

# CASQ

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This seventeenth new issue of the CA&SQ (since its revival in October 2004) is Volume IV, no. 1. After “News and Notes,” with News (and some opinions) on two recent books relevant to alcoholism and its treatment – Anne Harrington, *The Cure Within* (2008), and Jolene Sanders, *Women in A.A.* (2009), and then brief historical “Notes” on early members and supporters of A.A. (“Mac” who couldn’t get sober, Yvelin [“Yev”] G., who certainly did get sober, and C. Walter Lotte, presumably a friend of A.A.) – we take an issue’s time off from our research on the Messengers to Ebby (Rowland, Shep, Cebra) who lie behind the early days of A.A. We look rather at a miscellaneous couple of topics, including (1) an interesting 1914 example of the economic argument against drinking (“Bill’ and the Water Wagon”), (2) some material on Major League Baseball and Alcoholics Anonymous, and (3) an 1851 letter using the phrase “too much addicted to liquor.” This *olla podrida* is followed by no. 23 in “Washingtonian Notes and Queries” (on William K. Mitchell and John F. Hoss before the Washingtonians) and no. 24 (a nineteenth-century view of John Gough, who came into the Washingtonians in 1842). Next issue (IV, 2) will again see contributions on current work at Brown, plans for future work, and results of past work, from the collections and by those on the KirkWorks listserv. All receiving CASQ are invited to contribute notes, queries, studies, data on work in progress. – Jared Lobdell, *December 31, 2008* (rev. *May 2009*)

News and Notes pp. 2-9

News: New Books (Reviews and Opinions) pp. 2-7

Anne Harrington, *The Cure Within* [2008] pp. 2-4

Jolene Sanders, *Women in A.A.* [2009] pp. 4-7

Notes: Brief Notes on Early AAs and Friends pp. 7-9

Notes on Ernest MacK. (“Mac”) and Yvelin G. (“Yev”)

A Note on C. Walter Lotte and Others at the Dinner

*Olla Podrida*: Miscellaneous Gatherings pp. 9-15

Washingtonian Notes and Queries (nos. 23/24) pp. 16-18

# NEWS AND NOTES

## News: New Books

### 1. Anne Harrington, *The Cure Within*

In 2004 the editor published his *This Strange Illness: Alcoholism and Bill W.* (Aldine de Gruyter, Hawthorne NY, now Aldine-Transaction, Parsippany NJ). The title comes from a phrase in Bill W.'s 1969 testimony before the U. S. Congress, "this strange illness of mind, body, and soul," and goes back to the Emmanuel Movement in Boston a century ago. One of the points made in *This Strange Illness* is that Bill W. saw, and indeed established in and through A.A., congruent treatment for alcoholism as a disease of the mind, as a disease of the body (of the brain), and as a disease of the spirit. One of the "mind-cures" noted in *This Strange Illness* (pp. 149-152) was the familiar case of the cure of Norman Cousins by humor – besides of course the work of Mary Baker Eddy (esp. pp. 43ff) and also of Elwood Worcester, Samuel McComb, and the Emmanuel Movement (esp. pp. 43-50). Mrs. Eddy's Christian Science and Worcester's Emmanuel Movement were both, of course, centered in Boston. Now Anne Harrington of Harvard, MacArthur Fellow, editor of a book on *The Placebo Effect* and author of *Medicine, Mind, and the Double Brain*, has written a much-praised study, *The Cure Within: A History of Mind-Body Medicine* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008). One finds, as expected, Mrs. Eddy, and one finds Norman Cousins -- but not the Emmanuel Movement, nor Alcoholics Anonymous, nor even alcoholism. The editor reflects on this below.

Jared Lobdell

on Anne Harrington, *The Cure Within*

The phrase "mind-body medicine" – as Anne Harrington notes – is a creature of the 1990s. As such, it comes with various New-Age and post-New-Age connotations and connections. It does not, in Anne Harrington's book, come with any connections to the "Mind, Body, and Spirit" of the Emanuel Movement, nor with Alcoholics Anonymous, largely the creation of a man, Bill W., who referred (in his 1969 testimony before the U. S. Congress) to alcoholism as "this strange illness of mind, body, and spirit" – borrowing from the Emmanuel Movement. Professor Harrington does, of course, discuss Mrs. Eddy, and she does (pp. 111, 117) note the approval of "Mind-Cure" doctrines by William James (though her remarks seem to me perhaps a trifle perfunctory – but that perception may come from my own linking of James with A.A., and some reading on the meeting of Freud and Jung and James in Massachusetts – at Clark – in 1909: I think she could have made more of this.

In a way, her book is very much part of the same world that concerns Jane S. in her review of Jolene Sanders, *Women in Alcoholics Anonymous* (below). Alcoholics Anonymous is a creation of the 1930s, by people who grew up (or at least were growing up) before the First World War. There are very few sentences in the first 164 pages of the "Big Book" that could not have been written in the days of Jack London and Samuel George Blythe. And what could not have been written then was presumably derived

from the quasi-New-Age philosophy or theology that comes in part from Emmet Fox – and the religious sensibility coming from Frank Buchman and – perhaps more – from the Rev. Samuel Shoemaker – all of which is part of the world of the 1920s or 1930s. Also part of the world of the 1930s (or of the very early 1940s) is the “Serenity Prayer” (of which AA makes much), which was at least put in its present form by Reinhold Niebuhr, though it may be older. On the other hand, the sensibility of the “St. Francis Prayer” (of which AA also makes much) is clearly that of the years just before World War I, like Jack London, like Samuel G. Blythe. The first record of the Prayer, we have recently found, comes in 1912, in French, in the magazine *La Clochette*. Like the Serenity Prayer, it is apparently a twentieth-century invention, at least in its present form.

Why then, if AA and its prayers are recent inventions, with significant New-Age ties, does Professor Harrington not consider them in her book? There is a clue in the distinction between “mind-body” medicine and the Emmanuel triad of “mind, body, and spirit.” In fact, I wrote Professor Harrington a letter: “I’ve been reading your *The Cure Within* with a good deal of interest and enjoyment, but I’m curious as to the omission of what seems to me a pretty good example of “mind-body medicine,” and that is the treatment of alcoholism, especially through Alcoholics Anonymous (and, concomitantly, the omission of any consideration of Elwood Worcester, Richard Peabody, Courtenay Baylor, and the Emmanuel Movement). I would have thought these relevant, though it’s true I may perhaps have missed a passage in your book that lays out the bounds of your study in such a way as to explain their omission.”

