

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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Canterbury Shaker Village: Medicines as Seen Through Archeological Artifacts

Abstract approved:

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For over a hundred years, Shakers at Canterbury, New Hampshire, were engaged in the preparation of medicinal remedies that were used by the Shakers themselves, exchanged with other Shaker communities and sold to “The World’s People.” Excavations directed by Dr. David Starbuck (Plymouth State University) during the 1990s at Canterbury Shaker Village have provided artifacts in the form of bottles and partial glass bottle fragments. From this base, research into these artifacts has provided a picture of Canterbury Shaker medicinal manufacture, distribution and some later replacement of remedies used at the Village. This study attempts to answer questions raised by these artifacts:

- (1) What types of medicinal preparations were most prevalent? What medicines were most commonly used?
- (2) How did usage of these medicines compare to non-Shaker medicinal usage in the local area?
- (3) What inferences can be drawn regarding health problems in the 19th and early 20th centuries at Canterbury Shaker Village?
- (4) To what extent did the Shakers, hired help and/or visitors make use of the medicines?

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Canterbury Shaker Village: Medicines as Seen Through Archeological Artifacts

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I understand that my thesis will become part of the permanent collection of Plymouth State University, Lamson Library. My signature below authorizes release of my thesis to any reader upon request.

Elizabeth B. Hall, Author

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DISCLAIMER

Within this paper there are “recipes” or formulas for remedies or cures. The reader should not try them, keeping in mind that these formulas are over two hundred years old. With advances in laboratory capabilities, many of the ingredients are known to be harmful, if not actually dangerous to one’s well being. Also, medical diagnoses have changed a great deal since the beginning of the 19th century. Spelling follows the 19th century and Canterbury format when taken from references. Otherwise, conventional 21st century spelling is followed. Latin names for various herbs are used only when the herb is first mentioned; for example: Juniper berries (*Junipers communis*); Sarsaparilla (*Smilax regelii*); Lobelia [wild Indian tobacco] (*Lobelia inflata*) or the common Dandelion (*Taraxacum officinale*).

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Canterbury Shaker Village: Medicines as Seen Through Archeological Artifacts

Introduction

Who were the Shakers? During the historic period of the “Great Awakening” (1740s) and the “Free Will Baptists” (1780s) in the Northeastern United States, there developed a religious and philosophical group known as the Shakers or the “United Society of Believers in Christ’s Second Appearing” (Andrews and Andrews 1974:16). Their leader or prophetess, Mother Ann Lee (1736-1784), arrived in New York from Manchester, England, in 1774 (Lindsay 1987:ix). Some of the beliefs of this sect included celibacy, honesty and hard work. After a period of time, Mother Ann and her followers settled in Watervliet, New York (Andrews and Andrews 1974:121). New Lebanon, also known as Mount Lebanon, was established in 1787 and became the Lead Ministry in 1860. As the governing body for all the Shaker communities, the Lead Ministry established rules, regulations, advice, and new ideas to be followed by all the Shaker communities.

Twenty-four Shaker communities were established in the states of Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, and Ohio. Each community was organized as a group of families. The Shaker family unit was usually made up of about one hundred persons, with each community having three to five families. A Shaker family was organized into sets of Trustees, Elders and Eldresses, Brothers and Sisters, each of whom had set rules and responsibilities that might be religious, organizational or economic. This organizational format was meant to provide an efficient, sustainable life style, ease of governance, and security through the use of individual skills.

Canterbury Shaker Village was established in 1792 by Benjamin Whitcher who had become interested in the Shaker movement after listening to the preaching of Shaker missionaries. Benjamin Whitcher invited a group of Shakers from Enfield, New Hampshire, to settle in Canterbury, New Hampshire. His farm became the core of Canterbury Shaker Village. In the rural agricultural world of the times, Shakers developed good farming practices and various industries such as milling, the metal work, textiles, and the manufacture of medicinal remedies. Some of the mills were

multi-purpose. On February 20, 1809, Canterbury Village sent Elijah Brown and Stephen Whitcher to New Lebanon Shaker Village in New York State for two “Bark Mills.” By April 1st, 1809, the mills were in place at Canterbury. At the same time a cider mill was added to the same building (Winkley 1809:28-29). In 1840, Isaac Hill in his article “The Shakers” stated that the 4th mill (Bark Mill) was water-powered and was used to grind barks and herbs for medicines. He described the herbal grinding machine as consisting of “a cannon ball in a mortar” (Hill 1840:114). [This was also noted as the Turning Mill, located south of Turning Mill Pond (Starbuck 1990:40, 96, 136, 137).]

The initial settlement of Shakers on Benjamin Whitcher’s property numbered sixty-seven persons, and they were divided into two families. Later, each family generally consisted of at least one hundred members. In just four years the membership grew to 264, of which 123 were male and 131 were female. After this date, only partial numbers were reported in the *Church Records*. In 1800 there were 395 members, the peak population for Canterbury Shaker Village. The population fluctuated between 1822 and 1848. For example, in 1849 membership increased to 380, only to decline to 258 by 1855; thereafter the membership continued to decline.

Many new members had been orphan children who committed their lives to the Shaker way of life at the age of twenty-one years. This changed in the mid-19th century when the new New England state laws on the treatment, housing and education of orphans resulted in the establishment of state orphanages. Orphans were still welcomed by the Shakers, but these state laws made the need for orphan care and education by non-state organizations less critical. Prior to this, orphans taken in by the Shakers were educated, trained in various skills, and given a choice to remain at the community or re-join “The World’s People.” Another example of population change in the Church Family at Canterbury Shaker Village occurred between 1875 and 1895. Male members decreased from 50 to 35, while female members decreased from 90 to 70 (*Blinn Historical Record* n.d.:vols. 1,2,3,and 4). Activities and work also changed. In order to maintain the Shaker way of life at Canterbury, hired labor was used to continue various Shaker industries and heavy outdoor work.

Canterbury Shaker Village had four “families”. The Church Family was established in 1792; followed by the Second Family in 1800; the North Family in 1801; and the West Family in 1803 (Starbuck 1990:3). As the various communities dissolved, Canterbury Shaker Village became the “Lead Ministry” in 1957 (Lindsay 1987:xi). Decrease in membership in the late 19th century and into the 20th century led to the formation of the nonprofit Shaker Village Museum, Inc. in 1969. In 1972 all Shaker property in Canterbury became part of Shaker Village, Inc. (Andrews and Andrews 1974:58).

Two sites, “Hog Heaven” (CSV.96.1 and CVS.98.C.1) and the East Barn Ramp (CSV.98.C.2 and CSV.00.C.2), provided the majority of artifacts for this study.(The name “Hog Heaven” was given to a site because prior to the 1840s it had been a large barn in which the Shakers raised purebred pigs.) The artifacts used for this study consisted of whole bottles and many bottle fragments. Included in the collection of artifacts were early hand-blown and molded bottles with pontils, as

well as mechanically produced bottles of the late 19th century. Bottle glass color varied in shades of aqua to clear, with smaller numbers of olive-green and even late 19th century amber medicine bottles. The color of glass fragments became important in bottle identification. Other factors studied bottle size, neck shapes and base profiles. There were a number of stoneware jugs and fragments. Scattered financial records indicate that stoneware jugs were sometimes used for the smaller and more local market for Shaker medicines. The presence of a number of bottles that once contained non-Shaker remedies suggest the some health products were not produced at the Village. This collection of artifacts gives some insight into the use of non-Shaker products that became more common toward the end of the 19th century. These bottle artifacts became the basis for a more in-depth look at medicinal production at Canterbury Shaker Village.

Background to Shaker Medicines and Philosophy

“The Shaker herb industry was an outgrowth, in part, of faith in botanic medicine. Although the question of health--physical and spiritual--concerned them from the beginning, the treatment of disease underwent many changes from the time of Mother Ann.”
(A. and F. Andrews n.d.:64).

The leaders of the herbal production at Canterbury Shaker Village were Thomas Corbett, Nicholas Briggs, Henry Blinn and Arthur Greenwood. Thomas Corbett guided the medicinal business from the late 18th century to the first quarter of the 19th century. Canterbury Shakers made at least nineteen different preparations. There are indications that at least thirty-three variations were marketed. As the sale of medicines was important to the economic survival of the Village, different preparations were offered to “The World’s People,” people who were not Shakers. When sales did not indicate continued demand, the medicines were withdrawn from the market, but they were still made for the Village.

The most often mentioned medicines were Corbett’s Compound of Concentrated Syrup of Sarsaparilla, Cherry Pectoral Syrup, Rose Water, Witch Hazel, and Poppy Syrup. Over time, sarsaparilla syrup formulas changed. Formula titles included Shaker Sarsaparilla, Corbett’s Syrup of Sarsaparilla, Corbett’s Shaker Compound of Sarsaparilla, and Corbett’s Concentrated Syrup of Sarsaparilla. Each of these names was reflected on bottle artifacts with embossed side panels, some of which also noted the place of origin: Canterbury, New Hampshire. The original sarsaparilla syrup formula was created by Thomas Corbett (1780-1856/57) at Canterbury Shaker Village. Dr. Dixi Crosby, originally from the area and later affiliated with Dartmouth College, helped Corbett to refine his formula. The aim was to prepare a non-chemical medicine and this was generally adhered to over time.

In the 1840s this was re-enforced by the popularity of two major “vegetable” systems in New England: the Graham System and the Thomsonian System. 1844 is the date given when “Dr. Thomas Corbett” gave the formula for sarsaparilla syrup to Shaker communities to be used in their business, although it had been formulated earlier (Fitts 1885:n.p.; *Blinn Historical Record* Vol. 2:272). Ingredients used in the sarsaparilla syrup formula changed over time; but the basic ingredients remained roots of sarsaparilla (*Smilax regelii*), yellow dock (*Rhumex crispus*), black cohosh (*Cimicifuge racemosa*), garget (*Phytolacca americana*), mandrake (*Podophyllum peltatum*), juniper berries (*Juniper communis*) and sugar.

The person who had the greatest influence in raising herbs and the production of medicinal herbs at Canterbury Shaker Village was Thomas Corbett (Beale and Boswell 1991:31). In 1792, the Corbett family entered the Shaker Community in Enfield, New Hampshire. Thomas Corbett became a member of the “Church” in 1794, the same year he arrived at Canterbury Shaker Village (Whitcher n.d.:37;

Blinn Church Record 1784-1879, Volume Three, Book Three, n.d.:150-151).

At the age of thirty-three, Corbett was appointed by the Ministry at Canterbury to qualify himself as a Shaker physician. Dr. Corbett became the Community's doctor, a position he maintained nearly until the end of his life. With permission from the Trustees, Corbett also honored medical requests from people in the surrounding geographic area. Previous to Corbett becoming the official Shaker doctor at Canterbury, Sisters acting as nurses tended to the health concerns of the Village. Their training was based on experience and a medicinal recipe book written by Brother Elias Harlow of the New Lebanon (New York) Shaker Village (Whitcher, November 15, n.d.:n.p.).

Dr. William Tenney of Loudon and Pittsfield, New Hampshire, became Thomas Corbett's mentor. Dr. Tenney was one of several doctors called upon by the Shakers when in need of critical health care (Whitcher n.d.:n.p.; *Blinn Church Record* 1784-1879 Book Three, 1823-1850:160). Prior to this, Corbett had become involved with the development of the seed business. By 1813, Corbett had developed a two-acre lot for a "Physic" or herbal garden (Swank 1999:82); other sources cite an 1816 origin of the Physic garden (Swank 1999:2; Piercy 1952:126). This endeavor was made possible with the help of Elder Freeman White's gardening skills and knowledge of herbal properties (Whitcher n.d.:n.p.; Piercy 1953:77; Swank 1999:82). The Corbett name became well known among Shaker Villages and throughout the Eastern United States through the combination of endorsements from doctors, herbal medicine movements and his own skills. Thomas Corbett was invited to attend meetings of the New Hampshire Medical Society. Later, Corbett became its acting secretary. A strong recommendation from Dr. Dixie Crosby of Dartmouth College probably led to his membership in the American Medical Society of the United States. Thomas Corbett's first contact with Dr. Crosby was when Crosby was practicing medicine in the nearby town of Gilmanton, New Hampshire. When Thomas Corbett was perfecting his formula for Sarsaparilla Syrup Compound, Dr. Crosby, by then at Dartmouth College, helped to check, test and refine the formula.

