

# Culture Alcohol & Society Quarterly

## *Newsletter of Kirk/CAAS Collections at Brown*

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*After a hiatus, we are beginning again to publish our quarterly newsletter with contributions on current work at the collections, plans for future work, and results of past work from the collections and by those on or entering the KirkWorks listserv. We are expecting a considerable number of reports for the Jan/Feb/Mar 2005 issue. For the present, I am noting a couple of projects from scholars hoping to use the collections that have come to my attention, printing an open letter from Ernie Kurtz, and providing some Notes & Queries on the Washingtonians — Jared Lobdell, December 2004.*

### **Note on Communications**

We have two communications of interest this quarter from scholars hoping to use the Brown collections, including the Kirk. One is from Tim Yates, a doctoral candidate at UC-Davis, working in the nineteenth-century context. The other is from Peter Olds-Clarke, an organist and former recovery house director working on connections between

music and (spiritual) recovery. In addition, I am informed by Tovah Reis that two other scholars have expressed interest in using the collections. None of these scholars, of course, is yet in a position to communicate anything to us on the nature of their investigations.

### **Open Letter from Ernie Kurtz**

Hi! Ernie Kurtz here.

*Not-God*, which was researched 1974-1979 and published 1979 (the later revision added only a chapter on AA's history after Bill W's death), is now very much out of date. I would like to think that my book was one thing that sparked the immense interest in AA history that we have seen since and especially recently.

For the younger among you, when I was hunting through New England book barns during my research, I found many copies of first editions of the Big Book, priced from \$0.50 to \$1.25. Of course I never bought one — I had my own copy already! This may perhaps explain why scholars are poor.

Anyway: the ongoing research has uncovered many matters that I omitted or got wrong in *Not-God* — Bill W's exact sobriety date, the shenanigans around the original stock certificates and other

matters relating to finances, what happened in Akron after Dr. Bob's AA left the auspices of the Akron Group and began meeting at King School Y and many more. And many new resources have turned up: the Clarence Snyder and Sue Smith Windows papers now at Brown, the Marty Mann papers at Syracuse (and those at Brown), the new information turned up in the Browns' story of Marty Mann and Nancy Olson's study of the politics behind alcohol treatment reform, for just a few examples.

It thus troubles me a bit when I hear *Not-God* referred to as the authoritative history of AA. Surely from a scholarly point of view that is not true: there is too much later knowledge that is available and should be part of any authoritative history.

I am not sure who will undertake this task: it will almost certainly not be me. It may be Bill

White or Rick Tompkins or one of our many younger hobbyist-historians. The choice of that individual will be made by the then-editors of the AAHistoryLovers and ASDH (ex-ATHG) listservs and myself, though we may choose to include others in our deliberations. Anyone, of course, is welcome to try to be the updater, but because the original *Not-God* was a scholarly endeavor and accepted as such, we hope to preserve that credibility.

What I am asking is that if you know of any errors or omissions in *Not-God*, you send a notice of them to me. I will try to be the node that gathers together all the new information. My present intention is to insert the new or revised information in brackets at approximately the place I think it may fit in the original manuscript (which I have on computer through the kindness of friends) so that someone else can construct a new book, a more accurate history of AA, that will be as authorita-

tive as we can make it for AA's 70<sup>th</sup> birthday in 2005. I do not require that the new book be titled *Not-Ernie*.

Please note that to achieve that end, the ultimate writer will need the source material behind your new information. Historians always ask (1) What is my evidence? (2) Is there any other evidence that I am overlooking or ignoring? (3) What else was going on at the time (what is the context of this event)? Please be sure to answer at least the first question when you send your information submission.