She very kindly responded: “The Emmanuel movement is a wonderful moment in the history of engagement between pastoral workers and medicine, and very important, as you say, to the rise of such powerful interventions for alcoholism such as AA. In publications and lectures I have done elsewhere – on the larger quest to create visions of partnership between religion and medicine – , I have discussed the themes you raise here. Rightly or wrongly (no book is perfect), the reason I don’t spend much time on the movement in *The Cure Within* is that I was chasing the historical development of the big or core narratives of mind-body medicine as a secular enterprise -- an alternative to mainstream medicine on the one side, and religious explanations for and approaches to illness on the other. The Emmanuel movement and AA, it seemed to me, are distinctive for the way in which they in fact resisted or continue to resist secularization. This methodological criterion explains also why I also don’t talk in the book about prayer studies or church-based faith healing, [which] some people have asked me about too. What I do regret, in hindsight, is my failure to more explicitly identify, describe, and honor this excluded set, if you will, and then go on from there to account for my decision...I wish I had done that.”

So it is indeed the “mind-body” / “mind-body-spirit” distinction that is operating here. I shall be interested to see Professor Harrington’s response to the forthcoming Templeton-sponsored Helping Others: Science, Spirituality, and Theology program now being undertaken at Stony Brook and Case Western, and its view of the “mind-body” dyad and the “mind-body-spirit” triad. But I very well understand her desire to avoid the complicating problems of defining (delimiting) spirituality. The dyad may be much easier to work with.

I do find it interesting that she sees A.A. as having continued to resist secularization, a point that a number of historians and other observers critical of modern A.A. would

certainly seek leave to doubt (one thinks of Dick B., quite a number of whose works fault A.A., particularly in New York, for having strayed far from its Protestant Christian roots and having undergone far too much secularization). There is a pronouncedly secular strain from Richard Peabody's *The Common Sense of Drinking* to Marty Mann (at least when unaccompanied by Yev G.) to psychologists and psychiatrists (one thinks of Barry Lynch who co-wrote the chapter on A.A. in the five Plenum Press volumes in 1979), and even into the little Conference-approved book (not written by Bill W.), *Living Sober*. I do not say Professor Harrington is wrong here, but her view (contrasted with Dick B.'s) may suggest that secularization is somewhat, like beauty, is the eye of the beholder.

The chapter titles in the book may be worth noting (as Jane S. has noted those in the book by Jolene Sanders, below): the Introduction (pp. 15-30) is "Stories, Science, and Culture under the Skin," which is followed by (Chapter One, pp. 31-66), "The Power of Suggestion," (Chapter Two, pp. 67-102) "The Body That Speaks," (Chapter Three, pp. 103-138), "The Power of Positive Thinking," (Chapter Four, pp. 139-174), "Broken by Modern Life," (Chapter Five, pp. 175-204), "Healing Ties," (Chapter Six, pp. 205-242), "Eastward Journeys," and the Conclusion (pp. 243-255), "Making Sense of Mind-Body Medicine." This Conclusion contains a kind of "Hawthorne-Experiment" moment where the observer realizes that the fact of observation and the fact of non-observation themselves have effects – in whether, for example, workers believe someone "gives a damn." The concluding paragraphs of the conclusion could be immensely helped, I believe, by an appeal to Bill W.'s insight (see *This Strange Illness*, passim) that whether one counted alcoholism as a disease of the mind, the body (including the brain), or the spirit, the answer was in words, in narrative, in utterance, a threefold congruent treatment. But then, if Professor Harrington had made that appeal, I would not be able to take her conclusion as providing abundant confirmation for what was said in my book. Here are the final sentences of her final paragraph (p. 255):

"This book has shown that the stories of mind-body medicine do not merely describe experience and behaviors that are given in the world; they also help create behaviors and experiences that had not previously been there. Given this, it seems clear to me that the future of mind-body medicine should lie in its seeking, not finally to escape from its stories, but to embrace them as part of its map and part of its territory alike – inextricably part of, and fundamental to, what it is all about."

## 2. Jolene Sanders, *Women in Alcoholics Anonymous*

It will be recalled that our last issue included news on a new project by Kirk "Seminar" Jane S. (*Alcoholic Women*). As we noted then (CASQ, III, 8), Jane S., who attended the Kirk Seminar back in 2001-2 and again the next year, and who published in 2004 under the auspices of the Hindsfoot Foundation a short (140 pp) book *Q & A: Alcoholism and Sobriety*, was now collecting stories from women alcoholics (preferably stories short to moderate in length), and would make use of these, and already-published stories, to look at questions involved in the path to recovery for women alcoholics, and particularly at the question whether the path differs in any major way(s), possibly in minor ways, or perhaps not at all, from the path set out by Bill W. and other (male) founders of A.A. As we noted then, she has been consulting with alcoholics, historians

of A.A., psychologists and psychiatrists (including the distinguished feminist psychiatrist Naomi Weisstein), with students of theology (noting recent Benedictine discussions of “religion” as masculine and “spirituality” as feminine), and with the editor, who has promised her his help. We noted back in the fall that those wishing to be in touch with her may use her e-address at [janie100570@comcast.net](mailto:janie100570@comcast.net) (which has now been put in order, but still has received no communications).

Since then, there has been published by FirstForum Press (a division of Lynne Rienner Press, Boulder and London), a brief (145-page) hardcover book, *Women in Alcoholics Anonymous: Recovery and Empowerment* (2009), by Professor Jolene Sanders of Hood College, described by its publisher as a book in which, “combining individual personal narratives with statistical data, Jolene Sanders offers valuable insight into how women adapt the twelve-step program and interact with the masculine culture of AA in ways that allow them to conquer addiction and take control of their lives.” We asked Jane S. for her views on this book.

