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# HISTORY



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## Alternative Medicine in Nineteenth-century Vermont

*Alternative methods of healing have  
a long tradition in Vermont.  
Records indicate many more physicians  
practiced alternative medicine in  
the 1800s than physicians do now.*

By JOHN M. MCPARTLAND AND PATTY PRUITT

In 1828, Zadock Thompson began listing physicians in his annual state-wide gazette, *Walton's Vermont Register*. The *Register*, precursor to the currently-published *Vermont Yearbook*, included a town-by-town roster of politicians, public officers, professional people and assorted businesses in the state of Vermont (see Table 1).

Eight years later the *Register* began differentiating physicians by their training or philosophy.<sup>1</sup> They were listed as either "regular" or one of several sectarian schools. Today these sectarian philosophies would be considered types of "alternative medicine," and they are currently enjoying great public attention. Researching the *Register* suggests the public's interest in alternative medicine is not new, but represents a resurgence of interest, with a previous appeal peaking in nineteenth-century Vermont.

The *Register's* apportionment of physicians into different sects continued until the 1908-9 issue. During those seventy-two years, fifteen types of sectarians appeared in the *Register*, including Indian, botanical, root, Thomsonian, physio-medical, eclectic, reformer, homeopathic, hydro-pathic, German, clairvoyant, cancer cure, asylum, spiritualist, and osteopathic practitioners. The decision to differentiate physicians in the *Register* was probably Thompson's. He was a proponent of natural healing methods. Thompson extolled the curative powers of Vermont's mineral springs, and described the medicinal uses of native herbs.<sup>2</sup> In contrast, regular physicians of the day espoused bloodletting and blistering, and administered mercurous chloride, strychnine, arsenic, and antimony.<sup>3</sup> Many regular physicians were poorly qualified. All the early physicians

TABLE 1 Census of physicians listed in *Walton's Vermont Register*, classified by their sectarian philosophies, and tallied at 15-year intervals.

Category	Number of physicians (and percent of total) in each category									
	1840		1855		1870		1885		1900	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Regular	440	96.5	467	93.0	429	81.3	404	82.1	584	88.2
Indian	1	0.2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Botanical/Root	12	2.6	19	3.8	3	0.6	5	1.0	—	—
Thomsonian	3	0.6	5	1.0	13	2.4	3	0.6	1	0.15
Eclectic/Reformer	—	—	1	0.2	29	5.5	14	2.8	12	1.8
Homeopathic	—	—	8	1.6	48	9.1	59	12.0	54	8.1
Hydropathic/German	—	—	2	0.4	1	0.2	—	—	—	—
Clairvoyant	—	—	—	—	1	0.2	1	0.2	2	0.3
Cancer cure	—	—	—	—	1	0.2	—	—	1	0.15
Asylum	—	—	—	—	2	0.4	3	0.6	—	—
PhysioMedicalist	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	0.2	—	—
Spiritualist	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	0.4	—	—
Osteopathic	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	1.4
Total Physicians	456		502		528		492		663	
Vermont population*	291,948		315,098		330,551		332,422		343,641	

\* Vermont population figures in 1840, 1870, and 1900 are from the U.S. census, reported in *Walton's Vermont Register*. The population for 1855 was extrapolated from census figures of 1850 and 1860, the population for 1885 was extrapolated from 1880 and 1890.

in Vermont trained by apprenticeship. The period of apprenticeship was short, only three years.<sup>4</sup> There were no medical societies, no licensing boards, no medical journals, and few books. Medical schools did not appear in New England until 1782, at Harvard (an undergraduate program), and sixteen years later at Dartmouth. As one Burlington physician lamented, "Under our present system, illiterate men, and in some cases, grossly criminally ignorant men, do crowd into the Profession of Medicine."<sup>5</sup> Faced with this scenario, many Vermonters like Zadock Thompson sought sectarian healers.

The *Register* is a rich resource—it is the only known state-wide tally of sectarian practitioners in the United States. We felt a census of Vermont's nineteenth-century sectarians would be valuable for comparison to today's trends. We charted this census by counting the number of practitioners appearing in the *Register* at fifteen-year intervals, beginning in 1840. See Table 1 for a compilation of this census. We then researched the archival history of the fifteen sects as they pertain to Vermont. For a full description of these sects, please see references cited in the notes.