Please send your contributions and thought to the AAHistoryLovers or the ASDH or this listserv, and I hope and ask, please also directly to me at [kurtzern@umich.edu](mailto:kurtzern@umich.edu). It is time to bring into general knowledge the many important things that many of you have so devotedly worked to explore and discover. — Ernie Kurtz ([kurtzern@umich.edu](mailto:kurtzern@umich.edu))

### Kirk Research Project Note (Jared Lobdell)

Just a note on my current Kirk project using the weekly mimeographed newsletter *Chit-Chat* in the Kirk for the years 1953-76, in effect a diary of AA events and contacts in and from the Eastern Pennsylvania area. I have chosen the Eastern Pennsylvania area as my exemplar for looking at AA in the years after the “Golden Moment” partly be-

cause of the availability of materials (including *Chit-Chat*) and partly because I live in Elizabethtown PA. This is part of my follow-up volume to *This Strange Illness: Alcoholism and Bill W* (2004), tentatively entitled *Of Mind, Body, and Spirit: [Chapters on] Alcoholism and AA*. — Jared Lobdell ([jaredlobdell@comcast.net](mailto:jaredlobdell@comcast.net))



**Washingtonian Notes & Queries**  
**Materials for a Better Understanding of the Washingtonians**

**No. 1**

**Evidence on the Leadership of the Washingtonians to January 29, 1841**

*Archives of Maryland*, Volume 592, *Session Laws 1840*, pp. 22-23, Chapter 26, An Act to Incorporate the Washington Temperance Society of Baltimore (Passed January 29, 1841).

SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland, That William K. Mitchell, John P. Hoss, Archibald Campbell, David Martin, David Anderson, Daniel A. Piper, James McCurley, Robert Neilson, John Werdebaugh, John Adler, George Stears, Elijah Stansbury, Thomas L. Murphy, John Wright, Francis Gallagher and others, who now are, or may hereafter become members of said society, and their successors, are hereby declared to be one community and body corporate, by the name, style, and title, of the Washington Temperance Society of Baltimore, and by that name they shall be and are hereby made able and capable in law to have, receive and retain to them and their successors, property, real and personal; also devises or bequests of any person or persons, bodies corporate or politic, capable of making the same; and the same to dispose of or transfer at their pleasure, in such manner as they may think proper; provided always, that the said corporation shall not at any time hold or possess property, real, personal or mixed, exceeding in value the sum of one thousand dollars. Other than that which may be invested in a hall to be erected for the purposes of the society.

SECTION 2. And be it enacted, That the said corporation, and their successors, by the name and title aforesaid, shall be capable in law to sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered unto, defend and be defended, in all or any courts of justice, and before all and any judges, officers or persons whatsoever, in all and singular actions, matters or demands whatsoever.

SECTION 3. And be it enacted, That the said corporation shall have power to hold stated meetings, to establish and put into execution, alter or abolish, such by-laws, rules and regulations, as to them shall seem most conducive to the interests of the society; provided, the same shall not be contrary to the laws of this State, or of the United States.

SECTION 4. And be it enacted, That nothing in this act, shall be so construed as to authorize the said corporation, to issue any note, token, device or other evidence of debt, to be used as a currency.

SECTION 5. And be it enacted, That the right is hereby expressly reserved to the legislature, at its pleasure, to amend or annul this act of incorporation.

SECTION 6. And be it enacted, That this act shall enure for thirty years, unless sooner repealed by the General Assembly.

**Notes**

The original six members of the Washingtonian Temperance Society of Baltimore were William K. Mitchell, John [P. or F.] Hoss, Archibald Campbell, David Anderson, James McCurley, and George Stears, (sometimes Steers, and occasionally misspelled as Stearns). What is interesting about the list in the Act is that it includes these six, along with nine others, these being David Martin, Daniel A. Piper, Robert Neilson, John Werdebaugh, John Adler, Elijah Stansbury, Thomas L. Murphy, John Wright, and Francis Gallagher.

## *The Six Original Members*

The six are listed in Milton Maxwell's standard article on the Washingtonians (p. 412) as William Mitchell, a tailor, John F. Hoss, carpenter, David Anderson and George Steers, blacksmiths, James McCurley, a coachmaker, and Archibald Campbell, a silversmith. In John Zug's *The Foundation, Progress, and Principles of the Washington Temperance Society of Baltimore* (Baltimore 1842), they are listed (p. 12) as William K. Mitchell, John F. Hoss, David Anderson, George Stears, Archibald Campbell, and James McCurley.

### *William K. Mitchell*

William Mitchell, William K. Mitchell, or Wm Mitchell is listed as a tailor (and then merchant tailor) in the various Baltimore city directories in the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s. In the 1850 Census of Baltimore he appears (296b 12) as William K. Mitchell, aged 49, born Maryland. He would therefore have been 39 at the founding of the Washingtonians. He is elsewhere described as a man of commanding presence.