**Jane S.**

***on Jolene Sanders, Women in Alcoholics Anonymous: Recovery and Empowerment***

When I had just announced work on what looks to be very much a long-term project, with a provisional title of *Alcoholic Women*, it was a little disconcerting to be notified of the publication of a book on *Women in Alcoholics Anonymous*. I was planning the new book to look at a question that I’ve heard discussed ever since I got sober in October 1970 – whether the path to sobriety for women alcoholics differs in any way(s), major or minor, from the path set out by Bill W. and other founders of A.A., and for a moment I was wondering if I’d been beaten to it. Perhaps nearly forty years was too long a time between hearing the question and looking for an answer – or rather, between hearing the question and coming to the point where I thought I might supply an answer.

But *Women in Alcoholics Anonymous* tries to answer a different question – more or less, whether feminists can accept Alcoholics Anonymous. The underlying assumption would seem to be that A.A. is so much a man’s organization that a woman concerned with woman’s issues will be skeptical about its value – and because that’s the question the author is looking at, the line of inquiry should therefore go through women attending women’s groups or women’s meetings in AA.

The Chapter titles give a good idea of the author’s work: “Introduction: Why Alcoholism is a Feminist Issue” (pp. 1-20), “Women and Alcoholism” (pp. 21-44), “Women in Recovery” (pp. 45-66); “Women’s Struggle with Surrender: Steps One through Three” (pp. 67-80); “Women Cleaning House: Steps Four through Nine” (pp. 81-96); “Women Passing It On: Steps Ten through Twelve” (pp. 97-114), “Conclusion: Empowering Women Collectively and Individually” (pp. 115-134). Though the author’s conclusion that AA seems to work for women might be made stronger by some demonstration that men go through the process in much the same way as women, that question is outside the possible range of her observations, since they are restricted to women in women’s groups and meetings. Well, you don’t quarrel with an author for not writing the book you want to see written, particularly if you’re starting to write it yourself. But I should say here that the processes and purposes of working the steps as

In the months since I set up and announced the account [janie1005@comcast.net](mailto:janie1005@comcast.net), for communications on this subject, I've received five communications from Comcast, and nothing else. Obviously it isn't a brightly burning question. But I still will be looking for an answer for a while – it looks like it may be quite a while. And Professor Sanders will have helped: though her book's purpose is limited (and not my purpose) and her investigation (from my point of view) circumscribed, I'm glad she wrote the book. I think she carried out her task with credit; and, as far as I can tell, others who have the same question in mind that she did will find it useful. So will I.

### **Brief Notes on Early AAs and Friends: (1) Mac and Yev**

The case of "Mac" – who couldn't "get it" – has led to considerable speculation among AA historians as to who "Mac" was. A tape (imperfect but containing relevant information) among the Clarence S. materials at Brown seems to answer the question. "Mac" – who was apparently (by his own testimony) in Towns Hospital (or possibly Towns and other places) some fifty-five times (a fact mentioned without his name in Bill W.'s taped reminiscences) – was Ernest S. MacK., whose name appears among the signatures in the First Big Book Sold, in the GSO Archives. The tape was made in 1952, when he was twelve years sober, at the Tudor Group in NY. Mac was born in Waldwick NJ in 1899, the son of William (1868-1955) and Sallie B. MacK (1871-1966). He had a younger sister, Mary, Mrs. John K. (I have no record she was an alcoholic but just in case we'll say John K.), who was b. in 1903 and d. in 1977. Mac and Mary were brought up in Washington Township (Bergen County) and Westwood NJ (also in Bergen County), though their parents eventually settled in Montclair. Mac and his wife Mary (1905-1987) lived in Maplewood in 1934. Mac died between his father's death in 1955, when he is listed among the survivors, and his mother's death in 1966, when he is listed in the *Times* obit as "the late Ernest MacK." He was a "special" member of the Brown Naval Battalion in World War I, and as such is listed in the Brown University Class of 1922, but there is no other record of him at Brown. More clearly remains to be done. He may very well be the patient at Towns who gave advice to Fitz M., as recounted in Fitz's own story.

On the other hand, Yev [Yvelin] G. (b. July 12 1906? d. July 12? 1981), who got sober in November 1941, did "get it" – founded AA in the Lehigh Valley in PA in 1945 -- and through his participation in AA first became Marty M.'s assistant at the National Council, then a Deacon of the Episcopal Church at Garden City (LI) NY, then Priest and Rector of St. George's Garden City. Though the official Social Security records list his birth-date as July 12 1906, both Marty's recollections in the Collections at Brown and Yev's own interview with Class B Trustee (and Hofstra Professor) George G., at Hofstra, in 1976, give his age on attaining sobriety as "under 35" – Yev going so far as to say he was one of three at the time (one in Ohio and one in Boston). We might note that among the youngest sober AA members in the first half of the 1940s were Rollie H., of the Cleveland Indians, 33 in 1939, and Nate A. of the Boston Braves, 31 in 1944. The times aren't quite right for Rollie and Nate to have been the "one in Boston and one in Ohio" but the fact may be noteworthy.

How Yev became sober is a good story. He was working for Porter Associates, the Real Estate firm, and his boss was concerned about his absences from work during his occasional (?) binges. One day a gentleman (Thomas Kean B.) came to his boss to rent a

meeting room in the Grand Central Area for this secret group of Alcoholics Anonymous. Yev's boss suggested he come to lunch with Mr. B., who might be able to help him – or at least he might be interesting in what Mr. B. had to say – so Yev came into Alcoholics Anonymous (still pretty much a secret organization) in November 1941, through his boss renting A.A. a room, and thus through Tom B. Tom B. had come in through a business (and in-law) connection with Bill R. As the War began and went on, Yev and a couple of the others New Yorkers who lived on Long Island began a Long Island group, of which one of the first (and formative) members was Henry Z. (1896-1967), whose coming in (in fall 1941) came about when a nervous librarian lady who lived across the way rang his doorbell, handed him the *Saturday Evening Post* containing the Jack Alexander article, and then retreated quickly before he could say anything or do anything to her (the story is told in a reminiscence by his son). How unusual these stories of Yev's and Henry's were in early A.A. we do not know – they would be unusual now.