## INDIAN DOCTORS

The first alternative healers in Vermont, by today's standards, were Abenaki medicine men and women. They utilized herbs, sweat lodges, and massage.<sup>6</sup> An Indian named Molly Orcutt began administering to the sick around Troy, Vermont, in the late 1700s.<sup>7</sup> She was famous for treating dysentery, particularly in children. Orcutt also practiced midwifery.<sup>8</sup> Margery Griswald was another "Indian-doctress" and midwife. She married an Englishman and practiced around Randolph in the late 1700s.<sup>9</sup> Several non-natives also called themselves Indian doctors, such as Ebenezer Chase and his wife, identified only as "Mrs. Chase." They appear in the *Register* from 1838 to 1842.

## BOTANICAL AND ROOT DOCTORS

Some colonial physicians probably learned herbal medicine from the Abenakis.<sup>10</sup> The first known botanical physician in Vermont, Dr. Roebeck of Grand Isle, used Indian hemp, spigot root, and other local Abenaki remedies. He practiced in Vermont after 1781.<sup>11</sup> Six botanical doctors appear in the 1836 *Register*. By 1840 there were eleven, plus one "root doctor" in Montpelier. The Vermont Botanical Medical Society was listed in the 1840 *Register* among the "state benevolent societies."

## THOMSONIAN PHYSICIANS

The best known of Vermont's botanical healers was Samuel Thomson (1769-1843). Thomson was born and raised in Alstead, New Hampshire. In 1788 his father moved to Jericho, Vermont. Thomson made many visits to Jericho but kept his home in New Hampshire. He learned herbs from an elderly woman named Mrs. Benton, who was either an Indian or had been closely associated with Indians.<sup>12</sup> Thomson's favorite herb was lobelia (*Lobelia inflata* L.), which he claims to have discovered himself. But this herb was used by Iroquois in New York State, and was called Indian tobacco. So it seems that Thomson did not discover new herbs; his true innovation was *marketing*.

In 1807 Thomson claimed to have cured a dysentery epidemic in Jericho. As he gained renown, Vermont's physicians saw him as a threat and moved to protect their market share. In 1813 they organized the Vermont Medical Society, and in 1820 they orchestrated "An Act Regulating the Practice of Physic and Surgery in Vermont." The main purpose of the society and the law was to distinguish "qualified" physicians. Thomson was deemed unqualified and thrown into a miserable cell in Newburyport to await trial.<sup>13</sup> Thomson was acquitted by the judge, got out of jail, and quickly expanded his commercial operations. Thom-

sonism soon swept the young United States. Thomsonian periodicals were published in states from Maine to Mississippi and west to Ohio.

By 1838 Thomson's friends in the legislature spearheaded a repeal of the Vermont Medical Act of 1820. The M.D.s at that time were too busy battling among themselves to fight the repeal. Sharp rivalries existed between Vermont's medical schools. Middlebury College organized a short-lived medical department in 1810.<sup>14</sup> An unchartered medical school was established in Cornwall around 1816 by Frederic Ford.<sup>15</sup> Castleton Medical Academy opened in 1818, followed shortly by the medical school at the University of Vermont (officially chartered in 1822) and another school opened in Woodstock (1827). Competition for medical students grew fierce. Colleges cut deals with students over tuition, overlooked flunked exams, and let students graduate early—as long as they paid their tuition. Castleton infiltrated University of Vermont lectures with "secret agents," to harrass the professors and steal students.<sup>16</sup> Besides this circus, three completely bogus diploma mills also operated in Vermont.<sup>17</sup>

With regular medicine in disarray, several doctors disavowed the scene and declared themselves Thomsonians. A Cornwall physician, Dr. L. Sperry, published his own Thomsonian-type manual, *The Botanic Family Physician*.<sup>18</sup> A Thomsonian infirmary opened in Burlington; a clinic operated in Essex. The Thomsonian Infirmary and Insane Hospital opened in Randolph, the precursor of today's Gifford Memorial Hospital.<sup>19</sup>

#### PHYSIO-MEDICALISTS

As more physicians adopted Thomson's system, a schism appeared. Many physicians were alienated by Thomson's anti-intellectualism. They wanted to open colleges of botanical medicine. Thomson was opposed to elitist education. So the physicians broke away, calling themselves physio-medicalists, and in 1841 organized the Thomsonian Physio-Medical College in Ohio.<sup>20</sup> Only one physio-medical physician appears in the *Vermont Register*, G. H. Gray from Calais.

