable compound seems to have had at least one ingredient that would be recognized as effective today. That particular plant based ingredient was black cohosh. Current research into the effects of black cohosh shows that if it were extracted with alcohol it could help suppress hot-flashes and associated discomfort from menopause similar to the functioning of estrogen supplements.

"The percentage of cohosh in Lydia Pinkham's compound would have been just over the dosage recommended today by modern health commissions for the treatment of symptoms associated with menopause and therefore would have been effective (Tyler 1995:27). The original formula did contain life root, an ingredient that has been found to be carcinogenic in large doses. It is unclear whether women taking the vegetable compound would have been likely to consume the medicine in a quantity large enough to be harmful." (Elliott, et al 2005)

Product Name: McElree's Wine of Cardui Dates produced: Type: Female Regulator Source Location: Chattanooga, TN Artifact ID: P1841 Site ID: 9Fu91 Glass Color: Aqua Base: Blake Dimensions: 22x7x4cm Embossing: "McELREE'S WINE OF CARDUI//CHATTANOOGA MEDICINE CO" Producer: Chattanooga Medicine Co

(Fike 1987:55)

Dr. McElree's Wine of Cardui was introduced in 1880 as a product to relieve menstrual pain. The medicine was apparently created to rival Pinkham's Vegetable Compound, the most popular product in the Northern US. Originally, Cardui primarily contained potassium carbonate (52 percent) with salt (16 percent), and a hefty dose of alcohol (20.3 percent). It was quickly bought up by The Chattanooga Medicine Company and marketed with great success.

"Wine of Cardui instantly became successful when more than 6,500 women reported being cured. According to the company's historical information, customers were so pleased with the new products Black-Draught and Cardui that the Chattanooga Medicine Company quickly became the biggest producer in the Chattanooga area" (Flannery 2001:9).

"Apparently, Reverend R.I. McElree learned of an herbal concoction used by Indian women to relieve menstrual pain. McElree introduced his Cardui in 1879 and sold this product to the Chattanooga Medicine Company in 1882, where it was originally marketed as "McElree's Cardui, The Woman's Tonic." In the 1920s product, the ingredients were listed as: Blessed Thistle, Golden Seal, and 19% alcohol." – (Wray 1996) Product Name: Mexican Mustang Liniment Dates produced: 1871-1948 Type: External Remedy Source Location: New York, NY Artifact ID: Site ID: 9Da89, 9Fu91 Glass Color: Light Green Base: Circular Dimensions: Embossing: "MEXICAN/MUSTANG/LINIMENT/LYON MFG CO/NEW YORK" Producer: Lyon Manufacturing Co



This product is reported have primarily contained 'crude petroleum'. Mexican Mustang Liniment was first produced in St Louis MO by George W Westbrook ca 1825 (Fike 1987:135). Later, Westbrook sold the business to Dumas and Parks. By 1871 MML was being produced by the Lyon Company of New York, NY (Fike 1987:136).

"The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal (1852, Vol. 47, pp 466-67) describes a case where a man thought he took Mexican Mustang Liniment, and felt much better. But as it was the middle of the night, he could not see what his wife was administering to him. In the morning they discovered that she had grabbed a bottle of ink by mistake – had rubbed it on him, and given him a nice spoonful to drink, too" (Meyer 2012).

Product Name: The Mother's Friend Dates produced: ca1870-Present (MARTA bottles: ca.1900) Type: Female Regulator Source Location: Atlanta, GA Artifact ID: (9Da89) P676, (9Fu91) P4333 Site ID: 9Da89, 9Fu91 Glass Color: Light Green, Aqua Base: Blake Dimensions: 18x6x4cm, 16.75x6x2.5cm Embossing: "BRADFIELD REG'L CO.//THE MOTHERS/FRIEND//ATLANTA, GA."; "THE MOTHERS/FRIEND//ATLANTA GA.//BRADFIELDS" Producer: Bradfield's Regulator Company



(Fike 1987:53)

The Mothers Friend was produced by Bradfield's Regulator Company, Atlanta, GA. Josiah and William Bradfield in association with Lamar and Rankin. Rankin was the President of the company, Josiah Bradfield, the VP. Forced to market Mothers Friend as a topical ointment when, under the 1906 PFDA, it was discovered that the compound contained mostly oil and soap. A separate product also produced by Bradfield Regulator Co., targeting women, and found in this subset was called "Womens[sic] Best Friend". This product was likely intended to be a competitor of Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound and McElree's Wine of Cardui, meant to alleviate pains associated with menstruation.



#### **Product Name: Newbro's Herpicide**

Dates produced: 1902-1935 Type: Specific Source Location: Butte, MT Artifact ID: P1745 Site ID: 9Fu91 Glass Color: Colorless Base: Circular Dimensions: 17x5.5cm Embossing: "Newbro's/Herpicide/KILLS THE/DANDRUFF GERM" Producer: Newbro Drug Company (Fike 1987:103) http://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/search/object/nmah\_210014

### DESCRIPTION

Newbro's Herpicide was developed at the end of the 19th century by DuPont M. Newbro, owner of Newbro Drug Company, a wholesale drug business in Butte, Mont. Mr. Newbro promoted the theory that a bacteria or parasite was the cause of dandruff, which then led to baldness. He claimed to have worked with a bacteriologist to create a formula that would kill the "dandruff germ." Hence the name Herpicide: *Herpes* (from the Latin "to creep") and *cide* ("to kill"). Newbro trademarked the word in 1899. By 1902 he sold his Montana drug business to focus on his new product and company, the Herpicide Company, established in Detroit, Mich. The formula proved very successful, and Newbro's Herpicide was sold nationwide and in Europe through the 1930s (Fadely, N.d.).

The Herpicide advertising slogan, accompanied by drawings of a man's balding head, was "Going (Herpicide will save it)...going (Herpicide will save it)...gone! (Too late for Herpicide)." The phrase "Too late for Herpicide" became a popular catch phrase of the 1920s and remained popular into the 1950s, long after Newbro's Herpicide was being sold. Product Name: PPP (Prickly Ash, Poke Root, Potassium and Stillingia ) Dates produced: ~1890-1918 Type: Blood/Liver Source Location: Savannah, GA Artifact ID: P53 Site ID: 9Fu114 Glass Color: Amber Base: Fragment (Blake) Dimensions: Fragment (~22x7x4cm) Embossing: "P-P-P/PRICKLY ASH POKE ROOT POTASSIUM/THE GREAT BLOOD PURIFIER" Producer: Lippman Bros Druggists (Fike 1987:72)



One fragment found in our collection from Maddox Park, 9Fu114.

This product was seized in 1918 and condemned. The court found the product packaging and advertisements "false and fraudulent in that the article contained no ingredient or combination of ingredients capable of producing the therapeutic effects claimed for it on the carton" (Martin 1920).

Product Name: Paine's Celery Compound Dates produced: 1882-Type: Blood/Liver Source Location: Burlington, VT Artifact ID: P1904 Site ID: 9Fu91 Glass Color: Amber Base: French Square Dimensions: 25x6.5x6.5cm Embossing: "PAINE'S//CELERY COMPOUND" Producer: Wells, Richardson & Co. (Fike 1987:85).



"He told the tale of the visit to the advertising manager of a Chicago newspaper by an agent for Paine's Celery Compound. The agent showed the manager a full-page advertisement with blank spaces in the center.

"We want some good, strong testimonials to fill out with," he said.

"You can get all of those you want, can't you?" asked the news-paper manager.

"Can you?" returned the agent. "Show me four or five strong ones from local politicians and you can get the ad."" (Young 1961:)

"Every new product was heavily promoted, but none more so than "Paines Celery Compound", a blood purifier and nerve tonic. They purchased sole rights to this product from M.K. Paine, a druggist in Windsor, Vermont. The amber, bitters-type bottle, with PAINES / CELERY COMPOUND on two of its recessed panels, was shipped nationwide and has been found in nearly every state in the country. The medicine was a huge money maker for them until the enactment of the Pure Food & Drug Act of 1906. The Celery Compound formula included 21% alcohol" (Fritschel 2003:45).

Product Name: Pa-Pa'y-Ans Bell Acid Tablets Dates produced: ca.1897-ca.1915 Type: Digestive/Antacid/Laxative Source Location: Orangeburg, NY Artifact ID: P607 Site ID: 9Da89 Glass Color: Amber Base: Blake Dimensions: 7x5x2.5cm Embossing: "PA-PAY-ANS BELL" Producer: Bell & Company Inc. (Fike 1987:175) (Cramp 1921:491)



"Pa-pay-ans Bell was introduced to New England physicians in 1897. Its use has increased to an annual sale of over three hundred million tablets" (Loughran 1908:806).

Bell-ans (Pa-pay-ans, Bell) possesses the virtues—and they are few—and the limitations—and these are many—inherent to a mixture of baking soda, ginger and charcoal. Any druggist could put up just as good a remedy, and any physician could write a prescription for a better one in those cases in which he might think it indicated. The whole secret of the commercial success of Bell-ans lies in the mystery of its composition and the false and misleading claims that have been made for it. The same tablets put out under a non-proprietary name, as an open formula and with claims that were reasonable and true, would have had practically no sale.—(Modified from The Journal A. M. A., Jan. 16, 1915.)

### (Cramp 1921:492)

The company originally claimed that the tablets had an ingredient called papain that was the crucial active compound that set them apart. However, chemical analysis revealed that the product was essentially ginger, baking soda, and charcoal with a dash of wintergreen oil (Cramp 1921:491-492). Arthur Cramp asserts that after several studies chemists had been unable to

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isolate the elusive papain in the product. Bell & Co. eventually changed the name from "Pa-payans (Bell)" to "Bell-Ans". This move signaled to the careful observer that no such compound was ever an ingredient in the acid tablets (Cramp 1921:492). Product Name: PE-RU-NA Dates produced: ca.1890-ca.1940 Type: Panacea/Cure-All Source Location: Columbus, OH Artifact ID: P3213 Site ID: 9Fu91 Glass Color: Aqua Base: Circular Dimensions: 23.5x7.5cm Embossing: (base) "DR. S. B. H. & CO./REGESTERED/52 PR" Producer: Dr. S. B. Hartman & Co

Peruna was invented by Dr Samuel B. Hartman of Columbus, Ohio, in 1890. His nostrums sold well through a series of clever advertising campaigns and manipulation of the term "catarrh". Modern consumers would understand catarrh as bronchitis or excess mucous production, but Hartman blamed catarrh for everything. Rather, he renamed every disease as a form of catarrh(Baldwin 1973:383)



His strategies worked and his company was terribly successful for years until the Adams wrote an article that debunked him and his quack medicine. Hartman agreed to be interviewed for the piece, and during the interview he admitted that his medicine did not provide a cure for any diseases. Instead, he ruminated on the irrelevance of providing cures as his customers felt nice when they drank it. If that was not damning enough, Adams' subsequently performed chemical analysis of the product and four that it was nearly 30% alcohol. Adams' article about Peruna is considered one of the most influential sources of national impetus to regulate the proprietary medicine industry Sullivan 2007:29).