The Shaker herb industry and the manufacture of botanical remedies had a common base from "The World's People." The first half of the 19th century was one of great enthusiasm, energy, and a breaking out from a degree of "Puritanism." In the field of healing revolution, there developed a movement toward the use of natural ingredients in medicinal remedies. The use of local herbs and plants, good health practices, and abstention from alcohol and tobacco became common themes.

Four men in New England were a part of this movement and exerted their influence over health practices in the rest of the nation. These were: Samuel Thomson (1760-1843) born in Alstead, New Hampshire; Thomas Corbett (1780-1856) born in Hopkinton, New Hampshire; Dr. Wooster Beech (1794-1868) born in Stratford, Connecticut (some sources list him as Wooster "Beach;" he published *The American Practice of Medicine*); and Sylvester Graham (1794-1851), born in West Suffield, Connecticut. Each man believed in temperance, good diet practices and the use of natural foods and herbs.

Thomas Corbett and Samuel Thomson, both New Hampshire natives, each developed “vegetable” medicinal preparations. Although a number of plants and herbs used were the same, there were differences. The availability of required plants for medicinal preparation varied according to the areas of New Hampshire in which each man lived. Thomson first depended on the plants he could gather or could be grown in and around Alstead, New Hampshire. The same also applied for Corbett. But Corbett had an added advantage. His interest in plants both natural and cultivated, the creation of an herb or “Physic” garden and the supply network between the various Shaker Villages in New York and Massachusetts provided a wider selection of plants and herbs. Some plants from Europe had become naturalized and were easily grown in Canterbury. Therefore, the necessary ingredients for medicinal preparations were available at Canterbury or could be purchased from area towns. Thomson, on the other hand, living in a different geographic region of New Hampshire, had a slightly different source. There were more ponds and marshy wet areas, less arable land and a slightly colder climate in the Alstead, New Hampshire area. At the turn of the 18th century, Alstead was more of a wilderness than Canterbury. As Samuel Thomson established his Thomsonian system of medicine and moved to New York City, his selection of ingredients widened greatly. Narcotic plants used by both men included Celandine (*Chelidonium majus*), Hemlock or Cicut (*Conium maculatum*), Indian Turnip (*Arisaema triphyllum* [*Arum triphyllum*]), Mullen (Mullein) plant and seed (*Verbascum thapsus*), and Lobelia. Celandine was both a narcotic and a poison.

Thomson’s early favored herbal was Lobelia, or wild tobacco. Early in his practice he used Lobelia for every disease he treated (Thomson 1835:12-13, 107). As a young man he consulted with doctors in the nearby towns of Surry, Westmoreland and Walpole, New Hampshire, who compounded their own herbal remedies. As he developed his practice, he made use of sixty-nine regional plants. As late as 1963 fifty species were still valued medicinal ingredients (Coon 1979:29). Many of these plants were similar to those used by the Shakers (see Appendix 3).

Thomson declared the most dangerous diseases to be smallpox, measles and canker (cancer). For example, to treat “canker” he used a compound made from Bayberry bark (*Myrica cerifera*) or White Pond Lily (*Nymphaea alba*), Marsh Rosemary (*Limonium carolinianum* [*IM. cerifera*]), *Statice caroliniana*), Sumach berries (*Rhus glabra*), Witch Hazel (*Hamamelis virginiana*) and Red Raspberry leaves (*Rubus idaeus* var. *strigosus*). Hemlock bark (*Pinus rigida*) was used to replace White Pond Lily as it became scarce. By 1815, he modified the “canker” treatment formula to Hemlock bark, Bayberry bark, Cayenne (*Capsicum annum*), Witch Hazel, Raspberry leaves and Sumach berries (Thomson 1835:30-31). In 1813 Thomson patented some of his medicine compounds. Some of his medicine formulas appeared in a book entitled *Thomson’s Improved System of Botanic Practice of Medicine* (Proper 2004:5). Nelson Coon believed this was the start of the patent medicine industry (Coon 1979:29). To enable others to become practitioners in the Thomsonian method of healing, Thomson published an 800-page manual in 1822 (Coon 1979:29). Another popular book by Thomson, *Family Botanic Medicine with Preparation and System of Practice*, printed by T.O. Bangs, Boston, 1819, was recommended by

Joseph Smith to be used by the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints, (The Mormons). Between 1820 and 1845, Samuel Thomson fully developed a health movement known as Thomsonianism or Herbalism. By the 1830s, Samuel Thomson was actively engaged in his Thomsonian or Herbalism practice of medicine in New York City. In his later years he located in Boston, Massachusetts.

The strongest Canterbury Shaker connection with Dr. Wooster Beech was through the use of his *The American Practice of Medicine, Vegetable or Botanical Principles as taught at the Reformed Medical College in the United States* (Volume III, Part IV. 1834). This volume contained information on types of medicines, plants, their health purposes and dosage. The extensive use of the book was evidenced by stained, dog-eared pages and turned down corners. Special “recipes” starred or checked with pencil indicated recipes used by the Canterbury Shakers (Beech 1834). Dr. Wooster Beech founded the Eclectic school of medicine in 1830. Later that year the Eclectic Medical School was renamed The Eclectic Medical Institute and moved to Worthington, Ohio. The first class graduated in 1833. The Institute became Eclectic Medical College in 1911 with the last class graduating in 1939. The college relinquished its charter in 1942 (Eclectic Medical College Records, 1845-1942:n.d., n.p.). Dr. Beech’s ideas about the value of herbal medicines and healthy lifestyle influenced many communities in the United States and England, including Shaker Villages.

Sylvester Graham, a Presbyterian minister, founded the Grahamites movement in the 1820s. The movement was based on the use of whole grain products made of unsifted flour without chemical additives to whiten and improve the taste of bread products. In the 1840s the Canterbury Shakers decided to adopt the Grahamism program of using a whole grain diet for their daily meals. This program lasted a little more than a year. The younger members and children objected to the coarseness and tastelessness of many of the prepared dishes based on this regimen (*Blinn Historic Record* vol. 2:n.d.:9, 269). A sample of coarse and gritty textured bread can be experienced when using the recipe for “Rye and Whole-wheat Bread” from Bertha Lindsay’s scrapbook (Lindsay 1987:74).

Each of these doctors, Thomas Corbett, Samuel Thomson and Wooster Beech, faced the same diseases and maladies needing to be cured. They also faced the same seasonal diseases, occasional epidemics, and common physical stresses found in an agricultural society. Spring and winter saw the occurrence of whooping cough and measles. Spring and summer were the times for smallpox to appear, and cholera would occur in the summer and fall. The greatest number of illnesses noted in the Blinn and Evans records included whooping cough, scarlatina, rheumatic fever, asthma, cholic, and pneumonia. Cases of consumption or tuberculosis were common, although not in great numbers during the first three-quarters of the 19th century.

“The Shakers were always aware of new health trends and methods of treatment. An 1802 outbreak of smallpox in villages. A corresponding fear (of smallpox) probably existed in New Lebanon (New York) as our Ministry (Canterbury) on their return from that place brought some lymph to be used in Canterbury and Enfield. No future

item is found in the records to show the result of this fright, or of this case. Nor is any case recorded, for the last forty years (now 1840) during the residence of the writer, there has not been a victim to the malady, in our society, or a person vaccinated to prevent it.” (*Blinn Historic Record* Vol. 1:130).

By 1814 it was noted that

“During the months of April and May not less than forty persons were continued with mumps. Last season a malignant fever raged at New Lebanon (New York) and Hancock (Massachusetts) and forty-two persons died. It is very unfortunate that the medicinal skill is not able to meet the demands. Although we are not made acquaintance with the prevailing causes of so much sickness, yet we are of the opinion that a proper regard to sanitary laws would have prevented larger share of the ills.” (*Blinn Historic Record* Vol. 1:160-161).

In 1850 it was believed that a connection existed between the number of measles cases among Canterbury Shaker Village’s children and consumption of pork and use of lard. Since there had been few cases after 1850, the Church Family, in April 1855, decided to test the theory that consumption of pork and lard were related to certain illnesses. The idea of a test occurred after two children ill with measles and whooping cough were accepted into the Village. After their admittance, thirty children in the Village became ill with measles and whooping cough. The test involved exposing Church Family children to non-Shaker neighbor children ill with measles. None of the Church Family children contracted measles at that time. The relationship of pork products and contracting measles was reconsidered. Afterward, pork was eaten on special occasions (*Blinn Historic Record* Vol. II:114, 127).

How did health and cause of death in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, compare with Canterbury Shaker Village? The various Church Records and Historic Records, as well as the Jessie Evans’ notes, are not the original daily, weekly or monthly record of Canterbury Shakers. Some of the materials are in longhand script, while others are early or mid-20th century typescript. Most records contain results of yearly manufactured products and agricultural production along with population figures of the four families at Canterbury Shaker Village. Early notations on cancers appeared in 1820-26, 1832-33, and 1852. Consumption was first noted in 1800 and was fairly common throughout the 1820s, with a scattering of cases in the 1830s, 1850s and 1860s. Dropsy, first noted in 1797, continued to exist through the first third of the 19th century. As long as there were a number of children at the Village, there would be outbreaks of measles, and the first cases were noted in 1802. Mumps entered the Village in 1814 and cases of mumps continued through the 1830s.

Table I below gives percentage of deaths per hundred by age category for Portsmouth, New Hampshire. The Canterbury Shaker Village data gives number of deaths in each age category. The Portsmouth, New Hampshire, data covers years

and during the earliest years of Canterbury Shaker Village. The Portsmouth, New Hampshire, data comes from only one Portsmouth doctor. Although he is the only one mentioned, there must have been several other doctors in a city the size of Portsmouth. Canterbury Shaker Village death notations, although numerous, are not recorded in one Village record alone. The available data are found in assorted records of Henry C. Blinn and later deaths recorded by Jessie Evans. In both cases there is missing information.

Table 1. Age at Death: Portsmouth, New Hampshire and Canterbury Shaker Village, Canterbury, New Hampshire

1775-1794 age at death	% of 100 each	Incomplete records 1802-1931 number of deaths recorded
1 day-12 months	26	not given
1-10 years	17	10
11-20 years	16	12
21-30 years	9	16
31-40 years	11	19
41-50 years	10	15
51-60 years	7	13
60-70 years	8	44
71-80 years	14	58
81-90 years	8	61
91-100 years	1	12 * oldest member was 97 years of age

(Estes 1979:122-123; *Blinn Historic Record* 3:82-100; *Blinn Church Record* #4:208-215, 233, 246-249; *Blinn Historic Record*: 7-11, 22, 26-27, 32, 43, 47, 53, 64, 75, 85, 98, 122, 135, 146, 160, 173, 186, 198, 220, 235, 250, 262, 317, 232, 342 347, 355, 363, 375; Evans 1931:22, 40, 56, 107, 123, 133, 143, 153, 209).

The Portsmouth data kept by Dr. Hall Jackson and scattered Canterbury Shaker records provide a general comparison of diseases in the 19th century. Assuming that Portsmouth and Canterbury Shaker Village were similar to the rest of New Hampshire, the common diseases were Consumption, Dropsy, Pneumonia, and a variety of fevers. The large number of Measles and Mumps cases at Canterbury Shaker Village in the early days was due to the fact that many families and orphans were in poor health when they arrived and more susceptible to the infectious diseases.

Table 2. Types of Illness and Resulting Death: Portsmouth, New Hampshire and
Canterbury Shaker Village, Canterbury, New Hampshire

Portsmouth, New Hampshire				Canterbury Shaker Village	
1775-1794 Cause of death Dr. Hall Jackson, 91 cases attended		% of recorded deaths, 1797-1801,1811-1820		Incomplete records of cause of death 1797-1908	
Peripneumonia and Pulmonic	19	Consumption (tuberculosis)	21.70	Consumption	23
Dropsy and Hydrops Fever	12	Cholera Infatum	4.89	Cancer	6
Convulsions	6	Pulonic Fever (Pneumonia)	4.11	Dropsy	6
Smallpox	6	Typhus or Typhoid Fever	3.38	Measles	14
Consumption	5	Scarlet Fever or Canker Rash (Whooping Cough)	2.41	Mumps	43
Apoplexy	4	Bilious Remitting Fever (Yellow Fever)	2.29	Brain Fever	1
			2.11	Diphtheria	1

(Estes 1979:100-101, 124; *Blinn Church Record* 1860-1879:211-212, 202, 204, 240; *Blinn Historic Record* 1792-1879:3, 91-93, 114, 127,143-145; *Blinn Historic Record* 1792-1848:95; Evans 1931:31, 83, 93).