#### REFORMERS AND ECLECTICS

Eclectic medicine also evolved out of Thomsonism.<sup>21</sup> Eclectics traced their lineage back to a New England physician, Wooster Beach. In 1829 Dr. Beach organized the Reformed Medical Society, which evolved into the Eclectic Medical Society. The first physician listed as an eclectic in the *Register* was H. D. Allen, from Weston, in 1851. The next to appear was E. Perkins, in neighboring West Windsor, two years later. The Vermont State Eclectic Society was chartered in 1866, and the New England Eclectic Medical Association was incorporated in Vermont in 1896.<sup>22</sup>

With the rise of eclectic medicine, fewer physicians allied with Thom-

sonism. Thomson's movement declined after he died in 1843. Ten years later, when the last of Thomson's patents expired, Thomsonism collapsed as an organized system. The number of Thomsonian physicians in Vermont decreased from a peak of fourteen practitioners around the Civil War. But one physician from Londonderry, L. S. Arnold, stubbornly called himself a Thomsonian in the *Register* until 1906.

As Thomsonism dwindled, the Vermont Medical Society began to revive. Vermont's regular physicians lobbied to re-license medical practitioners, to repeal the 1838 repeal. The 1876 law established a medical "Board of Censors" to exclude "irregulars." By then, however, the sectarian enemy was no longer Thomsonism, but homeopathy and hydropathy.

#### HOMEOPATHS

Homeopathy flourished in the same regions of the United States where Thomsonism had been successful earlier.<sup>23</sup> Harvard medical professor Oliver Wendell Holmes condemned the sect in an 1842 text entitled *Homœopathy and its Kindred Delusions*. Homeopaths rose to the defense, answering Holmes in books of their own. One such text, *The Realities of Homœopathy*, was published in Middlebury by Dr. G. Gleiwitz. Gleiwitz punned Holmes, saying homeopathy was not based on *delusions*, but *dilutions*.

David H. Baird was the first homeopath in Vermont, practicing in Coventry and Troy as early as 1840.<sup>24</sup> The first homeopaths listed in the *Vermont Register*, in 1847, were Oliver Eells of Cornwall and Robert Wesselhoeft and E. Bodenstein of Brattleboro. The following year, T. C. Taplin of Montpelier changed his designation from dentist to homeopath. These men, with G. E. E. Sparhawk of Burlington and C. B. Darling of Lyndonville, chartered the Vermont Homeopathic Society in 1858. This organization replaced the Green Mountain Homoeopathic Medical Association (organized 1854), which evolved out of the Caledonia County Homoeopathic Medical Society, begun in 1851.<sup>25</sup> As late as 1882, allopaths tried to legislate homeopaths out of existence. The allopaths were defeated, partially from lobbying by Dr. Roosa, a University of Vermont professor.<sup>26</sup>

#### HYDROPATHS

The first medicinal waters in Vermont were discovered at Clarendon Springs around 1776.<sup>27</sup> A Cornwall physician, Frederic Ford Sr., was famous for treating patients with water washes and wet sheets from about 1795 to his death in 1822.<sup>28</sup> Ford considered himself an educator, and in 1804 established a literary organization, The Young Gentleman's Society. Oliver Eells, later a prominent homeopath, was a member of

Ford's literary society. Ford established a medical school to promulgate his hydropathic theories in 1816, but apparently abandoned the idea when nearby Castleton Medical Academy opened two years later.

By the 1840s, "water-cure" institutes had opened in the U.S.<sup>29</sup> These institutes resembled resorts more than hospitals. Water cures became very fashionable, and the waters of New England were considered among the best. America's elite went to Saratoga or Poland Spring, but many came to Vermont—to spas at Brattleboro, Clarendon, Sheldon, Guilford, Highgate, and Middletown.