### **Brief Notes on Early AAs and Friends: (2) C. Walter Lotte**

The list of invitations to the February 8<sup>th</sup> 1940 Dinner (in the Rockefeller Archive Center at Pocantico Hills) includes nineteen names marked with an "x" as indicating they were supplied by Alcoholics Anonymous. Of these, eight are very clearly alcoholics (Bill W., Dr. Bob S., Horace C., Fitzhugh M., William R., Morgan R., Clarence S., Herbert T. – though of course in the invitation list they are given their full names). Others on the AA list include Frank Amos, Dr. Russell Blaisdell (of Rockland State Hospital), Dr. Silkworth, and Leonard Strong. Of the other seven, James S. Cushman (1871-1952) was a leader in the Presbyterian Church and particularly with church charities; Buchanan Houston (1875-1956) was a great-grand-nephew of President James Buchanan and a wealthy resident of Ossining (Scarborough-on-Hudson) NY; Leslie R. Rounds (1886-1963) of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York was a longtime (1935-60) Trustee of Skidmore College; Norman Klauder (1900-1992), later Chairman of the Board of the Chapel of the Four Chaplains, was active in Christian Endeavor, in Pennsylvania particularly (where he endowed a fund for the CEI Archives); Benjamin R. Donaldson (1893-1980) was (if we have identified him correctly) an advertising writer and executive with Ford (this identification does not seem, in any way, to provide much reason for his invitation, though he may have had Ohio or even NY connections, and Bill W. did sometimes seek out advertising writers for help in writing up A.A.); Fred I. Eldridge (1872-1961), a stockbroker, was for many years secretary of the New York YMCA. This leaves C. Walter Lotte (1893-1941). Here is his 1941 obituary from the *New York Times*:

March 20 [1941]: C. WALTER LOTTE, 47, A PATERSON [NJ] LEADER – Retired Head of the Board of Finance is Dead – Had Served As Acting Mayor – FOUNDED A CHEMICAL FIRM – President of the New Jersey YMCA 1923-25 – Ex-Head State Christian Endeavor [Special to the *New York Times*]

Paterson NJ March 20 – C. Walter Lotte, who retired three weeks ago as president of the Paterson Board of Finance because of ill health, died tonight in the General Hospital here. He was 47 years old. Mr. Lotte was born here and received his B. A. degree, summa cum

laude, from Bucknell University in 1914, and his M. A. degree in 1920. He served as a Captain overseas during the World War.

On January 1, 1929, former Mayor John V. Hinchliffe of Paterson named Mr. Lotte to the Board of Public Works, a post he held until he announced his retirement from public office in 1938. On January 1, 1940, however, Mayor William P. Furrey appointed him to head the Finance Board. On several occasions Mr. Lotte served as Acting Mayor of this city.

Mr. Lotte was a member of the Board of Directors of the National Silk Dyeing Company here from 1922 to 1930, and had been manager of the company's Dundee plant. He left the concern in 1930 to become President of the Lotte Chemical Company, which manufactures soaps and chemicals for the textile trade.

He was President of the New Jersey YMCA from 1923 to 1925 and of the New Jersey Christian Endeavor Union from 1920 to 1925. He was President of the local Community Chest in 1940. He had been a Director of the Paterson YMCA and a leader in the Boy Scouts here. In 1931 he was chairman of the National Silk Convention held here. He also had headed the Paterson Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Lotte leaves a widow, the former Helene O'Bryne; a son, Walter Jr., and a sister, Mrs. Paul Miller.

Note: The presence of two members of Christian Endeavor (including Walter Lotte), apparently selected by Bill W., is interesting (if no more), inasmuch as recent historians of AA (and notably Dick B.) have traced connections between Dr. Bob and Christian Endeavor, but not so much between Bill W. and Christian Endeavor.

## ***OLLA PODRIDA***

### **I] 1914 economic reasons not to drink ("Bill and the Water Wagon")**

This fold-over pamphlet by "M. H. P." was copyright 1914 by the American Issue Publishing Co. (publishing arm of the Anti-Saloon League) is reproduced from the copy at Brown. The League survives as the American Council on Alcohol Problems.

Who the M. H. P. was, who was responsible for the pamphlet, we do not know. If the illustrations (cartoons?) were done by the author, we might more easily trace the initials, particularly if we could identify the style. My own impression, for what it's worth, is that the illustrations are almost caricatures of political cartoons, the bloated boss and the square-jawed worker, but done by an illustrator of talent. Unfortunately, the only illustrator of talent in that period that I know of, with something like those initials, was Maxfield Parrish (1870-1966), but his name was (Frederick) Maxfield Parrish and he would be an unlikely candidate as a temperance illustrator even if he borrowed the name "Havens" as part of his pseudonym (as a cousin did) or used the name "Haverford" from his college. The square-jawed Bill might be a Maxfield Parrish character, and the bar-owner might be a (well-done) caricature, but I'm really awaiting a more likely "M. H. P."

At this time the largest industry in Westerville, Ohio, was the printing of temperance tracts by the Anti-Saloon League – an industry which did not disappear but declined in size substantially during Prohibition.



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# *“BILL” and the Water Wagon*

By M. H. P.



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## "BILL" AND THE WATER WAGON

by M. H. P.

The other day Bill met an old friend who incidentally said something to him about the Prohibition question and asked him how he expected to vote in the coming election, "wet" or "dry." Bill said he had not thought much about the matter, but he supposed he would probably vote "wet," for he was in favor of personal liberty and thought if he wanted to take a drink when he felt like it, that it was nobody's business.

That evening, as Bill walked home from his work, he noticed on a large billboard near his home a new advertisement which had just been painted that day. On the right side of the large ad there was pictured a group of men, each standing with a glass of beer in his hand, while on the left side was a picture of a large bottle of Budweiser beer and across the bottom of the sign were the words, "Budweiser is a friend of mine."