Canterbury Medicinal Preparations

What preparations or types of preparations were used to offer relief for some of the more common illnesses? For cough, respiratory illness and consumption, medicine was given in the form of drops, lozangers (lozenges), pills or powders dissolved in water. Herbal teas and syrups were also used. Syrups were prepared by adding boiling water to a concentration of vegetable properties. When the water had been removed, sugar was added to prevent fermentation. Sometimes it was more efficient to use both water and spirits in the infusion of plants and herbs. The evaporation of excess water was critical in making syrup. Syrups for sale would contain alcohol and/or potassium iodide to prolong the syrup's keeping powers.

Common ingredients in "drops" included licorice root (*Glycyrrhiza glabra*), blood root (*Sanguinaria canadensis*), Seneca snake root (*Polygala virginiana*), skunk cabbage (*Symplocarpus foetidus*), elecampane (*Inula helenium*), crawly root (*Corallorhiza odontorhiza*), Lobelia tincture and loaf sugar (Miller 1998:54). One recipe for tincture of Lobelia was: "2 oz pulverized Lobelia, 2 qts spirits let stand 2-3 days then filter. Dose 1tsp-1Tab. As often as necessary" (Beech 1834:264).

To ease throat and nasal congestion, a simple pill was made of cayenne pepper molasses and flour (Beech 1834:251). A wooden pill mold for forming pills can be seen in the Canterbury Shaker Village Infirmary. One powder often used contained a mixture of Elecampane root, licorice, bloodroot, Crane's Bill (*Geranium caespitosum*) and Indian Turnip, also known as Jack-in-the Pulpit. But Thomas Corbett, who suffered from nasal and respiratory conditions most of his life, favored a remedy known as Snuff Powder. This recipe called for 10 pounds high laurel, 1 pound sassafras (*Sassafras albidum* [*S. officinale*]), and 1 pound bloodroot. The ingredients were pulverized and mixed well (Beech 1834:61). One tea made for throat and nasal congestion contained boneset (*Eupatorium perfoliatum*) powder and it was sweetened with horehound (*Marrubium vulgare*) tea. Boneset was also known as Thoroughwort or Feverwort.

Sarsaparilla Syrups

Corbett's Sarsaparilla was the most popular Canterbury Shaker preparation and had the longest sales history (1843/4-1919). The following nine formulas show both a degree of consistency as well as adjustments as time went by, in part because available supplies, changing taste of the product and Federal regulations appeared in the last quarter of the 19th century.

At first, Corbett made use of American Sarsaparilla bark (*Aralia nudicaulis*) (Beale and Boswell 1991:139). This low-growing plant, with woody stems, often mistaken for poison ivy today, was replaced by an imported Sarsaparilla bark (*Smilax regikii*). The narcotic ingredients in the syrup included Bittersweet (*Solanum dulcamara*), Black Cohosh, Cicuta, Mandrake and Thoroughwort, also known as

boneset. Thoroughwort was used instead of Peruvian Bark, which is a source of quinine.

“Iodine potassium” (Potassium iodide) was used in five of the nine formulas. Four to six drams of potassium iodide was added to each bottle as part of a cure for symptoms of syphilis. Potassium iodine (Potassium iodide) was prepared at Canterbury by the following means:

6 lbs. sublimate iodine
 2 lbs. Iron wires
 4 lbs Saleratus [sodium bicarbonate, or baking soda]
 6 gallons of water

“First put into a stone jar for the purpose 1 gallon of water, 2 lbs. wire, 6 lbs. of iodine, then add 3 gallons of boiling water. Set the jar in a kettle (Farmer’s Kettle) of hot water, and simmer over a coal fire till greenish, this is simmered outdoors on a sunny day, as the action of the sunlight is important.

Dissolve 4 lbs. of saleratus in 2 gallons of water, settle, pour off water, rinse the dregs with water and settle again and rinse and have ready, when needed, a tub nearby that will hold 24 gallons and when the contents of that jar is greenish, turn it into the tub. Rinse the jar and add slowly the saleratus water a little at a time and stir briskly with a stick. When nearly full let it stand till clear, then dip off and put into the barrel, counting the gallons. Fill the tub with water, and so continue until 24 gallons are completed.” (Evans 1931:n.p.).

Various records show that most of the alcohol for use in preparing medicines was made at Canterbury Shaker Village until 1837 (*Blinn Historical Record* Vol. 2:272). The alcohol needed for preparing medicines was a blend of brandy and cider. At first, the Shakers, beginning in 1802, froze the apple cider to obtain the high alcohol content. (*Blinn Historical Record* Vol. 1:124). In 1808 they were making (apple) brandy and called it “Cider Wine.” It was given to the hired men and also sold to visitors (*Blinn Historical Record* Vol. 1:144-145). In 1829, by adding more brandy to the cider, they called the liquor “Cider Brandy” (*Blinn Historical Record* Vol. 2:230). Later, alcohol was purchased through their suppliers in Boston.

The Canterbury Shakers used cubebs (*Piper cubeba*) in all their formulas, except for one, to cut the bitterness of the syrup. An idea of the cure-all claims of Canterbury Sarsaparilla syrups can be taken from information on the label of Corbett’s Shakers’ Compound Concentrated Syrup of Sarsaparilla. The description of the syrup remained the same between 1843 and the 1900s with only a few modifications.

One common bottle label stated:

CORBETT'S SHAKER COMPOUND CONCENTRATED SYRUP
OF SARSAPARILLA.
CONTAINS 10 PER CENT ALCOHOL

PREPARED BY CANTERBURY SHAKERS,

East Canterbury, N.H., U.S.A.

This medicine has proved to be most capable in the following diseases: - Chronic inflammation of the Digestive Organs; Dyspepsia or Indigestion; Weakness and soreness of the Stomach; Rheumatism; side Rheum; Secondary Syphilis; Functional disorders of the Liver; Chronic Eruptions of the skin, and all Scrofulous diseases and disorders arising from impurities of the blood. It is also excellent remedy for Erysipelus, Asthma, Dropsy, dysentery, and Dharrah, and for the complicated diseases of females, so apt to end in consumption.

DOSE: - For an adult, a teaspoon four or five times a day, with or without a little water, which may be increased to a tablespoon, as best suits the patient.

To guard against counterfeits, observe the signature of the inventor on each label and on each wrapper.

Thos Corbett.

Serial No. 6261. Guaranteed under the food and Drug Acts. June 30, 1906.

Syrup Formula I was found in a handwritten note, undated and unsigned (n.d. Box 64, folder #3). Formulas III to VI, and 1885 and 1895, were also handwritten. The formulas were recorded by Sister Fitts for Nicholas Biggs in an exam-type notebook with un-numbered pages found in The Canterbury Shaker Archives (Box 64, #3). Formula VII, written on a single sheet of paper, was found in Box 64 with a folder with no other identification.

Prior to 1875, David Parker, a Trustee at Canterbury Shaker Village, wrote that cubebs used for sarsaparilla syrup needed to be seeped 3 to 4 days. Cubebs had to be simmered until the liquid was thick and the dregs could settle to the bottom of the container. Beginning with Formula II-1895 the alcohol used was rated as 80 proof

The quantity of alcohol used was gradually reduced after 1895. In an attempt to make the syrup more appealing, sassafras was added to cover the syrup's bitterness. It was also thought that the addition of wintergreen would improve the syrup's flavor. The process for making the Canterbury Shaker Sarsaparilla Syrup can be found in Appendix 4.

Sarsaparilla Syrup Formulas

	I Syrup 100 gals. Lbs.	II Syrup 100 gals. Lbs.	III Syrup 50 gals. Lbs.	IV Concentrate 50 gals. Lbs.
Sarsaparilla	126	126	65	50
Princess Pine	100	100	0	0
Yellow dock	60	66	33	0
Chicory	0	0	0	0
Black Cohosh	25	12.5 tincture	1	10
Garget	0	20	6	10
Mandrake	15	15	7.5	5
Juniper Berries	25	25	12.5	10
Cubebs	8	0	4	3
Epson Salts	16	16	0	0
Sugar	400	500	25	200
(Havannah brown)				
Alcohol	0	5 gal.	5 gal.	4 gal.
Iodine-potassium	1 oz per gal.	100 oz.	0	0
Dandelion root	50	50	0	0
Indian Hemp	25	50	0	0
Sal soda	25	50	0	0
Cicuta	0	1.74	0	0
Sassafras	0	8 oz.	0	0
Wintergreen	0	0	0	0
Bittersweet twigs	0	0	12.5	10
Burdock	0	0	0	18
Thorough Wort (Thoroughwort)	0	0	0	0

Sarsaparilla Syrup Formulas (Continued)

	V Syrup Compound 50 gals. Lbs.	VI Syrup Concentrate 100 gals. Lbs.	VII Syrup 100 gals. Lbs.
Sarsaparilla	63	50	126
Princess Pine	0	0	100
Yellow dock	32	28	66
Chicory	0	0	0
Black Cohosh	10	25	25
Garget	8	0	20
Mandrake	7.5	5	15
Juniper Berries	12.5	12.5	25
Cubebs	12.5	10	25
Epson Salts	0	0	16
Sugar	250	200	400
(Havannah brown)			
Alcohol	9-5 gal.	4 gal.	10 gal.
Iodine-potassium	0	0	1 oz. per gal.
Dandelion root	50	40	50
Indian Hemp	0	0	50
Sal soda	12.5	10	25
Cicuta	0	0	0
Sassafras	0	0	0
Wintergreen	99	40	0
Bittersweet twigs	0	0	0
Burdock	0	0	0
Thorough Wort (Thoroughwort)	12.5	10	0

Sarsaparilla Syrup Formulas (Continued)

	1885 Syrup 50 gals. Lbs.	1895 Syrup 100 gals. Lbs.
Sarsaparilla	126	126
Princess Pine	100	100
Yellow dock	66	66
Chicory	0	50
Black Cohosh	25	0
Garget	20	20
Mandrake	15	15
Juniper Berries	25	25
Cubebs	25	25
Epson Salts	16	15
Sugar	400	400
(Havannah brown)		
Alcohol	10 gal.	10 gal.
Iodine-potassium	no amount given	5 oz. per gal.
Dandelion root	0	50
Indian Hemp	0	50
Sal soda	0	25
Cicuta	0	0
Sassafras	0	0
Wintergreen	0	0
Bittersweet twigs	0	0
Burdock	0	0
Thorough Wort	0	0
(Thoroughwort)		

Canterbury Shaker Village received a number of endorsements for the Corbett's Sarsaparilla Syrups. In 1850 in Boston, a medal was awarded by the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics Association (founded in 1728) ... "for two Shaker preparations: Fluid of English Valerian." Brown's Shaker Pure Fluid Extract of English Valerian in 1848 was endorsed by Doctors from [Bowdoin] College, Maine, Dr. Charles H. Stedman, superintendent and physician for the Lunatic Asylum and other city institutions in Boston, and Dr. H. B. Wilbur, physician to the Institution of Idiots in Barre, Vermont (Piercy 1957:20-21). In 1996, this 1850 medal was found in the "Hog Heaven" site (CSV.96.C.1.).

In November 1878 at the 47th Exhibit of American Institute, a "Diploma" was awarded for Corbett's Shaker Sarsaparilla Syrup as a "Great purifier of the Blood and other Fluids of the body ... Liver, Kidney Remedy and general tonic ... Agent Weeks & Potter, 360 Washington Street, Boston. \$1.00, 6 bottle \$5.00" (Whitcher 1878:inside cover). Further endorsements included Dr. Dixi Crosby, Hanover, N.H., Charles S. Eastman, Concord, N.H., and Carlton and Hovey, druggist. Henry Wells of

Wells Fargo & Co. of Aurora, New York, had endorsed the product in 1876, as had J. A. Powers, Druggists of Winchester, Massachusetts, on December 2, 1878 (Whitcher 1878:3-5, 7, 10).

Other Shaker Villages used different and sometimes expanded claims on the value of their Shaker Sarsaparilla Syrup: “We recommend for alleviation and cure a remedy that has been sold for sixty years and prescribed by our best physicians - The Shaker Original Extract of Sarsaparilla.” (*Brief History of Shaker Community of Union Village*, a salesman’s booklet, ca. 1900). Shaker Asthma Cure endorsed by Sister Mary Francis Carr stated, “No disease is harder to cure ... We offer the reasonable hope that the preparation will affect a cure, and a still greater possibility exists that it will produce at least so much relief that you can breathe the free air of heaven without distress and be able to lie down and find rest in sleep” (Piercy 1957:23).