### *John F. Hoss*

The articles of incorporation give John P. Hoss, but Zug not only gives John F. Hoss, he repeats it (on p. 23) in recounting the first anniversary of the founding of the Washington Temperance Society of Baltimore: "One of the 'original six,' Captain *John F. Hoss*, was the Chief Marshal of the day." Now this Captain John F. Hoss was a well-known Baltimorean, a veteran of the War of 1812, born in 1792, and in 1842 Alderman of the 4<sup>th</sup> Ward. He was still living in 1870, when his War of 1812 Pension was commuted to a single lump-sum payment. It would appear that there may have been erroneous conclusions drawn from John Zug's reference to the founding Washingtonians as men who at eighteen or nineteen or twenty would have laughed to scorn the idea that they would be drunkards at twenty-five or thirty (p. 8), as none of the founding six seems to have been twenty-five or thirty. Captain Hoss was forty-eight.

### *David Anderson*

David Anderson is described as a blacksmith and a farrier. He appears in the Baltimore City Directories from the 1830s to the 1850s, and he may be the David Anderson, aged 62, in the 1870 Census, 13<sup>th</sup> Ward. More research is needed here, if we are to determine which David Anderson this is.

### *George Steers*

There is an old Maryland Steers family, represented in the twentieth century by Congressman Newton Steers, but I have been unable to find a connection. I have found the marriage of George Steers to Mary Lee in the Methodist Episcopal Church in Baltimore on 25 October 1841. This is presumably our George Steers and the George Steers listed as a wheelwright in the 1842 Directory. One is tempted to look at the George Steers (son of Henry Steers) born in Washington, D. C., in 1820, designer of the *America*, but this seems very unlikely, as he would have been significantly younger than the other five.

### *James McCurley*

There is a James McCurley coachmaker listed in Baltimore city directories from 1833 through 1857, but no James McCurley at all in the city in the 1850 Census except one aged two years. However, there was in 1850 a James McCurley who is almost certainly our man. He was indeed a coachmaker, born 1807, resident in Baltimore Ward 13, with his wife (Elizabeth Wallace Graham McC[u]rley, born 1811/1812, died according to the IGI, in 1866), five children (the eldest being Felix, born 1834), and with them was living his mother Mary (b. 1776). In 1860 there was a James McCurley, coachmaker, with whom was living son Felix, 26, a sailor, son Isaac, 22, a coachmaker, sons William (19), James (12), and daughter Sarah (14). In 1870 there is a James McCurley aged 64, presumably the one who was listed (as James McCurley) as born 1807 in 1850. In 1880 James McCurley, retired coachmaker, 73, is living in the 19<sup>th</sup> Ward in Baltimore. His father is listed as having been born in PA and was almost certainly the Felix McCurley (1779-1845) born in York PA. His mother was therefore Mary Pierpoint. James

McCurley's son Felix McCurley, by the way, was an Acting Lieutenant USN in 1865, retired as Commander, and became prominent in the Sons of 1812 (a Vice President) and Sons of the American Revolution (through his mother's grandfather John Graham). He died in 1896. (He is to be distinguished from his first cousin Felix McCurley 1833-1911, son of another son of Felix McCurley 1779-1845.) James McCurley was 33 when the Washington Temperance Society was formed.

#### *Archibald Campbell*

Archibald Campbell, silver plater, is listed in *Matchett's 1829 Directory* and up through *Ward's 1856-1857 Directory*, eventually in the 1855-57 period as silver plater and saddlery dealer. In the 1850 Baltimore Census (Wards I and II) there is an Archibald Campbell, aged 39, born in Baltimore. My suspicion is that there are two Archibald Campbells (father and son), the Washingtonian perhaps being the younger and the one who branched out into saddlery (silver bridles?), and who was born in 1811. But this is just a suggestion. Again, this needs more research.