Product Name: Piso's Cure Dates produced: ca.1860-1940 Type: Respiratory Source Location: Warren, PA Artifact ID: (9Da89) P365, (9Fu91) P3158 Site ID: 9Da89, 9Fu91 Glass Color: Green Base: Blake Dimensions: 13.5x5x3cm Embossing: "PISO'S CURE//THE/PISO COMPANY//HAZELTINE &CO."; "PISO'S CURE//FOR CONSUMPTION//HAZELTINE &CO."

Piso's Cure for Consumption originally contained opiates, chloroform, and cannabis, although the producers voluntarily removed the opiates in 1872 because of a new cultural aversion to opium and morphine. Piso's was forced to change the name of the nostrum from "Piso's Cure for Consumption" to "Piso's Cure" by the 1906 PFDA and finally to "Piso's Remedy" for coughs and colds (Fike 1987:74, 104, Sullivan 2007:18, Kennedy 1903:154).

Important Notice. The Piso Company, Warren Pa., wins its suit against counterfeiters, and is granted a perpetual injunction restraining the infringers.
The Piso Company Has Won,
at great cost, the suit brought against the counterfeiters of Piso's Cure for Consumption. The defenses set up by the counterfeiters were that consumption could not be cured, that Piso's Cure was not a cure, and that it contained opium, morphine or other dangerous ingredients. All of these defenses the courts held to be baseless and unsustained, and granted us an injunction perpetually restraining these in- fringers. Many of the best chemists in the United States, after careful analyses, testified to the truth of our represen- tations. Several physicians, and a multitude of our custom- ers testified to absolute cures of consumption in its earlier stages, accomplished by Piso's Cure.

The company was forced to prove in court that Piso's Cure did not contain morphine or any other opium derivatives in 1903. They also argued that their use of the word "cure" was appropriate because they had testimonials from customers and physicians that "absolute cures"

had been provided(Kennedy 1903:76). Additionally, the Piso Company asserted that the court upheld their right to describe Piso's as a "cure" (Fox 1903:759).



Product Name: Planters Old Time Remedies Dates produced: Type: External Remedy Source Location: Chattanooga, TN Artifact ID: P3278 Site ID: 9Fu91 Glass Color: Aqua Base: Blake Dimensions: 16x5.25x2.75cm Embossing: "NEW SPENCER MEDICINE CO//PLANTERS OLD TIME REMEDIES" Producer: New Spencer Medicine Company

Manufactured by the New Spencer Medicine Company, "Planters Old Time Remedies" refers to a set of four different products produced by the Spencer Medicine Company. They include: Cuban Oil, Cuban Relief, Benedicta, and Nubian Tea. Nubian Tea was sold in amber bottles, while Cuban Relief was sold in aqua glass bottles.

This vessel was most likely a bottle of "Cuban Relief", a liniment that at one point contained opium, chloroform, and 42% alcohol. The product label, post 1906, claims that the liniment is good for addressing external *as well as* internal ailments. However, all directions specifically recommend external applications only. The product was classified as a Balm/Salve/Lotion.



Figure A.2.2 Image courtesy of eBay.com

Product Name: Ripley-Brom-Lithia Water Dates produced: Type: Panacea/Cure-All Source Location: New York, NY Artifact ID: P3011 Site ID: 9Fu91 Glass Color: Amber Base: Circular Dimensions: 12.5x5cm Embossing: "THE RIPLEY COMPANY/RBL/NEW YORK" Producer: The Ripley Company



THOUSANDS OF PHYSICIANS ARE NOW USING

An ad from the Chicago Medical Recorder (Church 1895:lxiv)

At the 47<sup>th</sup> Annual meeting of the Ohio State Medical Society a lengthy essay presented by a Dr. W.A. Davis, regaled the incredible merits of Ripley-Brom-Lithia Water. In response a speaker, Dr J.T. Whittaker, sharply questioned the fact that no one had even a single example where the water failed to provide relief from symptoms. Specifically addressing claims to the potency of Brom-Lithia Water removing "calculus deposits", or kidney stones, the speaker questioned how the water could break down the stones within the body, but not without. "A

water that will dissolve phosphates as well as urates is pretty near a universal solvent. And a man might like to know in what kind of a vessel such a solvent might be kept. Will it dissolve bones?" (Allen 1892:261-271) This was the only critical response to the "only medicinal water ever discovered in America" that I was able to find (Burtenshaw 1896:xiv).

FROM NATURE'S LABORATORY.



MADE OF SALTS OBTAINED BY EVAPORATING THE FAMOUS RIPLEY BROM-LITHIA WATER IN VACUO, AT THE SPRING (RIPLEY, O.)

## Ripley Brom-Lithia Water

contains 300 times as much LITHIUM, measure for measure, as any other water on earth. This LITHIUM is found unchanged in the TABLETS, hence their phenomenal action on the

# **KIDNEYS**

## and LIVER.

In Cystitis, Nephritis, Enuresis, Pyelitis, Gravel, Rheumatism, Gout, Diabetes, Bright's

and Liver Cirrhosis, these tablets are unequaled. Their action is prompt and positive. Enough for two weeks treatment costs only ONE DOLLAR, by mail. Money back if not satisfied with results. Analysis and Literature free to Physicians only.

### THE RIPLEY COMPANY, 159 West 23d St., New York.

The Ripley-Brom-Lithia Water is the only medicinal water ever discovered in America. Physicians who have used it in rheumatism, gout, diabetes, cystitis, etc., are a unit in endorsing this water. Ask the Ripley Company, 159 W. 23d St., N. Y., for free literature.

Ripley-Brom-Lithia Water Advertisements (Burtenshaw 1896:xiv,152)

Product Name: (King's) Royal Germetuer Dates produced: ca.1880-1920s Type: External Remedy Source Location: Atlanta, GA; Memphis, TN(after 1917) Artifact ID: P53 Site ID: 9Fu114 Glass Color: Amber Base: Dimensions: Fragment(s) Embossing: "ROY - /GERM-"; "ROYAL/GERM ETUE-"; "RO-/GERMET--" Producer: Ferdinand King, Georgia Medicine Company, Ellis-Lillybeck Drug Company



#### ROYAL GERMETUER.

Dr. King's Royal Germetuer cures by removing the cause of disease, and nature does the rest. Scientific investigation has demonstrated that most of the acute, and nearly all of the chronic diseases are caused by poisonous germs in the system. Remove the cause, and the patient gets well. The use of Royal Germetuer, in hundreds of cases, has shown that it is an unfailing remedy for rheumatism, catarrh, asthma, dyspepsia, eczema, diabetes, neuralgia, and all blood and kidney troubles. Frequently a single bottle will give comlets relief to a case of vers standing.

plete relief to a case of years standing. Read what Dr. J. B. Hawthorne, pastor of the First Baptist Church, Atlanta, Ga., says:

says: ATLANTA, GA., July 12, 1889. It gives me a real pleasure to say a word for a medicine, which I believe is destined to be a great blessing to the afflicted everywhere. It is not the cunning device of a quack, but the discovery of a scientist. It is the result of many years or research and experiment by an eminent specialist. Thousands of my Southern triends know what a sufferer from catarrh I have been. Six months ago, by the advice of my physician. I gave up the pastorate. I have used two bottles of "King's Germetuer," and while I cannot say that I am completely cured, I do affirm that it has so far relieved me, and I experience no pain nor discomfort.

1 feel it to be my duty to say also that the effects of this remedy upon my wife have been even more signal and wonderful. She has been almost a life-long invalid from nervous headache, neuralgia and rheumatism. In a period of thirty years she has scarcely had a day of exemption from pain. She has been using "Germetuer" about two months. A more complete transformation I have never witnessed. Every symptom of disease has disappeared. She appears to be twenty years younger, and is happy and playful as a healthy child. We have persuaded many of our afflicted friends to take the medicine, and the testimony of all is that it is a great remedy.

J. B. HAWTHORNE.

Send orders or address, D. P. HAGGARD, Manager 205 North 10th St.,

(Price \$2.50 per bottle.) St. Louis, Mo.

Figure A.2.3 Ad from Ford's Christian Repository & Home Circle

King's Royal Germetuer was produced by Ellis-Lillybeck Drug Company of Memphis, Tennessee, at least by 1917 (Vrooman 1918, Cramp 1921). The product's packaging and advertising promised to "destroy all disease germs with which it comes in contact". Additionally, the ads touted King's Royal Germetuer as able to kill "typhoid fungus, smallpox fungus, and cholera fungus", "permanently cure indigestion", kidney disease, bladder diseases, malaria, and jaundice (Cramp 1921:603). Chemical analysis found the product to be "98% water and 2% sulphuric acid" (Cramp 1921:603, Vrooman 1918:165). The company was charged with misbranding, mislabeling, and making fraudulent claims "knowingly and in reckless and wanton disregard of their truth or falsity" (Vrooman 1918:167).

It seems worth noting that research into the company revealed that one of the authors in the above article (fig A.2.3), J.B. Hawthorne, was actually a partial owner of King's company. Furthermore, research in the archives of the Atlanta Constitution revealed the dramatic interaction and volleys of accusations and insults between Dr King of the King's Royal Germetuer Company and Dr Jacobs of Jacobs' Pharmacy (Jacobs 1892:21, Jacobs 1892:7, King 1892:2). The two men attacked one another in print, King going so far as to write what appears to be an anti-Semitic response article.

# Product Name: Dr M A Simmons Liver Medicine Dates produced: Type: Blood/Liver Source Location: St. Louis, MO Artifact ID: P1769 Site ID: 9Fu91 Glass Color: Light Green Base: Blake Dimensions: 14.5x5.5x3.5cm Embossing: "DR. M.A. SIMMONS/LIVER MEDICINE//ST LOUIS MO//C.F. SIMMONS MED CO"

Producer: C.F. Simmons Medicine Company

Some debate persists as to whom had the rights to produce Simmons Liver Medicine, as Chattanooga Medicine Company, makers of "Black Draught" and "McElree's Wine of Carduii" bought the rights to the name. However, the original proprietor was named A.Q. Simmons and his grandson produced a similar product for some time. This bottle appears to be the product of C.F. Simmons of St Louis, Missouri. As with many other proprietary medicines, imitations were common. This product may have been produced by a descendent of the original Dr Simmons or simply by some imitator.



Product Name: Sloan's Liniment Dates produced: Type: External Remedy Source Location: Boston, MA Artifact ID: (9Da89) P537, P207; (9Fu114) P50 Site ID: 9Da89, 9Fu114 Glass Color: Colorless Base: Blake Dimensions: 12.5x4.5x3cm Embossing: "SLOAN'S N&B LINIMENT/Dr E.S.SLOAN BOSTON" Producer: Dr. E.S. Sloan



(Fike 1987:137)

Product Name: Dr Thacher's Liver & Blood Syrup Dates produced: Type: Blood/Liver Source Location: Chattanooga, TN Artifact ID: P1569, P1904, P1977 Site ID: 9Fu91 Glass Color: Amber Base: Blake Dimensions: 9x3.5x2cm Embossing: "Dr. THACHER'S/LIVER & BLOOD SYRUP//CHATTANOOGA, TENN.//SAMPLE" Producer: Thacher Medicine Co, Chattanooga, TN

(Fike 1987:230)



Thacher's Liver and Blood Syrup as well as all other preparations made by the Thacher Medicine Company of Chattanooga, TN are proprietary medicines, the formula for which includes the following: buchu, hydrangea, mandrake, yellow dock, dandelion, sarsaparilla, gentian, and potassium iodide. (Mayo 1903:372)

Henry Savage Thacher was born on December 11<sup>th</sup>, 1826 at Biddeford Me; he lived successively in East Concord, NH and in Nashville and Chattanooga, TN. He was a chemist and apothecary and was the founder of Dr. Thacher's Medicine Company of Chattanooga, TN and the inventor and proprietor of the medicines that were manufactured there. Thacher died in Chattanooga on November 16<sup>th</sup>, 1898 (Greene, et al. 1916:48).