Characteristics of Ingredients in Sarsaparilla Syrup made by Canterbury Shakers

Bittersweet *Solanum dulcamara*. Also known as Garden Nightshade, Woody Nightshade, Scarlet Berry, known in Europe as Climbing Nightshade. Narcotic.

Usage: diuretic, scrofula, syphilitic diseases, jaundice, rheumatism, skin irritations, live complaints, causes perspiration.

Black Cohosh *Cimicifuge racemosa*. Also known as Bugbane, Rattle Root. Narcotic. Usage: diuretic, sedative, rheumatism, dropsy, epilepsy, astringent.

Burdock *Arctium lappa*.

Usage: tonic, diuretic, cooling poultice, for burns, wounds, skin irritations, purify blood, herpes ulcers, rheumatism, diseases of the skin.

Cicuta *Conium maculata*. Also known as Poison Oak, Poison Parsley, Water Hemlock. Narcotic, not dangerous in small amounts.

Usage: chronic rheumatism, neuralgia, asthma, scrofulous ulcers.

Cubebs *Piper cubenbs (linne filius)* from East Indies. Known as Tailed pepper.

Usage: gonorrhoea, piles, chronic bronchitis, stimulant, diuretic, catarrh, aromatic, pungent, was used as pepper.

Dandelion *Taraxacum officinale*. Young plants are slightly narcotic, roots are commonly used.

Usage: tonic diuretic, disease of the liver, constipation, dropsy, diseases of the skin.

Yellow Dock *Rumex crispus*.

Narcotic,

Usage: cure for cancer, swellings, glandular tumors.

Characteristics of Ingredients in Sarsaparilla Syrup made by
Canterbury Shakers (Continued)

- Garget *Phytolacca americana* (*P. decandra*). Also known as Pigeon berry or Poke.
Narcotic,
Usage: emetic, chronic rheumatism, syphilis; as an ointment for itching and scab head irritations and irritated skin. [similar to ringworm infestations of the scalp; it was also called “scald head and was often contracted from cattle]
- Indian Hemp *Apocynum* and *Roseemifolium* (*Apocynum andrsemifolium*).
Known as Canadian Hemp,
Usage: diuretic, tonic, vermifuge, dropsy.
- Juniper *Junipeurs communis*.
Usage: stimulant, diuretic, gonorrhoea, gleet, affections of the skin, scorbutic diseases, dropsy, kidney complaints.
- Mandrake *Podophyllum pentatum*. also known as May Apple.
Narcotic.
Usage: diuretic, jaundice, scrofula, syphilis, liver complaints, rheumatism. (similar to Belladonna in its narcotic effects).
- Princess Pine (Prince’s Pine) *Chimaphalia umbellate*. also known as Pipsissewa.
Usage: diuretic, astringent, tonic, rheumatism.
- Sarsaparilla *Smiarx regelii* (*Smiilan saraprills* (*Smilax aristolochiae*, *Smilax Officinalis*. An official herb as listed by U.S. Pharmacopoeia]
Usage: perspiration, syphilis, tonic, blood purifier, skin disease, psoriasis, leprosy. rheumatism, heart conditions, wounds.
(In the 1940s the *New England Journal of Medicine* officially praised use of Sassafras as a treatment for psoriasis. Information compiled from various sources: Beech 1834; *Encyclopedia Britannica* 1771; *The Shaker Messenger*, Vol. 2, No. 3, 1960; Freeman 1971; Miller 1989; Zuk 1997 and Non Timber Products, 2006).
- Sassafras *Sassafras albidum* (*S. officinale*).
Usage: diuretic, aromatic, stimulant, tonic, scrofula and eruptive diseases, diseases of the skin, rheumatism.
- Thoroughwort *Eupatorium perfoliatum*, (flowers of purple boneset). Used instead of Peruvian Bark *Cinchona spp*.
Usage: tonic, bitters, produces perspiration, fever, ague, yellow fever, jaundice, ringworm, scald head, typhus fever, snakebites.
- Wintergreen *Gaultheria procumbens*. Also known as Checkerberry.
Usage: diuretics, stimulant.

Other Canterbury Shaker Medicinal Preparations

Besides sarsaparilla syrup, which may have been evolving as early as 1820, the 1830s saw developing sales in Bilious Pills, Cherry Pectoral Syrup, Shaker Dyspepsia Cure and Sarsaparilla Lozenges. Sarsaparilla Lozenges were still being made in the late 19th century, but they were no longer for sale. Rose water was used as a medicinal and food flavoring. Some of the original fragrant red roses used can be found blooming in July along the stonewalls of Canterbury Road which passes by the Village. Other products had a shorter sales history. Bone Ointment was listed in the first medicinal catalog under Thomas Corbett's name. Other Shaker preparations were: Buckthorn Syrup, Jamaica Ginger, Oil of Peppermint, Opium Syrup or Poppy Syrup, Shaker Asthmatic Cure, Shaker Vegetable Rheumatic pills, and Wintergreen Extract. Vegetable Family Pills were said to be "...unlike many kinds of cathartic medicines. These pills do not make you worse before you feel better" (Piercy 1956:23). Witch Hazel, while made in the early 1800s, became a sales item from 1879-1910. In 1852 raw witch hazel was being gathered by the Brothers and made into hemamelis (witch hazel liniment) by the Sisters (Piercy 1956:17). A Shaker catalog of ca.1893 stated witch hazel to be "...a very useful remedy for cuts, Scalds, Headaches, Sore Throat and all cases of external inflammation, also taken for Bowel complaints, Bleeding of the Lungs, of Bowels and for all aches and pains." (Beale and Boswell 1991:149). Shaker Digestive Cordial, originally prepared at Canterbury, was later made by A. J. White of New York from 1895-1910. Examples of medicinal formulas used in making these commercial products are Bilious and Laxative Pills and Bone Ointment. Dr. Wooster Beech included in his book several formulas for medicines he had obtained from Shaker communities. Among these are:

BILIOUS AND LAXATIVE PILL

1 oz Extract of julep
 1 oz Castile soap
 1 oz Oil of Peppermint
 Scrape and rub the soap fine
 Warm the extract and unite them
 Add peppermint oil
 Form pills, sometimes a little flour is needed.
 For castiveness, bilous affections, headache
 (Beech 1834:251).

Another recipe was an ointment prepared by Sister Marguerite Frost:

BONE OINTMENT

"Equal amounts of burdock, garlic, house leeks, meillot, high mallows, nightshade, plantain, sweet elder leaves, St. Johnswort and yellow dock root. The processing method was one of seeping, heating and straining, followed by a process similar to that used to make Sarsaparilla Syrup" ("Notes of Shaker Herbs & Herbalist", *The Herb Grower Magazine*, #5, 1951:89) [Latin terms for these herbs are: garlic (*Allium sativum*),

house leek (*Sempervivum*), maillot (*Melilotus officinalis*), mallows
(*Malva sylvestris*), nightshade (*Atropa belladonna*), plantain
(*Lanceolatum major*), sweet elder (*Sambucus canadensis*), St. Johnswort
(*Hypericum perforatum*).]

Competition with “The World’s People”

Competition among manufacturers of “vegetable” or “chemical” medicines and remedies was very keen in the 19th century as it is today. Sarsaparilla Syrup competition was especially active when one reads 19th century newspaper advertisements. Beginning in 1872-1873, Dr. Flint’s Quaker Bitters was described as “composed of Roots, Herbs, and Barks among which are Gentian (*Gentian colisbei*), Sarsaparilla, Wild Cherry (*Prunus secotina*), Dandelion, Juniper and other berries, and are so prepared to retain all their medicinal quality, Old Quaker remedy, Providence, RI.” (*The People and New Hampshire Patriot*, October 16, 1882). Wetherall’s Sarsaparilla, made in Exeter, New Hampshire, was advertised from 1874 and well into the 1900s in *The Daily Union*, a New Hampshire paper. A major competitor, C. I. Hood of Lowell, Massachusetts, had its own version of Sarsaparilla Syrup containing “...16 1/2 Per Cent Alcohol. This preparation combined, in an agreeable form, the medicinal properties of Sarsaparilla, Mandrake, Gentian Dock, Dandelion, with other approved Alternative and Tonic substances. Prepared by C. C. Hood Co., Manufacturing Pharmacists, Lowell, Mass. U.S.A. price \$1.25.” (*The Daily Union*, Oct. 16, 1882:3,4; *Cheshire Republican* 1883-1884; Fike 1987:217).

Dr. J. C. Ayer & Company, not to be outdone, had Ayer’s Sarsaparilla Syrup. It contained “sarsaparilla root, yellow dock, licorice, Chinchana bark (Peruvian Bark), buckthorn (*Rhamnus cathartica*), burdock roots, senna (*Cassia senna*) leaves, iodide of potassium, and other valuable ingredients.” (*Cheshire Republican*, 1/27/1883-12/22 1884, *New Hampshire Sentinel*, 1883-1884). The Ayer’s Sarsaparilla Syrup, introduced in 1848, was later advertised during the period of 1860-1895 as Ayer’s Compound Concentrate of Sarsaparilla. After 1906 it was promoted as being nonalcoholic and was still advertised in 1942 (Fike 1987:214). Universal Sarsaparilla was another competitive syrup advertised in the newspaper, *The American Rural Home*, during the years of 1883-1887.

Liver and kidney preparations and cough syrups were also active competitors with Canterbury Shaker Village in the last quarter of the 19th century. These were: Hunt’s Kidney & Liver Remedy, Kline’s Kidney and Liver Remedy (*New Hampshire Sentinel*, Nov. 12, 1884:3, 4), and Dr. Fenner’s Kidney and Back-ache Cure (*New Hampshire Sentinel* 1898). Among the cough syrups was Ayer’s Cherry Pectoral. Its label stated Ayer’s Cherry Pectoral was good for all throat disorders and whooping cough (*Cheshire Republican* 1884-1887). At first Ayer bottled their syrup in aqua bottles, but by the early 20th century the syrup was bottled in clear glass (Fike 1987:199). Eastman and Fitch of Concord, New Hampshire, made Eastman’s Vegetable Cough Balsam. A. Perley Fitch bought the Eastman Company in 1882; this was the druggist Canterbury Shakers depended on when they no longer made most of their health preparations. Other cough preparations had large advertisements in 1882 regional papers. Wister’s Balsam of Wild Cherry was advertised as being good for throat, lungs and chest. Caspar Wistar, located near Canterbury, Connecticut, originally made this product in the 1830s. The Rev. John W. Bull formulated his

“Dr. Bull’s Cough Syrup” in 1873. By 1883, his preparation was being advertised in newspapers by A.C. Meyers & Co. Red Star Cough Cure was on the market by 1885. All three cough cures could be found on page 1 and page 3 of many small newspapers (Fike 1987:224; *New Hampshire Sentinel* 1882-1898; *The People and New Hampshire Patriot* 1882).

What is the story behind the decline in Canterbury Shaker business? One reason was their relationship with various agents over time. In 1848, exclusive rights were given to E. Brinley and Co. of Boston to advertise and distribute the Canterbury medicinal preparations. Later, dissatisfied with several other agencies, they shifted back to E. Brinley and Co. in 1879. Before the year was out, Nicholas Briggs of Canterbury Shaker Village gave a five-year contract to Weeks & Potter. The main product they handled was Shaker Sarsaparilla Syrup. Henry Blinn stated, “... Other Believers have agreed not to manufacture the syrup (Sarsaparilla) for the market. W&P did not do well [Canterbury Shaker Village] remove to other agents ... no better, Returned to Maynard and Noyse where it is at present” (*Blinn Historic Record* 1868-1879:241). By 1885 the distribution rights were again at Canterbury. The same year, Corbett’s Sarsaparilla Lozenges received a registered trademark and Corbett Cherry Pectoral Syrup was registered (Beale and Boswell 1991:148). In 1894 the Shakers were still purchasing supplies from Maynard & Noyes. One order was for three barrels alcohol plus 45 59/100 gallons alcohol, packing paper, 50 gross corks, totaling \$207.55 (Accounts 19).