#### ***The Other Nine Incorporators***

##### *David Martin*

This may be the David Martin, draper and tailor at 192 Baltimore street, dwelling at 99 Saratoga, in the *Matchett's Directory 1847-1848*, who may in turn be the David A. Martin of David A. Martin & Co., cotton yarn stores (warehouse), dwelling at 397 W Fayette, in *Matchett's 1855-1856 Directory*. There are, of course, a number of other David Martins in the directories. Further research is needed.

##### *Daniel A. Piper*

This is almost certainly the Daniel A. Piper of Daniel A. Piper & Co., preservers for exportation, hermetically sealed oysters, fruits, etc. in *Matchett's Directory 1855-56* and *Wood's Directory 1856-57*. I have not found him under this spelling in earlier directories. Again, further research is needed.

##### *Robert Neilson*

There was a Robert Neilson who married Anne Ogle (1803-1850) at the Ogles' Belair Country Estate, November 19, 1839. There was a Robert Neilson, veteran of the War of 1812, who had perhaps been part of the firm of Burns & Neilson in 1829 (*Matchett's 1829*) and even perhaps of Sands & Neilson in 1835 (*Matchett's 1835*) and 1837 and 1842. He may however be (and more probably is) the Robert Neilson, customs house officer, in the 1837 *Matchett's*, though that could possibly be the Robert Neilson of the Customs House in 1847-48, at which time Mrs. Catherine Neilson, relict of Robert, is living on Courtland Street: she survived at least until 1868 (*Laws of Maryland, War of 1812, Pension Act of 1868*). Note that Anne Ogle was a connection of the Tayloe family, suggesting a certain social level not contradicted by the eventual social distinction of, say, Felix McCurley.

##### *John Werdebaugh*

There was an elder and a younger John Werdebaugh. The elder was an accountant in 1835, bookkeeper in 1842, clerk in 1845 (*Baltimore Wholesale Business Directory and Business Calendar 1845*), clerk in 1853-54. He is connected with an address at 168 Saratoga. The younger was at 101-103 Mulberry in 1855-57. One of them was associated with the firm of Werdebaugh Smith & Co., fancy and variety goods, at 292 West Baltimore. There was also a John Werdebaugh, hardware merchant, in 1847-48 when no clerk or accountant or bookkeeper is noted. John Werdebaugh (presumably the elder) was buried at Greenmount Cemetery October 19, 1871, aged 84.

##### *John Adler*

The name may be misspelled, but I find no John Alter or John Adler in the directories either, or in the 1850 Census. I have however found a J. Adler of Harford County who shipped on the *Charlotte*, out of Newburyport to San Francisco, as noted in the *New York Herald* for January 26, 1849.

### *Elijah Stansbury*

It is likely, given Alderman Hoss, that this Elijah Stansbury may be the future Mayor of Baltimore (1848-1850), who was born in 1791 and died in 1883, but I note also an Elijah Stansbury Jr., a lime and hair dealer, at Fawn and Albemarle, in *Matchett's Baltimore Directory 1837*. Quite probably, further research is needed.

### *Thomas L. Murphy*

I believe this to be the Dr. Thomas L. Murphy of the 1835, 1842, and 1847-48 directories, and he may be the Thomas Murphy aged 51 (born Ireland) of the 1850 Census. In any case, he is described as of Caroline Row in 1835, the Port of Baltimore in 1842, and 88 Gough Street in 1847-1848. I believe he is the Dr. Thomas L. Murphy described in a letter in the February 5, 1876 *Cecil Whig*, with the heading "Port Deposit: Forty Years Ago and Now." He married the widow of John Creswell, the father of U.S. Postmaster-General Creswell (1828-1891): in the words of author Guyas Cutas, "Mrs. Creswell, after years of widowhood, married Dr. Thomas L. Murphy of Baltimore. The doctor was highly educated, an eloquent and vigorous public speaker, and possessed

of rare conversational powers, in which were mingled wit, humor, sarcasm, imagery or poetry as circumstances indicated." Mrs. Murphey was listed as 75 years of age in the 1880 Port Deposit Census.

### *John Wright*

Of the several John Wrights in the 1837 bookseller, lieutenant of the Night Watch, dry goods merchant, and cordwainer, John R. Wright appears in 1842 as an auctioneer and commission merchant, and the other John Wrights are not identified by profession in that year. Note Francis Gallagher below. Further research is needed.

