

**Slaying the Dragon:  
The History of Addiction Treatment and Recovery in America  
Second Edition, 2014**

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**ENDNOTES**

**Abbreviations for Frequently cited Journals**

*AHRW*–Alcohol Health and Research World  
*AJP*–American Journal of Psychiatry  
*ATQ*–Alcoholism Treatment Quarterly  
*BJA*–British Journal on Addictions  
*BON*–Bulletin on Narcotics  
*BMSJ*–Boston Medical and Surgical Journal  
*CDP*–Contemporary Drug Problems  
*IJA*–International Journal of the Addictions  
*JAMA*–Journal of the American Medical Association  
*JDI*–Journal of Drug Issues  
*JJ*–Journal of Inebriety  
*JPD*–Journal of Psychedelic (Psychoactive) Drugs  
*JSA*–Journal of Studies on Alcohol  
*JSAT*–Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment  
*MR*–Medical Record  
*NEJM*–New England Journal of Medicine  
*QJI*–Quarterly Journal of Inebriety  
*QJSA*–Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol  
*QJSAD*--Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol and Drugs  
*STJ*–Scientific Temperance Journal  
*TC*–The Counselor

**Other Abbreviations**

GPO–Government Printing Office  
NIAAA–National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism  
NIDA–National Institute on Drug Abuse

### Prologue

1. *This prologue is abstracted from a portion of a paper presented at Historical Perspectives on Alcohol and Drug Use in American Society, 1800-1997, The College of Physicians of Philadelphia, May 9-11, 1997.* White, W. (2004). The lessons of language: Historical perspectives on the rhetoric of addiction. In S. Tracy, & S. Acker (Eds.), *Altering American consciousness: Essays on the history of alcohol and drug use in the United States, 1800-2000* (pp. 33-60). Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2. Watts, T. (1981). The uneasy triumph of a concept: The 'disease' conception of alcoholism. *Journal of Drug Issues, 11*(Fall), 451-460. 3. Levine, H. (1978). The discovery of addiction: Changing conceptions of habitual drunkenness in America. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 39*(2), 143-174. 4. Rush, B. (1981). An inquiry into the effect of ardent spirits upon the human body and mind, with an account of the means of preventing and of the remedies for curing them. In G. Grob (Ed.), *Nineteenth-century medical attitudes toward alcoholic addiction*. New York: Arno Press. (Reprinted from *An inquiry into the effect of ardent spirits upon the human body and mind, with an account of the means of preventing and of the remedies for curing them*, 8<sup>th</sup> rev. ed, by B. Rush, 1814, Brookfield: E. Merriam & Co.). 5. Baker, J. (1844). *The Washingtonian reform: An address delivered before the Hingham Total Abstinence Society June 16, 1844* (pp. 1-20). Hingham, MA: Jedidiah Farmer. Wilkerson, A. (1966). *A history of the concept of alcoholism as a disease*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania. 6. Lucia, S. (1963). The antiquity of alcohol in diet and medicine In S. Lucia, S. (Ed.), *Alcohol and civilization*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. 7. Sournia, J. (1990). *A history of alcoholism*. Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, Inc. 8. Levine, H. (1981). The vocabulary of drunkenness. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 42*(11), 1038-1051. 9. Wilkerson, A. (1966). *A history of the concept of alcoholism as a disease*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania. 10. Johnson, B. (1973). *The alcoholism movement in America: A study in cultural innovation*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois. 11. Bynum, W. (1968). Chronic alcoholism in the first half of the 19th century. *Bulletin of the History of Medicine, 42*, 160-185. 12. Abraham, K. (1927). *Selected papers on psychoanalysis*. London: Hogarth Press. 13. Peabody, R. (1930). Psychotherapeutic procedure in the treatment of chronic alcoholism. *Mental Hygiene, 14*, 109-128. Peabody, R. (1930). Psychotherapy for alcoholics. *New England Journal of Medicine, 202*, 1195-1202. Towns, C. (1915). *Habits that handicap: The menace of opium, alcohol, tobacco, and the remedy*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company. 14. Durfee, C. (1937). *To drink or not to drink*. Boston: Longmans, Green. Durfee, C. (1938). Re-education of the problem drinker. *Journal of the Connecticut Medical Society, 2*, 486. 15. Strecker, E., & Chambers, F. (1938). *Alcohol: One man's meat*. New York: The MacMillan Company. 16. Johnson, B. (1973). *The alcoholism movement in America: A study in cultural innovation*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois. 17. Bacon, S. (1949). The administration of alcoholism rehabilitation programs. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 10*(1), 1-47. Keller, M. (1982). On defining alcoholism: With comment on some other relevant words. In L. Gomberg, H. White, H., & Carpenter, J. (Eds.), *Alcohol, science and society revisited* (pp. 119-133). Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press. 18. Jellinek, E. M. (1960). *The disease concept of alcoholism*. Highland Park, NJ: Hillhouse. 19. Plaut, T. (1967). *Alcohol problems: A report to the nation by*

*the Cooperative Commission on the Study of Alcoholism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

**20.** Jellinek's disease. (1974). *AA Grapevine*, 31(4), 42. Fitzgerald, K. (1983, October 17). Living with Jellinek's disease. *Newsweek*, 62, 22. **21.** Keller, M. (1982). On defining alcoholism: With comment on some other relevant words. In L. Gomberg, H. White, H., & Carpenter, J. (Eds.), *Alcohol, science and society revisited* (pp. 119-133). Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press. **22.** Wakeman, S. E. (2013). Language and addiction: Choosing words wisely. *American Journal of Public Health*, 103(4), e1-e2. **23.** Kelly, J. F., & Dow, S. (2009). Stigma in addiction: Does it matter how we refer to individuals with substance-related conditions? *Alcoholism: Clinical Experimental Research*, 33(Supplement), 129A. Kelly, J. F., & Westerhoff, C. (2009). Does it matter how we refer to individuals with substance-related conditions? A randomized study of two commonly used terms. *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 21(3), 202-207. White, W. & Kelly, J. (2010). Alcohol/drug/substance "abuse": The history and (hopeful) demise of a pernicious label. *Alcoholism Treatment Quarterly*, 29(3), 317-321. **24.** American Psychiatric Association. (1994). *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders* (4<sup>th</sup> edition). Washington, DC: Author. See also: Schuckit, M., Natan, P., Helzer, J., Woody, G., & Crowley, T. (1991). Evolution of the DSM diagnostic criteria for alcoholism. *Alcohol Health and Research World*, 15(4), 278-283. **25.** American Psychiatric Association. (2013). *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders* (5<sup>th</sup> edition). Arlington, VA: American Psychiatric Publishing. **26.** O'Brien, C. (2010). Addiction and dependence in DSM-IV. *Addiction*, 106, 866-867. **27.** McLellan, A. T., Lewis, D. C., O'Brien, C. P., & Kleber, H. D. (2000). Drug dependence, a chronic medical illness: Implications for treatment, insurance, and outcomes evaluation. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 284(13), 1689-1695. Cunningham, J. A., & McCambridge, J. (2012). Is alcohol dependence best viewed as a chronic relapsing disorder? *Addiction*, 107, 6-12. **28.** Crothers, T. D. (1902). *Morphinism and narcomanias from other drugs*. Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders & Company. **29.** Remarks on cocaine and the so-called cocaine habit. (1886). *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 13, 754-759. Mattison, J. (1883). Opium addicts among medical men. *Medical Record*, 23, 621-623. Rogers, A. (1913). Some observations during eighteen years experience with drug and liquor habitués. *Wisconsin Medical Journal*, 12, 43. **30.** Origin and meaning of the word addiction. (1936). *Scientific Temperance Journal*, Spring, 9. Mark Lender, in his research on the colonial management of drunkenness, discovered Puritan references to persons "addicted to" alcohol. Lender, M. (1973). Drunkenness as an offense in early New England. A study of "Puritan" attitudes. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 34, 353-366. The first known appearance of the term "dope fiend" was in an 1896 article in the *New York Sun*. Hess, A. (1971). Deviance theory and the history of opiates. *The International Journal of the Addictions*, 6(4), 593. **31.** Ayto, J. (1990). *Dictionary of word origins*. New York: Arcade Publishing. **32.** Hickman, T. (1997). *The double meaning of addiction: Habitual narcotic use and the logic of professionalizing medical authority in the United States, 1900-1920*. Presented at the Historical Perspectives on Drug and Alcohol Use in American Society, 1800-1997 College of Physicians of Philadelphia, May 9-11. **33.** Fishbein, M. (1932). *Fads and quackery in healing*. New York: Blue Ribbon Books. **34.** Greenleaf, J. (1983). Co-alcoholic...para-alcoholic...who's who...and what's the difference. *Alcoholism: The National Magazine*, May-June, 24-25. **35.** The Betty Ford Institute Consensus Panel. (2007). What is recovery? A working definition from the Betty Ford Institute. *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment*, 33, 221-228. White, W. (2007). Addiction recovery: Its definition and conceptual boundaries. *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment*, 33, 229-241. **36.** White, W. (2006). *Let's go make some history: Chronicles of the new addiction*