In 1894 Canterbury Sarsaparilla Syrup was packed 18 dozen bottles to a box. This particular year, material for packing syrup required 1 gross of corks, 12,000 individual bottle boxes, sized 8 ¾ x 8 inches, and their accompanying manuals. The same number of yellow and straw wrappers, plus 100 labels for the combined boxes was needed. To complete the packing process, several hundred pieces of wide, narrow and small corrugated paper was used. Once packed, most of the syrup was taken to Concord, New Hampshire, to be shipped out by railroad. Any bottle breakage was returned to the Village to be replaced or reimbursed by the distributor (Evans 1931:n.p.).

Other makers of medicines also promoted their products by way of booklets. Some were distributed with a purchased product, others were sold as a separate item and some were free. In 1868, H. Hutchins’ booklet was found as far west as St. Peter, Minnesota. Hutchins, the “Practical Chemist of Springfield, Massachusetts,” had headache and pill preparations as his main product line, stated to cure just about everything. He sold his “HUTCHINS’ RECEIPT BOOK,” for 10 cents (Hutchins 1868:1-26).

A Dr. Herrick of New York City published “The American Domestic Cook Book” in 1870. This booklet actually had food recipes interspersed with health advice and promoted Herrick’s powders and pills, particularly “Herrick’s Sugar Coated Pills.” Herrick Family Medicines had offices in New York with branches in Canada, California, Utah, and Shanghai, China. [Elizabeth B. Hall owns Copies of the Hutchins and Herrick booklets.]

The Shakers, in 1894, included pamphlets of advice in packages of their medicinal products. Some Shaker product formulas were “leased” to other manufacturers, or sold outright. Known by name recognition and for having quality medicinal products, the Shakers experienced some misuse of the Shaker label by others. For this reason, a warning was included on the label for Corbett’s Sarsaparilla Syrup in the late 1890s.

Distribution of Shaker Medicinal Preparations

Existing financial records for the sale of medicinal preparations begin in 1880 and extend to 1917. Earlier records, other than infrequent mention of consumers or distribution agents such as Weeks & Potter (1870-1875, 1884) and Maynard & Noyes (1894-1910), are nonexistent. Within the later period, forty-one different customers are listed as purchasing large to very large orders in any one year. Products purchased in declining amounts were Witch Hazel or Hamamelis, Sarsaparilla Syrup, Pills, and Cherry Pectoral Syrup. During this period twenty-three locations were noted, including twelve New Hampshire communities. These were Antrim, Bristol, Concord, Franklin Falls, Hull, Laconia, Lisbon, Manchester, Meredith, Nashua, Plymouth and Wolfboro (Ledger 19, n.d.; Ledger 40 CSN-FIN).

Hamamelis or Witch Hazel seems to have been for use on sprains and related injuries. In 1894, aside from Weeks and Potter, orders are noted from the manufacturing centers of Franklin Falls and Nashua, New Hampshire. The Concord Fire Department was the only non-manufacturing establishment using this product and continued to place orders up to 1917. Other buyers of note were the Canterbury Stove Co. and the Winnisusogee Paper Co. (This is the spelling recorded in Ledger 19). The Gardner Co. of Lawrence, Massachusetts, placed the last and only large order in 1900.

Large orders for Sarsaparilla Syrup from Maynard & Noyes and Weeks & Potter of Boston continued in the 1895-1910 period. Slightly smaller orders were received from S.E. Wilson of Fairfax, Vermont, and Tufts & Company of Plymouth, New Hampshire. Pills were sold solely in large quantities of 1,000 between the years of 1894 and 1897, with the largest order placed by Dr. Maude Kent of Concord, New Hampshire. The type of pill preparation is not recorded. Pectoral Syrup had declining sales for a number of years. P. H. Drake of Brooklyn, New York, placed the last large order of \$110.05 in 1894 (Ledger 16, Folder 4).

In spite of what appeared to be a successful business venture, the manufacturing of Canterbury Shaker medicines began to wane as early as 1848. First, the Canterbury Shakers did not always have the best promotional help from their distribution agents. Second, there were the declining members at Canterbury Shaker Village with skill to make the preparations. Third, they were facing strong competition from other “vegetable” medicine manufacturers. Lastly, beginning in the 1860s, there were a growing number of organized drug companies using chemical compounds rather than the earlier non-vegetable formulas.

The Glass Artifacts

Medicine bottles and bottle glass fragments came from Canterbury Shaker Village Church Family sites, "Hog Heaven" (CSV.96.C.1 and CSV.98.C.1.) and the East Barn Ramp (CSV.98.C.2 and CSV.00.C2) and numbered 7583. Color categories used for the tally were aqua, clear, blue, light green and amber. Each color was further defined as fragments, lettering on glass, lips, and neck styles and bases. Ordinary uses of the artifacts were identified as vial, pill or medicine. A general color guideline helped to assign a period for the glass artifacts when whole glass bottles were not available. Some clues could be deciphered from embossed fragments. Otherwise, a time period had to be estimated. The earliest and also most universal color was aqua and this would continue into the early 1900s. Gradual change from aqua bottles to other colors and usage occurred in the 1850-1870 period. Olive-green bottles usually contained medicines or remedies with high alcohol content.

During the years 1890-1960, some medicines and soda water were being bottled in blue bottles. Milk glass jars used in packaging health products did not make an appearance until the 1890s. The existence of a pontil mark dated early aqua bottles, particularly if the sharp break-off edge was present. Remnants of pontils on aqua bottles continued into the 1870s (Jones and Sullivan 1989:22; Fike 1987:13). Some clues could be deciphered from glass fragments with embossed front and/or side panels. For example, the partial words Shaker, Syrup, Pect, Sarsp, NH, East C, Canterbury, and No 1 provided clues for identification used in this study.

Also useful was the identification of lip and/or neck shapes. These included applied lip, straight, contracting, or beaded collar (White 2000:140-141) or according to Jones and Sullivan, string rings in v-tooled, v-shaped, flattened, and round (1989:95-96). In 1987, Fike used the terms Sheared Ring, prescription, wide prescription and flat or Patent (Fike 1987:8).

Table 3. Glass Types and Color Designations, Canterbury Shaker Village, Canterbury, New Hampshire (Continued)

Artifact Type	Aqua	Clear	Blue	Light Green	Amber	Artifact Total
Fragments	4015	1729	8	2	5	5759
Lettering, Embossed and Maker marks*	368	28	0	0	0	369
Lips/necks	142	4	1	0	0	147
Bases	56	64	0	0	0	120
Vials	26	20	0	1	0	47
Pill bottles	0	3	0	0	0	3
Medicine bottles	623	52	0	0	0	675
Whole bottles	137	15	1	0	0	153
Count by color	5367	2015	10	3	5	

Totals are from Canterbury Shaker Village artifact catalogs for Church Family, 1996; Blacksmith Shop, Second Family, 1996; "Hog Heaven," Church Family, 1996, 1998; East Barn Ramp, Church Family, 1998, 2000.

*1989 Olive Jones and Catherine Sullivan. *Glass Glossary*. Revised edition. Page 75.

A majority of the lettering and embossed designs on the glass fragments were found on the side panels. This indicated that the front bottle panels, at one time, had attached paper labels. Commercial marks and numbers were found on the bottle base. Usually these were the glass manufacturer's code or indicated the style and size assigned to the bottle. Bases helped to identify the bottles by their base outline, whether square-cornered, beveled or rounded. Identification of vials was generally based on the diameter of the fragment and the thinness of the glass. Additional clues for pill bottles took into consideration the diameter, which was larger than the vial diameter, and the height of the bottle as indicated by the fragment. Color, usually aqua, thickness of the glass, shape, neck and lip finish defined the medicine bottles. Early aqua medicine bottle glass fragments tended to be thin and exhibited glass stretch and small air bubbles.

Table 4. Source of Artifacts, Canterbury Shaker Village,
Canterbury, New Hampshire

Color/form	Blacksmith Shop	"Hog Heaven"	East Barn Ramp	Total by Color
	Total	Total	Total	
aqua	270	1152	1853	3275
blue	113	464	220	797
blue-green	5	0	192	197
olive-green	151	131	780	1032
yellow-green	21	3	19	43
amber	113	0	0	113
amber, molded	0	0	8	8
medicine, aqua	0	0	117	117
medicine, clear	5	0	0	5
Shaker medicine	0	27	163	190
vials, aqua	0	8	23	33
vials, clear	27	0	0	27
clear	784	0	0	784
Site Total	1619	1802	3709	7110

Source of totals are from Canterbury Shaker Village artifact catalogs for Church Family, 1996; Blacksmith Shop, Second Family, 1996; "Hog Heaven," Church Family, 1996, 1998; East Barn Ramp, Church Family, 1998, 2000. Fragments of bottle bases, side or front panel, are not included in the count.

Based on the number of glass artifacts recovered, evidence is incomplete for the many medicines produced at Canterbury. Most glass artifacts were just small pieces. The few whole bottles and bottle side panel fragments from Hog Heaven (CSV.96.C.1) provided some clues. Embossed on a few aqua glass fragments was: "BUCKTHORN SYRUP ORHAMMES CATHAIS SYRUP, SHAKER VILLAGE MANF. CO." These 1820 bottle fragments are 8 and 9 inches tall. Canterbury Shaker archival records do not mention Buckthorn Syrup. Paper labels, printed at the Village, stated the medicinal product and followed with "Canterbury" or "Canterbury, Merrimack Co." These labels named other medicinal products manufactured at the Village. For example, paper labels for "JAMAICA GINGER SHAKER VILLAGE MERRIMACK CO NH" can be seen in the Canterbury Shaker Village archives. Lesser-known products indicated by glass side panel fragments include: "PEPPERMINT OIL SHAKER VILLAGE MERRIMACK CO NH", and "DR. CORBETT'S RENOVATING BITTERS", both produced in the 1850s.

Probably the number-two popular medicine that people remember is the Cherry Pectoral Syrup. Evidence of this product was seen on glass fragments: "CHERRY, A1, SYRUP, BURY, O, 1". "CHERRY SYRUP, TERBURY, No 1" One complete side panel gave product and place of manufacture: "SHAKER CHERRY PECTORAL SYRUP. CANTERBURY, N.H. No 1". Some bottles have pontil scars

while others do not. North American glass manufacturers stopped using pontils between 1850 and 1870 with the introduction of the “snap case” which left no pontil scar (Jones and Sullivan 1989:45). A few bottle bases for Cherry Pectoral Syrup had pontil scars. Many more bottle side panels were found for Corbett’s Sarsaparilla Syrup. The aqua glass bottles would often have just fragments of words such as “No 1 SHAKER SYRUP, NH US”, and “ER”.