Some regular physicians and homeopaths switched to the practice of water cure. Dr. Wesselhoft was one such homeopath, with impeccable credentials—he graduated in the first class of the first homeopathic college in America, published a widely-read reply to Holmes's "Kindred Delusions," and was one of the first homeopaths in Vermont. Wesselhoft then established the Brattleboro Water Cure in 1848. It was the most expensive cure in the U.S. (\$100/week), and attracted the rich and famous, including Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Henry David Thoreau, and Harriet Beecher Stowe.<sup>30</sup>

One water cure patient, Elizabeth Blackwell, was a childhood friend of Harriet Beecher Stowe. Blackwell became the first woman granted an M.D. degree in America, from the Geneva Medical College (New York) in 1849.<sup>31</sup> Female M.D.s were an "alternative" not recognized by the *Register*. The first female M.D. in Vermont was Emily Verney-Brownell, of Danville, who graduated from the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania in 1855.<sup>32</sup>

#### SPIRITUALISTS AND CLAIRVOYANTS

The Swedish philosopher Emanuel Swedenborg inspired New England's spiritualists in the nineteenth century, such as John Chapman (known as Johnny Appleseed), and the transcendentalists Thoreau, Emerson, and Whitman. Spiritual healers, such as Phineas Quimby, a "mental healer" from Maine, also followed Swedenborg. Quimby was a mentor for Mary Baker Eddy, who founded Christian Science around 1868. The Church of Christ, Scientist, church in Burlington, probably the first in Vermont, was organized in the 1880s or 1890s.<sup>33</sup> Another prominent protégé of Quimby's was Henry Wood, a "mental healer" from Barre. Wood published numerous books and lectured around the country.<sup>34</sup>

Some spiritualists specialized in clairvoyance, Edgar Cayce being a prominent example. The greatest American medical clairvoyant of the nineteenth century was Lucy Cook Ainsworth of Montpelier. She first appears in the *Register* around 1870. Known as "Sleeping Lucy," she made diagnoses, prescribed herbal cures, and set bones, all while in a

trance.<sup>35</sup> The clairvoyant theosophists also have Vermont roots. Colonel Henry Olcott and Madame Helena Blavatsky, founders of the Theosophical Society, met each other in Chittenden.<sup>36</sup>

#### ASYLUM DOCTORS

The Brattleboro Retreat, a private psychiatric hospital, opened in 1834.<sup>37</sup> Its first director, William Rockwell, M.D., emphasized proper diet and exercise to treat "nervous and mental invalids." He also utilized the medicinal springs that were part of the retreat's 1,600 acres. One of the springs was also used by Wesselhoeft as part of his Brattleboro Water Cure. Some of the retreat's physicians, such as Dr. Kellum, who first appears in the 1855 *Register*, were initially listed as hydropaths. By 1870, they formed a separate category, "asylum doctors."

#### CANCER CURE DOCTORS

After the Civil War some physicians called themselves "cancer cure doctors." A Mrs. R. W. Hill appears in the 1870 *Register*, and a Dr. H. E. Smith appears in the 1900 edition. An ad for Smith states, "curing with arsenic, the knife, or drawing blood." This treatment differed little from standard allopathic practices of the period.

#### OSTEOPATHIC PHYSICIANS

The first osteopath in Vermont, George Helmer, arrived the summer of 1895. Helmer was a student of Andrew Taylor Still, who founded osteopathy in Missouri. One of the student's patients was Mr. A. C. Mills, a St. Louis manufacturer. Mills invited Helmer to his summer home in Chelsea, Vermont. In 1896 Helmer returned with another osteopath, Charles Corbin. Within weeks, the success of Drs. Helmer and Corbin aroused the antagonism of the local M.D.s. The regular physicians proposed a bill to exclude osteopathy from Vermont. In defense, Helmer moved to Montpelier. In a short time his roster of patients included Lieutenant Governor Fisk, ex-Governor Dillingham, and several judges and state senators. They championed a bill to license osteopathy in Vermont. In an hour and fifteen minutes, it passed both houses and was signed by Governor Grout. Thus, in 1896, Vermont became the first state to license osteopaths, even before Missouri, where osteopathy began.<sup>38</sup>

#### CONCLUSIONS

For seventy-two years, *Walton's Vermont Register* surveyed the prevalence of sectarian physicians in Vermont. It was probably a comprehensive listing, since the *Register* provided free advertising for practitioners (the *Register* was funded by people who purchased it, not by



people who appeared in it—the opposite of today's yellow pages). As a comparison for accuracy, Thomas L. Bradford<sup>39</sup> provides statistics on the number of homeopaths in Vermont around 1855, 1870, 1885, and 1900; his numbers average 15 percent higher than the count appearing in the *Register*.