*recovery advocacy movement*. Washington, DC: Johnson Institute and Faces and Voices of Recovery. **37.** A very animated debate continues over the terms recovered and recovering. While *recovering* conveys the dynamic, developmental process of addiction recovery, *recovered* provides a means of designating those who have achieved stable sobriety and better conveys the real hope of a permanent resolution of addiction. Blume, S. (1977). Role of the recovered alcoholic in the treatment of alcoholism. In B. Kissin & H. Beglieter (Eds.), *The biology of alcoholism, vol. 5, treatment and rehabilitation of the chronic alcoholic*. New York: Plenum Press. James Royce criticized the use of “recovering” in 1986 on the grounds that the term implied that the alcoholic was still sick. He believed “recovering” should be used to designate only the earliest stages of alcoholism remission. Royce, J. (1986). Recovered vs. recovering: What’s the difference? *The U.S. Journal*, March, 7. Testimony to just how far back this concern over language goes can be found in Harrison’s 1860 report that the Washingtonian Society of Boston “fitted up rooms under their hall for the temporary accommodation of reformed, or rather, reforming, men.” Harrison, D. (1860). *A voice from the Washingtonian Home*. Boston: Redding & Company. **38.** *A history of Alcoholics Anonymous in Oregon: 1943-1983*. Portland, OR: The Oregon Area General Service Committee of Alcoholics Anonymous. **39.** Several of these have interesting histories. *Cure*, derived from the Latin *cura*, came to mean “care” or “looking after.” *Treat* and *treatment* came to imply “dealing with something by discussion,” and *counsel* referred to the act of discussing or consulting. Ayto, J. (1990). *Dictionary of word origins*. New York: Arcade Publishing. **40.** White, W. (1997, May). *The lessons of language: Historical perspectives on the rhetoric of addiction*. Presented at Historical Perspectives on Alcohol and Drug Use in American Society, 1800-1997, The College of Physicians of Philadelphia.

## Section One

### Chapter One: The Seeds of Addiction Medicine & Personal Recovery Movements

**1.** MacAndrew, C., & Edgerton, R. (1969). *Drunken comportment*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company. **2.** For a detailed account of the role of alcohol in the period of contact between old- and new-world peoples, see Mancall, 1995. Mancall, P. (1995). *Deadly medicine: Indians and alcohol in early America*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. **3.** Leland, J. (1976). *Firewater myths: North American Indian drinking and alcohol addiction* (Monograph No. 11). New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers Center of Alcohol Studies. Thatcher, R. (2004). *Fighting firewater fictions: Moving beyond the disease model of alcoholism in first nations*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. **4.** Coyhis, D., & White, W. (2006). *Alcohol problems in Native America: The untold story of resistance and recovery*. Colorado Springs, CO: White Bison, Inc. **5.** Herd, D. (1985). We cannot stagger to freedom: A history of blacks and alcohol in American politics. In L. Brill, & C. Winick (Eds.), *The yearbook of substance use and abuse: Volume III* (pp. 141-186). NY: Human Sciences Press, Inc. **6.** Larkins, J. (1965). *Alcohol and the Negro: Explosive issues*. Zebulon, NC: Record Publishing. **7.** For an excellent review of this period, see Lender and Martin, 1982. Lender, M., & Martin, J. (1982). *Drinking in America*. New York: The Free Press. **8.** Steinsapir, C. (1983). *The ante-bellum temperance movement at the local level: A case study of Schenectady, New York*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Rutgers University. **9.** Cherrington, E. (1920). *The evolution of prohibition in the United States*. Westerville, Ohio: The American Issue Press. **10.** Bynum, W. (1968). Chronic alcoholism in the first half of the 19th century. *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 42, 160-185. **11.** Wilkerson, A. (1966). *A history of the concept of alcoholism as a disease*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation,

University of Pennsylvania. **12.** Jessica Warner's research suggests that the belief that alcoholism was a primary disease characterized by loss of control, and whose treatment required lifelong abstinence, originated not with Rush and Trotter but with the religious oratory and writings of clergy in early 17th-century England. Warner, J. (1993). "Resolv'd to drink no more": Addiction as a pre-industrial construct. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 55, 685-691. **13.** Dacus, J. (1877). *Battling with the demon: The progress of temperance*. Saint Louis, MO: Scammell & Company. **14.** Rush, B. (1814). *An inquiry into the effect of ardent spirits upon the human body and mind, with an account of the means of preventing and of the remedies for curing them* (8th revised edition). Brookfield: E. Merriam & Co. **15.** Wilkerson, A. (1966). *A history of the concept of alcoholism as a disease*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania. **16.** Armstrong, D., & Armstrong, E. (1991). *The great American medicine show*. New York: Prentice Hall. **17.** Katcher, B. (1993). Benjamin Rush's educational campaign against hard drinking. *American Journal of Public Health*, 83(2), 273-281. **18.** Rush, B. (1814). *An inquiry into the effect of ardent spirits upon the human body and mind, with an account of the means of preventing and of the remedies for curing them* (8th revised edition). Brookfield: E. Merriam & Co. **19.** Rush, B. (1948). Plan for an asylum for drunkards to be called the Sober House. In G. Corner (Ed.), *The autobiography of Benjamin Rush*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (Reprinted from *Plan for an asylum for drunkards to be called the Sober House*, 1810). **20.** Cherrington, E. (1920). *The evolution of prohibition in the United States*. Westerville, Ohio: The American Issue Press. Rorabaugh, W. (1979). *The alcoholic republic: An American tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. **21.** Rorabaugh, W. (1979). *The alcoholic republic: An American tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. **22.** McCarthy, R., & Douglas, E. (1949). *Alcohol and social responsibility*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company and Yale Plan Clinic. **23.** Dorchester, D. (1884). *The liquor problem in all ages*. New York: Phillips & Hunt. **24.** Daniels, W. (1877). *The temperance reform and its great reformers*. New York: Nelson and Phillips. **25.** Steinsapir, C. (1983). *The ante-bellum temperance movement at the local level: A case study of Schenectady, New York*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Rutgers University. **26.** Dorchester, D. (1884). *The liquor problem in all ages*. New York: Phillips & Hunt. **27.** Steinsapir, C. (1983). *The ante-bellum temperance movement at the local level: A case study of Schenectady, New York*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Rutgers University. **28.** Cherrington, E. (1920). *The evolution of prohibition in the United States*. Westerville, Ohio: The American Issue Press. **29.** Baumohl, J., & Room, R. (1987). Inebriety, doctors, and the state: Alcoholism treatment institutions before 1940. In M. Galanter (Ed.), *Recent developments in alcoholism: Volume five* (pp. 135-174). New York: Plenum Publishing. **30.** Mancall, P. (1995). *Deadly medicine: Indians and alcohol in early America*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. **31.** Apes, W. (1829). *A son of the forest. The experience of William Apes, a native of the forest, comprising a notice of the Pequod Tribe of Indians*. New York: Author. Apess, W. (1992). *On our own ground: The complete writings of William Apess, a Pequot* (B. O'Connell, Ed.). Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press. Mancall, P. (1995). *Deadly medicine: Indians and alcohol in early America*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. **32.** Coyhis, D., & White, W. (2006). *Alcohol problems in Native America: The untold story of resistance and recovery*. Colorado Springs, CO: White Bison, Inc. **33.** Steinsapir, C. (1983). *The ante-bellum temperance movement at the local level: A case study of Schenectady, New York*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Rutgers University. **34.** Alexander, R. (1988). "We are engaged as a band of sisters": Class and domesticity in the Washingtonian Temperance Movement, 1840-1850. *Journal of American History*, 75, 763-785. Bordin, R.