Neck and lip style revealed tentative date of manufacture and possible contents of the bottle. For example, a Shaker Cherry Pectoral Syrup bottle with a “king neck” or oil style lip could be dated as ca. 1850. During the same period of time, Shaker Peppermint Oil and Corbett’s Renovating Bitters were packaged in doubled ring neck and lip bottles. Examples of other medicine bottle fragments include the following:

List 1. Medicine Bottle Fragment Characteristics

<u>Type: aqua glass</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Neck and Lip Finish</u>
1. 12-sided bottle	ca. 1884	
2. apothecary bottle		wide prescription
3. “J”		prescription
4. “Re”		
5. pharmaceutical bottle		wide prescription, flat or patent
6. “W.G.W” ., 103”		
7. “WI, Mass, On, Mass, Avi		
8. W. Whittimore, Boston, Mass.	1854-1910	excelsior bottle (soda water, spa spring water)
9. “Phil”		
10. “Phila.Pa”		
11. Atwood’s Jaundice Bitters 1860-1910	1840	
12. Dr. A. Boschee’s German Syrup, M. Green Proprietor	1866	
13. Dr. Kennedy’s Rheumatic Liniment, Roxbury, Mass.	ca.1850	double oil or mineral
14. Dr. Kilmer’s Swamp Root Kidney, Liver, Bladder Cure, Binghamton, NY	1881	double oil or mineral
15. Calden’s Dentine	ca.1880-1890	
16. Crown Liquid Coffee Co. (with laurel/wreath logo)		
17. Healy & Bigelow Kickapoo Indian Oil	ca.1894	
18. Horlicks Malted Milk		

List 1. Medicine Bottle Fragment Characteristics (Continued)

<u>Type: aqua glass</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Neck and Lip Finish</u>
19. Kickapoo Cough Syrup	1881-1935	
20. Kickapoo Indian Cure	1889-1930	
21. Listerine	ca.1880-1890	
22. Murdock's Liquid Food, Boston	ca.1880	
23. Murine Eye Remedy	1880-1890	
24. Oxolo	ca.1880-1890	
25. Peto Mangan (Gude, 16% alcohol)	1880	
26. Pinex	ca.1900	
27. Potter Drug & Chemical Co., Boston, Mass. USA		
28. Systemand Nal		
29. Humors (later became Curturia 1887)	1880	
30. Schenck's Pulmonic Syrup	ca.1836-1872	
31. Sloan's Liniment	ca.1900	
32. Solodent for Teeth and Breath	ca.1900	
33. Volatiti Aromatic and Headache patent Snuff	ca.1700s	wide prescription
34. Acid bottles, Lockport Glassworks, Lockport, NY	1850	
35. Emulsion: Cod Liver Oil	1860-1880	
<u>Type: olive-green glass</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Neck and Lip Finish</u>
36. Hunyadi Janos Saxleheners Bitter Quelle	ca.1863-192	
37. Maltine Manufacturing Co.	ca.1880	
38. Peptonoids, Arlington Co., Yonkers, NY	1880	
39. Saxlehener Bitterquille, Hunday Janos South American Spring Water (bottled in New York City)	1862-1923	
40. Bromo Seltzer (cork used until 1925)	1907-1965	
41. Milk of Magnesia	1906	
42. Vicks	1931-	
43. Dr. Goody's Liniment		

List 1. Medicine Bottle Fragment Characteristics (Continued)

<u>Type: olive-green glass</u>	Date	<u>Neck and Lip Finish</u>
44. James W. Foster, Bath NH, Circle with diamond logo		
<u>Type: clear glass</u>	Date	<u>Neck and Lip Finish</u>
45. Menard's Liniment, S. Farmington, Mass., USA		
46. Angostura Bitters, Abbot Co.	1873-1980	
47. Bell & Co., Inc.	ca. late 1800s-1909	
48. A. L. Murdock Liquid Food, Boston, 12 1/2 percent soluble Albumen		
49. J. W. & B, 1308		
50. Wyeth 213	1870-1987	

Clearly identifiable glass bottlenecks and lips were either apothecary or prescription types designated as having wide, flat or patent formed lips. Beginning in the 1850s, Excelsior neck and lip forms were used for bottling spring water from spas, or soda water beginning in the 1850s. Less often recognized neck and lip forms were the double oil and double mineral shapes.

Some of the glass bottle fragments revealed a variety of cures and products to prevent or to promote good health. The cure category included liniment preparations, cough syrups, remedies for kidney and liver ailments, and the general category of "cure-alls." General health products included bitters, cod liver oil, food enrichments (similar to dry malted milk), and coffee.

Shaker Medicinal Remedies Challenged by “World’s” Products

Toward the end of the 19th century and into the 20th century, the Canterbury Shakers gradually replaced their syrups, salves, and liniments with “World” products. From time to time the Shaker remedies were made, but it required the availability of the raw material, whether raised or gathered at Canterbury or purchased elsewhere. As the male population declined and the members aged, it became more difficult to make their traditional medicines. In the last quarter of the 19th century, Shaker publications endorsed non-Shaker products. One of these was Dr. Frazier’s Cough Remedy (*Shaker Manifesto* July 1, 1878).

A general comparison of change in health cures for the Canterbury Shakers can be seen in the listing below. This change was from the use of vegetable preparations to remedies and medicines prepared by large pharmaceutical companies. Most of these companies did not use or else used very few vegetable ingredients in their preparations. Some people in the late 19th century referred to those preparations as “chemical.” The following is a list of Shaker medicinal products and their replaced remedies and medicines. [Please note: The composition of this list is from Estes 1990:7, 23; CAN fin, Box 24, folder 3; scattered loose account pages, 1938-39; and 1874 receipts from Fitch and Murray Co., Inc., Concord, New Hampshire.]

List 2. Shaker Products and Their Replacements

<u>Shaker Products</u>	<u>Replacement</u>
<u>All-purpose Cures</u>	
Mother Seigal’s Curative Syrup	A. J. White, Curative Syrup, New York City, 1856, 1882
Compound of Concentrated Syrup of Sarsaparilla	1. Ayer’s Sarsaparilla, Lowell, Massachusetts, 1860-1942 2. Hood’s Compound Extract of Sarsaparilla, Lowell, Massachusetts, 1887
Shaker Curative Syrup	A. J. White, Curative Syrup, New York City, 1882
Brown’s Shaker Pure Fluid Extract of English Valerian	A. J. White, New York City, 1887
Shaker Family Pills	A. J. White, New York City, 1887

List 2. Shaker Products and Their Replacements (Continued)

<u>Shaker Products</u>	<u>Replacement</u>
<u>Stomach and Digestive Problems</u>	
Shaker Digestive Cordial	
Bilious Pills	
Phillip's Milk of Magnesia	Charles H. Phillips Chemical Co., New York City, 1873
Oil of Peppermint	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Maalox 2. Bisma Rex 3. Alka Seltzer 4. Squibb's Mineral Oil, New York City, 1857 5. Sal-Hepatica 6. Squibb's Magnesia Wafers, New York City 7. Pepto Mangan "Gude's", Breeitenbach Co., New York City, 1891
<u>Eyes</u>	
Epson Salt	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Epson Salt 2. Murine, Murine Eye Remedy Co., Chicago, Illinois, 1892
<u>Throat, Colds, Coughs</u>	
Cherry Pectoral Syrup	Ayers Cherry Pectoral Syrup, Lowell, Massachusetts, 1897
Throat disc	
Sarsaparilla Lozenges	
Asthma Cure	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. H.B. Cough Drops 2. Kiga Cough Drops 3. 4-Way Cold Tablets (1938) 4. Rexall Cold Tablets (1939)
<u>Food Supplements</u>	
Horlicks Malted Milk	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Horlicks Malted Milk James and William Horlicks, Chicago, 1873 2. Rexall Beef, Wine & Iron

List 2. Shaker Products and Their Replacements (Continued)

<u>Shaker Products</u>	<u>Replacement</u>
<u>Salves</u>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mentholatum, Mentholatum Co., Buffalo, New York 2. Pacquin Hand Cream 3. Noxzema, Noxell Corporation, Ocean City, Maryland ca. 1914 4. Vaseline Lip Ice, Cheseborough Mfg. Co., Brooklyn, NY 5. Hinds H&A Cream, A. S. Hinds Co., Portland, Maine, 1875 6. Italian Balm 7. Vicks, Vicks (Co) , Selma, North Carolina 1880s
<u>Aches</u>	
Witch Hazel (1878-1917)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Absorbine Jr., W. F. Young Pharmaceutical Drug Firm, Meriden, Connecticut, 1892 2. Ben Gay 3. Penetrating Liniment 4. Quiet all Liniment
<u>Poultice</u>	<p>Flaxseed meal, available at many pharmacies. Shaker source of purchase was Fitch, Murray Co., Inc. Concord, NH 1974</p>
<u>Pain</u>	
Poppy Syrup (Opium Syrup)	Individual doctor prescriptions

The remedies and medicines used in the “Shaker Product” list and the replacements are from various sources in the Canterbury Shaker Village Archives. These sources included: CAN Fin, Box 24, folder 3 and scattered loose account pages for 1939-1939. Scattered and non-consecutive receipts from Fitch and Murray Co., Inc. of Concord, New Hampshire, a drug store often used by the Shakers in the 20th century, were also available.

There are very little data on the use of Poppy Syrup, Opium Syrup, or Opium Pills. There is at least one photograph of a large garden plot of white poppies in bloom. Henry Blinn in the 1851 Village production statement notes that eleven dozen bottles of Poppy Syrup were made. He did not mention the bottle size that was used. The next year nineteen gallons of Poppy Syrup were made. After that, very little was said about the use of opium products (*Blinn Church Record 1784-1849*, Vol. 3:79, 115).

The following recipe was probably used at Canterbury Shaker Village. It was found in an old handwritten booklet stored in Box 64, folder 3, in the Village archives.

POPPY SYRUP

20 pounds poppy heads, shake heads free of seeds

Marcarate in sufficient quantity of water 24 hours

Boil till strength is out of them

Strain

Boil to make 24 quarts, strain and settle 36 hour

Boil to make 23 quarts and

Add

45 pounds good Havannah sugar (later was corrected to 32 pounds)

Form into syrup as for simple syrup

Add 2 gallons alcohol, whole

Makes 14 gallons of syrup

Conclusion

The Shakers at Canterbury Shaker Village provided medicinal preparations that were in competition with other medical providers in the United States. Canterbury Shaker Village's sales area included Boston, Providence and a part of New York City. The largest dollar sales were realized from Corbett's Compound of Concentrated Syrup of Sarsaparilla, Cherry Pectoral Syrup, Rose Water and Witch Hazel. Other Shaker communities had monopolies on herbs and medicines not grown or produced at Canterbury Shaker Village. Sarsaparilla syrups and Cherry Pectoral were made by other Shaker villages to distribute to customers in their particular monopoly sales area of the country. Sarsaparilla syrups and Cherry Pectoral were very popular and commonly advertised in newspapers of the time. They were also sold in the area around Canterbury.

After the mid-19th century, scattered comments in the *Church and Historical Records* made note of sales to local stores. Very cryptic notes also mention neighbors coming by to obtain a few medicinal pills from time to time and to buy small amounts of various Shaker preparations. By the last quarter of the 19th century, pharmaceutical companies were taking over the medicinal business, and the natural or "vegetable" preparations were losing ground. One large competitor in the United States was Sears, Roebuck & Company. The population of Canterbury Shaker Village faded from over 300 members to just a handful at the beginning of the 20th century. The few that remained were no longer young and they no longer had the manpower or the finances to hire people to carry on the botanical gardens and manufacture the Shaker medicines.

Evidence of actual medicinal preparations and dosage used at Canterbury Shaker Village, either for individuals or in the Infirmary, is scarce. A small notebook, found in the Canterbury Shaker Archives, once recorded use of medicines at the Village Infirmary. It had been recycled. Originally written in pencil, the faint, partially legible, few words can be deciphered. All the penciled data have been erased and the pages reused for garden records written in ink. Fleeting references from the Blinn records mention visitors staying at the First Family Trustees' House. They came from various part of the East Coast to rest and regain their health.

In the 20th century, to replace their own medicinal preparations, the Shakers frequented Fitch & Murray, a Rexall Drug Store in Concord, N.H. Besides prescriptions, some of the other purchases included Absorbine Jr., Quiet All Powders, and Quiet All Liniment for pain, and Rexall Cold Tablets. For a tonic and energy builder in 1938-1939, they purchased Rexall Beef, Wine and Iron Compound and Horlicks Malted Milk (Con-Fin Box 24, Folder 6). One of the common glass fragments was Horlicks Malted Milk found in "Hog Heaven" (CSV.96.C.1 and CSV.98.C.1).

Today many of the herbs and plants are still used to ease ailments. For example, dandelion is used as a tincture or a pill to stop constipation. Cayenne is used in powder form to aid indigestion, as is Peppermint Tea. To ease stress, Chamomile

Tea is used, as is Valerian in tablet form or as a tincture. Licorice in the form of dried root tablet or as a tincture is used to ease digestive ulcers. By 1976, the Federal Department of Agriculture listed Tansy and Indian Tobacco used in teas to be unsafe for human use. Samuel Thomson and Thomas Corbett commonly used both Tansy and Indian Tobacco in the 19th century. The Shakers in Canterbury did not lose their interest in herbs even at the very end of their history. In 1985 a number of items were checked on an order sheet from the Kwan Yin Herb Co. of Spokane, Washington. The foremost items were Ginseng, and other herbs and combinations in the form of teas, powder, compounds, extract and tablets (Box 40, folder 3). There was no indication whether the order was ever sent.