Product Name: To-Ni-Ta "Mucous Membrane Bitters" Dates produced: Type: Bitters Source Location: New York, NY Artifact ID: P1874, P1904 Site ID: 9Fu91 Glass Color: Amber Base: Circular Dimensions: 10x3cm, 25x7cm Embossing: "LORENTZ MED CO, TRADE "TO-NI-TA" MARK"(shoulder) Producer: Lorentz Medicine Company



Lorentz Med Co's TO-NI-TA, promised to cure almost anything, as did many products of its ilk. However, the PFDA found the claims on the bottle's label to fraudulent, and the promises made to be absurd. In addition, the product's labeling never disclosed the considerable amount of alcohol contained therein. Statements suggest that the product contained between 18-47% ABV, far more than most beers or wines of the day (Fike 1987:149).

Product Name: Valentine's Meat Juice Dates produced: 1871-ca1940 Type: Digestive/Antacid/Laxative Source Location: Richmond, VA Artifact ID: (9Da89), P365; (9Fu91) P1491 Site ID: 9Da89, 9Fu91 Glass Color: Amber Base: Circular, distinctive bulbous shape Dimensions: 8x4.5cm Embossing: "VALENTINE'S/MEAT JUICE" Producer: Mann S Valentine, Valentine's Meat-Juice Company



Mr. Valentine was looking for a way to get vital nutrients to his wife who was very ill and unable to eat properly. His solution was pressing slabs of beef and slow-cooking the juices. His squeezed beef juice became very popular after an 1881 statement by President Garfield that after the assassination attempt on his life, he breakfasted on Valentine's, toast, and poached eggs to get better. It was a 19<sup>th</sup> century analogue to today's energy-shot beverages.

gives the food value to the meat infusion." Yet, in the face of irrefutable experiments and chemical and medical knowledge, the public are being cautioned by advertisements in *The Pall Mall Concile* and other journals, at this time of day, to "Beware of extracts of meat with sediment." This is exactly what the public ought not to beware. What they should refuse to waste their money in is the clear, maintritious quack mestrams miscalled Meat Extracts, or juices that, like Valentine's Most Juice and Liebig's Extract of Meat, have no sediment, or the rubbish miscalled Essences of Beef that are devoid of neurishment and a dangerous fraud upon the sick.

The critical response to Valentine's Meat Juice eventually became one of unveiling the nostrum quackery that lay behind claiming "pure meat juice" to be a miraculous nutritive agent. In the London-based Food and Safety bulletin of 1895, multiple articles defamed the popular marketing claims by analyzing the product chemically. The final assertion was made that "they should refuse to waste their money [on] the clear, unnutritious quack nostrums
miscalled Meat Extracts, or juices [...] that are devoid of nourishment and a dangerous fraud upon the sick" (Henry 1895:34).

The considerable criticism levied against Valentine's Meat Juice and similar products asserted that after chemical analysis they were "ordinary meat extract diluted with water" (Henry 1895:381). In a humorous final note, Henry underlined his disgust with the nostrum trade in meat extracts by explaining that "[a]s far as nutrient value goes, the water in which dinner plates are washed would be about as valuable" (1895:381). Of course Valentine and his numerous supporters insisted that the meat juice was a miraculous cure for invalids and malnourished infants, but their claims were not substantiated by scientific scrutiny.

Product Name: Vapo-Cresoline Dates produced: 1894-1895 Type: Respiratory Source Location: New York, NY Artifact ID: P1146, P537 Site ID: 9Da89 Glass Color: Aqua, Colorless Base: French Square Dimensions: 10.5x3.5x3.5cm Embossing: "VAPO-CRESOLENE CO.//PATDU.S. JUNE 18-95 ENG JULY 23-94" Producer: The Vapo-Cresolene Company (Fike 1987:80)



A potentially deadly compound, even the bottle bore a texture reserved for poisons. Essentially coal tar, thinned, and designed to be added to a "Vapo-Cresoline Lamp", a kerosene burner with a metal plate above the flame for 'vaporizing' the petroleum distillate. No medicinal properties, and use was attributed to numerous poisonings.

The Medical News: A Weekly Medical Journal, Volume 76, pg768 "Deaths by Vapo-Cresoline"

"... chemical processes extracted the essential substances contained in these purifying boxes to which the name Cresoline has been given. It is observed under the Vapo Cresoline therapy that the application is always attended with most marked relief from all local disturbances situated in the nose throat or lungs. Under its use attacks of intractable sneezing are at once ameliorated and removed. Spasmodic attacks of pertussis are reduced to a minimum degree both in number as well as in prolongation of the spells. Tuberculous subjects find great comfort by remaining a few hours each day in a room impregnated with the fumes of Vapo Cresoline the act of respiration is greatly facilitated the raising of the sputum materially assisted and a feeling of comfort obtained not equal to the employment of any other means. This plan of treatment has the advantage over any other from the fact that the patient can pass into the sleeping state and the good influence of the remedy continues during the night as well as the day" (Powell 1900:417).

Despite these remarkable claims, the administration of a room filled with toxic smoke was crude to say the least. The sincerity of some producers is acceptable, and even the testimonials of some may be true, but this product is one that if effective at all, the effects were merely the onset of tar-induced suffocation.

"Poisoning by Vapo-Cresoline Dr. Samuel S. Adams reported two cases of Vapo-Cresoline poisoning which he thought were directly attributable to the fumes of a Vapo-Cresoline lamp. [...] The history of the case was that the child had bronchitis and on the suggestion of someone the mother had secured a Vapo-Cresoline lamp which she had placed in the room the night before Dr Adams was called in. About twelve o clock that night the child refused food which was at once remarked upon. It seemed to grow quiet but at four o clock the mother was awakened by a peculiar noise and picking up the child found it in a cold sweat. Dr Adams had the child removed to another room where the windows had been raised and fresh air admitted. The child seemed to grow better but when taken back into the sick room the symptoms reappeared which indicated to him that the fumes from the Vapo-Cresoline lamp had caused the disorder. He stated that the odor of the Vapo-Cresoline lamp was apparent to his wife after he returned home. He reported these cases for the benefit of the Society" (Goffe 1900:768).

Arthur J. Cramp, of the AMA was also critical of Vapo-Cresoline. While suggesting that the main gist of the product's lure was claims to remarkable purifying properties, Cramp points out that the substance is ordinary coal-tar, or cresol. Furthermore, he warns of the "dangers attendant on the inhalation of any of the phenols" (1912:627) and suggests that beyond those risks the product is hardly worth mentioning. Not the most flattering summation.

Product Name: Vernal Palmettona Dates produced: Type: Panacea/Cure-All Source Location: Buffalo, NY Artifact ID: P1841, P3040 Site ID: 9Fu91 Glass Color: Colorless Base: Circular Dimensions: 11x2.5cm, 8.5x2.5cm Embossing: "VERNAL REMEDY COMPANY/BUFFALO, N.Y." Producer: Vernal Remedy Company

"Indigestion, constipation, dyspepsia, and all other diseases of the stomach, liver, kidneys, and bowels are quickly and eventually cured by Vernal Palmettona. Only one dose day does the work. It is done gently thoroughly. This is in direct contrast harsh purgatives and cathartics which positively harmful. Many people skeptical about a medicine with which are unfamiliar Maybe you are one them. We don t blame you. It is common sense" (Hallock 1904:309).

In an excerpt from a Christian newspaper Vernal-Palmettona is advertised as a miraculous cure for a dozen or so conditions. The opening is exemplary of the column-style medicine adverts that would often begin with hyperbolic metaphors or incredible testimonials. The ad goes on to down-play the initial tone of exuberance with a nonchalant money-back guarantee, underlying the firm's confidence.

Th

#### A HUMAN LIFE LINE.

If all the people who have been cured by Vernal Palmettona (formerly known as Vernal Saw Palmetto Berry Wine) were lined up in single file, two feet apart, the line beginning at Buffalo, would extend for miles and miles, far out toward the west. In this line would be found men, women and children, representing every vocation in life. Most of them were in bad shape physically when they logan to take Vernal Palmettona. Some of them owe their very lives to it. If you were to talk to them, they would give full credit to this great tonic laxative remedy. Some of them went way on up into middle life, some of them even to old age, before they began taking our cure.

"If I had only taken Vernal Palmettona sooner," is the regret of many who realize that they might have been saved years of suffering. Do not let this be your experience. Indigestion, constipation, dyspepsia and all other diseases of the stomach, liver, kidneys and bowels, are relieved quickly and eventually cared permanently by Vernal Palmettona. Only one dose a day does the work. It is done gently, yet thoroughly. This is in direct contrast to harsh purgatives and cathartics which are positively harmful. Many people are skeptical about a medicine with which they are unfamiliar. Maybe you are one of them. We don't blame you. It is common sense. We plainly print the guaran-tood formula on every package of our remedy. Better still, we will send you postpaid a free sample. Try before you

Product Name: Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup Dates produced: 1880-1905 Type: Digestive/Antacid/Laxative Source Location: New York, NY Site ID: 9Fu114, 9Fu91 Artifact ID: (9Fu114) P50, (9Fu91) P1874 Glass Color: Aqua Base: Circular Dimensions: 14x3cm, 12.5x3cm(broken neck) Embossing: "MRS WINSLOW'S/SOOTHING SYRUP/THE ANGLO AMERICAN DRUG CO/SUCCESSORS TO/CURTIS&PERKINS/PROPRIETORS" Producer: Curtis & Perkins, Curtis & Sons, Anglo-American Drug Co, and Lafayette Drug Company



Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup was one of only two major proprietary medicines that were attributed to women creators. Originally produced in 1835, Mrs. Winslow's was a stomach and bowel regulator for infants and children. Charlotte Winslow, the creator sold the medicine to her nephew who managed production for national sale.

The nostrum was primarily a laxative, but originally contained morphine. Curtis & Perkins of New York City marketed the product for children and claimed it to be a safe remedy for digestive troubles (constipation and diarrhea), feverishness, and restlessness. Curtis and his son George took over the manufacturing after 1860, renaming the company Curtis & Son (Fike 1987:231). In 1880, the Anglo-American Drug Company replaced the earlier proprietors. Morphine was removed sometime after the passage of the 1906 PFDA. Additionally the name had to be changed, removing the word "Soothing" to signify the removal of morphine. Winslow's continued to be manufactured at least until 1945 (Griffenhagen and Bogard 1999:83).

Ingredients - sienna, sodium citrate, fennel, sodium bicarbonate, rhubarb, oil of anise, caraway, coriander, morphine.