(1990). *Women and temperance*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. **35.** Benson, L. (1879). *Fifteen years in Hell: An autobiography*. Indianapolis: Douglas & Carlon. **36.** Benson, L. (1879). *Fifteen years in Hell: An autobiography*. Indianapolis: Douglas & Carlon. **37.** Benson, L. (1879). *Fifteen years in Hell: An autobiography*. Indianapolis: Douglas & Carlon. **38.** Benson, L. (1879). *Fifteen years in Hell: An autobiography*. Indianapolis: Douglas & Carlon. **39.** This section is excerpted from White, W., Sanders, M., & Sanders, T. (2006). Addiction in the African American community: The recovery legacies of Frederick Douglass and Malcolm X. *Counselor*, 7(5), 53-58. **40.** Douglass, F. (1979). Intemperance viewed in connection with slavery: An address delivered in Glasgow, Scotland, on 18 February 1846. In J. Blassingame (Ed.), *The Frederick Douglass papers series one: Speeches, debates and interviews* (Volume 1; pp 166-167). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. **41.** Douglass, F. (1979). Temperance and anti-slavery: An address delivered in Paisley, Scotland on 30 March 1846. In J. Blassingame (Ed.), *The Frederick Douglass papers series one: Speeches, debates and interviews* (Volume 1; pp 207-208). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. **42.** Cheagle, R. (1969). *The colored temperance movement*. Unpublished thesis, Howard University. **43.** Douglass, F. (1979). Intemperance viewed in connection with slavery: An address delivered in Glasgow, Scotland, on 18 February 1846. In J. Blassingame (Ed.), *The Frederick Douglass papers series one: Speeches, debates and interviews* (Volume 1; pp 166-167). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. **44.** Douglass, F. (1855). *My bondage and my freedom*. New York: Miller, Orton, & Mulligan. **45.** Douglass, F. (1855). *My bondage and my freedom*. New York: Miller, Orton, & Mulligan. **46.** Cheagle, R. (1969). *The colored temperance movement*. Unpublished thesis, Howard University.

## **Chapter Two: The Washingtonian Revival**

**47.** General references for this section include: Cherrington, E. (1920). *The evolution of prohibition in the United States*. Westerville, Ohio: The American Issue Press. Conley, P., & Sorensen, A. (1971). *The staggering steeple: The story of alcoholism and the churches*. Philadelphia: The Pilgrim Press. McPeck, F. (1944). The role of religious bodies in the treatment of inebriety in the United States. In D. Haggard, & E. Jellinek (Eds.), *Alcohol, science and society* (pp. 403-418). New Haven: Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol. Maxwell, M. (1950). The Washingtonian movement. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 2, 410-451. Blumberg, L., with Pittman, W. (1991). *Beware the first drink!* Seattle, WA: Glen Abbey Books. **48.** Krout, J. (1925). *The origins of prohibition*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. **49.** Some sources report that the speaker was Elder Jacob Knapp. **50.** The Society was named after George Washington—an unusual choice in light of the fact that Washington was a distiller and a known drinker of alcoholic beverages. The choice of name reflected the founders' admiration of Washington's character, rather than a desire to emulate Washington's drinking and distilling habits. **51.** Tyrell, I. (1979). *Sobering up*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press. **52.** Fehlandt, A. (1904). *A century of drink reform*. Cincinnati: Jennings and Graham. **53.** Tyrell, I. (1979). *Sobering up*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press. **54.** Dorchester, D. (1884). *The liquor problem in all ages*. New York: Phillips & Hunt. **55.** Anonymous (1842). *The foundation, progress and principles of the Washington Temperance Society*. Baltimore: John D. Toy. **56.** Tyrell, I. (1979). *Sobering up*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press. **57.** Maxwell, M. (1950). The Washingtonian movement. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 2, 410-451. **58.** Lincoln, A. (1904). *Letters and addresses of Abraham Lincoln* (pp. 32-40). New York: Howard Wilford Bell. **59.** Zimmerman, J. (1992). *Dethroning King Alcohol: The*

Washingtonians in Baltimore, 1840-1845. *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 87(4), 375-398. **60.** Anonymous (1842). *The foundation, progress and principles of the Washington Temperance Society*. Baltimore: John D. Toy. **61.** Krout, J. (1925). *The origins of prohibition*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. **62.** Maxwell, M. (1950). The Washingtonian movement. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 2, 410-451. **63.** Alexander, R. (1988). "We are engaged as a band of sisters": Class and domesticity in the Washingtonian Temperance Movement, 1840-1850. *Journal of American History*, 75, 763-785. **64.** Blumberg, L., with Pittman, W. (1991). *Beware the first drink!* Seattle: WA: Glen Abbey Books. **65.** Blumberg, L., with Pittman, W. (1991). *Beware the first drink!* Seattle: WA: Glen Abbey Books. **66.** Tyrell, I. (1979). *Sobering up*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press. **67.** Blocker, J. (1989). *American temperance movements: Cycles of reform*. Boston: Twayne Publishers. **68.** Gough, unlike Hawkins, did not get sober within the Washingtonian Movement but had great sympathy for the movement and promoted the work of the Washingtonians through his speaking tours. **69.** The Rev. John Marsh later wrote a book--*Hannah Hawkins: the Reformed Drunkard's Daughter*--commemorating Hannah's role in her father's reformation. **70.** Dorchester, D. (1884). *The liquor problem in all ages*. New York: Phillips & Hunt. **71.** Martyn, C. (1893). *John Gough: The Apostle of Cold Water*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company. **72.** Gough, J. (1870). *Autobiography and personal recollections of John B. Gough*. Springfield, MA: Bill, Nichols & Company. **73.** Furnas, J. (1965). *The life and times of the late demon rum*. London: W.H. Allen. **74.** Martyn, C. (1893). *John Gough: The Apostle of Cold Water*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company. **75.** Daniels, W. (1877). *The temperance reform and its great reformers*. New York: Nelson and Phillips. **76.** Maxwell, M. (1950). The Washingtonian movement. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 2, 410-451. **77.** Martyn, C. (1893). *John Gough: The Apostle of Cold Water*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company. **78.** Martyn, C. (1893). *John Gough: The Apostle of Cold Water*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company. **79.** Blumberg, L., with Pittman, W. (1991). *Beware the first drink!* Seattle: WA: Glen Abbey Books. **80.** Zimmerman, J. (1992). Dethroning King Alcohol: The Washingtonians in Baltimore, 1840-1845. *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 87(4), 375-398. **81.** Blumberg, L., with Pittman, W. (1991). *Beware the first drink!* Seattle: WA: Glen Abbey Books. **82.** Baker, J. (1844). *The Washingtonian reform: An address delivered before the Hingham Total Abstinence Society June 16, 1844* (pp. 1-20). Hingham, MA: Jedidiah Farmer. **83.** Zimmerman, J. (1992). Dethroning King Alcohol: The Washingtonians in Baltimore, 1840-1845. *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 87(4), 375-398. **84.** Blumberg, L., with Pittman, W. (1991). *Beware the first drink!* Seattle: WA: Glen Abbey Books. **85.** Clinebell, H. (1956). *Understanding and counseling the alcoholic*. New York: Abingdon Press. **86.** Baker, J. (1844). *The Washingtonian reform: An address delivered before the Hingham Total Abstinence Society June 16, 1844* (pp. 1-20). Hingham, MA: Jedidiah Farmer. **87.** Maxwell, M. (1950). The Washingtonian movement. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 2, 410-451. **88.** Blumberg, L. (1978). The institutional phase of the Washingtonian Total Abstinence Movement: A research note. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 39, 1591-1606. **89.** Blumberg, L., with Pittman, W. (1991). *Beware the first drink!* Seattle: WA: Glen Abbey Books. **90.** Blumberg, L., with Pittman, W. (1991). *Beware the first drink!* Seattle: WA: Glen Abbey Books. **91.** Blocker, J. (1989). *American temperance movements: Cycles of reform*. Boston: Twayne Publishers. **92.** The same cultural phenomenon would affect the addiction treatment and recovery movement in the mid-1980s, with some of the same results that had occurred 140 years earlier. **93.** Maxwell, M. (1950). The Washingtonian movement. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 2, 410-451.