One man in the group of drinkers was dressed very much like Bill. In fact, Bill noticed that the fellow looked so much like himself that he stopped and read the entire sign. As he went on home, he kept seeing in his mind's eye that sign, and especially the phrase - "Budweiser is a friend of mine." All through supper time and after supper, when he was sitting under a tree out in the yard reading the evening paper, that sentence kept coming to his mind. Finally, he began to think seriously about the sign, and as he studied over the matter, he kept saying to himself, "How is Budweiser a friend of mine? What did that brand of liquor or any other brand of liquor ever do for me?" The more he thought about the matter, the more puzzled he became. He recalled that every morning as he went past Tom Kelly's saloon he stopped in and took two drinks. He recalled that he usually had one of two drinks in the evening, according to the length of time he spent in Kelly's saloon. This had been his habit for more than ten years. The more he thought



*"The next morning Bill, as was his custom, stopped in at Kelly's to get his morning nip."*



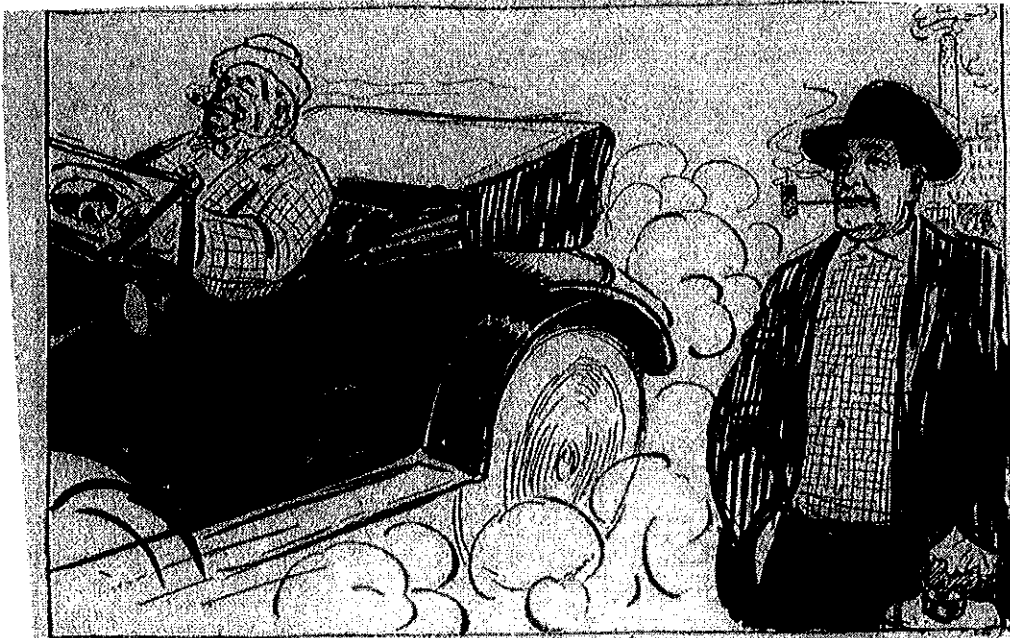
*"The next day Bill, as was his custom, stopped in at Kelly's to get his morning nip."*

the whole proposition, the more he wondered whether, after all, Budweiser or any other brand of beer or whisky or Tom Kelly or anything else connected with the booze business had really been "a friend of his." He was inclined to the conclusion that he had been more of a friend to them than they had been to him, and as he thought of his friendship for them, extending back for so many years, he began to calculate how much money he had spent at Tom Kelly's saloon during the past ten years.

He realized immediately that the average had been about forty cents a day. This startled him. He took a sheet of paper and a lead pencil and started figuring. Forty cents a day meant \$2.80 a week. He wondered what such a sum would amount to if it had been put into a savings and loan association each week for ten years. He knew that most savings and loan associations pay as much as five percent semi-annually, and he calculated interest on the investment of \$2.80 a week, figuring on receiving the interest at the end of every six months' period. He was amazed to find that \$2.80 deposited in a savings association each week at five percent interest, payable semi-annually, with the interest for each six months reinvested at the same rate, would amount to \$1859.22 in ten years.

In other words, he found that in ten years' time he had handed over to Tom Kelly \$1,859.22, and that he had received practically nothing of value in return. Tom Kelly, in the mean time, had grown rich, while Bill and his family lived in the same old rented house and were as poor as when they moved there ten years before.

The next morning, Bill, as was his custom, stopped in at Kelly's to get his morning nip. Kelly himself was seated over in the corner near the cash register. This was somewhat unusual, as Kelly was not in the habit of getting down to the saloon until about 9 o'clock. Bill knew the bartender better than he did Kelly, as the bartender usually waited upon him, but it was near election time, and Kelly was spending more time in his saloon and paying more attention to customers than usual. After Bill had his two drinks and had started toward the door, he noticed Kelly, and his eyes fell upon the huge diamond which Kelly always wore in his white shirt bosom. Bill had seen this diamond before and had heard that it cost \$150. He had never thought much about it, but



*"Looking up, he noticed that Kelly was driving the machine."*

that morning it attracted his attention in a peculiar way. All at once it occurred to Bill that he had paid Kelly enough money in ten years to have bought and paid for a dozen such diamonds.

At noon Bill drank only one glass of beer; he was thinking hard and did not stop to speak to anyone in the place. As he walked out of the door, however, he noticed Kelly and Kelly's wife getting into an automobile. Mrs. Kelly was dressed in the height of fashion, and as Bill watched them drive away, it occurred to him that the \$1,859.22 he had spent in Kelly's saloon would have bought a wagon-load of dresses for his wife as well as a beautiful supply of good clothes, caps, hats and other wearing apparel for his children and himself.

As Bill walked home from the shops, that night, smoking his corn-cob pipe, someone dashed past him in a fine roadster. Looking up, he noticed that Kelly was driving the machine. As he watched Kelly and the automobile disappear down the street, it occurred to him that he had handed enough money over Kelly's bar to have bought and paid for an automobile just like the one Kelly had.

Bill walked on in a thoughtful mood. As he came in sight of his own home, for which he paid \$10.00 a month rent, he could not help but contrast it with Tom Kelly's splendid mansion which he had once seen when walking along the boulevard one Sunday afternoon.

That evening, as Bill sat at one of the tables in Kelly's saloon, he seemed different than usual. Kelly noticed his thoughtful attitude and also noticed that he had bought only one drink. Kelly could not understand what had come over Bill.

But Bill was thinking and did not notice Kelly's apprehensive glances. He was thinking about that \$1,859.22 and how much he could do with that amount of money if he had saved it, or how he might have spent it during the ten years, on his family and himself, instead of handing it all over to Kelly.