## Appendix B: Data Set

9Da89

Phoer	nix Project Me	dicinals -	Type Collection							
Theer	in roject me	Base	Type concerion							
Arti	ACC Color	Shape	Size	Embossing	Product Name	Product Mfr	Source Location	Est Date	Target	Source Reg
					Angier's Petroleum				_ 0 _	
P1487	133 Aqua	Oval	18x6.5x3.5cm	"ANGIER'S PETROLEUM EMULSION"	Emulsion	Angier Chemical Co	Boston, MA	1889-1911	Respiratory	Northeast
				"ANTICEPHALGINE/THE GREAT HEADACHE						
P1399	133 Colorless	Handy	8.5x3.5x2cm	CURE///PATJUNE 17 88/A/S.B."	Anticephalgine	Jas. I. Johnson	Raleigh, NC	pre 1906	Headache	Southeast
		,							Digestive/Ar	n
									tacid/Laxativ	/
P1399	133 Colorless	Blake	14x5x2.5cm	"BABY EASE"	Baby-Ease	Baby-Ease Co., T.P. Marshal	l Atlanta, GA	1901-1917	е	Southeast
P607	133 Amber	Blake	22x9.5x6cm	"B.B.B. Atlanta, GA"	Botanic Blood Balm	Blood Balm Co.	Atlanta, GA	1887-1935	Blood/Liver	Southeast
				"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P1053	133 Cobalt	Circular	10x4cm	CO./BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMOSELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P118	133 Cobalt	Circular	2 1/2" x 1 1/8"	Co/BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1914-1954	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P1376	133 Cobalt	Circular	12.5x5cm	CO/BALTIMORE, MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
									Digestive/Ar	n
				"Dr. W. B. CALDWELL'S / MONTICELLO,	Caldwell's Syrup				tacid/Laxativ	1
P207	133 Colorless	Fragment		ILLINOIS"	Pepsin	Pepsin Syrup Company	Monticello, IL	1890-1940	e	Midwest
			17.5x3.5x6.5cm(bro	)	Dr Boschee's German					
P676	133 Lavender	Blake	ken neck)	"L.M. GREEN, PRO <sup>p</sup> //WOODBURY, N.J."	Syrup	L.M. Green	Woodbury, NJ	pre-1917	Respiratory	Northeast
			5 3/4" x 1 5/8" x		Dr. Jones' Beaver and				External	
P365	133 Aqua	Blake	11/16"	"BEAVER AND(inverted) OIL/COMPOUND"	Oil Compound	Morris Spiegel	Albany, NY	Pre-1906	Remedy	Northeast
				"DR KING'S/ NEW DISCOVERY/ FOR COUGHS						
				AND COLDS// H.E. BUCKLEN & CO.// CHICAG	0				Panacea/Cur	t
P207	133 Colorless	Fragment	1	ILL."	Dr. King's Life Pills	H.E. Bucklen & Co	Chicago, IL		e-All	Midwest
									Digestive/Ar	n
									tacid/Laxativ	/
P1218	133 Aqua	Blake	14.5x5x2.5cm	"DR S. PITCHER'S//CASTORIA"	Fletcher's Castoria	The Centaur Company	New York, NY	1870-1900	e	Northeast
				"HICKS' CAPUDINE/FOR ALL						
P1622	133 Amber	Blake	14.5x5.5x4.25cm	HEADACHES/COLDS, INDIGESTION, ETC."	Hicks' Capudine	Hicks' Capudine Co	Raleigh, NC		Headache	Southeast
				"HICKS' CAPUDINE/FOR ALL						
P365	133 Amber	Blake	14.5x5.5x4.25cm	HEADACHES/COLDS, INDIGESTION, ETC."	Hicks' Capudine	Hicks' Capudine Co	Raleigh, NC		Headache	Southeast
		"flat-faced	3				8 I · I NG			<b>C</b> 11 1
P1218	133 Amber	oval	8x3.5x1.5cm	"HICKS" CAPUDINE/FOR HEADACHES"	Hicks Capudine	Hicks' Capudine Co	Raleigh, NC		Headache	Southeast
0.507			105 ( 05		Hinds "Honey and				External	
P537	133 Colorless	віаке	13.5x6x3.5cm	"A. S. HINDS"	Almond Cream	A.S. Hinds Co.	Bloomfield, NJ		Remedy	Northeast
									Enternal	
D1310	122 Mills Class	Circular	Ev dom		Monthelature	The Menthelature C-	Duffele NV		External	Northeast
P1218	133 IVIIIK GIASS	Circular	5x4CIII		wentholatum	me mentholatum co	bulldi0, INT		Remeay	Northeast
									Extornal	
P318	133 Milk Class	Circular	5v/cm		Mentholatum	The Mentholatum Co	Buffalo, NV		Remedy	Northeast
P318	133 Milk Glass	Circular	5x4cm	Ν Υ /ΨΙCΗΙΤΑ ΚΑΝ"	Mentholatum	The Mentholatum Co	Buffalo, NY		Remedy	Northeast

### 9Da89

					"THE/MENTHOLATUM						
					CO/REGSTD/MENTHOLATUM/TRADE					External	
P318	133	Milk Glass	Circular	6.5x6cm	MARK/WICHITA KAN/BUFFALLO, N.Y."	Mentholatum	The Mentholatum Co	Buffalo, NY		Remedy	Northeast
					"MEXICAN/MUSTANG/LINIMENT/LYON MFG	Mexican Mustang				External	
P457	133	Light green	Circular	10x4cm	CO/NEW YORK"	Liniment	Lyon Mfg Co	New York, NY	post 1871	Remedy	Northeast
						Mexican Mustang	· · · ·			External	
P607	133	Light green	Circular	10x4cm	"MEXICAN MUSTANG LINIMENT"	Liniment	Lyon Mfg Co	New York, NY	post 1871	Remedy	Northeast
										Digestive/An	
										tacid/Laxativ	
P607	133	Amber	Blake	7x5x2.5cm	"PA-PAY-ANS BELL"	Pa-Pay-Ans Bell	Bell & Company Inc.	Orangeburg, NY		e	Northeast
				1	"PISO'S CURE//THE/PISO		· · ·	0 0,			
P365	133	Green	Blake	13.5x5x3cm	COMPANY//HAZELTINE &CO."	Piso's Cure	Hazeltine&Co.	Warren, PA	1906-1940	Respiratory	Northeast
		1	Golden		"Rubifoam/FOR THE/TEETH/PUT UP BY/E.W.				1	Disinfectant/	
P457	133	Colorless	Gate Oval	3.5"	HOYT & Co/LOWELL. MASS."	Rubifoam	E.W. Hovt & Co	Lowell. MA	1890 or later	Antiseptic	Northeast
					"SLOAN'S N&B LINIMENT/Dr E.S.SLOAN					External	
P537	133	Colorless	Blake	12.5x4.5x3cm	BOSTON"	Sloan's Liniment	Dr E.S. Sloan	Boston, MA		Remedy	Northeast
					"SLOAN'S N&B LINIMENT/Dr E S SLOAN					External	
P207	133	Colorless	Blake	12 5x4 5x3cm	BOSTON"	Sloan's Liniment	Dr E S. Sloan	Boston MA		Remedy	Northeast
. 207	100	Coroness	French	1210X HOXOCHI		brodin's Entitlent		Boston, mrt		Panacea/Cur	Hortificast
P1053	133	Amber	Square	10x3.5cm	"LAINE CHEM.CO./NEW YORK."	Sulpho-Lythin	Laine Chemical Company	New York, NY		e-All	Northeast
					"BRADEIELD REG'L CO.//THE		,			Female	
P676	133	Light green	Blake	18x6x4cm	MOTHERS/FRIEND//ATLANTA. GA."	The Mother's Friend	Bradfield Regulator Co	Atlanta, GA		Regulator	Southeast
	100	Light Breen	Diane	20/0/ 10/1		ine mother of mend	Bradifera Regulator do	/ (clunca) of t		Drugstore	boutificast
P1193	133	Colorless	Blake	14x5x2 5cm	"T P MARSHALL/MACON G A "	Unknown	Baby-Ease Co. T.P. Marshall	Macon GA		Bottle	Southeast
. 1155	100		Union	1 MOXEIOCITI						Drugstore	boutileast
P319	133	Colorless	Oval	12 5x5x3 25cm	"Jacobs Pharmacy/ Atlanta Ga"	Unknown	Jacobs' Pharmacy	Atlanta GA		Bottle	Southeast
			Circular(6-				,		1		
			sided							Drugstore	
P1609	133	Amber	body)	6x2.5cm	"SHARP&DOHME//BALTIMORE///29"	Unknown	Sharp&Dohme	Baltimore, MD		Bottle	Southeast
			rounded						1	Drugstore	
P1609	133	Amber	rectangle	15+x7x4cm(broken)	"SULTAN DRUG CO//ST. LOUIS & LONDON"	Unknown	Sultan Drug Co	St Louis. MO		Bottle	Midwest
									1		
			"flat-faced							Drugstore	
P319	133	Colorless	oval"	12x4.5x2.5cm	"The Grand Pharmacy/ ATLANTA, GA."	Unknown	The Grand Pharmacy	Atlanta, GA		Bottle	Southeast
			"flat-faced							Drugstore	
P319	133	Colorless	oval"	12x4 5x2 5cm	"The Grand Pharmacy/ ATLANTA GA "	Unknown	The Grand Pharmacy	Atlanta GA		Bottle	Southeast
. 515	100	Coroness	Circular/h	2EX HOXEIOCH				/ (clairea) er (		Digestive / An	boutificast
			ulhous/un				Valentine's Meat-Juice			tacid/Laxativ	
P365	133	Amher	ique	8x4 5cm	"ναι εντινε'ς/μεατ μμςε"	Valentine's Meat luice	Company	Richmond VA			Southeast
. 565	100		French		"VAPO-CRESOLENE CO //PATDU S JUNE 18-95						boutileast
P1146	133	Aqua	Square	10 5x3 5x3 5cm	ENG IIII Y 23-94"	Vano-Cresolene	The Vano-Cresolene Co	New York NY	1894-1895	Respiratory	Northeast
1 11 40	155	/ iquu	French	10.585.585.5611	"VAPO-CRESOLENE CO //PATDU S JUNE 18-95	vupo eresorene		New York, NY	1054 1055	nespiratory	Northeast
P537	133	Colorless	Square	10 5x3 5x3 5cm	FNG IIII Y 23-94"	Vano-Cresolene	The Vano-Cresolene Co	New York NY	1894-1895	Respiratory	Northeast
	133		French	20.070.070.0011	"VAPO-CRESOLENE CO //PATDU S UNIE 18-95	apo eresorene			1054 1055		
P537	122	Colorless	Square	10 5x3 5x3 5cm	ENG III V 22-0/"	Vano-Cresolene	The Vano-Cresolene Co	New York NY	180/-1805	Respiratory	Northeast
1 337	133	coloness	Square	10.343.343.3011	" "\\ASELINE"/CHEESEBBOLIGH/NEW/ VOP"	vapo-cresorene	The vapo-cresolette Co	INC W TOIN, INT	1034-1033	External	Northeast
D1219	123	Colorloss	Circular	6x2 5cm	(need photo):	Vacalina	Chosobrough Mfg Co			Pomody	Northoast
F 1210	133	coloness	Circular	0.5.5011	,(neeu photo),	vasenne	cheseniough wild co	cheesebrough, NY		Nemeuy	Northeast