### Chapter Three: Fraternal Temperance Societies and Reform Clubs

90. Fahey, D. (1996). *Temperance and racism: John Bull, Johnny Reb, and the good Templars*. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky.
91. Tyrell, I. (1979). *Sobering up*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press.
92. Tyrell, I. (1979). *Sobering up*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press.
- Blocker, J. (1989). *American temperance movements: Cycles of reform*. Boston, MA: Twayne Publishers.
93. Temple, R. (1886). *A brief history of the Order of the Sons of Temperance*. New York: The National Temperance Society and Publication House.
94. Beattie, D. (1966). *Sons of Temperance: Pioneers in total abstinence and "constitutional" prohibition*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Boston University.
95. Temple, R. (1886). *A brief history of the Order of the Sons of Temperance*. New York: The National Temperance Society and Publication House.
96. Brown, J. (1966). *Early American beverages*. Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Company.
97. Beattie, D. (1966). *Sons of Temperance: Pioneers in total abstinence and "constitutional" prohibition*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Boston University.
98. Tracy, S. (1992). *The Foxborough Experiment: Medicalizing inebriety at the Massachusetts Hospital for Dipsomaniacs and Inebriates*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.
99. Fahey, D. (1996). *Temperance and racism: John Bull, Johnny Reb, and the good Templars*. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky.
100. Levine, H. (1984). The alcohol problem in America: From temperance to alcoholism. *British Journal of Addiction*, 79, 109-119.
101. Baumohl, J., & Room, R. (1987). Inebriety, doctors, and the state: Alcoholism treatment institutions before 1940. In M. Galanter (Ed.), *Recent developments in alcoholism: Volume five* (pp. 135-174). New York: Plenum Publishing.
102. Sibley, F. (1888). *Templar at work: What good templary is, what it does and how to do it* (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition). Mauston, Wisconsin: RWGLIO of GT.
103. Blumberg, L., with Pittman, W. (1991). *Beware the first drink!* Seattle, WA: Glen Abbey Books.
104. Krout, J. (1925). *The origins of prohibition*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
105. Alexander, R. (1988). "We are engaged as a band of sisters": Class and domesticity in the Washingtonian Temperance Movement, 1840-1850. *Journal of American History*, 75, 763-785.
106. Fahey, D. (1996). *Temperance and racism: John Bull, Johnny Reb, and the good Templars*. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky.
107. Dacus, J. (1877). *Battling with the demon: The progress of temperance*. Saint Louis, MO: Scammell & Company.
108. Arthur, T.S. (1877). *Strong drink: The curse and the cure*. Philadelphia: Hubbard.
109. Dorchester, D. (1884). *The liquor problem in all ages*. New York: Phillips & Hunt.
110. Cherrington, E. (1925-1930). *Standard encyclopedia of the alcohol problem* (Six Volumes). Westerville, Ohio, American Issue Publishing Company.
111. Daniels, W. (1877). *The temperance reform and its great reformers*. New York: Nelson and Phillips.
112. Dacus, J. (1877). *Battling with the demon: The progress of temperance*. Saint Louis, MO: Scammell & Company.
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## Section Two

### Chapter Four: The Rise and Fall of Inebriate Homes and Asylums

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## Chapter Six: Four Institutional Histories

**208.** The New York State Inebriate Asylum is often credited with being the first specialized institution for the treatment of inebriety, in spite of the fact that the Washingtonian homes in Boston and Chicago predate the opening of the New York facility. This may be attributable to Dr. Turner's early (1846) advocacy role in the asylum movement and to distinctions between an inebriate "home" and an inebriate "asylum." **209.** Turner, J. (1888). *History of the first inebriate asylum in the world*. New York: (Privately printed). **210.** Turner, J. (1888). *History of the first inebriate asylum in the world*. New York: (Privately printed). **211.** Cassedy, J. (1976). An early American hangover: The medical professional and intemperance. *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 50, 405-413. **212.** Turner, J. (1888). *History of the first inebriate asylum in the world*. New York: (Privately printed). **213.** Crothers, T.D. (1912). A review of the history and literature of inebriety, the first journal and its work to present. *Journal of Inebriety*, 33, 139-151. **214.** Turner, J. (1888). *History of the first inebriate asylum in the world*. New York: (Privately printed). **215.** Voegtlin, W., & Lemere, F. (1942). The treatment of alcohol addiction: A review of the literature. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 2, 717-803. Crowley, J.W., & White, W.L. (2004). *Drunkard's refuge: The lessons of the New York State Inebriate Asylum*. Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press. **216.** Brown, E. (1985). What shall we do with the Inebriate? Asylum treatment and the disease concept of alcoholism in the late nineteenth century. *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 21, 48-59. **217.** Crothers, T.D. (1914). The pioneer founder of America's inebriate state hospital. *Alienist and Neurologist*, 35, 40-60. **218.** Jewitt, C. (1849). *Speeches, poems, and miscellaneous writing on subjects connected with temperance and the liquor traffic*. Boston: Joyn P. Jewitt. **219.** *Proceedings 1870-1875, American Association for the Cure of Inebriates*. (1981). New York: Arno Press. Harrison, D. (1860). A voice from the Washingtonian home. Boston: Redding & Company. **220.** Ellsworth, V. (1897). The first home for inebriates and its work. *Quarterly Journal of Inebriety*, 19, 278-283. **221.** Harrison, D. (1860). A voice from the Washingtonian home. Boston: Redding & Company. **222.** Howard, G. (1941-1942). Alcoholism: Its treatment at the Washingtonian Hospital. *Scientific Temperance Journal*, 49(3&4), 57-60, 74-76, 91-95. **223.** Blumberg, L. (1978). The institutional phase of the Washingtonian Total Abstinence Movement: A research note. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 39, 1591-1606. **224.** Martha Washington Alcoholic Treatment Center relieves suffering--with AA help, here's how. (1971). *Alcoholism and Drug Abuse Week*, 22(6), 1,5 (July-August). **225.** Washingtonian Home, Chicago, IL. (1884). *Quarterly Journal of Inebriety*, 6(4), 249-251. **226.** *Proceedings 1870-1875, American Association for the Cure of Inebriates*. (1981). New York: Arno Press. **227.** *Martha Washington Hospital: 1863-1988*. (1988). Chicago: Martha Washington Hospital. **228.** Baumohl, J. (1986a). *Dashaways and doctors: The treatment of habitual drunkards in San Francisco from the gold rush to prohibition*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of California. **229.** Baumohl, J. (1986b). On asylums, homes, and moral treatment: The case of the San Francisco Home for the Care of Inebriates, 1859-1870. *Contemporary Drug Problems*, 13, 395-445. **230.** Baumohl, J. (1986a). *Dashaways and doctors: The treatment of habitual drunkards in San Francisco from the gold rush to prohibition*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of California. **231.** Baumohl, J. (1986b). On asylums, homes, and moral treatment: The case of the San Francisco Home for the Care of Inebriates, 1859-1870. *Contemporary Drug Problems*, 13, 395-445. **232.** Baumohl, J. (1986a). *Dashaways and doctors: The treatment of habitual drunkards in San Francisco from the gold rush to prohibition*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of California. **233.** Baumohl, J. (1986b). On asylums, homes, and moral treatment: The case of

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### **Chapter Seven: Franchising Addiction Treatment: The Keeley Institutes**

**234.** The work constructing the history of the Keeley Institute was enriched by discussions with James Oughton, Jr. and Mrs. Anne Withrow, and by three unpublished manuscripts by Ben Scott, Paul Weitz, and Mary Sigler. Paul was a bubbling fountain of information and resources on Keeley, and his help is gratefully acknowledged. **235.** All of these cures are mentioned in the early (1890s) correspondence of Dr. Leslie Keeley—Illinois State Historical Library, Letterpress Volume K4. **236.** James Oughton, Jr. Interview, July 11, 1995. **237.** Inside the history of The Keeley Cure. (1907). *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 49, 1861-1864, 1941-1951. **238.** Inside the Keeley Institute. (1960). *The Magazine of Livingston County*, 1, 9-11. **239.** Morgan, H. (1989). "No, thank you. I've been to Dwight": Reflections on the Keeley Cure for alcoholism. *Illinois Historical Journal*, 82(3), 147-166. **240.** Clark, C. (1893). *The perfect Keeley Cure; Incidents at Dwight and "through the valley of the shadow" into the perfect light*. Milwaukee, WI: Clark. Scott, B. (1974). *Keeleyism: A history of Dr. Leslie Keeley's gold cure for alcoholism*. Unpublished Master's Thesis, Illinois State University. **241.** Barclay, G. (1964). The Keeley League. *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 57, 341-365. **242.** Scott, B. (1974). *Keeleyism: A history of Dr. Leslie Keeley's gold cure for alcoholism*. Unpublished Master's Thesis, Illinois State University. **243.** Barclay, G. (1964). The Keeley League. *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 57, 341-365. **244.** Scott, B. (1974). *Keeleyism: A history of Dr. Leslie Keeley's gold cure for alcoholism*. Unpublished Master's Thesis, Illinois State University. **245.** Morgan, H. (1989). "No, thank you. I've been to Dwight": Reflections on the Keeley Cure for alcoholism. *Illinois Historical Journal*, 82(3), 147-166. **246.** Hargreaves, F. (1880). *Gold as a cure for drunkenness! Being an account of the double chloride of gold discovery recently made by Dr. L.E. Keeley of Dwight, Illinois*. Dwight, Illinois: Keeley Institute. Keeley, L. (1892). Drunkenness, a curable disease. *American Journal of Politics*, 1, 27-43. **247.** Keeley, L. (1893). *Drunkenness and heredity and the inebriety of childhood*. Dwight, Illinois: Keeley Institute. **248.** Keeley, L. (1882). *An essay upon the morphine and opium habit*. Dwight, IL: The Keeley Institute. **249.** Keeley, L. (1896). *The non-heredity of inebriety*. Chicago: S.C. Griggs & Company. **250.** Sigler, M. (1993). *A sobering trip to Dwight*. Unpublished manuscript. Speed, J. (1891). Dr. Keeley's treatment for drunkenness. *Harper's Weekly*, 35, 755-756. **251.** Keeley Archives, Bound Volume 286. **252.** Keeley Archives, Advertising Pamphlets, Box 57. **253.** Sagendorph, K. (1940). The Keeley Cure. *Coronet*, 9, 13-18. **254.** Keeley Archives, Box 76, File "Source of Patients." **255.** Calhoun, A. (1892). *Is it "A modern miracle?"* New York: People's Publishing Co. **256.** Warsh, C. (1988). Adventures in maritime quackery: The Leslie E. Keeley Gold Cure Institute of Fredericton, N.B. *Accedences*, 17(2), 109-130. **257.** Crothers, T.D. (1897). Reformed men as asylum managers. *Quarterly Journal of Inebriety*, 19, 79-81. **258.** Keeley Archives, The Leslie E. Keeley Company Physician's Record, Bound Volume 267. **259.** *Instructions to attendants*. (ND). Dwight, IL: The Keeley Institute. **260.** *Rules, regulations and instructions of the Keeley Institute*. (ND). Dwight, IL: The Keeley Institute. **261.** Mrs. Anne Withrow, Personal interview, August 25, 1995. **262.** James Oughton, Jr., Personal interviews, July 11, 1995, January 29, 1996. **263.** Barclay, G. (1964). The Keeley League. *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 57, 341-365. **264.** Calhoun, A. (1892). *Is it "A modern miracle?"* New York: People's Publishing Co. **265.** Keeley, L. (1897). *Opium: Its use, abuse and cure*. Dwight, Illinois: Banner of Gold Company. **266.**