What types of preparation were most prevalent? What medicines? The terms “preparations”, “remedies”, and “medicines” used in the resources are interchangeable. Within the combined categories, the prevalent medicines and remedies, as evidenced by records and artifact numbers, are Corbett’s Sarsaparilla Syrup and Shaker Witch Hazel. Sale of Shaker Sarsaparilla Syrup is mentioned in the 1820s and continued to 1910. In 1880, Weeks and Potter’s largest order for Shaker Sarsaparilla Syrup totaled \$1,703.15 (Box 64 #3 Account 1880: 30). The last large Shaker Sarsaparilla Syrup order placed in February, 1910, totaled \$127.00. The buyer is not listed (Ledger 16, 1910:146). Shaker Witch Hazel, a fluid, was made in the early 1800s, but did not become a major sales item until 1879. The Concord, New Hampshire Fire Department, a major customer, made their last large order for Witch Hazel, in 1910, totaling \$114.50 (Ledger 16, 1910: 200). The large number of bottle fragments further supports the importance of Shaker Sarsaparilla Syrup made at Canterbury Shaker Village. Witch Hazel, bottled in clear glass and without labels, was difficult to identify from clear glass bottle fragments. Cherry Pectoral Syrup, although well known, was not mentioned in the existing financial records, and few Cherry Pectoral bottle fragments were excavated. Some of the other preparations, no longer recorded in Canterbury Shaker Village financial records after 1870, included Bone Ointment, Green Ointment, Opium Pills, Poppy Syrup, Rose Water, Sarsaparilla Lozenges and Snuff Powder.

How did use of Shaker medicines compare with non-Shaker preparations in the local area? Shaker medicines, similar to those made by local druggists, were seldom advertised. A growing number of druggists and pharmaceutical companies, such as C. I. Hood and Co. and Wyeth Chemical Company, advertised their competing products. A sampling of Northeastern newspapers from the 1890s had advertisements in large, bold typescript for Sarsaparilla Syrup and cough medicines. These advertisements often appeared on page one and page three in the same newspaper issue. The list of ingredients for sarsaparilla syrup was almost the same as those listed on Canterbury Shaker Village labels. By the end of the 19th century, the difference widened when the “chemical” or pharmaceutical companies used few, if any, vegetable ingredients in their formulas.

Health problems compared favorably with those found elsewhere in New Hampshire, and particularly in Portsmouth, if one uses data from J. Worth Estes’

“*Hall Jackson and the Purple Foxglove.*” The difference was that the Shakers tried different methods of treatment and practiced cleanliness and recognized the value of fresh air, as it was understood in the 19th century. This is most apparent when the Village had a large number of children and youth in their membership. As the membership grew older, the concerns related to colds, congestion and problems related to old age were more prominent. The everyday health preparations were purchased at the druggist, and there was an increased use of fruits in their diet.

To what extent did the Shakers, hired help and/or visitors use these medicines? No written record has been found of Shaker medicines used by the Shakers, hired help, or visitors at Canterbury Shaker Village. Also, Canterbury Shaker Village Infirmary records of health care, preparations used, dosage, or the named of aged patients have not been located. There are a few notes about neighbors purchasing syrups and pills. The syrups, pills and oils are not identified.

Archaeology at Canterbury Shaker Village did provide information not found elsewhere at the Village. Glass artifacts from excavated sites at Canterbury Shaker Village, “Hog Heaven” (CSV.96.1 and CVS.98.C.1) and the East barn Ramp (CSV.98.C.2 and CSV00.C.2), provided some of this information. There was no information on the glassware used to packaging the Shaker medicinal products. Glassware suppliers were not mentioned in the Henry Blinn collection of *Church Record* or *Historical Record*. The ledger entries consisted of very short entries noting the buyer, order size and the price charged. Information regarding size, shape and color of the bottles was not recorded.

The glass artifacts were sorted by color, shape, fragment characteristics and embossment on side panels or bases of the glass fragments. In this way, Shaker medicine bottle glass was separated from non-Shaker glass bottles. All of the identified Shaker Sarsaparilla and Cherry Pectoral, whole syrup bottles and fragments, were aqua glass.

Embossed inscriptions, on other aqua bottle fragments with side panels helped identify some other aqua fragments. For example, embossments separated some fragments as either Ayer’s Sarsaparilla or Hood’s Compound Extract of Sarsaparilla. Kickapoo Indian cure and Kickapoo Indian Oil remedies were not mentioned in written records. Again, it was possible to identify some of the whole aqua bottles and fragments as being Kickapoo remedy bottles by using embossments on glass side panels. A number of other products were also identified using this method. But, the artifacts did not provide glass manufacturer’s name or location of the glass works. Neither were the artifacts able to identify who used the remedies used.

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Appendix 1. Date Line of Herbal/Medicinal Business, Canterbury Shaker Village

- 1796 Seed business established at Canterbury Shaker Village.
- 1813 Br. Thomas Corbett established a medicinal garden.
- 1820-
1907 Sarsaparilla Syrup was being sold.
- 1824 The Canterbury Shakers began selling herbs for medicines.
- 1830 Bilious Pills for sale, Sarsaparilla Lozenges
- 1835 The Canterbury Shakers published their first “Catalogue of Medicinal Plants and Vegetable Medicines.” It listed for sale 146 herbs, 16 extracts, oils, and ointments.
- 1841 The distillery was moved and enlarged to encompass the production of Sarsaparilla syrup. The Lead Ministry advised the Shaker societies to restrain their consumption of pork, cider, tea and coffee.
- 1843 Thomas Corbett refines his formula for Sarsaparilla syrup with advice from Dr. Dixi Crosby of Dartmouth College.
- 1844 Thomas Corbett signed over the recipe for Corbett’s Concentration Syrup to the Shaker communities.
- 1848 Thomas Corbett, on behalf of the Canterbury Shakers, gives exclusive right to market Sarsaparilla syrup to Brinley & Company of Boston.
- 1849 The Canterbury Shakers began selling Rose Water. It was manufactured in the Village until 1865.
- 1849-
1850 Canterbury Shaker village was selling Poppy Syrup.
- 1850 Medal award by Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic’s Association “For two Shaker preparations: Corbett’s Shaker Compound and Concentrated

Appendix 1. Date Line of Herbal/Medicinal Business, Canterbury Shaker Village
(Continued)

- 1850 Syrup of Sarsaparilla and Brown's Fluid Extract of English Valerian". The award was in Boston. (A medal was found at the "Hog Heaven" site.)
- 1854 The Canterbury Shakers published their fourth and last herbal catalogue. It listed 146 herbs, 5 syrups, 16 extracts, and 4 sweet herbs.
- 1856 Sarsaparilla syrup being sold as Mother Siegel's Curative Syrup.
- 1857 Shaker Curative Syrup formula was sold to the Andrew Judson White Company and later sold as Mother Siegel's Shaker Curative Syrup in 1882, later named Mother Siegel's Shaker Cordial (Fike 1987:229, 231).
- 1861 Sarsaparilla syrups sold in bottles and gallon stoneware jugs.
- 1868 Canterbury selling Mother Siegel's Cordial, for asthma cure, Bone Ointment, and Buckthorn Syrup.
- 1876 The Shaker Washing machine and Corbett's Compound of Concentrated Syrup of Sarsaparilla, both sold by the Canterbury Shakers, received gold medals at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia.
- 1878 Diploma awarded to Canterbury Shakers for Corbett's Sarsaparilla Syrup as "a Great purifier of the Blood and other Fluids of the Body" at the 47th Exhibit of the American Institute, November 1878.
- 1879 Selling Cherry Pectoral (Wild Cherry Pectoral Syrup), Jamaica Ginger, and Oil of Peppermint.
- 1879-
1910 Witch Hazel manufactured by the Canterbury Shakers, East Canterbury, was sold in aqua bottles and stoneware jugs.
- Five-year contract to sell Shaker products signed between Elder Nicholas Briggs and Weeks & Potter. The contract was later removed; after being placed with several agents, it was returned to Maynard and Noyes.

Appendix 1. Date Line of Herbal/Medicinal Business, Canterbury Shaker Village
(Continued)

- 1882 *Mary Whittier's Shaker House-Keeper* was published. This cookbook advertised Canterbury Shaker medicines and other products and was distributed by Weeks and Potter of Boston.
- 1885 Canterbury Shakers became sole agents for the distribution of their products.
- 1886 The Canterbury Shakers registered trademarks for the Shaker Compound of Wild Cherry Pectoral Syrup and The Shaker Lozenges.
- 1896 Last sale of Cherry Pectoral Syrup recorded.
- 1897 Sold 1000 pills; type or preparation was not noted.
- 1910 Last sale of Sarsaparilla Syrup recorded.
- 1910-
1917 Witch Hazel, Canterbury Shakers, East Canterbury, N.H., was sold in clear glass bottles.
- 1914 Sister Jessie Evans and Elder Arthur Bruce made arrangements with Walsh & Cummings of Manchester, N.H., to sell sarsaparilla products with a percentage of net profits to go to the Village.
- 1919 Sarsaparilla kettles at Canterbury Shaker Village were removed from the Syrup Shop, and the building remodeled for the Shaker canning industry.
- 1969 Shaker Village, Inc., a nonprofit corporation, was established to preserve and interpret the site of the Church Family.

This listing of herbal and medicinal activity by years was compiled from Henry Blinn's *Church Record* number four, financial records, and Eldress Bertha Lindsay's *Season with Grace, My Generation of Shaker Cooking* (1987).

Appendix 2. Plants and Herbs Used by Samuel Thomson

The following list of plants and herbs used by Samuel Thomson in his early years is a compilation from Samuel Thomson 1835, Miller 1998; and Stary 1998:

Archangel (Bugleweed) *Lycopus Virgincus*
Auban Root *Geum virginianum*

Balm of Gilead *Populus balsamifera*
Balmony *Chelone glabra*
Balsam Fir *Pinies balsamea*
Bayberry *Meyica cerifera* (*Myruca pennsylvanuca M. cerifera*)
Bitter Sweet (Bittersweet) *Celastrus scandens* (False Bittersweet *Celastrus scandens*)
Bitter Thistle *Carduus benedictus*
Black Birch *Betula lenta*
Black Pepper *Piper ingrum*
Blue Varian *Verbena hastate*
Burdock *Anticum lappa*
Butternut *Juglans cinerea*

Camphor *Camphora*
Cayenne *Capsicum annuum var annum*
Chamomile *Anthemis nobilis*
Clevers (Cleavers) *Galium Verum at Aparine* (*Galium aparine*)

Elecampane *Inula helenium*
Featherfew *Matricria vulgaris*

Ginger *Zingiber officinale*
Ginseng *Pana quiqueifolia* (*Panax quinquefolium*)
Gold Thread *Coptis trifolia*

Hemlock *Abies balsamea* (*A. canadensis*)
Hoarhound (Horehound) *Marrubium vulgare*
Horseradish *Armoracia lapathifolia*

Lobelia (Indian Tobacco) *Lobelia inflata*

Mayweed *Arthemis cotula*
Meadow(e) Fern *Comptonia peregrina asplenifolia*

Appendix 2. Plants and Herbs Used by Samuel Thomson (Continued)

Mullen (Mullein) *Verbascum thapsus*

Mustard *Sinapis alba*

Myrrh *Commiphora molmol*

Peach Kemals *Prunes virginiana*

Pear Mint *Mentha verides*

Pennyroyal *Hedeoma pulegioides* (*Hedeoma pulegiodes*)

Peppermint *Mentha Perperita* (*Mantna x piperita*)

Pisisseway *Pyrola umbillat* (Prince's Pine Pipsiswa *Chimaphila umbellate*)

Pond Lily *Nymphia Oderata*

Popular (Poplar) *Populas tremuloides*

Prickly Ash *Xanthoxion americanum*

Red Clover *Trifolium pratense*

Skunk Cabbage *Sympolcarpus foetides*

Slippery Elm *Ulma fulva*

Squaw Weed *Erigeron purpureums* (*Senecio aureus*)

Sumach *Rhus glabrium*

Summer Savory *Saturciae hortensis*

Sweet Brier *Rhus strigosus*

Sweet Goldenrod *Salidago virgaurea or Solidago canadensis*

Unicorn Root *Aletris farinose* (False Unicorn Root *Chamelirium lutum*)

Valerian *Valeriana officinalis*

Virginia Snake Root *Aristolochia serperntaria*

Wake Robin *Trillium erectum*

White Verban *Berbena uniticilta*

Wild Lettuce *Pyrola rotundifolta*

Witch Hazel *Hamamelis virginiana*

Wormwood *Artemisia absymthium* (*Artemisia absinthium*)

Appendix 3. Plants Used By Samuel Thomson and Thomas Corbett

Thomson and Corbett used common plants in their formulas to treat health problems in the 19th century. Seven of the plants used by both Thomson and Corbett have narcotic properties. One plant is a poison if not used very carefully. The “Use” column lists the order of importance in treatment of health problems.