## 9Fu114

Phoe	enix Projec	t Medici	nals - Type Colle	ection						
		Base								
Arti	Color 🛛	Shape 🔤	Size	Embossing	Product Name	Product Mfr	Source Location	Est Date	Target	🕻 Source Reg 🞽
				"DR HARTER'S/WILD CHERRY/BITTERS/ST	Dr. Harter's Wild					
P52	Yellow	Fragment		LOUIS"	Cherry Bitters	The Dr Harter Medicine Co	St Louis, MO	post 1855	Bitters	Midwest
					Hostetter's Stomach					
P52	Amber	Fragment		(D)"R J HOSTETTERS/ - TOMACH BITTERS"	Bitters	The Hostetter Company	Pittsburgh, PA		Bitters	Northeast
				"EWBANK/TRADE - "TOPAZ"/BLOOD	Ewbank's Topaz Blood					
P18	Amber	Fragment		SPEC"	Specific	Herbert B Ewbank	Atlanta, GA		Blood/Liver	Southeast
				"PPP/PRICKLY ASH POKE ROOT						
P53	Amber	Blake	Fragment	POTASSIUM/THE GREAT BLOOD PURIFIER"	P-P-P	Lippman Bros Druggists	Savannah, GA	1890-1918	Blood/Liver	Southeast
				"MRS WINSLOW'S/SOOTHING SYRUP/THE					Digestive/An	
				ANGLO AMERICAN DRUG CO/SUCCESSORS	Mrs Winslow's				tacid/Laxativ	
P50	Aqua	Circular	14x3cm	TO/CURTIS&PERKINS/PROPRIETORS"	Soothing Syrup	The Anglo American Drug Co	o New York, NY	1880-1905	e	Northeast
					_				Digestive/An	
				(LACTOPEPTINE),"THE BEST/REMEDIAL AGEN					tacid/Laxativ	
P53	Cobalt	Fragment		IN ALL/DIGESTIVE DISORDERS/"	Lactopeptine	Reed & Carnrick	New York, NY		e	Northeast
									Disinfectant/	·
P51	Colorless	Fragment		"CALDER'S DENTINE"	Calder's Dentine	Calder Dentine Co	Providence, Ri		Antiseptic	Northeast
D 40									Drugstore	C
P49	Coloriess		022 Farry (haralisan	SHARP BROS/PHARMACISTS/ATLANTA, GA.	Unknown	Sharp Bros Pharmacy	Atlanta, GA		Bottle	Southeast
DEO	Colorloss	Blake	9x3x2.5cm(broken	"COLDENNITH & EDMONDEON/ATLANITA CA"	Unknown	Coldsmith & Edmondson	Atlanta CA		Drugstore	Southoast
P50	Coloriess	Blake	песк)	GOLDSIVITH & EDIVIONDSON/ATLANTA, GA	Unknown	Goldsmith & Edmondson	Atlanta, GA		Bottle	Southeast
DEO	Colorloss	Rounded	9 Ev 2 Ev 2 cm		Unknown	Sharp Bros Dharmasy	Atlanta CA		Drugstore	Couthoast
P 50	Coloness	Rectangle	6.5X5.5X2CIII	SHARP BROS/PHARMACISTS/ATLANTA, GA.	UIIKIIUWII	Sharp Bros Pharmacy	Atianta, GA		Drugstoro	Southeast
DE2	Colorloss	Plako			Unknown	Chas O Typer	Atlanta GA		Pottlo	Southoast
F JZ	coloness	DIAKE		" Crophoim/Atlanta Ga///DAT_UINE	UIKIIUWII	chas. O. Tyliei	Atlanta, GA		Drugstoro	Southeast
P52	Colorless	Fragment			Unknown	Sol Cronheim	Atlanta GA		Bottle	Southeast
1 52	coloness	maginent		"SLOAN'S N&B LINIMENT/Dr F S SLOAN	OIIKIIOWII	Sorcionnenn	Atlanta, GA		External	Journeast
P50	Colorless	Blake	12 5x4 5x3cm	BOSTON"	Sloan's Liniment	Dr.F.S. Sloan	Boston MA		Remedy	Northeast
1 50	coloness	Diake	12.374.373611		Stouris Emilience		boston, wirt		External	Northeast
P53	Amber	Fragment		"ROY - GER-"	Royal Germetuer	Georgia Medicine Company	Atlanta GA		Remedy	Southeast
. 55	, inder	maginent			noju cennetaer	deorgia meatoric company	/ trainitaly G/ t		External	boutifeast
P53	Amber	Fragment		"-YAL GERM - UE-"	Roval Germetuer	Georgia Medicine Company	Atlanta, GA		Remedy	Southeast
					,	,			External	
P53	Amber	Fragment		"GERMET"	Roval Germetuer	Georgia Medicine Company	Atlanta. GA		Remedy	Southeast
						, , ,			Female	
P18	Agua	Blake		"WOMAN'S BEST FRIEND"	Woman's Best Friend	Bradfield's Regulator Co	Atlanta, GA		Regulator	Southeast
	· ·			"WOMAN'S/BEST FRIEND//FEMALE					Female	
P50	Light green	Blake	21x7x4.5cm	REGULATOR//ATLANTA, GA"	Woman's Best Friend	Bradfield's Regulator Co	Atlanta, GA		Regulator	Southeast
P52	Cobalt	Fragment		"SON/RUG CO/BALTIMORE, MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD		Headache	Southeast
				"EXPECTORANT//DR F.M.	Dr. F.M. Cheney's					
P51	Aqua	Blake	11.5x4.5x2.25cm	CHENEY'S//COVINGTON, GA"	Expectorant	Dr F.M. Cheney	Covington, GA		Respiratory	Southeast
				"(SAMMY'S MEDICINE/R)"EACHES THROUGH						
				THE ENTIRE SYSTEM//MD USA//SAMMY'S						
P52	Green	Fragment		MEDICINE//SR (SCOGGI)NS"	Sammy's Medicine	S.R. Scoggins	Baltimore, MD		Respiratory	Southeast
P53	Aqua	Fragment		(J R)"STAFFORD'S" (//OLIVE TAR)	Stafford's Olive Tar	J. R. Stafford	New York, NY		Respiratory	Northeast
					Dr. J. Kaufman's					
				"-FMAN'S ANGELINE/-AL RHEUMATISM	Angeline Internal					
P18	Colorless	Blake		CURE/HAMILTON, OHIO"	Rheumatism Cure	Jos. Schumaker & Co	Hamilton, OH	pre 1906	Specific	Midwest

# 9Fu91

Phoe	nix Proie	ct Medici	nals - Type Co	llection						
	,	Base	,,							
Artii 🝸	Color	Shape	Size	Embossing	Product Name	Product Mfr	Source Location	Est Date	Target	Source Reg
		12-sided		"ATWOOD'S//JAUNDICE BITTERS//MOSES	Atwood's Jaundice					
P1904	Aqua	Polygon	15.5x5.5cm	ATWOOD//GEORGETOWN//MASS."	Bitters	Moses Atwood	Georgetown, MA		Bitters	Northeast
		12-sided		"ATWOOD'S//JAUNDICE BITTERS//MOSES	Atwood's Jaundice					
P3128	Aqua	Polygon	15.5x5.5cm	ATWOOD//GEORGETOWN//MASS."	Bitters	Moses Atwood	Georgetown, MA		Bitters	Northeast
									Digestive/An tacid/Laxativ	
P3627	Aqua	Blake	14x5x2.5cm	"BABY EASE"	Baby-Ease	Baby-Ease Co., T.P. Marsha	all Atlanta, GA		е	Southeast
				"ROBT/TURLI/NGTON/FOR HIS/INVENTED/BALSAM/OF LIFE//LONDON//BY THE					Panacea/Cur	
P3213	Aqua	Blake	6.5x3.5x2cm	KINGS/ROYAL/PATENT/GRANTED//JANY"	Balsam of Life	Robert Turlington	London, UK	1870-1906	e-All	United Kingdo
		Rectangul		"FREE/SAMPLE/BLOOD/WINE//THE LOUIS						
P1874	Colorless	ar	9x3.5x2cm	DAUDELIN CO//WORCESTER MASS"	Blood Wine	Louis Daudelin Co	Worcester, MA		Blood/Liver	Northeast
		rounded		"BOROLYPTOL//BOROLYPTOL//THE					Disinfectant/	
p1478	Colorless	rectangle	12.5x4.5x3cm	PALISADE/MFG. CO./YONKERS, N.Y."	Borolyptol	The Palisade Mfg Co	Yonkers, NY	1895-1928	Antiseptic	Northeast
				"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P1452	Cobalt	Circular	10x4cm	CO/BALTIMORE MD.",	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P1334	Cobalt	Circular	12.5x5cm	CO/BALTIMORE MD."	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
P1616	Cobalt	Circular	10x4cm	"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG CO/BALTIMORE MD."	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
P1480	Cobalt	Circular	Fragment	Bromo-Seltzer partial bottle	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMO-SELTZER EMERSON DRUG CO" (bas	sal-					
P638	Cobalt	Circular	12x5cm	rim embossing)	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P1798	Cobalt	Circular	16.5x7cm	Co/BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
P1874	Cobalt	Circular	16.5x7cm	"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG Co/BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P1314	Cobalt	Circular	6.5x3cm	CO/BALTIMORE MD."	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P1559	Cobalt	Circular	6.5x3cm	CO/BALTIMORE MD."	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P1769	Cobalt	Circular	10.5x4cm	CO/BALTIMORE MD."	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P1569	Cobalt	Circular	6.5x3cm	CO/BALTIMORE MD."	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
P1580	Cobalt	Circular	6.5x3cm	"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG CO/BALTIMORE MD."	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast

				"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P1812	Cobalt	Circular	10.5x4cm	Co/BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P1841	Cobalt	Circular	10.5x4cm	Co/BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG				·		
P1841	Cobalt	Circular	10.5x4cm	Co/BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P1841	Cobalt	Circular	10.5x4cm	Co/BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG				·		
P1616	Cobalt	Circular	6.5x3cm	CO/BALTIMORE MD."	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P1791	Cobalt	Circular	6.5x3cm	Co/BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P1841	Cobalt	Circular	6.5x3cm	Co/BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P1841	Cobalt	Circular	12.5x5cm	Co/BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P1841	Cobalt	Circular	12.5x5cm	Co/BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMOSELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P1874	Cobalt	Circular	2"	Co/BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1914-1954	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMOSELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P1874	Cobalt	Circular	4"	Co/BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1914-1928	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMOSELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P1874	Cobalt	Circular	6"	Co/BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1914-1954	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P1874	Cobalt	Circular	6 1/2" x 2 3/16"	Co/BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1914-1954	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P1874	Cobalt	Circular	10.5x4cm	Co/BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P1841	Cobalt	Circular	6.5x3cm	Co/BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P1841	Cobalt	Circular	6.5x3cm	Co/BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P1874	Cobalt	Circular	12.5x5cm	Co/BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P1874	Cobalt	Circular	6.5x3cm	Co/BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P1874	Cobalt	Circular	6.5x3cm	Co/BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast