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### **Chapter Nine: Religious Conversion as a Remedy for Alcoholism**

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### Section Three

#### Chapter Ten: Alcoholism Treatment Settings: 1900-1940

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## Section Four

### Chapter Thirteen: The Treatment of Addiction to Narcotics and Other Drugs: 1880-1950

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#### **Chapter Fourteen: The Treatment of Addiction to Narcotics and Other Drugs: 1925-1950**

**66.** Bishop, E. S. (1920). *The narcotic drug problem*. New York: MacMillan. **67.** Terry, C. (1921). Some recent experiments in narcotic control. *American Journal of Public Health, 11*, 32-44. **68.** Terry, C. (1921). Some recent experiments in narcotic control. *American Journal of Public Health, 11*, 32-44. **69.** Terry, C. (1921). Some recent experiments in narcotic control. *American Journal of Public Health, 11*, 32-44. **70.** Williams, H. (1938). *Drug addicts are human beings*. Washington, DC: Shaw Publishing Company. **71.** Williams, H. (1938). *Drug addicts are human beings*. Washington, DC: Shaw Publishing Company. **72.** Williams, H. (1938). *Drug addicts are human beings*. Washington, DC: Shaw Publishing Company. **73.** Williams, H. S. (1935). *Drugs against men*. New York: Robert M. McBride & Company. **74.** Mosely, A. (1959). The addicts bag of tricks. *Journal of the Oklahoma State Medical Association, 52*, 309-310. **75.** Blair, T. (1919). Narcotic drug addiction as regulated by a state department of health. *Journal of the American Medical Association, 72*, 1441-1445. **76.** Helbrant, M. (1941). *Narcotic agent*. New York: The Vanguard Press. Musto, D. (1985). Iatrogenic addiction: The problem, its definition and history. *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine, 61*, 694-705. **77.** O'Donnel, J. A. (1969). *Narcotic addicts in Kentucky* (US Public Health Service Publication No. 1881). Chevy Chase, MD: National Institute of Mental Health. Brill, L. (1977). Historical evolution of the current drug treatment perspective. In A. Schecter (Ed.), *Rehabilitation aspects of drug dependence* (pp. 11-21). Cleveland, OH: CRC Press. **78.** King, R. (1972). *The drug hang-up: America's fifty-year folly*. New York: W. W. Norton. Courtwright, D., Herman, J., & Des Jarlais, D. (1989). *Addicts who survived: An oral history of narcotic use in America, 1923-1965*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press. **79.** Lewin, L. (1931). *Phantastica: Narcotic and stimulating drugs, their use and abuse*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. **80.** Sceleth, C. E. (1916). A rational treatment of the morphine habit. *Journal of the American Medical Association, 66*, 860-862. **81.** General references for this section include: Latimer, D., & Goldberg, J. (1981). *Flowers in the blood: The story of opium*. New York: Franklin Watts. Livingston, R. (1959). *Narcotic drug addiction problems: Proceedings of the Symposium on the History of Narcotic Drug Problems March 27 and 28, Bethesda, Maryland*. Bethesda, MD: National Institute of Mental Health. **82.** Dai, B. (1970). *Opium addiction in Chicago*. Montclair, NJ: Patterson Smith (Original work published in 1937). **83.** Bennett, C. (1929). Hospitalization of narcotic addicts: U.S. Penitentiary, Leavenworth, KS. *Journal of the Kansas Medical Society, 30*, 341-345. **84.** McKelvey, B. (1977). *American prisons: A history of good intentions*. Montclair, New Jersey: Patterson Smith. **85.** Hawkins, J. (1937). *Opium: Addicts and addictions*. Danville, VA: J. T. Townes. **86.** Lowry, J. V. (1956). The hospital treatment of the narcotic addict. *Federal Probation, 15*, 42-51. **87.** Berliner, A. K. (1962). The helping process in a hospital for narcotic addicts. *Federal Probation, 26*, 57-62. **88.** The reader who would like a more detailed description of the Lexington facility during the 1940s and 1950s can find autobiographical accounts of treatment at Lexington in Barney Ross's *No Man Stands Alone* (1957) and Alexander King's *Mine Enemy Grows Older* (1958). **89.** Kolb, L. (1962). *Drug addiction: A medical problem*. Springfield, IL: Charles Thomas. **90.** Lowry, J. V. (1956). The hospital treatment of the narcotic addict. *Federal Probation, 15*, 42-51. **91.** Weppner, R. (1983).

*The untherapeutic community: Organizational behavior in a failed addiction treatment program.* Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska. Kolb, L., & Ossenfort, W. (1938). The treatment of drug addicts at Lexington Hospital. *Southern Medical Journal*, 31, 914-922. **92.** Duncan, T. L. (1965). *Understanding and helping the narcotic addict.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press. **93.** Vogel, V. (1948). Treatment of the narcotic addict by the United States Public Health Service. *Federal Probation*, June, 45-50. **94.** No heterosexual bias is intended in this statement. Patients with histories of overt homosexuality were excluded from Lexington, and homosexual activity of any kind resulted in immediate discharge. Weppner, R. (1983). *The untherapeutic community: Organizational behavior in a failed addiction treatment program.* Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska. **95.** Rasor, R. (1972). The United States Public Health Service and Institutional Treatment Program for Narcotic Addicts at Lexington, Ky. In L. Lieberman & L. Brill (Eds.), *Major modalities in the treatment of drug abuse.* New York: Behavioral Publications. **96.** Maddux, J. (1978). History of the hospital treatment program: 1935-1974. In W. Martin & H. Isbell, *Drug addiction and the US Public Health Service* (DHEW pub. no. ADM-77-434; pp. 217-250). **97.** Lowry, J. V. (1956). The hospital treatment of the narcotic addict. *Federal Probation*, 15, 42-51. **98.** Knight, R., & Prout, C. (1951). A study of results in hospital treatment of drug addictions. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 108, 303-308. **99.** Campbell, N., Olsen, J. P., & Walden, L. (2008). *The narcotic farm: The rise and fall of America's first prison for addicts.* New York: Abrams. **100.** Rasor, R. (1972). The United States Public Health Service and Institutional Treatment Program for Narcotic Addicts at Lexington, Ky. In L. Lieberman & L. Brill (Eds.), *Major modalities in the treatment of drug abuse.* New York: Behavioral Publications. **101.** At 60, NIDA's Addiction Research Center looks to the future. (1995). *NIDA Notes*, 10(6), 1-2. (Serum Injections Used in Prison to Cure Drug Addicts, Davenport, Iowa Times, February 17, 1938—AMA Archives, Box 0031-03)