*"He could not help but contrast it with Tom Kelly's splendid mansion."*



### III] Material on Major League Baseball and Alcoholics Anonymous

The following (slightly redacted) item from the *Grapevine* (January 1945, from the "News Circuit" column) may be of interest: "The husky Braves pitcher, Nate A-----, while at training camp last spring, went on a terrific tear that involved hidden bottles, nerve pills, and frantic long-distance telephone calls. The whole of it ended in columns of bad publicity, He was rescued by the BOSTON A. A. s, and though there was little confidence that the good-natured, popular Nate would ever fully recover from his ordeal, he did. With a sixth-place team, Nate won 16, lost 15 games, He was the best pitcher on the club. An enthusiastic member of the Boston A. A. group, he spoke often at meetings. The publicity given his dive overboard and subsequent rescue brought into the group one hundred and fifty new men during the summer. Retaining his delightful sense of humor, Nate said just before returning to his home in North Carolina, "But Ah told 'em they needn't expect me to make an example out of myself every spring."

The other major pitchers on the 1944 Boston NL team were Jim Tobin (18-19), Al Javery (10-19), Red Barrett (9-16), and Ira Hutchinson (9-7), so it would not be unreasonable to describe a pitcher with a 16-15 record as the best pitcher on the club (though Jim Tobin's E.R.A. was lower, 3.01 to 3.27). Of course, one of the first questions that occurs when one is looking at Baseball and AA in the 1940s is "Was there a connection with Rollie?" – Rollie H., the Cleveland catcher who got sober in 1939 through Cleveland AA (a signed 1939 baseball he gave Dr. Bob is now in the collections at Brown). It may be noted that Nate pitched briefly (and ineffectively) for Cleveland in 1940 and 1941, when Rollie was the regular catcher. Also, for what it's worth – and one can't be sure, of course – there's a possible additional connection between Nate and Rollie. It seems that in 1942 Rollie H. was traded to Cincinnati for Hall-of-Fame catcher Ernie Lombardi. The Cincinnati second-baseman/shortstop that year was Eddie Joost, who came over to Boston NL in 1943, the same year Nate was called up from the minors and went 14-20. So Nate had pitched to Rollie H., and if he was drinking heavily in 1943, he had someone to remind him about Rollie (if he needed someone to remind him – and he probably did).

Nate was 7-12 in 1945, traded to Cincinnati and then to the New York Giants in 1946 (3-4 over-all). By July 1946 he was out of the Majors, aged 33. His over-all record in the Majors was 41-54, starting with St. Louis NL in 1937, ending with the Giants in 1946, and except for the A.A. connection, he was one of a number of War-time players whose careers were pretty much entirely undistinguished, though he did complete more than half the games he started. He died in North Carolina (his native state) in 1991, five months short of 78. He batted and threw right-handed, was about six feet tall, with a playing weight of maybe 195.

There were other Baseball drunks who got sober apparently through Rollie, whether directly or indirectly. Pitcher Don B. of the Cleveland Indians (1946-48) got sober while Rollie was still in the league (though not with the Indians) – Black (lifetime record 34-55) pitched a no-hitter against his old team, the Philadelphia A's, in 1947, suffered a cerebral hemorrhage while pitching in 1948, and died from its effects at the early age of 42 in 1959. But there was one (another pitcher) who got sober, not through Rollie, the year Rollie died. We have a brief memoir from him, taken from Dennis Wholey, *The Courage to Change: Personal Conversations about Alcoholism* (Boston

1984), pp. 104-109. His name was (and is) Don N. To avoid copyright problems, we will not quote directly from Don N.'s memoir.

He remarks that he never believed he was an alcoholic or that he couldn't handle his alcohol. But from the beginning he drank as much as he wanted to drink, when he wanted to drink it. If he got drunk the night before, he would go out and run and sweat in a hard work-out to keep himself more or less in condition. In 1956, his big winning year, he said, he probably drank as much as in the worst years before he retired from baseball. What got him to stop drinking was his wife Billie, whom he married in 1960. She told him, back in 1966, that she couldn't live with him, couldn't sit and watch him kill himself, be beat up by him, have him destroy their three children as well as himself. He didn't know anything about AA, but he learned. He's still sober, more than forty years later, because he learned. He's been involved with AA in carrying the message to other alcoholic ballplayers (I've talked to an AA member with a career in rehab work who was involved long ago with Don N. in his work for the Los Angeles Dodgers and Major League baseball – he verifies some of the details of Don's work, and of the first ten years of his sobriety. Don worked later with the NIAAA.

The great 1956 season Don refers to (his "big winning season") showed him with a record of 27-7, 139 strikeouts, and a 3.06 ERA, 5 shutouts and 18 complete games, leading the league in winning percentage for the second year in a row. He was named the National League's MVP, and was awarded the first-ever Cy Young Award, then given to the single best pitcher in both major leagues. His over-all career Major-League record was 149-90. He himself has helped a number of players who have been active since his day with their alcoholism – the name of Maury W. comes to mind, and Bob W. But his importance for us is that he renewed the spark kindled so long ago by Rollie Hemsley (and by Cy Slapnicka who got Rollie to A.A.), the same year Rollie himself died. Some members of the New York Yankees who got sober in the 1960s seem to have been guided by the Yankees organization – but some notoriously did not get sober and whether those who did had anything to do with Rollie's presence on the Yankees way back in the War years of the 1940s I cannot say, though such a connection may seem a trifle far-fetched. As a working hypothesis (possibly testable to some degree by listening to tapes), it can be suggested that Major League Baseball and AA in their relationship fall into the Rollie H. (1939-67) and Don N. (1967-present) eras. The presence of alcoholics in the Major Leagues before A.A. has been noted from time to time (Big Ed Delahanty, who fell or was pushed off a train drunk crossing above Niagara Falls in 1904, King Kelly, the great nineteenth-century player who drank himself out of baseball and dead at 35, Rube Waddell perhaps, Hack Wilson in the 1930s, some would suggest Babe Ruth. But obviously there could be no relationship between A.A. and baseball until there was A.A.

Besides the "periodization" question – dividing the Rollie H. era and the Don N. era – it remains to determine how Cy Slapnicka, who sent Rollie to A.A., heard about A.A. (Quite apart from that question, Cy Slapnicka's career in baseball would be a worthy subject for a baseball historian and ethnographer.) Examination of Anne Smith's notes in the Dr. Bob papers at Brown might reveal connections with Cy or Indians' manager Ossie Vitt. And (of course, *sub specie aeternitatis*) one wonders if it is entirely coincidental that the Indians (named after the Penobscot Louis Sockalexis) are the only team named after a man believed to be an alcoholic.