D4070	<b>a</b> 1 1	c: 1		"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG				1000 1000		с. н
P1970	Cobalt	Circular	16.5x6.5Cm		Bromo-Seitzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
D4004	<b>C</b> I II	<u> </u>	65.2	"BROMO-SELIZER/EMERSON/DRUG		- D -		4000 4000		<b>C</b> 11 1
P1904	Cobalt	Circular	6.5x3cm	CO/BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
0.0000	<b>.</b>	<b>c</b> : 1	105.4	"BROMO-SELIZER/EMERSON/DRUG		<b>F D O</b>		1000 1000		c
P3030	Cobalt	Circular	10.5x4cm	Co/BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
	<b>.</b>	<b>a</b> . 1		"BROMO-SELIZER/EMERSON/DRUG	<b>D D I</b>					
P3141	Cobalt	Circular	10.5x4cm	Co/BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
		a		"BROMO-SELIZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P2000	Cobalt	Circular	6.5x3cm	CO/BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
	<b>.</b>	<b>a</b> . 1		"BROMO-SELIZER/EMERSON/DRUG	<b>D D I</b>					
P3158	Cobalt	Circular	10.5x4cm	Co/BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMO-SELIZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P3189	Cobalt	Circular	10.5x4cm	Co/BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P3141	Cobalt	Circular	6.5x3cm	Co/BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
P3279	Cobalt	Circular	Fragment		Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P3410	Cobalt	Circular	6.5x2.75cm	Co/BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P3452	Cobalt	Circular	6.5x2.75cm	Co/BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
P557	Cobalt		Fragment	fragment	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
				"BROMO-SELTZER/EMERSON/DRUG						
P3213	Cobalt	Circular	6.5x3cm	Co/BALTIMORE MD"	Bromo-Seltzer	Emerson Drug Co	Baltimore, MD	1890-1920	Headache	Southeast
				"CHELFS COMP/CELERY CAFFEIN/TRADE						
				CCCC MARK/FOR HEADACHE/MANFD D						
				ONLY BY/CHELF CHEMICAL CO/RICHMOND,	,					
p1203	Cobalt	Circular	10.5x4cm	VA USA"	Chelfs C-C-C	Chelf Chemical Co	Richmond, VA		Headache	Southeast
									Digestive/An	
									tacid/Laxativ	
P932	Colorless	Circular	22x6cm	"CITRATE/MAGNESIA"	Citrate Magnesia	Unkown	Unknown	Unknown	е	Unknown
		12-sided							External	
P1798	Colorless	Polygon	7.5x2.5cm	"CRANITONIC//HAIR FOOD"	Cranitonic	Crani-Tonic Hair Food Co	New York, NY		Remedy	Northeast
									Digestive/An	
									tacid/Laxativ	
P1904	Aqua	Circular	9.5x4cm	"DALBY'S//CARMINATIV"	Dalby's Carminative	E. Fougera& Co.	Brooklyn, NY	1804-1940	е	Northeast
				"J.H. ZEILIN &						
				Co//DARBY'S/PROPHYLACTIC/FLUID//PHIL	Darby's Prophylactic				Disinfectant/	
P1904	Aqua	Circular	19x6.5cm	ADELPHIA"	Fluid	J.H. Zeinlin & Co	Philadelphia, PA		Antiseptic	Northeast
					Davis Vegetable				Panacea/Cur	
P2000	Aqua	Blake	15x4.75x2.25cm	"DAVIS/VEGETABLE/PAINKILLER"	Painkiller	Davis & Son	Providence, RI	1867-1928	e-All	Northeast
		French		"DIOVIBURNIA/ DIOVIBURNIA/					Female	
P1944	Colorless	Square	15.5x5.5x5.5cm	DIOVIBURNIA/ DIOVIBURNIA"	Dioviburnia	The Dios Chemical Co	St Louis, MO		Regulator	Midwest

			1	1	1	1	1			
				"DR. BELL'S/PINE-TAR-HONEY/FOR						
				COUGHS AND COLDS// DR. BELL'S//PINE-	Dr. Bell's Pine Tar	E.E. Sutherland Medicine				
p1580	Colorless	Blake	14x5x2.5cm		Honey	Со	Philadelphia, PA		Respiratory	Northeast
D1041	Colorioso	French	1444 7544 75000	DR. CLOUD S/AN TIMALARIA/ATLANTA	Dr. Claudia Antimalaria		Atlanta CA		Creatific	Coutboost
P1841	Coloness	Square	14x4./5x4./5011		Dr. Cloud S Antimalaria		Alidild, GA	1	specific	Southeast
D19/1	Colorloss	Squaro	14x4 75x4 75cm	GA "	Dr. Cloud's Antimalaria		Atlanta GA		Specific	Southoast
P1041	Coloness	Fronch	14x4.75x4.75cm		DI. CIOUU S AIItIIIdidiid		Atidita, GA		Specific	Southeast
D18/1	Colorless	Square	1/x/1 75x/1 75cm	GA "	Dr. Cloud's Antimalaria		Atlanta GA		Specific	Southeast
1 1041	coloness	Square	11/broken		Dr. cloud 3 Antimatana			1	Specific	Southeast
		Franch	pack)v4 75v4 75c							
D1070	Colorlacc	French	meek)x4.75x4.75e	DR. CLOUD S/ANTIMALARIA/ATLANTA	Dr. Cloud's Antimalaria		Atlanta CA		Specific	Southoast
P1970	Coloness	Square	2 Erogmonts (7" x 2	GA.	Dr. Durbam's Blood		Atiditta, GA		Specific	Southeast
0122	A 9112	Blake	3 Fidginents (7 X Z		Dr. Durifior	Walter H Durbam M D	Atlanta CA	circo 1000	Blood/Livor	Southoast
P 122	Ациа	DIdKe	5/6 X 1 5/6 )		Dr. F.M. Chonovis	Waiter H Duffiall, W.D.	Atlanta, GA	circa 1900	BIOOU/LIVEI	Southeast
D2011	A (11)	Blake	11 Ev 4 Ev 2 2Ecm		Dr. F.Ivi. Cherley S	Dr.E.M. Chanav	Covington CA		Bospiratory	Southoast
F 3011	Aqua	DIAKE	11.374.372.23011		Dr E M Chonov's	DIT.IN. Cheney	covington, dA		Respiratory	Southeast
P3145	Δαμα	Blake	11 5x4 5x2 25cm	CHENEY'S//COVINGTON GA"	Expectorant	Dr F M Cheney	Covington GA		Respiratory	Southeast
1 5145	Aquu	Diake	11.5/4.5/2.25011		Expectorune	Di Film. Cheney	covington, art		nespiratory	Southeast
					Dr. Havden's Viburnum	The New York			Female	
P1874	Aqua	Circular	17 5x6cm	"DR HAYDEN'S VIBURNUM"	Compound	Pharmaceutical Company	Bedford Springs MA	Pre-1933	Regulator	Northeast
1 107 1	riqua	encara	1710/100111	"DR I W BULL'S COUGH SYRUP//A C	Dr. IW Bull's Cough	i naimace actear company	bearera opringo) inv	110 1000	negarator	Hortifedot
P3189	Aqua	Blake	16x5.25x3cm	MEYER&CO BALTO MD U.S.A."	Svrup	A.C. Mever & Co	Baltimore, MD		Respiratory	Southeast
	1			"SAMPLE BOTTLE/DR. KILMER'S SWAMP-	- / - P	,				
				ROOT KIDNEY REMEDY/BINGHAMTON.	Dr. Kilmer's Swamp-					
P1296	Aqua	Circular	4"	N.Y."	Root	Kilmer & Co., Inc.	Binghamton, NY	post 1906	Blood/Liver	Northeast
				"THE GREAT/DR KILMER'S/SWAMP-		· · · ·				
				/ROOT/KIDNEY/LIVER&/BLADDER/CURE/S						
			8 3/16" x 2 3/4" x 1	PECIFIC//DR. KILMER & Co//BINGHAMTON	Dr. Kilmer's Swamp-					
P1841	Aqua	Blake	3/4"	N.Y."	Root	Kilmer & Co., Inc.	Binghamton, NY	1880-1906	Blood/Liver	Northeast
				"DR. KILMER'S/SWAMP ROOT/KIDNEY						
			7 1/8" x 2 3/8" x 1	LIVER/AND BLADDER	Dr. Kilmer's Swamp-					
P1842	Aqua	Blake	3/8"	CURE/BINGHAMTON/N.Y. U.S.A."	Root	Kilmer & Co., Inc.	Binghamton, NY	1880-1906	Blood/Liver	Northeast
				"DR. KILMER'S/SWAMP ROOT/KIDNEY						
				LIVER/AND BLADDER	Dr. Kilmer's Swamp-					
P1874	Aqua	Blake	18x6x3.5cm	CURE/BINGHAMTON/N.Y. U.S.A."	Root	Kilmer & Co., Inc.	Binghamton, NY	1880-1906	Blood/Liver	Northeast
				"DR. KILMER'S/SWAMP ROOT/KIDNEY						
			broken neck	LIVER/AND BLADDER	Dr. Kilmer's Swamp-					
P1875	Aqua	Blake	(18)x6x3.5cm	CURE/BINGHAMTON/N.Y. U.S.A."	Root	Kilmer & Co., Inc.	Binghamton, NY	1880-1906	Blood/Liver	Northeast
				"THE GREAT/DR KILMER'S/SWAMP-						
				/ROOT/KIDNEY/LIVER&/BLADDER/CURE/S						
				PECIFIC//DR. KILMER & Co//BINGHAMTON	Dr. Kilmer's Swamp-					
P3158	Aqua	Blake	21x7.5x4.5cm	N.Y."	Root	Kilmer & Co., Inc.	Binghamton, NY	1880-1906	Blood/Liver	Northeast
				"THE GREAT/DR KILMER'S/SWAMP-						
				/ROOT/KIDNEY/LIVER&/BLADDER/CURE/S						
				PECIFIC//DR. KILMER & Co//BINGHAMTON	Dr. Kilmer's Swamp-					
P3437	Aqua	Blake	21x7.5x4.5cm	N.Y."	Root	Kilmer & Co., Inc.	Binghamton, NY	1880-1906	Blood/Liver	Northeast
				DR KING'S/NEW DISCOVERY/FOR						
			47.5.5.0	CONSUMPTION//CHICAGO,	Dr. King's New					
P1812	Aqua	ваке	1/x5.5x3cm	ILL.//H.E.BUCKLEN & CO."	Discovery	H.E. BUCKIEN & CO.	Chicago, IL		кеspiratory	wiidwest