According to statistics appearing in the *Register*, the number of sectarian practitioners peaked at ninety-nine in 1875. The following year, Vermont's legislature established a medical licensing board, which eliminated physicians who trained by apprenticeship. In 1875, 21.4 percent of Vermont's physicians listed themselves in sectarian categories. By 1900, this percentage had dropped nearly in half, to 11.9 percent. Some sectarian practitioners' names disappeared from the *Register*, and others were switched to the regular category.<sup>40</sup>

In terms of practitioners per capita (see Table 1), the sectarians peaked in 1870, with 29.6 per 100,000 population. The total number of physicians (regular and sectarian) that year was 159.7 per 100,000.

How does this compare with the current situation in Vermont? Today, Vermont supports approximately 204 physicians per 100,000.<sup>41</sup> The number of alternative healers is conservatively estimated at 153 per 100,000.<sup>42</sup>

We believe the current number of alternative healers is rising rapidly in Vermont because there is no regulation of their practice. Their situation is similar to that of Vermont's sectarian practitioners prior to the 1876 Medical Board Act. Since 1876 only three groups of sectarian practitioners have gained licensure in Vermont, the osteopaths in 1896, chiropractors in 1919,<sup>43</sup> and naturopaths in 1996. Acupuncturists are registered but not licensed; hypnotherapists and other mental health care workers are "rostered" but not licensed. For many other practitioners—such as midwives, massage therapists, and energy healers—there is no licensure and no regulation. If history repeats itself, we believe the number of alternative practitioners in Vermont will continue to increase until they are licensed.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Zadock Thompson, *Walton's Vermont Register and Farmers' Almanac* (Montpelier, Vt.: E.P. Walton and Son, 1836).

<sup>2</sup> Zadock Thompson, *History of Vermont, Natural, Civil, and Statistical. Part First. Natural History of Vermont* (Burlington, Vt.: C. Goodrich, 1842), 8. For a biography of Thompson, see J. K. Graffagnino, "Zadock Thompson and the Story of Vermont," *Vermont History* 47 (1979): 237–257.

<sup>3</sup> Martin Kaufman, *The University of Vermont College of Medicine* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1979). Early University of Vermont medical professors encouraged blistering and bloodletting with lancets and leeches. The first medical dissertation at the University of Vermont concerned the therapeutic uses of mercury.

<sup>4</sup> Benjamin Lincoln, *Hints on the Present State of Medical Education and the Influence of Medical Schools in New England* (Burlington, Vt.: Printed for the author, 1833). Dr. Lincoln critically noted that blacksmiths and carpenters apprenticed for seven years.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> R. C. Major, "Aboriginal American Medicine, North of Mexico," *Annals of Medical History* 10 (1938): 534-549. Major states that New England Indians even used moxabustion, a technique now associated with Chinese acupuncture.

<sup>7</sup> Barnes Riznik, *Medicine in New England, 1790-1840* (Meriden, Conn.: Meriden Gravure Company, 1969). See also, Abby Maria Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, vol. 3 (Claremont, N.H.: Claremont Manufacturing Company, 1877), 315-316, 316n.

<sup>8</sup> Tamara Lynn Tomkins, "Midwives of Vermont: 1700-1920" (B.A. thesis, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt., 1987).

<sup>9</sup> Sarah H. Rowell, "The Griswold Family," in Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 2 (1871): 1008-1010.

<sup>10</sup> Alexander Wilder, *History of Medicine* (New Sharon, Maine: New England Eclectic Publishing Co., 1901). As Wilder phrases it, "Many early Botanical physicians of America appear to have obtained their first conception of medical knowledge from intercourse with the natives."

<sup>11</sup> Lyman Allen, "A Sketch of Vermont's Early Medical History," *New England Journal of Medicine* 209 (1933): 792-798.

<sup>12</sup> Charles T. Morrissey, "Inspiration and Perspiration: Vermont and the Thomsonian Cure for Illness, I. Samuel Thomson and the Indian Remedies He Learned in Jericho, Vermont," *Vermont History* 44 (1976): 222-224. Thomson's underlying motivation lay in personal tragedy—he watched his family members suffer from heroic medicine, then die. Thomson never forgave the M.D.s. He wanted to disempower physicians, break their medical monopoly, and democratize healing. He embodied the Yankee version of Jacksonian democracy.