<u>Plant</u>	<u>Property</u>	<u>Use</u>
Bittersweet (<i>Celastrus scandens</i>)	Narcotic	jaundice, rheumatism, relief of skin problems, purifying and pectoral teas
Blazing Star (<i>Aletris farinose</i>) Boneset (Feverwort) (<i>Eupatorium perfoliatum</i>)		colds, fever, dyspepsia, jaundice, ague
Burdock (<i>Actium lappa</i>)		gout, gastritis, ulcers, liver and gallbladder, early stages of diabetes, oil to prevent baldness
Butternut (<i>Juglans cinerea</i>)		habitual constipation, fevers
Chamamile (<i>Hamaenmelum nobilel</i>) (<i>Anthemis nobilis</i>)		tonic, sedative, indigestion, eczema, wounds, dyspepsia, typhus fever, hysteria
Cardu (Cardus, Blessed or Holy Thistle) (<i>Cuius benedictus</i>) (<i>Cuius benedictus</i>)		tonic, loss of appetite, dyspepsia, intermittent fevers
Celandine (<i>Chelidonium majus</i>)	Narcotic Poison	warts, ringworm, piles, fungus growths, sore eyes, cankers
Ginseng (<i>Panax quinquefolium</i>)		loss of appetite, nerves, asthma, kidney stones
Goldthread (<i>Coptis trifolia</i>)		bitter tonic, gargle for ulceration of mouth, dyspepsia, inflammation of stomach
Hemlock (Water Hemlock) (<i>Cicuta maculta vr. maculate</i>)	Narcotic	
Horehound (Hoarhound) (<i>Marrubium vulgare</i>)		colds, sore throat, cough, digestion, heartburn, destroy intestinal worms, bronchitis, and croup Tea: eczema, shingles, vermifuge

Appendix 3. Plants Used By Samuel Thomson and Thomas Corbett (Continued)

<u>Plant</u>	<u>Property</u>	<u>Use</u>
Horehound, Water (Archangel) (<i>Lycopus europaeus</i> , <i>L. virginicus</i>)		same use as (<i>Marrubium vulgare</i>)
Indian Turnip (<i>Arisaema atrorubens</i>)	Narcotic	croup, low lymphoid fevers, scrofulous tumors, head scabs
Lettuce, Wild (<i>Lactuc serriola</i> , <i>L. cerrosa</i>)	Narcotic	diuretic
Lobelia (Wild Indian Tobacco) (<i>Lobelia inflata</i>)	Narcotic	asthma, croup, pneumonia, catarrh, epilepsy, hysteria, ringworm, convulsions; Poultice: sprains, bruises, insect stings, poison ivy
Mullen (<i>Verbascum thapsus</i>) seed (Mellein)	Narcotic	
Peppermint (<i>Mentha x piperita</i>)		stomach, intestinal, liver, gall bladder complaints, to flavor other medicines
Prince's Pine (Pississewa) (<i>Chimaphila umbellate</i>)		scrofulous, chronic rheumatism, kidney diseases, rheumatism, gonorrhoea, cutaneous diseases
Savory, Summer (<i>Satureja hortensis</i>)		flatulence, diarrhea, digestive disorders, astringent, gargle
Skunk Cabbage (<i>Symlocarpus foetidus</i>)		whooping cough, asthma, hysteria, chronic chronic rheumatism, gallbladder problems
Slippery Elm (<i>Ulmus rubra</i> <i>U. fulva</i>)		dysentery, diarrhea, inflammation of the lungs, bowels, stomach, bladder, kidneys; Poultice: skin irritation Bark: sore throat colic, spasms, dropsy, local application for piles
Spearmint (<i>Menthus spicats</i> [<i>M. viridus</i>])		colic, spasms, dropsy, local application for piles
Tansy (<i>Tanacetum vulgare</i>)		fevers, ague, hysteria, dropsy, worms nerve tonic, sedative, for upset stomach, reduce fever

Appendix 3. Plants Used By Samuel Thomson and Thomas Corbett (Continued)

<u>Plant</u>	<u>Property</u>	<u>Use</u>
Witch Hazel (<i>Hammamelis virginiana</i>)		diarrhea, dysentery, painful swellings, gargle for canker
Wormwood, common (<i>Artemosoa absinthium</i>)		intermittent fevers, jaundice, worms, promote appetite, External: bruises, inflammations

Appendix 4. Preparation of Sarsaparilla Syrup

A detailed direction for making Shaker Sarsaparilla Syrup at Canterbury Shaker Village is as follows:

The manufacture of the syrup was a technical, labor-intensive process involving several buildings. At Canterbury, the herbs were dried in the large attic of the North Shop and distilled in the nearby Syrup Shop, both located in the center of the Church Family. The east side of the north room of the first floor of the syrup shop had two kettles, one to hold seven barrels and five gallons of liquid, and another to hold 47 1/2 gallons. The west side of the room had a still, a tank, and more kettles. The original formula gave instruction to

“Put 100 lbs of Sarsaparilla root and 80 lbs. of Prince's Pine into a deep seeping kettle. The roots were soaked for thirty-six hours, after which the liquid was pumped through a strainer into an evaporating pan where it continued to be heated. The remaining roots were again covered with fresh water and slowed to simmer for another thirty-six hours. The resulting liquid was strained and pumped into the evaporating pan. The roots were then removed by pitching them out of the sliding door west of the kettle into a cart. The first kettle was then filled with layers of several herbs, starting with sarsaparilla roots at the bottom and followed by prince's pine, dock, dandelion, garget, black choosy, then mandrake, Indian hemp, and juniper berries. The larger herbs were placed on the bottom so that the smaller pieces would not burn. These herbs were steeped for thirty-six hours and the resulting liquid was pumped off as before. At the same time, eight pounds of cubes (small spicy berries of a kind of pepper) were distilled to remove their oil, and the liquid was added to the kettle filled with layers of herbs. The process was repeated three times. If the liquid did not evaporate fast enough for each successive pumping, the flat kettle on the east side of the room was also used.

Once all the liquid was pumped into the evaporating pan and the liquid measured 10 1/2 inches in the S.E. corner of the “evaporator,” it was drawn off into wooden tub and allowed to settle for five days. The brew was then put into round kettle in arch on the east side of the room, heated to boiling, and mixed with four hundred pounds of brown Havana sugar. This concoction was then put back into the wooden tub. Epsom salts and sal soda were added and dissolved. After the mixture settles for two weeks. The Shakers poured it into hogsheads in the cellar and stirred in “1 gallon of Alcohol to every 9 gals. Syrup.” After standing for three months, the syrup was ready for sale.” (*Blinn Historical Record* n.d.:142-143).

Appendix 4. Preparation of Sarsaparilla Syrup (Continued)

This formula remained unchanged until 1880 when another ingredient was added. At the suggestion of

“a chemist of Boston ... under the supervision of N[icholas] A. Briggs ... fourteen gallons of Hydriodate of Potassa (potassium in a water solution) was included in the recipe.” (*Blinn Historical Record* n.d.:143).

Rebecca Adams, under the supervision of Nicholas Briggs, used this modified formula for Shaker Sarsaparilla Syrup (Evans 1931:n.p.). To save processing:

“After adding sugar to the Syrup, and while it is boiling, instead of pumping into the hold to settle, put it into the hogshead in the cellar, adding by degrees, the Epson Salt and soda, which must be dissolved in sufficient Syrup. Also add Alcohol in the same manner. The syrup has been made in this manner since about date 1880, to the present time 1894, with more or less complaint of sediment at the bottom of the bottles. 7 days for seeping, 5 days for settling, 14 or 26 days to bottle Syrup, and time to wrap 100 dozen bottles required 4 days” (Evans 1931:n.p.).

It took the Canterbury Shakers approximately four months to make one hundred bottles.

“The syrup was put into nine-ounce bottle or in jugs. In 1885 the cost of labor and fuel for making 120 dozen bottle was figured to be \$184.43, or thirteen cents apiece. The Shakers sold the bottles for \$1 each retail or \$48 a gross wholesale” (*Blinn Historical Record* n.d.:144).

While the basic directions for making sarsaparilla syrup remained the same, by 1931 there were some refinements in method of preparation as stated by Jessie Evans who took the following dictations from Nicholas Briggs:

“Put 100 lbs. of sarsaparilla root and 80 lbs. of Princes Pine into the seeping kettle, cover the roots with water, stand 36 hours. Keep an even temperature, hot not by no means boil. At this time pump the liquid into the flat or evaporating pan through the strainer, again cover the roots in the seeping kettle and steep a 2nd time for 36 hours. Pump off the liquid as before, also drain what the pump may not reach through the lower faucet. Remove the well-seeped roots by pitching them out the sliding door west of the kettle into a cart. While the second kettle of roots are seeping, the liquid in the evaporator should be kept boiling point, but never allowed to boil. Rapid evaporation is important. Keep the liquor well skimmed, also wash the sides of the evaporator frequently. Fill the seeping (pan) a second time, First put in 25 lbs. sarsaparilla root, the 20 lbs, princes pine, the dock, dandelion, garget, black cohosh, mandrake, Indian hemp, and juniper berries. Cover with water and steep 36 hours as before. Repeat the process three times. While the first kettle is steeping, distill 8 lbs. of Cubebs, remove the oil which

Appendix 4. Preparation of Sarsaparilla Syrup (Continued)

is objectionable in the syrup. When the kettle is filled the 2nd time, pump the cubeb water from the still into the kettle filled with roots. If the liquor in the evaporating pan does not evaporate fast enough for each successive pumping the flat kettle on the East side of the room, may be used but the liquor must be returned to the evaporating pan finally, and a thorough mixing while hot is essential and when the whole quantity measures 10 1/2 inches. ... (in) the South East corner of the evaporator, draw while hot and put into wooden holder, which must be preciously well cleaned. Let the liquor settle 5 days, then put into round kettle in arch on East side of room, heat to boiling point, add 400 lbs. sugar. When the sugar is well dissolved, return by pump into the holder in which has been put the Epson Salts and Sal soda well dissolved in hot syrup. Let the syrup settle 14 days, then draw off, using care to draw only while the syrup runs clear and put into hogshead in cellar, adding 1 gallon of Alcohol to every 9 gallons of Syrup. When the hogshead is filled within 2 inches of bung hole, stir the syrup long time with a stick for the purpose that the alcohol may be well mixed. Let the syrup stand 3 months before using. When drawn off add 1 oz. of Hydroidate of Potassium to 1 gallon of syrup. To save processing, After adding sugar to the Syrup, and while it is boiling, instead of pumping into the hold to settle, put it into the hogshead in the cellar, adding by degrees, the Epson Salt and soda, which must be dissolved in sufficient Syrup. Also add Alcohol in the same manner. The syrup has been made in this manner since about date 1880, to the present time 1894, with more or less complaint of sediment at the bottom of the bottles. 7 days for seeping, 5 days for settling, 14 or 26 days to bottle Syrup, and time to wrap 100 dozen bottles required 4 days” (Evans 1931:n.p.).

Appendix 5. Everyday Shaker Cures

HOARHOUND SYRUP

2 lbs. of hoarhound (horehound), dried
 Infuse 24 hours in 1/2 pint boiling water as much spirits
 Strain
 Add 1/4 lb. honey
 1 tsp. essence of lemon
 Dose: adult 1-2 Tsb. every 2 hours
 Use: hoarseness, asthma, complaints of breast, lungs
 Promotes fluid secretions in general
 If used over freely ... will loosen the abdomen
 (Beech 1883:260).

PECTORAL SYRUP

May 1842, Groveland, NY "Receipts of Materia Medica". Groveland closed in 1892.

2 T Wa-a-ho Bark (the bark of local cedar trees)
 1 T boneset
 1T Water pepper
 1 T Princes pine
 1 T Bittersweet bark
 1 T Black Cohosh

To be boiled in an iron kettle in soft water, when the strength is out, to be trained off then boiled down to the consistency of thin Molasses to which has 1/4 West India Molasses. This should be scalded for 1 hr over a slow fire and it is fit for use.

Dose T 3/4 x a day before eating.

Use for consumption, coughs, affections of the liver, spleen, etc. (Miller 1998:54).

TINCTURE OF SKUNK CABBAGE

3 oz. skunk cabbage root
 1 qt. spirits
 Stand 1 week
 Dose: teasp.-Table
 Use: Asthma, hysteria (Beech 1833:267)