				"DR. M.A. SIMMONS/LIVER MEDICINE//ST	Dr. M. A. Simmons	C.F. Simmons Medicine				
P1769	Light green	Blake	14.5x5.5x3.5cm	LOUIS MO//C.F. SIMMONS MED CO"	Liver Medicine	Company	St Louis. MO		Blood/Liver	Midwest
	0.0			"DR						
			17x7.5x4cm	PIERCE'S/FAVORITE/PRESCRIPTION//BUFF	Dr. Pierce's Favorite				Female	
P1746	Light green	Blake	(broken neck)	ALO, N.Y.//R.V. PIERCE, M.D.";	Prescription	R.V. Pierce, MD	Buffalo, NY		Regulator	Northeast
P3189	Aqua	Blake	10.25x3.5x1.5cm	"DR SMITH'S/WORM OIL"	Dr. Smith's Worm Oil	E. S. Lyndon	Athens, GA	after 1878	Specific	Southeast
P3421	Aqua	Blake	10.25x3.5x1.5cm	"DR SMITH'S/WORM OIL"	Dr. Smith's Worm Oil	E. S. Lyndon	Athens, GA	after 1878	Specific	Southeast
				"Dr. THACHER'S/LIVER & BLOOD	Dr. Thacher's	Thacher Medicine				
p1569	Amber	Blake	9x3.5x2cm	SYRUP//CHATTANOOGA, TENN.//SAMPLE"	Liver&Blood Syrup	Company	Chattanooga, TN		Blood/Liver	Southeast
				"Dr THACHER'S/LIVER & BLOOD	Dr. Thacher's	Thacher Medicine				
P1904	Amber	Blake	9x3.5x2cm	SYRUP//CHATTANOOGA, TN//SAMPLE"	Liver&Blood Syrup	Company	Chattanooga, TN		Blood/Liver	Southeast
				"Dr. THACHER'S/LIVER & BLOOD	Dr. Thacher's	Thacher Medicine				
P1977	Amber	Blake	9x3.5x2cm	SYRUP//CHATTANOOGA, TENN.//SAMPLE"	Liver&Blood Syrup	Company	Chattanooga, TN		Blood/Liver	Southeast
				"FINK'S/MAGIC OIL//H.G.G.					Panacea/Cur	
P1745	Colorless	Blake	12x5x2.5cm	FINK//SPRINGDALE, PA."	Fink's Magic Oil	H.G.G. Fink	Springdale, PA		e-All	Northeast
									Digestive/An	
									tacid/Laxativ	
P1798	Aqua	Blake	14.5x5x2.5cm	"DR S. PITCHER'S//CASTORIA"	Fletcher's Castoria	The Centaur Company	New York, NY	1870-1900	е	Northeast
									Digestive/An	
									tacid/Laxativ	
P3030	Aqua	Blake	14.5x5x2.5cm	"DR S. PITCHER'S//CASTORIA"	Fletcher's Castoria	The Centaur Company	New York, NY	1870-1900	e	Northeast
									Digestive/An	
									tacid/Laxativ	
P3040	Aqua	Blake	14.5x5x2.5cm	"DR S. PITCHER'S//CASTORIA"	Fletcher's Castoria	The Centaur Company	New York, NY	1870-1900	e	Northeast
				"FOLEY'S/HONEY AND TAR//CHICAGO,					<b>-</b>	
p1452	Aqua	Blake	11x3.5x1.5cm	U.S.A.//FOLEY & CO."	Foley's Honey and Tar	Foley&Co	Chicago, IL		Respiratory	Midwest
			7 5/8" x 2 1/2" x 1	"HALL'S BALSAM/FOR THE LUNGS//JOHN F.	Hall's Balsam for the				<b>.</b>	
P1491	Aqua	Blake	1/2"	HENRY & Co.//NEW YORK"	Lungs	John F. Henry	New York, NY		Respiratory	Northeast
DAFFO	• • • •	Dist.	4 //8" X 1 6/8" X			Dala d N. Hawara	West and D.C.	4007 4007	the enderstein	Marilla and
P1559	Aqua	Blake	//8 <sup></sup>	HEADACHE/WASHINGTON, D.C."	Harper's Cephalgine	Robert N. Harper	Washington, D.C.	1887-1907	Headache	Northeast
P2001	Amber	Blake	15x4.5x2.5cm		Hicks' Capudine	Hicks' Capudine Co	Raieign, NC	pre 1906	Headache	Southeast
P1933	Amber	ыаке	15x4.5x2.5cm	"HICKS" CAPUDINE/HEADACHE CURE"	HICKS Capudine	HICKS Capudine Co	Raieign, NC	pre 1906	Headache	Southeast
		"flat faced								
7770	Amhor	mat-raced	9 25x2 5x1 75 cm		Hicks! Considing	Hicks! Conuding Co	Dalaigh NC	pro 1006	Uaadaaha	Couthoast
P3475	AIIIDEI	UVdI	0.20X3.0X1./0CM	TICKS CAPUDINE/CORES TEADACHE	піску саришне		naleigii, NC	hte 1900	педидспе	Southeast
		"flat faced								
D1055	Amber	oval"	8 25v3 5v1 75cm		Hicks' Canudina	Hicks' Canudine Co	Raleigh NC		Headache	Southeast
n1456	Amher	ovai	Fragment	Frag of Hicks Canudine "Headache Cure"	Hicks' Canudine	Hicks' Canudine Co	Raleigh NC	nre 1906	Headache	Southeast
P1055 p1456	Amber Amber	"flat-faced oval"	8.25x3.5x1.75cm Fragment	"HICKS' CAPUDINE/FOR HEADACHES" Frag of Hicks Capudine "Headache Cure"	Hicks' Capudine Hicks' Capudine	Hicks' Capudine Co Hicks' Capudine Co	Raleigh, NC Raleigh, NC	pre 1906	Headache Headache	Southeast Southeast

P1841 Amber Circular 12x5cm COMPANY/H2O2" Hydrogen Peroxide Company New York, NY 1881-1901   V<	Antiseptic Northeast Disinfectant/ Antiseptic Northeast
"MARCHAND'S/PEROXIDE OF/HYDROGEN/(MEDICINAL)/NEW	Disinfectant/ Antiseptic Northeast
OF/HYDROGEN/(MEDICINAL)/NEW	Disinfectant/ Antiseptic Northeast
	Antiseptic Northeast
P1874 Amber Circular 13.5x5cm YORK/U.S.A." Hydrogen Peroxide Charles Marchand Co. New York, NY 1897-1948	
"MARCHAND'S/PEROXIDE	
	Disintectant/
UNIFICIENT AT THE SECONDARY SE	Antisentic Northeast
The CAKLAND CHEMICAL The Cakland Chemical The Cakland Chemical	Disinfectant/
11274 Amber Circular 12v5cm COMBAN/H2O2" Hydrogen Perovide Company New York NY 1891-1001	Antisentic Northeast
The American Tracking Company and the second and th	Disinfectant/
110 CARCING LIEURAL THE CARCING LIEURAL INTE CARCING LIEURAL NEW YOrk NY 1891-1901	Anticentic Northeast
r 1304 Amber Circular 1235th Company Amber Circular Thylogen reloade Company New York, N1 1001-1301	Disinfactant/
D1004 Ambor Ciscular 1245cm COMDANU/U2O2" Hydrogen Derovida Company New York NY 1991 1001	Distinectant/
P1904 Amber Circular 12x5Cir COMPANY/ROZ Provide Company New York, NY 1801-1901	Antiseptic Northeast
	Disinfortent/
OF/HTDROGEN/ (MEDICINAL)/New	Disinfectant/
P33/9 Amber Circular 1355cm YORK/U.S.A. Hydrogen Peroxide Charles Marchand Co. New York, NY 1897-1948	Antiseptic Northeast
12-sided KENDALLS SPAVIN CURE///ENOSBURGH	External
P1433 Amber Polygon 17.75x6cm FALLS VT" Kendall's Spavin Cure Dr. B J Kendall Co. Enosburgh Falls, VT pre 1906	Remedy Northeast
"LIQUOZONE/MANUFACTURED ONLY	Disinfectant/
P1841 Amber Circular 15x6cm BY/THE LIQUID OZONE Co/CHICAGO US" Liquozone The Liquid Ozone Co Chicago, IL	Antiseptic Midwest
"LIQUOZONE/MANUFACTURED ONLY	Disinfectant/
P1874 Amber Circular 15x6cm BY/THE LIQUID OZONE Co/CHICAGO US" Liquozone The Liquid Ozone Co Chicago, IL	Antiseptic Midwest
"LIQUOZONE/MANUFACTURED ONLY	Disinfectant/
P3189 Amber Circular 15x6cm BY/THE LIQUID OZONE Co/CHICAGO US" Liquozone The Liquid Ozone Co Chicago, IL	Antiseptic Midwest
"LISTERINE/LAMBERT/PHARMACAL Lambert Pharmacal	Disinfectant/
P1055   Colorless   Circular   11x4.5cm   COMPANY"   Listerine   Company   St Louis, MO   1915-1929	Antiseptic Midwest
"LISTERINE/LAMBERT/PHARMACAL Lambert Pharmacal	Disinfectant/
P3158   Colorless   Circular   11x4.5cm   COMPANY"   Listerine   Company   St Louis, MO   1915-1929	Antiseptic Midwest
>8"(broken at "YDIA E PINKHAM'S/EGETABLE Lydia E Pinkham's	Female
P1978   Aqua   Oval   shoulder)   COMPOUND"   Vegetable Compound   Lydia Pinkham   Lynn, MA	Regulator Northeast
	Digestive/An
"curved- "THE/MALTINE/MFG CO./CHEMISTS/NEW	tacid/Laxativ
P1904   Amber   side-rect"   19x9x6cm   YORK"   Maltine   Maltine Mfg Co   New York, NY   1880-1900	e Northeast
"McELREE'S WINE OF McElree's Wine of Chattanooga Medicine	Female
P1841 Aqua Blake 22x7x4cm CARDUI//CHATTANOOGA MEDICINE CO" Cardui Co Chattanooga, TN	Regulator Southeast
"MEXICAN/MUSTANG/LINIMENT/LYON Mexican Mustang	External
P1841 Light green Circular 10x4cm MFG CO/NEW YORK" Liniment Lyon Mfg Co New York, NY post 1871	Remedy Northeast
"MEXICAN/MUSTANG/LINIMENT/LYON Mexican Mustang	External
P2042 Light green Circular 10x4cm MFG CO/NEW YORK" Liniment Lvon Mfg Co New York. NY post 1871	Remedy Northeast
"MRS WINSLOW'S/SOOTHING SYRUP/THE	Digestive/An
12.5x3cm(broken ANGLO AMERICAN DRUG CO/SUCCESSORS Mrs Winslow's The Anglo American Drug	tacid/Laxativ
P1874 Aqua Circular neck) TO/CURTIS&PERKINS/PROPRIETORS" Soothing Syrup Co New York, NY 1880-1905	e Northeast