## Section Five

### Chapter Fifteen: The Birth of Alcoholics Anonymous: A Brief History

**1.** The history of A.A. has been meticulously recorded within three A.A.-approved texts—*Alcoholics Anonymous Comes of Age*; “*Pass It On*”: *Bill Wilson and the A.A. Message*; and *Dr. Bob and the Good Oldtimers*—and a more scholarly and definitive history—*Not God: A History of Alcoholics Anonymous*—prepared by Harvard-trained historian Ernest Kurtz. These four texts provide the foundation for this chapter. I encourage readers who want to read of A.A.'s early history in greater depth to seek out these works. Kurtz's book provides a meticulously researched synthesis of A.A. history as well as an interesting analysis of the A.A. program. Other highly readable background texts include Bill Pittman's *A.A. The Way It Began*, Robert Thomsen's *Bill W.*, and Nell Wing's *Grateful to Have Been There*. **2.** Source abbreviations used in this and the following three chapters include: *AA* (*Alcoholics Anonymous*); *AAA* (*Alcoholics Anonymous Comes of Age*); *DBGO* (*Dr. Bob and the Good Oldtimers*); *PIO-BW* (*Pass It On—Bill Wilson and the A.A. Message*); *LR* (*Lois Remembers*); and *LOTH* (*Language of the Heart—Bill Wilson's Grapevine Writings*). **3.** Traditions Eleven and Twelve of Alcoholics Anonymous call for "personal anonymity" in the media and define anonymity as the "spiritual foundation" of the fellowship. In keeping with the practices of this tradition, all A.A. members in this book are identified by first name and last initial. Exceptions to this will be the founders of A.A., whose full names were released publicly following their deaths, with the permission of both their families and A.A.'s governing authority. **4.** Bluhm, A. C. (2006). Verification of C.G. Jung's analysis of Rowland Hazard and the history of Alcoholics Anonymous. *History of Psychology*,

9(4), 313-324. **5.** Kurtz, E. (1979). *Not God: A history of Alcoholics Anonymous*. Center City, MN: Hazelden. **6.** *Dr. Bob and the good oldtimers: A biography, with recollections of early AA in the Midwest*. (1980). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **7.** B., Mel. (1991). *New wine: The spiritual roots of the twelve step miracle*. Center City, MN: Hazelden Pittman Archives Press. **8.** In spite of his influential role in the birth of A.A., Ebby T. never achieved stable sobriety. However, Bill Wilson sustained his involvement with Ebby and continued to call Ebby his sponsor. Wing, N. (1992). *Grateful to have been there: My 42 years with Bill and Lois, and the evolution of Alcoholics Anonymous*. Park Ridge, IL: Parkside Publishing Corporation. **9.** *Alcoholics Anonymous comes of age*. (1957). New York: AA World Services, Inc. Kurtz, E. (1979). *Not God: A history of Alcoholics Anonymous*. Center City, MN: Hazelden. **10.** Given the above-mentioned details, the reader might find it interesting that some historical revisionists have questioned that Bill Wilson was really alcoholic. John Rumbarger, in a recent critique, argues that Bill suffered more from "a crisis of faith" as a result of business failures than from a specific problem in his relationship with alcohol. Rumbarger, J. (1994). The "story" of Bill W.: Ideology, culture and the discovery of the modern American alcoholic. *Contemporary Drug Problems*, 20, 759-782. **11.** Towns was expensive relative to other hospitals, which meant that alcoholics like Bill Wilson had to have affluent friends pay for their episodic drying out. Wilson's seven-day stay in December of 1934 cost \$125. AA World Services. (1984). *"Pass it on": The story of Bill Wilson and how the AA message reached the world*. New York: AA World Services, Inc. **12.** *Alcoholics Anonymous comes of age*. (1957). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **13.** *Pioneers we have known in the field of alcoholism*. (1979). Mill Neck, NY: The Christopher D. Smithers Foundation. **14.** Wilson, B. (1945). The fellowship of Alcoholics Anonymous. In *Alcohol, science, and society* (pp. 461-473). New Haven: Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol. **15.** *Alcoholics Anonymous comes of age*. (1957). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **16.** Wilson, B. (1949). The society of Alcoholics Anonymous. *American Journal of Psychiatry, Sesquicentennial Suppl 151*, 259-262. **17.** Wilson, L. (1979). *Lois remembers*. New York: Al-Anon Family Group Headquarters. **18.** Wilson, B. (1945). The fellowship of Alcoholics Anonymous. In *Alcohol, science, and society* (pp. 461-473). New Haven: Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol. **19.** Thomsen, R. (1975). *Bill W*. New York: Harper & Row. **20.** *Dr. Bob and the good oldtimers: A biography, with recollections of early AA in the Midwest*. (1980). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **21.** Mertin M.'s investigations of A.A.'s beginnings raise the possibility that the date of Dr. Bob's last drink may have been June 17, 1935—a date calculated through the dates of the 1935 AMA Convention in Atlanta. **22.** White, W., & Kurtz, E. (2008). Twelve defining moments in the history of Alcoholics Anonymous. In M. Galanter & L. Kaskutas (Eds.), *Recent developments in alcoholism* (Vol 18, pp. 37-57). New York: Plenum Publishing Corporation. **23.** Pittman, B. (1988). *AA: The way it began*. Seattle, Washington: Glen Abbey Books. *Dr. Bob and the good oldtimers: A biography, with recollections of early AA in the Midwest*. (1980). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **24.** Wilson, L. (1979). *Lois remembers*. New York: Al-Anon Family Group Headquarters. **25.** Anonymity served two purposes at this time: It protected members from the public stigma associated with alcoholism, and it protected the group's reputation from damage by the relapse of people who were publicly linked with it. It was only later that anonymity would come to be seen as a spiritual exercise. Some early A.A. groups were so concerned about public knowledge of members' affiliation with A.A. that they rented rooms under the name, "The Wilson Club." Wing, N. (1992). *Grateful to have been there: My 42 years with Bill and Lois, and the evolution of Alcoholics Anonymous*. Park Ridge, IL: Parkside Publishing Corporation. Kurtz, personal

communication, April 1996. **26.** Kurtz, E. (1979). *Not God: A history of Alcoholics Anonymous*. Center City, MN: Hazelden. **27.** Kurtz, E. (1979). *Not God: A history of Alcoholics Anonymous*. Center City, MN: Hazelden. **28.** *Dr. Bob and the good oldtimers: A biography, with recollections of early AA in the Midwest*. (1980). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **29.** Kurtz, E. (1979). *Not God: A history of Alcoholics Anonymous*. Center City, MN: Hazelden. **30.** Pittman, B. (1988). *AA: The way it began*. Seattle, Washington: Glen Abbey Books. **31.** *Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions*. (1952). New York: AA Publishing, Inc. **32.** *Alcoholics Anonymous comes of age*. (1957). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **33.** Lois Wilson later reported that all of the \$30 payments Bill received were paid back in full. Wilson, L. (1979). *Lois remembers*. New York: Al-Anon Family Group Headquarters. **34.** *Alcoholics Anonymous comes of age*. (1957). New York: AA World Services, Inc. *Language of the heart: Bill W.'s Grapevine writings*. (1988). New York: AA Grapevine, Inc. **35.** *Language of the heart: Bill W.'s Grapevine writings*. (1988). New York: AA Grapevine, Inc. **36.** *Language of the heart: Bill W.'s Grapevine writings*. (1988). New York: AA Grapevine, Inc. **37.** *Language of the heart: Bill W.'s Grapevine writings*. (1988). New York: AA Grapevine, Inc. A fragment of history by Bill. (1953). *AA Grapevine*, 10(2), 2-9. **38.** *Alcoholics Anonymous comes of age*. (1957). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **39.** Wilson, L. (1979). *Lois remembers*. New York: Al-Anon Family Group Headquarters. **40.** AA World Services. (1984). *"Pass it on": The story of Bill Wilson and how the AA message reached the world*. New York: AA World Services, Inc. **41.** Gresham, D. (1995). *A history of Alcoholics Anonymous in Oregon: 1943-1983*. Portland, Oregon: The Oregon Area General Service Committee of Alcoholics Anonymous. **42.** Book notices: Alcoholics Anonymous. (1939). *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 113(16), 1513. Book reviews. Alcoholics Anonymous. (1940). *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 92(3), 399. **43.** P., Wally. (1995). *But, for the grace of God...: How intergroups & central offices carried the message of Alcoholics Anonymous in the 1940s*. Wheeling, WV: The Bishop of Books. **44.** According to Wally P., this custom did not take hold until the late 1950s. **45.** P., Wally. (1995). *But, for the grace of God...: How intergroups & central offices carried the message of Alcoholics Anonymous in the 1940s*. Wheeling, WV: The Bishop of Books. **46.** AA lingo. (1974). *AA Grapevine*, 31(7), 16-17. **47.** Kurtz, E. (1996, June). *Alcoholics Anonymous' own story*. Presentation at the Haymarket House Summer Institute on Addictions, June 26, 1996. **48.** Wilson, B. (1945). The fellowship of Alcoholics Anonymous. In *Alcohol, science, and society* (pp. 461-473). New Haven: Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol. **49.** Markey, M. (1939). Alcoholics and God. *Liberty Magazine*, September 30, 6-8. **50.** Davis, E. (1939). Alcoholics Anonymous makes its stand here. *The Cleveland Plain Dealer* (October 21, 23, 24, 25, 26; November 4). **51.** *Alcoholics Anonymous comes of age*. (1957). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **52.** Wing, N. (1992). *Grateful to have been there: My 42 years with Bill and Lois, and the evolution of Alcoholics Anonymous*. Park Ridge, IL: Parkside Publishing Corporation. **53.** Thomsen, R. (1975). *Bill W.* New York: Harper & Row. **54.** Richeson, F. (1978). *Courage to change*. Minneapolis, MN: M & M Printing. **55.** Blumberg, L., with Pittman, W. (1991). *Beware the first drink!* Seattle, WA: Glen Abbey Books. **56.** P., Wally. (1995). *But, for the grace of God...: How intergroups & central offices carried the message of Alcoholics Anonymous in the 1940s*. Wheeling, WV: The Bishop of Books. **57.** Thirty years of Grapevine history. (1974). *AA Grapevine*, 31, 2-7. **58.** An example of such breaches can be found in a 1946 article that Marty M. wrote using her full name for *The Modern Hospital*, in which she proffered with no subtlety: "I myself am a member of Alcoholics Anonymous, and I owe my recovery from severe and protracted alcoholism to my entry into the New York group of A.A., where I was sent by my