### III] An 1851 Letter: “too much addicted to drinking liquor”

The letter which follows was written by Theodore Herman Lescher (1829-1923), later the distinguished architect of the Kansas State Capitol and father of the younger Theodore Lescher, Daniel Burnham’s collaborator on the Field Museum in Chicago. Like Baltimore architect John Frederick Hoss of the Washingtonians, he is listed in Census reports as “carpenter” and “builder.”

The letter is written to his next-to-youngest sister, Louise E. Lescher (1833-1905), who remained at the family home in Easton PA and never married. “Freeman” is brother Freeman Thomas Lescher (1831-1861) and “Benjamin” is brother Benjamin Franklin Lescher (1827-1857). “William” is presumably brother William Lescher (1821-1901), and “Brother John” is John William Lescher (1817-1875). I have not identified “David” or “the least children” – but they may have been, indeed probably were, cousins. Theodore eventually married Augusta Wood (1838-1934), a distant (Rice family) cousin of the editor’s: apparently Freeman and Benjamin were never married. All these Leschers were the children of George (1789-1875) and Elizabeth Kemmerer Lescher (1791-1861).

The interest of the letter for our purpose lies in the phrase “too much addicted to liquor.” Of course, the phrase “addicted to drink” is older by a good bit than 1851 – I think Thomas Jefferson somewhere uses it as a colloquial phrase in good usage, and it goes back into the Seventeenth Century. It would be much more interesting if it were “alcohol” in place of “liquor” – but even the use of “liquor” in this context (“addicted to”) may be early.

The phrase “addicted to drinking liquor” appears in the gallows speech of a convicted murder in Elmira NY in 1867 (*New York Times*, March 2, 1867). It occurs in accounts of the death of the famous Siamese twins, Chang and Eng, in various papers in 1874. One interesting use is in the *Sermons of Henry Ward Beecher in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn* (1869), p. 238 (sermon of December 20, 1868): “There must be something more than a simple and barren attempt to turn away from Gin. You must break with your companions. Your life depends upon it. I do not believe, for instance, that a man addicted to drinking liquor to excess can afford to live where he will smell a drunkard’s breath.” (Note we will be speaking below of Lyman Abbott and his succeeding Beecher at Plymouth Church in Brooklyn.) In any case, I invite others to find an earlier use of “addicted to drinking liquor” and especially of “too much addicted to drinking liquor.”

Wilkes-Barre August 3<sup>rd</sup> 1851

Dear Sister Louisa

It is with pleasure I embrace this opportunity of answering your letter. I received your letter in due time on the 28<sup>th</sup> stating that Father received my letter and the money all safe and that he paid twenty of it to Mr. Lawall as directed, and also that you bought some muslin for my shirts & you can make them all with wide pleats and the collars to turn down but not to turn down too far. When you get them done, if you have a good chance, you may send them up for I shall soon need them badly.

I also received a letter from William on the 18<sup>th</sup>: he wanted me to send him some brick layers, but they sent from here to the city for brick layers and are paying \$1.75 per

day. I would rather he would put off building his porch till next spring and then build all together. If John Swackhamer would like to work with me, we could have a good job to commence at. I should like to get room enough in his tan house so I could fix me up a shop &c. I wish you would tell him of these things.

Brother John as well as myself thinks that you had better not let the two least children go to David for he is not a fit man to be entrusted with their bringing ip, as he is too much addicted to drinking liquor.

We are all well here at present. Hoping these few lines may find you all enjoying the same great blessing. Tell Freeman he must not be too much in a hurry about making a bargain with the girls or he will make Benjamin and me stand back. He had ought to give us a little chance.

Miss Emma has not yet written to me. I wish she would. I would like to know what she can say for herself. She appeared to be pretty well dutchified when I was there. If you see her tell her to write to me: I can read it. I sent that bookcase about the 24<sup>th</sup> of May: I saw the agent the other day – he told me that it lay at White Haven. They had difficulty to get boats enough to take all but he promised to send it on.

It is getting late and I must close my letter. Give my respects to all inquiring friends,

Your Brother Theodore.

Write soon again &c.

To Louisa E. Lescher

[addressed: L. E. Lescher / Easton / PA]

## WASHINGTONIAN NOTES & QUERIES No. 23:

A small amount of new information has come to light on two of the six founders, specifically on John F. Hoss and William K. Mitchell. The first, a news item from *Niles Weekly Register*, April 4, 1829, is a letter dated Baltimore, March 10, 1829:

Dear Sir: The undersigned, managers of the "*Fancy Rag ball*," having heard with pleasure, of your intended visit to this city, avail themselves thus early of inviting you to partake of a public dinner, with themselves and many of their friends, on the day after your arrival or at any other time which may suit your convenience.

Though of the "*plebian order*," (as "*good society*" call us,) we are not insensible of the services you have rendered, and the sacrifices which you have made for the good of our country.

Wishing you health, and that happiness in your *retirement*, which have been partially withheld from you or the four last years of your *public life*, we subscribe ourselves,

Your friends and well wishers,  
WM. K. MITCHELL,  
D. McHENRY, Jr.  
JOHN F. HOSS.

*Henry Clay, etc. Washington.*  
*[from] Baltimore, 10th March, 1829.*



The second item is a reference in *The Covenant, and Official Magazine of the Grand Lodge of the United States* by the Independent Order of Odd Fellows Sovereign Grand Lodge (1843), page 485: "Deputy Marshals — William Bayley, John F. Hoss, Horatio T. Bodden, John H. T. Jerome, John B. Emery, Edward Robinson, Elisha Jarvis, Esqrs." Note that some others of the fifteen Baltimore incorporators and the Annapolis incorporators were members of the Odd Fellows.

The third (from *Niles Register*) provides an interesting sidelight on the 1820s activities of William K. Mitchell, as follows:

LAW CASE. Harboring of apprentices. Interesting and important.

State vs William K Mitchell Baltimore City court, *June term*, 1826.

This was an indictment charging Mitchell with harboring two apprentices of a certain Hester Crockett, from the 25th April, 1826, to the 30th June inclusive.

The jury found him guilty of harboring the two apprentices from the 1st of May, 1826, to the 30th June, inclusive.