				"Newbro's/Herpicide/KILLS						
P1745	Colorless	Circular	17x5.5cm	THE/DANDRUFF GERM"	Newbro's Herpicide	Newbro Drug Co	Butte, MT	1902-1935	Specific	Mountain
		"curved-								
P1904	Amber	side-rect"	13.5x5x3cm	"OZOMULSION"	Ozomulsion	Ozomulsion Food Co	New York, NY	1902-1948	Blood/Liver	Northeast
		French			Paine's Celery					
P1904	Amber	Square	25x6.5x6.5cm	"PAINE'S//CELERY COMPOUND"	Compound	Wells, Richardson & Co	Burlington, VT		Blood/Liver	Northeast
									Panacea/Cur	
P3213	Aqua	Circular	23.5x7.5cm	"DR S.B.H.&CO./REGISTERED/52/PR."	Peruna	The Peruna Drug MFG Co	Columbus, OH	1890-1940	e-All	Midwest
									Digestive/An	
		Union		"GENUINE/PHILLIPS'/MILK OF/circular	Phillip's Milk of	Chas. H. Phillips			tacid/Laxativ	
P1055	Cobalt	Oval	12.5x5.5cm	motif/MAGNESIA//MADE IN USA";	Magnesia	Chemical Co	Stamford, CT		e	Northeast
				"PHILLIPS'//MILK					Digestive/An	
		Union		OF/'logo'/MAGNESIA/REG'D IN U.S. PAT.	Phillip's Milk of	Chas. H. Phillips			tacid/Laxativ	
p1580	Cobalt	Oval	17.5x7.5x5.5cm	OFFICE/AUG.21, 1906"	Magnesia	Chemical Co	Stamford, CT	post 1906	е	Northeast
									Digestive/An	
		Union		"GENUINE/PHILLIPS'/MILK OF/circular	Phillip's Milk of	Chas. H. Phillips			tacid/Laxativ	
P1674	Cobalt	Oval	12.5x5.5cm	motif/MAGNESIA//MADE IN USA";	Magnesia	Chemical Co	Stamford, CT		е	Northeast
				"PISO'S CURE//FOR						
P3158	Green	Blake	13.5x5x3cm	CONSUMPTION//HAZELTINE &CO."	Piso's Cure	Hazeltine&Co.	Warren, PA	pre 1906	Respiratory	Northeast
				"NEW SPENCER MEDICINE CO//PLANTERS	Planters Old Time	New Spencer Medicine			External	
P3278	Aqua	Blake	16x5.25x2.75cm	OLD TIME REMEDIES"	Remedies	Со	Chattanooga, TN		Remedy	Southeast
					Pompeian Massage	Pompeian Manufacturing	1		External	
p1580	Colorless	Circular	7x3.5cm	"POMPEIAN/MASSAGE/CREAM"	Cream	Со	Cleveland, OH		Remedy	Midwest
		Union			Pond's Extract of Witch	ı			External	
P1791	Aqua	Oval	13x6x5cm	"POND'S EXTRACT//1846"	Hazel	Pond's Extract Co	New York, NY		Remedy	Northeast
		Union			Pond's Extract of Witch	ו			External	
P1904	Aqua	Oval	13x6x5cm	"POND'S EXTRACT//1846"	Hazel	Pond's Extract Co	New York, NY		Remedy	Northeast
					Ripley-Broma-Lithia				Panacea/Cur	
P3011	Amber	Circular	12.5x5cm	"THE RIPLEY COMPANY/RBL/NEW YORK"	Water	The Ripley Company	New York, NY		e-All	Northeast
				"ROYAL FOOT WASH//EATON DRUG CO.					External	
P3421	Colorless	Blake	11x4x2.5cm	ATLANTA, GA."	Royal Foot Wash	Eaton Drug Co	Atlanta, GA		Remedy	Southeast
					Scott's Emulsion of					
P1085	Aqua		Fragment	Frag of Scott's Emulsion of Cod Liver Oil	Cod Liver Oil	Scott & Bowne	New York, NY		Blood/Liver	Northeast
									External	United
P1874	Colorless	Circular	12x3.5cm	"LIQUID/OPODELDOC"	Steer's Opodeldoc	Newberry & Steers Co	London, UK	1834-1907	Remedy	Kingdom
				"THE MOTHERS/FRIEND//ATLANTA					Female	
P4333	Aqua	Blake	16.75x6x2.5cm	GA.//BRADFIELDS"	The Mother's Friend	Bradfield Regulator Co	Atlanta, GA		Regulator	Southeast
				"LORENTZ MED CO, TRADE "TO-NI-TA"						
P1874	Amber	Circular	10x3cm	MARK"	TO-NI-TA	Lorentz Medical Co	New York, NY		Bitters	Northeast

				"LORENTZ MED CO, TRADE "TO-NI-TA"						
P1904	Amber	Circular	25x7cm	MARK"	TO-NI-TA	Lorentz Medical Co	New York, NY		Bitters	Northeast
P1904	Colorless	Oval	20x9x5.5cm	"FELLOWS & CO/CHEMISTS/St JOHN, N.B."	Unknown	Fellows & Co	St John, NB, Canada		Drugstore Bottle	Canada
			6 3/4" x 2 1/8" x 1	"HUNT RANKIN & LAMAR/DRUGGISTS/MACON&ATLANTA					Drugstore	
P243	Aqua	Blake	1/8"	GA"	Unknown	Hunt, Rankin, & Lamar	Atlanta, GA		Bottle	Southeast
		Union							Drugstore	
p1580	Aqua	Oval	12.5x5.5x4cm	"JACOBS' PHARMACY/ATLANTA, GA"	Unknown	Jacobs' Pharmacy	Atlanta, GA	1	Bottle	Southeast
		"flat-faced							Drugstore	
p1580	Colorless	oval"	9.5x3.5x2.5cm	"Jacobs' Pharmacy/Atlanta, Ga."	Unknown	Jacobs' Pharmacy	Atlanta, GA		Bottle	Southeast
									_	
D1041	Colorloss	"flat-faced		"lessba' Dharman (Atlanta Co."	Linknown	lesshe' Dhermer	Atlanta CA		Drugstore	Couthoost
P1841	Coloness	Union	9.583.582.5011	Jacobs Pharmacy/Atlanta, Ga.	Unknown	Jacobs Pharmacy	Atidrita, GA		Drugstoro	Southeast
P3778	Colorless	Oval	7 5x2 75x1 75cm	"Jacoh's Pharmacy/Montgomeny Ala"	Unknown	lacobs' Pharmacy	Montgomery Al		Bottle	Southeast
1 5270	coloness	ovu	7.572.7571.75011	"LAMAR&RANKIN DRUG CO//ATLANTA.	Unknown	Jacobs Tharmacy	Wontgomery, AL		Drugstore	Journeuse
P1812	Agua	Blake	22.5x7.75x4.75cm	GA."	Unknown	Lamar & Rankin	Atlanta, GA		Bottle	Southeast
				"LAMAR&RANKIN/L&R DRUG					Drugstore	
P1874	Amber	Circular	7x3.5cm	CO/ATLANTA, GA."	Unknown	Lamar & Rankin	Atlanta, GA		Bottle	Southeast
		Curved- back		"PANSY DRUG STORE/R.F. WATSON/ATLANTA,					Drugstore	
P1841	Colorless	Rectangle	10.5x4.25x2.75cm	GA///WT&CO/PAT'D/DEC,11, 1899/U.S.A."	Unknown	Pansy Drugstore	Atlanta, GA		Bottle	Southeast
		French				Schuman's Drugstore			Drugstore	
P1731	Colorless	Square	9x3x3cm	"SCHUMAN'S/PHARMACY/ATLANTA GA."	Unknown	Bottle	Atlanta, GA		Bottle	Southeast
P3145	Cobalt	Oval	3"	"SHARP & DOHME//BALTIMORE, MD"	Unknown	Sharp & Dohme	Baltimore, MD		Drugstore Bottle	Southeast
		Curved-		"SHARP BROS/PHARMACY/ATLANTA,						
		back		GA.(with embossed logo of S on B on a		Sharp Bros Drugstore			Drugstore	
P1874	Colorless	Rectangle	11x4x3cm	Mortar/Pestle)///WT&CO/U.S.A."	Unknown	Bottle	Atlanta, GA		Bottle	Southeast
P1978	Colorless	Blake	4.5x2x1.25	"SULTAN/DRUG CO/ST LOUIS"	Unknown	Sultan Drug Co	St Louis, MO		Drugstore Bottle	Midwest
									Drugstore	
P1841	Colorless	Blake	13x4.5x2cm	"W Crawford/BALTIMORE, MD"	Unknown	W Crawford	Baltimore, MD		Bottle	Southeast
P2089	Amber	Circular	7.75x3cm	"W.T. CO."	Unknown	Whitall Tatum Co	Millville, NJ	1901-1924	Drugstore Bottle	Northeast
									Drugstore	
P1032	Colorless		11.5x4.5cm	increments up to 50cc	Unknown		Unknown		Bottle	Unknown
P1674	Colorless	Blake	15.5x5.5x4cm	60z with embossed increments	Unknown		Unknown		Drugstore Bottle	Unknown
									Drugstore	
P1990	Colorless	Blake		"(ounce symbol)iii///W&T Co/USA"	Unknown		Millville, NJ	1890-1901	Bottle	Northeast

								[	Drugstore	
P2000	Colorless	Blake	14.5x4.75x2.25cm	"20Z FULL MEASURE//20Z FULL MEASURE"	Unknown		Unknown	ł	Bottle	Unknown
				"Gate City Drug Store/ESTD 1889/Cor						
		"flat-faced		Auburn Ave ATLANTA, GA and Butler				I	Drugstore	
P2089	Colorless	oval"	14x5.5x3cm	St/PHONE 1844"	Unknown		Atlanta, GA	ł	Bottle	Southeast
		Circular/b						[	Digestive/An	
		ulbous/un				Valentine's Meat-Juice		t	tacid/Laxativ	
P1491	Amber	ique	8x4.5cm	"VALENTINE'S/MEAT JUICE"	Valentine's Meat Juice	Company	Richmond, VA	(	9	Southeast
					Van Duzer hair					
					restorative (unknown			I	External	
P3190	Colorless	Blake	13.5x5x2.5cm	"VAN DUZER//NEW YORK"	brand)	Van Duzer	New York, NY	ł	Remedy	Northeast
								l	External	
P1798	Colorless	Circular	6x3.5cm	""VASELINE"/CHEESEBROUGH/NEW-YORK"	Vaseline	Chesebrough Mfg Co	Cheesebrough, NY	I	Remedy	Northeast
								ł	External	
P3145	Colorless	Circular	7x4.25cm	"CHESEBROUGH MFG CO/VASELINE"	Vaseline	Chesebrough Mfg Co	Cheesebrough, NY	ł	Remedy	Northeast
								ł	External	
P3470	Colorless	Circular	7x4.25cm	"CHESEBROUGH MFG CO/VASELINE"	Vaseline	Chesebrough Mfg Co	Cheesebrough, NY	I	Remedy	Northeast
				"VERNAL REMEDY COMPANY/BUFFALO,				ł	Panacea/Cur	
P1841	Colorless	Circular	11x2.5cm	N.Y."	Vernal Palmettona	Vernal Remedy Co	Buffalo, NY	6	e-All	Northeast
				"VERNAL REMEDY COMPANY/BUFFALO,				ł	Panacea/Cur	
P3040	Colorless	Circular	8.5x2.5cm	N.Y."	Vernal Palmettona	Vernal Remedy Co	Buffalo, NY	(	e-All	Northeast
		French	>4" x 1 1/4" x 1	"MOTHER/WORM	Wilder's Mother's					
P122	Colorless	Square	5/16"	SYRU//EDWA/WHOLSAL"	Worm Syrup	Edward Wilder & Co	Louisville KY	9	Specific	Southeast