### *Francis Gallagher*

There is an F. Gallagher, teacher of bookkeeping and writing, in the directories in 1855-57. There is a Francis Gallagher, attorney, also in the 1850s. But the most likely Francis Gallagher, I believe, is the shoemaker in *Matchett's Directory 1847-48*, whom I believe to be the same Francis Gallagher, cordwainer, who was an incorporator of the United Beneficial Society of Cordwainers of the City of Baltimore in 1833 (*1833 Session Laws, Maryland Archives*, 210, p. 66). Further research is needed.

## No. 2

### **Did Washingtonians Celebrate DLD (Date-of-Last-Drink) Anniversaries? A Letter in Evidence 1843**

This letter from Ellis Fish was sent without stamp (manuscript notation 18 3/4, no postmark) from Girard PA 18 Feb to Mr. Lyman Fish, Gilbertsville, Otsego County, NY., mentioning the first Washingtonian anniversary of Lyman Fish. Lyman Fish was resident at Gilbertsville, Butternut Township, Otsego County, in 1850 (*New York Census 1850, Otsego County*, 220), though not in 1840. Ellis Fish was apparently resident in Erie County PA in 1870. Dates of birth for the brothers are not clear, nor at present is their ancestry, though I have given some very tentative suggestions below.

Girard [PA]  
Feb the 16<sup>th</sup> 1843

Dear Brother

It is with heartfelt sorrow that I now attempt to address a few lines to you. Little did I think on opening your letter that it contained such intelligence as the death of your companion. I feel to shed the disappointing tear with you for your loss and the loss it will be to your dear children. It is a loss that never can be made good again in this world. But now, my dear Brother, you have responsibilities resting upon you which you never

realized before. You have a family of interesting children on your hands to bring up, to give instruction, to give examples, and may the God of Heaven enable you to set them such examples and give them such instructions as shall be profitable for both you and them in the day of judgment. It was with gratitude to God that I read those few words in your letter *viz*, that you had joined the Washingtonians and had not drunk a drop for one year past. My prayer to God is that He will strengthen your resolution in keeping the pledge for which you have taken. Dear Brother, I feel to commend you to that God for consolation, who has ever watched over you & me. Put your trust in him and may this dispensation of His Providence be sanctified to your good. Dear Brother, I feel it my duty to advise you as it regards your children, and I want you to ever have in mind the condition that you and I was placed in. Lyman, I would say to you, if it is possible, never bind your children out, but if you can't keep your children together, keep a home for them. I want you to do that if you can but you must consult your own feelings and interest. I suppose Henry is old enough to take care of himself, Sarah must be nearly old enough to do the same, all though they want a great deal of care. I do not know what you will do with your youngest. If it was here I would take care of it a while, although my wife's health is very poor. I can't say how long we could keep it if we had it but as long as we were able to take care of it. But this I would say to you, give your children all good instruction, send them all to Sabbath schools, go to meetings yourself and take your children, set them good examples. Lyman, get religion, do not put off the day of your repentance any longer, but seek Christ while it is today. Look at the responsibility now

resting upon you. A parent with four immortal souls committed to your care that you now will prepare yourself and children to meet your companion and your offspring in that World of Bliss where pleasures never cease and troubles come no more.

I want you to tell Henry for me that I want he should be a good boy, be good to his sisters, take good care of them, be good to his father, go to meetings with his sisters and get to be a good boy and love Christ and his people, and Christ will love him.

My Elizabeth sends her love to your Sarah & Elizabeth, and says she wants to see them very much. My wife sends her love to you and your children and prays the God of Heaven to Bless you and your children in your affliction.

I want you to write to me again soon and tell me how you are getting along. May God bless you and have mercy upon you.

Ellis Fish to Lyman Fish

### Notes

I have been unable to find a pair of brothers named Lyman and Ellis Fish in the *International Genealogical Index*, though I have found a Lewin(?) and Ellis Fish born 1794 and 1797 from Chipman and Betsey Howland Fish, on Cape Cod. But the name Lewin Fish appears twice in the 1880 Census, so this may well not be a mistake for Lyman. The ages and ancestry of Lyman and Ellis Fish are of course not relevant to the query about Washingtonian anniversaries, but are to questions of heritability of alcoholism and age of onset/sobriety.