The counsel for the prosecution then contended, that the offence in this case is created by the act of 1793, c. 45, sec. 3, which provides that persons harboring apprentices are liable to the same penalties as those harboring servants, that by the act of 1748, c. 19, sec. 2, persons harboring servants are compelled to pay 100 pounds of tobacco, or \$1.66  $\frac{2}{3}$  for every hour each servant is harbored, one half of which is payable to the public schools, where such forfeiture will happen, and the other half to the party grieved; and Mitchell was liable to pay \$1.66  $\frac{2}{3}$  for every hour each apprentice was harbored by him, and that he must be sentenced to pay \$4,680.00.

The court agreed in opinion with the counsel for the prosecution, but delayed passing sentence, as the counsel for the party grieved, suggested that a compromise would take place. Richardson and Kell, (attorney general), were the counsel for the prosecution. E L Findley for Mitchell

N. B.—The above case has been reported with the view of making known the penalty imposed upon those who harbor apprentices, as it is believed that most persons are not informed of the nature and effect of the arts of assembly upon this subject. In order, however, to prevent any injury to the credit of Mr. William K. Mitchell, it is deemed necessary to state, that he has compromised with the counsel of the party grieved, to whom one half of the penalty is given by law, and that an effort is making, which in all probability will prove successful, to induce the governor and council to remit the other half.

*Citron.*

## WASHINGTONIAN NOTES & QUERIES No. 24:

This Note concerns perhaps the most famous "Washingtonian" to come in after the first year, John Bartholomew Gough (1817-1886), English-born and (from the age of fourteen) American-educated. The passages quoted below are from Lyman Abbott's

Introduction to John B. Gough's *Platform Echoes, or Leaves from My Notebook of Forty Years* (Hartford CT 1885). The almost-Unitarian Dr. Abbott (1835-1922) was Henry Ward Beecher's successor in the pulpit at the Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, and the son of the children's writer Jacob Abbott (1803-79). His view of the Washingtonians is encompassed in his statement that "It is not for us now to go back to the methods of the Washingtonians; but we owe an incalculable debt of gratitude to them for sounding the alarm" and "If the Washingtonian movement had done the world no other service, the world would owe it a large debt for giving us John B. Gough" (p. 35).

Lyman Abbott, in his observations on John B. Gough and the Washingtonians, is interesting as a providing a personal link between and among Nineteenth-Century Temperance and later New Age theology and the Emmanuel Movement and William James and Mary Baker Eddy – not to mention Horatio Alger. The observations also make clear that Gough was a professional entertainer who became a temperance performer, as well as showing a distance between him and the Washingtonians of Baltimore – even perhaps including his rival "star" – John H. W. Hawkins (1798-1859). But just as Hawkins supplanted his coevals William K. Mitchell and John F. Hoss in representing the Washingtonians, so (even more) did Gough supplant his coeval John Zug (1818-1843). In any case, here is a part of Dr. Abbott's introduction to his (introductory) account of Gough's career (pp. 36-38). Note that Gough joined the Washingtonians in 1842 in Worcester MA.

"[His] mother died and was buried in the potter's field.... The young man grew bitter and reckless. He alternated between his bookbinder's trade and irregular employment in other directions. He spent a good share of his earnings in drink. At this time his dramatic talent opened a dangerous way for him upon the stage. He was a singer as well as an elocutionist; perhaps might have won a professional success; but he never gave himself to the stage with any settled purpose. An old programme of a concert in which he was evidently the "star," affords a fair illustration of his professional position. I venture to copy a part of it: –

"CONCERT AT AMESBURY. Mr. M. G. Stanwood and Mr. C. Warren respectfully inform the ladies and gentlemen of Amesbury, that they will give a concert at Franklin Hall, this evening, March 22, for the purpose of introducing the Accordion into use, as it is thought by many to be an instrument that cannot be performed on. The performance will consist of some of the most popular music from the latest operas. MR. JOHN B. GOUGH, the celebrated singer from the New York and Boston theatres, will also appear in his most popular songs.'

"The programme included five songs and three recitations by Mr. Gough. The tickets were twenty-five cents.... He married.... But marriage did nothing to mend either his ways or his fortunes; drink had become an uncontrollable passion; his wife and infant child died; and he drank more deeply to drown his grief. When he had no money he earned his drink by telling facetious stories and singing comic songs to the crowd in the bar-room. More than once he meditated suicide; once almost accomplished it, but dashed the laudanum from his lips and lived on. He had one attack of delirium tremens. He had reached the bottom of the descending grade; he was without friends, or home, or hope.

"We shall not attempt to tell here the story of how he was rescued from this death in life by love. It is a familiar story, which Mr. Gough has often told. A stranger arrests him on the street by a touch and a word of kindness; an invitation to sign the pledge

arouses a despairing resolution; he resolves and signs; he knows not when it is done whether to be glad or sorry; a second friend calls on him at his [book-binder's] bench, bringing words of cheer and hope; he battles with his appetite, a frightful battle but a victorious one; the temperance meetings take the place of the bar-room and the theatre; temperance friends take the place of the old cronies; in their respect he finds his own self-respect; he begins his new life."

**Note:** A man who in his drinking life was employed in singing sentimental songs and street songs and reciting stories and speeches was obviously well-placed to be a temperance performer – even better placed that a minister like John H. W. Hawkins, and certainly better placed than the abstemious romantic abolitionist (and temperance) schoolmaster John Zug, who left us the indispensable early book on the Washingtonians and died aged 25 in 1843. The 1840-41 Baltimore Washingtonians (except for the professional Hawkins, who appropriated to himself the “founder’s” position left vacant by the 1842 death of George Steers) seem mostly to have advocated Washingtonianism specifically. The non-Baltimore successors (like Gough) seem to have used the Washingtonians as a forum to advocate their own brands of temperance. The one temperance man who seems fully to have perceived that Washingtonian Temperance was different from the other brands was John Zug, who may have met John Frederick Hoss through the American Colonization Society in 1838, and may even have come to Baltimore in 1840 because Hoss had co-founded the Washingtonians there. But Zug was already ill with tuberculosis and his career was cut short by his untimely death at 25 – by which time he was already college graduate (Dickinson), lawyer, Methodist Deacon, author (of our best contemporary book on the Washingtonians), lecturer, schoolmaster, poet (and admirer of Byron), officer of the American Colonization Society, supporter of Polish Independence – a man of parts and a man of letters, and destined for great things. I wonder sometimes how much would have been different with the Washingtonians if John Zug had lived.