<sup>13</sup> Joanna Smith Weinstock, "Samuel Thomson's Botanic System: Alternative Medicine in Early Nineteenth Century Vermont," *Vermont History* 56 (1988): 5-22. Weinstock notes the only record of the 1807 dysentery epidemic is in Thomson's autobiography. She searched in vain for corroborating documentation in contemporary public documents.

<sup>14</sup> Kaufman, *The University of Vermont College of Medicine*, 3.

<sup>15</sup> Lyman Matthews, *History of the Town of Cornwall* (Middlebury, Vt.: Mead & Fuller, 1892); Beulah M. Sanford, *Two Centuries of Cornwall Life* (Rutland, Vt.: Sharp Printing, 1962). Frederic Ford Sr. was one of the first settlers of Cornwall. He served under General Anthony Wayne at Stony Point in 1779.

<sup>16</sup> Lincoln, *Hints on the Present State of Medical Education*, 4.

<sup>17</sup> Leo T. Abbott, "Medical and Dental Diploma Mills in Vermont in the 1880s and 1890s," *Vermont History* 37 (1969): 194-206. The three diploma mills were the Union Medical Institute in Newbury, organized 1883 (most Union faculty members were eclectic physicians), the Vermont Medical College in Rutland, incorporated 1887 (an investigation by the Vermont State Eclectic Medical Society closed it down) and Trinity University in Bennington, founded 1889. All three closed by 1890.

<sup>18</sup> L. Sperry, *The Botanic Family Physician* (Cornwall, Vt.: Published by the author, 1843).

<sup>19</sup> Wesley Herwig, "Inspiration and Perspiration: Vermont and the Thomsonian Cure for Illness, II. A Patient Boiled Alive," *Vermont History* 44 (1976): 224-227. Jehiel Smith owned the institute in Randolph. He advertised "Healing by botanic medicine and vapor baths." Dr. Smith apparently got carried away with the vapor baths, par-boiling a patient to death in 1841.

<sup>20</sup> Ronald L. Numbers, "The Making of an Eclectic Physician: Joseph McElhinney and the Eclectic Medical Institute of Cincinnati," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 47 (1973): 155-166.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* Numbers suggests that the eclectics owed their origin to the Thomson schism, with the eclectics drawing off the better-educated members. But later, the eclectics claimed ignorance of Thomsonism. The first college of eclectic medicine was founded in Cincinnati, about three years after the physio-medical college began there. By the mid-1850s the Eclectic Medical Institute boasted the largest enrollment of any medical college outside Philadelphia and New York City.

<sup>22</sup> Wilder, *History of Medicine*, 8.

<sup>23</sup> R. Fuller, *Alternative Medicine and American Religious Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). Thomsonism and homeopathy were significantly different, however. Where the former system was based on a material plane, homeopathy espoused metaphysical theories, imbued with a spirit of vitalism. Homeopathy had closer alliances with Mesmerism and Swedenborgianism than Thomson's botanical societies.

<sup>24</sup> Thomas L. Bradford, "Chapter XV. Homoeopathy in Vermont," in *History of Homoeopathy and Its Institutions in America*, ed. William Harvey King (New York: Lewis Publishing Co., 1905), 258-268.

<sup>25</sup> C. Caverly and A. Tinkham, "History of the Medical Profession in Vermont," in vol. 5 of *Vermont—The Green Mountain State*, ed. W. H. Crockett (New York: Century History Company, 1923), 604-638.

<sup>26</sup> Martin Kaufman, *Homeopathy in America—the Rise and Fall of a Medical Heresy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971). Dr. Roosa is no relation to John Roos, M.D., the most prominent homeopath practicing in Burlington today.

<sup>27</sup> Harold A. Meeks, "Stagnant, Smelly and Successful: Vermont's Mineral Springs," *Vermont History* 47 (1979): 5-20. Springs that produced crystal-clear water were less popular than sulphurous springs. The smellier and more fetid, the better. Springs that stained clothing with yellow or brown slime were judged the most medicinal.

<sup>28</sup> Matthews, *History of the Town of Cornwall*, 14.

<sup>29</sup> Harry Weiss and Howard Kemble, *The Great American Water-Cure Craze* (Princeton: Past Times Press, 1967).