### No. 3

#### A Receipt from an Overnight Stay at the Washington Temperance Coffee House, Boston 1846 --Was This a Washingtonian Enterprise?

This receipt is made out to a Mr. Crawford for payment of \$47.50 To Washington Coffee House, Dr to Board nine Weeks and three Days to Date, Received Payment, E. S. Goodnow for T[?] B Carter, Boston, April 16, 1846. The receipt, presumably from a book of receipts, was printed by C. B. Ewer, Printer, No. 3 Water Street, and advertises (in small print, under the printer's name and a border design) "Kept Strictly on Temperance Principles, No. 158 Washington Street." Was this Washington Coffee House (kept strictly on temperance principles) in fact a Washingtonian enterprise?

The New England historian Samuel Adams Drake (1833-1905), in his *Old Landmarks and Historic Personages of Boston* (Boston 1873, p. 248) notes that the Blue Bell and Indian Queen tavern stood on each side of a passage formerly leading from Washington Street to Hawley ...

Zadock Pomeroy kept the inn in 1800. About 1820 the Washington Coffee House was erected in place of the Indian Queen, but it too has vanished. It will be remembered as the starting-place of the old Roxbury Hourlies. No. 158 indicates the site, corresponding with the Parker Block. The Washington Coffee House was on the site before the Washingtonian Temperance Society: it remains possible, of course, that in the 1840s its ownership passed to temperance advocates (possibly Washingtonians) who took advantage of the name which, of course, came from its location on Washington Street. I do not know if this E. S. Goodnow was Edward Augustus Selfridge Goodnow (1806-77), born in Worcester MA and eventually of Kansas City MO. In any case, the Washington name may be a coincidence. Further research might be worthwhile.

### No. 4

#### The Harrisburg (PA) Washingtonian Song 1843 To the Tune of "Old Rosin the Beau"

The words to this Washingtonian song ("The Washington Badge") are found in William R. Ward, *The American Bicentennial Song Book, Volume 1, The First Hundred Years* (New York 1975), p. 166, to the tune of "Old Rosin the Beau" — a drinking-song tune to which were also sung "Old Tippecanoe" and "Lincoln and Liberty" and "Acres of Clams." There is only one eight-line stanza and no chorus. The words:

Come join in our temperance army  
And put on the Washington badge;  
I'm sure that it never will harm ye  
To give in your name to the pledge,  
We've done with our days of carousing,  
Our nights, too, of frolicsome glee;  
For now with our sober minds choosing,  
We've pledged ourselves never to spree.

#### Notes

This same tune (or, rather, the first half of it) goes with the song "Temperance Hall" ("Come all ye true friends of the nation") in A. D. Fillmore, *Temperance Musician* (Cincinnati 1854), pp. 186ff, using an odd numerical notation for the music. Here there are four-line stanzas, but with a two-line chorus like "Old Tippecanoe" (with "And roll on the Temperance ball / And roll on the temperance ball.") Though "Old Rosin the Beau" is a drinking song, and the use of drinking tunes for temperance songs is common (one was even used, of course, for our national anthem), it may be that the tune of "Old Rosin, the Beau" was adopted because of its widespread political use. Harrisburg was the scene of the Whig Convention nominating Harrison and Tyler ("Tippecanoe and Tyler, too"). The song "Temperance Hall" has as second



stanza, "Ye Democrats, come to the rescue / And help on the glorious cause; / And millions hereafter will bless you, / With heart-rending songs of applause" and then, "Come, Whigs, ye true friends of the nation, / And boldly step into your place, / To spread the great Temp'rance salvation, / Come, join all true friends of our race."

There seems to me to be several points here worth looking at, one of which has to do with the psychological effect of the drinking-song revisited as temperance song and perhaps the relation of this

to the differences Ric Caric has noted between Washingtonian and other narratives in the social milieu of the 1840s. Another is effect *per se* of the music, what we might call the physiological effect. The fact that the same tune was used in the (public) Washingtonian days of the 1840s and the (private or semi-private) days of the lodge and International Order of Good Templars, that followed may be of interest here. We await the planned work of my friend Peter Olds-Clarke noted above.