psychiatrist in 1939." Mann, M. (1946). Alcoholics Anonymous: A new partner for hospitals. *The Modern Hospital*, 66, 77-78. **59.** Gresham, D. (1995). *A history of Alcoholics Anonymous in Oregon: 1943-1983*. Portland, Oregon: The Oregon Area General Service Committee of Alcoholics Anonymous. **60.** P., Wally. (1995). *But, for the grace of God...: How intergroups & central offices carried the message of Alcoholics Anonymous in the 1940s*. Wheeling, WV: The Bishop of Books. **61.** Wing, 1993, Audiotape, September 3 speech, from Illinois Addiction Studies Archives audiotape collection. **62.** Wilson, B. (1949). The society of Alcoholics Anonymous. *American Journal of Psychiatry, Sesquicentennial Suppl 151*, 259-262. **63.** P., Wally. (1995). *But, for the grace of God...: How intergroups & central offices carried the message of Alcoholics Anonymous in the 1940s*. Wheeling, WV: The Bishop of Books. **64.** Kurtz, E. (1979). *Not God: A history of Alcoholics Anonymous*. Center City, MN: Hazelden. **65.** *Alcoholics Anonymous comes of age*. (1957). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **66.** Wing, N. (1992). *Grateful to have been there: My 42 years with Bill and Lois, and the evolution of Alcoholics Anonymous*. Park Ridge, IL: Parkside Publishing Corporation. **67.** The AA movement gains public recognition. (1948). *AA Grapevine*, 5(6), 15-17. **68.** Kurtz, E. (1979). *Not God: A history of Alcoholics Anonymous*. Center City, MN: Hazelden. **69.** Thomsen, R. (1975). *Bill W*. New York: Harper & Row. **70.** Wilson, L. (1979). *Lois remembers*. New York: Al-Anon Family Group Headquarters. **71.** AA World Services. (1984). *"Pass it on": The story of Bill Wilson and how the AA message reached the world*. New York: AA World Services, Inc. **72.** Delbanco, A., & Delbanco, T. (1985). AA at the crossroads. *New Yorker*, 61(4), 50-63. **73.** Pittman, B. (1988). *AA: The way it began*. Seattle, Washington: Glen Abbey Books. **74.** AA World Services. (1984). *"Pass it on": The story of Bill Wilson and how the AA message reached the world*. New York: AA World Services, Inc. **75.** AA World Services. (1984). *"Pass it on": The story of Bill Wilson and how the AA message reached the world*. New York: AA World Services, Inc. Fitzgerald, R. (1995). *The soul of sponsorship: The friendship of Fr. Ed Dowling, S. J. and Bill Wilson in letters*. Center City, MN: Hazelden Foundation. **76.** Nell Wing suggests that Bill's failure to attend meetings was due to the fact that he couldn't use meetings the way others did, because he would always be asked to speak or would be subjected to non-stop advice about the proper operation of AA. Wing, N. (1992). *Grateful to have been there: My 42 years with Bill and Lois, and the evolution of Alcoholics Anonymous*. Park Ridge, IL: Parkside Publishing Corporation. **77.** Kurtz, E. (1979). *Not God: A history of Alcoholics Anonymous*. Center City, MN: Hazelden. **78.** AA World Services. (1984). *"Pass it on": The story of Bill Wilson and how the AA message reached the world*. New York: AA World Services, Inc. **79.** Bill took niacin for the rest of his life and continued to recommend it enthusiastically to others who suffered from depression in recovery. **80.** Fitzgerald, R. (1995). *The soul of sponsorship: The friendship of Fr. Ed Dowling, S. J. and Bill Wilson in letters*. Center City, MN: Hazelden Foundation. AA World Services. (1984). *"Pass it on": The story of Bill Wilson and how the AA message reached the world*. New York: AA World Services, Inc. **81.** Wing, N. (1992). *Grateful to have been there: My 42 years with Bill and Lois, and the evolution of Alcoholics Anonymous*. Park Ridge, IL: Parkside Publishing Corporation. **82.** LSD—A controlled study. (1967). *AA Grapevine*, 23(12), 41. **83.** Fitzgerald, R. (1995). *The soul of sponsorship: The friendship of Fr. Ed Dowling, S. J. and Bill Wilson in letters*. Center City, MN: Hazelden Foundation. **84.** Wing, N. (1992). *Grateful to have been there: My 42 years with Bill and Lois, and the evolution of Alcoholics Anonymous*. Park Ridge, IL: Parkside Publishing Corporation. **85.** Was Dr. Bob the first two-hatter? (1975). *AA Grapevine*, 31(8), 14-15. **86.** Dr. Bob. (1975). *AA Grapevine*, 32(6), 4. **87.** Blumberg, L. (1977). The ideology of a therapeutic social movement: Alcoholics Anonymous. *Journal of*



*Studies on Alcohol*, 38, 2122-2143. **88.** Silkworth, W. (1937). Alcoholism as a manifestation of allergy. *Medical Record*, 145, 249-251. Silkworth, W. (1939). Psychological rehabilitation of alcoholics. *Medical Record*, 150, 65-66. Silkworth, W. (1937). Reclamation of the alcoholic. *Medical Record*, 145, 321-324. **89.** Silkworth, W. (1939). A new approach to psychotherapy in chronic alcoholism. *Lancet*, 234, 184-187. Silkworth, W. (1941). Highly successful approach to alcoholic problem confirmed by medical and sociological results. *Medical Record*, 154, 105-107. **90.** The little doctor who loved drunks. (1951). *AA Grapevine*, 7(12), 3-8. *Alcoholics Anonymous comes of age*. (1957). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **91.** Pittman, B. (1988). *AA: The way it began*. Seattle, Washington: Glen Abbey Books. **92.** In memory of Harry. (1966). *AA Grapevine*, 23(2), 2-4. **93.** Tiebout, H. (1963). What does "surrender" mean? *AA Grapevine*, 19(11), 30. **94.** Two of the most noted of Tiebout's articles, "The Ego Factors in the Surrender of Alcoholism" and "The Therapeutic Mechanism of Alcoholics Anonymous," are highly recommended. **95.** Tiebout, H. (1951). The role of psychiatry in the field of alcoholism; With comment on the current concept of alcoholism as symptom and as disease. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 12, 52-57. **96.** Tiebout, H. (1942). The private hospital and the care of alcoholic patients. *Diseases of the Nervous System*, 3, 202-205. **97.** Tiebout, H. (1942). The private hospital and the care of alcoholic patients. *Diseases of the Nervous System*, 3, 202-205. **98.** Tiebout, H. (1961). Alcoholics Anonymous- An experiment of nature. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 22, 52-68. **99.** Tiebout, H. (1944). Therapeutic mechanisms of Alcoholics Anonymous. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 100, 468-473. Tiebout, H. (1949). The act of surrender in the therapeutic process, with special reference to alcoholism. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 10, 48-58. **100.** Robertson, N. (1988). *Getting better: Inside Alcoholics Anonymous*. New York: William Morrow and Company. **101.** Tiebout, H. (1956a). Why psychiatrists fail with alcoholics. *A.A. Grapevine*, 13(4), 8; Reprinted *AA Grapevine*, 29(6), 14-19.