<sup>30</sup> George B. Bryan, "Uncle Tom's Cabin and Vermont," *Vermont History* 45 (1977): 35-37.

<sup>31</sup> Weiss and Kemble, *The Great American Water-Cure Craze*, 28. Elizabeth Blackwell applied for admission to Castleton and Woodstock, but was rejected by both Vermont medical schools.

<sup>32</sup> John King and Caroline King, "Early Women Physicians in Vermont," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 25 (1951): 429-441. The next two female M.D.s in Vermont graduated from an eclectic medical school and a homeopathic medical school. In 1871, University of Vermont trustees defeated a motion to allow females to attend medical lectures, but they allowed African Americans in lectures. The school graduated its first female M.D. in 1924. But as late as 1944, African Americans were denied admission because of race. See Robert C. Daniels, *The University of Vermont: the First 200 Years* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1991).

<sup>33</sup> Personal communication, Patricia Dixon, Clerk of the Burlington Church, 25 July 1995.

<sup>34</sup> Henry Wood, *Ideal Suggestion through Mental Photography*, 10th ed. (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1899).

<sup>35</sup> McDonald Newkirk, *Sleeping Lucy* (Chicago: Published by the author, 1973).

<sup>36</sup> Edward Hower, "When Colonel Olcott Met Madame Blavatsky," *Smithsonian* 29 (2) (1995): 111-127.

<sup>37</sup> Esther Munroe Swift and Mona Beach, *Brattleboro Retreat 1834-1984, 150 Years of Caring* (Brattleboro, Vt.: The Book Press, 1984). The Retreat was known for its rehabilitation program, putting patients back to meaningful work—the institution maintained a large farm and even printed its own news weekly. See *Bedlamiana: Being Selections from the Vermont Asylum Journal* (Lowell, Mass.: Published for the compiler, 1846).

<sup>38</sup> E. R. Booth, *History of Osteopathy* (Cincinnati: Caxton Press, 1924). Vermont's M.D.s continue to begrudge osteopaths. Vermont's current governor, Howard Dean, M.D., has made several self-initiated attempts to abolish the osteopathic licensing board. See Michael Shay, "Vermont's governor attempts to eliminate DO board," *The D.O.* 34 (4) (1993): 119.

<sup>39</sup> Bradford, "Homoeopathy in Vermont," 22.

<sup>40</sup> In 1904 Vermont strengthened the licensing requirements for physicians. See "Act No. 109," in *Laws of Vermont 1904* (Burlington: Free Press Assoc., 1904), 151. The 1904 act established separate licensing boards for M.D.s and D.O.s. The M.D. board consisted of seven physicians in a ratio of two regular M.D.s, three homeopathic M.D.s, and two eclectic M.D.s. In 1906 the ratio was amended to three regulars, two homeopaths, and two eclectics. In 1933 the ratio was again amended to four regulars, two homeopaths, and one eclectic. In 1947 eclectics were dropped from the board; in 1951 homeopaths were expelled. In 1919 the Vermont legislature amended the 1904 Medical Practice Act, extending jurisdiction over "any person who professes to cure disease by means of 'faith cure,' 'mind healing,' or 'laying on of hands.'"

<sup>41</sup> Personal communication, Jack Cashman, Director, Vermont State Medical Society, July 1995. Cashman estimated that approximately 1,150 physicians are in active practice in Vermont. The population of Vermont is 564,964, according to the *Rand McNally Road Atlas* (Skokie, Illinois: Rand McNally and Company, 1996).

<sup>42</sup> John M. McPartland and Karen Richardson Soons, "Alternative Medicine in Vermont—a Census of Practitioners. Prevalence, Patterns of Use, and National Projections," *Journal of Alternative and Complementary Medicine*, 3 (1997): 337-342.

<sup>43</sup> Walter I. Wardwell, *Chiropractic: History and Evolution of a Profession* (St. Louis: Mosby Year Book, 1992). Chiropractors first arrived in Vermont around 1916. A Vermont state senator who was an enthusiastic patient helped the chiropractors write a bill in 1919. They copied the osteopathic law, inserting "chiropractic" wherever the word "osteopathy" appeared. M.D.s in the legislature opposed the bill. The M.D.s brought a "darkie" to the Vermont legislature and introduced him as a chiropractor, hoping to discredit the chiropractors. The stunt backfired on the M.D.s, and chiropractic was licensed that session.