### Chapter Sixteen: The Program of Alcoholics Anonymous

**102.** The understanding of Alcoholics Anonymous by professionals working in the field of addiction treatment has been greatly enhanced by the doctoral work of two individuals: Ernest Kurtz and Milton Maxwell. Kurtz, through his landmark work *Not God: A History of Alcoholics Anonymous* and numerous articles on AA, has provided definitive accounts of AA's history as well as insightful interpretations of AA's program of recovery. Maxwell did his doctoral research on Alcoholics Anonymous at the University of Texas in the late 1940s. His writings on AA and the Washingtonian Movement remain classics in the field. **103.** *AA Grapevine*, 8(6), 24. *AA Grapevine*, 23(12), 24-25. *If you are a professional, AA wants to work with you*. (1972). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **104.** Miller, W., & Kurtz, E. (1994). Models of alcoholism used in treatment: Contrasting AA and other perspectives with which it is often confused. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 55, 159-166. **105.** Wilson, B. (1944). Basic concepts of Alcoholics Anonymous. *New York State Journal of Medicine*, 44(16), 1805-1808. **106.** Maxwell, M. (1962). Alcoholics Anonymous: An interpretation. In D. Pittman & C. Snyder (Eds.), *Society, culture and drinking patterns* (pp. 577-585). New York: John Wiley and Sons. **107.** Wing, N. (1992). *Grateful to have been there: My 42 years with Bill and Lois, and the evolution of Alcoholics Anonymous*. Park Ridge, IL: Parkside Publishing Corporation. **108.** Room, R. (1993). Alcoholics Anonymous as a social movement. In B. McCrady & W. Miller (Eds.), *Research on Alcoholics Anonymous: Opportunities and Alternatives* (pp. 167-187). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Center of Alcohol Studies. **109.** Kurtz, E. (1982). AA works: The intellectual significance of Alcoholics Anonymous. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 43, 38-80. **110.** Some early members described the

AA program as a "cure" and referred to themselves as "cured." Other early designations such as "ex-alcoholic" or "reformed alcoholic" eventually gave way to debate about the relative merits of two other self-designations: "recovered alcoholic" versus "recovering alcoholic." *Dr. Bob and the good oldtimers: A biography, with recollections of early AA in the Midwest.* (1980). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **111.** *Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions.* (1952). New York: AA Publishing, Inc. **112.** *Alcoholics Anonymous* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition). (1955). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **113.** Maxwell, M. (1962). Alcoholics Anonymous: An interpretation. In D. Pittman & C. Snyder (Eds.), *Society, culture and drinking patterns* (pp. 577-585). New York: John Wiley and Sons. **114.** White, W. L. (1990). *The culture of addiction, the culture of recovery.* Bloomington, IL: Lighthouse Institute. **115.** *Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions.* (1952). New York: AA Publishing, Inc. **116.** Wing, N. (1993). Monterey Bay Conference, Monterey, CA. On [Audiotape]. Monterey, CA. **117.** White, W. L. (1990). *The culture of addiction, the culture of recovery.* Bloomington, IL: Lighthouse Institute. **118.** B., Mel. (1990). *The slogans.* Portage, IN: Portage Printing. Our slogans—old sayings made new. (1971). *AA Grapevine*, 27(10), 6-8. **119.** A disease of opposites. (1979). *AA Grapevine*, 35(10), 20-21. **120.** See Kurtz, AA and Treatment (Rutgers Distance Learning Tape) and Wing 1992 for observations on this role of laughter from two long-term observers of AA. Wing, N. (1992). *Grateful to have been there: My 42 years with Bill and Lois, and the evolution of Alcoholics Anonymous.* Park Ridge, IL: Parkside Publishing Corporation. **121.** *Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions.* (1952). New York: AA Publishing, Inc. **122.** Why I'm glad I'm an alcoholic. (1964). *AA Grapevine*, 21(2), 21-22. **123.** It cannot be said that AA incorporated these elements from their predecessors since the first references to the Washingtonians in AA literature didn't appear until 1945 (in the *Grapevine*) and even today one finds no references in AA literature to the existence of the fraternal temperance societies or the reform clubs. **124.** While this rule generally held, there were exceptions. Robert Fitzgerald notes that early in AA there were a number of non-alcoholic "fellow-travelers" who through some kind of implicit agreement were allowed to attend closed meetings. This practice continues today in some groups without open acknowledgment. (Fitzgerald, 1995, p. 28.) For a flavor of differing opinions with AA about open versus closed meetings, read the September 1948 *Grapevine*, pp.20-22. Fitzgerald, R. (1995). *The soul of sponsorship: The friendship of Fr. Ed Dowling, S. J. and Bill Wilson in letters.* Center City, MN: Hazelden Foundation. **125.** Kurtz, E. (1996). Spirituality and the secular quest: Twelve Step programs. In P. Van Ness (Ed.), *World spirituality encyclopedic history of the religious quest* (Vol. 22). New York: Crossroad. **126.** This practice has not been without its controversy within AA, particularly among fundamentalists who continue to argue that "The person here with the longest sobriety is the one who got up earliest this morning and hasn't taken a drink." **127.** Letter from Doc N. (1944). *AA Grapevine*, 1(3), p. 2. **128.** In the Oxford groups, members received "guidance"—messages of spiritual direction communicated to others. In practice, this meant that members often received from other members strong admonitions of what they should and should not do, couched in the language of "spiritual direction" that had been received. This advice or admonishment did not set well with most alcoholics and was eliminated in AA through the general discouragement of cross-talk. See Makela et.al. (1996) for a brief review of informal rules of communication that govern AA meetings. Makela, K., Arminen, I., Bloomfield, K., Eisenbach-Stangl, I., Bergmark, K. H., Kurube, N.,...Rosovsky, H. (1996). *Alcoholics Anonymous as a mutual-help movement: A study in eight societies.* Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press. **129.** Makela, K., Arminen, I., Bloomfield, K., Eisenbach-Stangl, I., Bergmark, K. H., Kurube, N.,...Rosovsky, H. (1996). *Alcoholics Anonymous as a mutual-help movement: A*

*study in eight societies*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press. **130.** Mercadante, L. (1996). *Victims and sinners: Spiritual roots of addiction and recovery*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press. Kurtz, E., & Ketcham, K. (1992). *The spirituality of imperfection: Modern wisdom from classic stories*. New York: Bantam Books. **131.** *Alcoholics Anonymous* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition). (1955). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **132.** *Alcoholics Anonymous* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition). (1955). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **133.** *Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions*. (1952). New York: AA Publishing, Inc. *Alcoholics Anonymous* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition). (1955). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **134.** *Alcoholics Anonymous* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition). (1955). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **135.** Folk sayings within the culture of recovery such as “Act as if” and “Fake it ‘till you make it” reflect this view. **136.** Blumberg, L., with Pittman, W. (1991). *Beware the first drink!* Seattle, WA: Glen Abbey Books. **137.** Clark, W. H. (1951). *The Oxford Group: Its history and significance*. New York: Bookman Associates. **138.** *Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions*. (1952). New York: AA Publishing, Inc. **139.** *Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions*. (1952). New York: AA Publishing, Inc. **140.** *Alcoholics Anonymous* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition). (1955). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **141.** Letter from Doc N. (1944). *AA Grapevine*, 1(3), 2, August. Letter from Doc M. *AA Grapevine*, 1(4), 2 (September). **142.** *AA Grapevine*, October 1946. **143.** This exclusivity would influence most of the later Twelve-Step adaptations. What most Twelve-Step program participants have in common, in addition to the Steps, is mutual identification—a shared pain produced by a single problem, condition, or event. Exclusivity ensures that those sitting across the table from one another will communicate out of an equality of shared experience. **144.** See Chapter Nineteen for additional discussion on the inclusion of people in AA who are addicted to drugs other than alcohol. **145.** It is my own view that the best kept secret about and within AA is the existence of large numbers of formerly active members who sustain their sobriety and their emotional well-being long after they have ceased active participation in AA meetings. **146.** *Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions*. (1952). New York: AA Publishing, Inc. **147.** For samples of the latter, see: On attending AA meetings. (1948). *AA Grapevine*, 12; Everyone quit coming. (1964). *AA Grapevine*, 20(11), 35-36; I want to share. (1978). *AA Grapevine*, 34(8), 35. **148.** *Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions*. (1952). New York: AA Publishing, Inc. **149.** If this analysis is accurate, it has potentially ominous implications for some of the newer mutual-aid societies that offer themselves as alternatives to AA. Organizations such as Women for Sobriety, Rational Recovery, and others posit that individuals need participate only as long as they feel a need for such support. While this position may make sense in the short run for individuals participating during a time of high organizational energy and stable organizational leadership, it might very well doom these organizations to an early demise by depriving new members of stable and mature role models. The lack of a cadre of strong indigenous leaders decreases the organization’s ability to sustain itself and the integrity of its message. **150.** Another interesting footnote to this discussion is the reminder from the last chapter that Bill Wilson was himself criticized for not attending meetings regularly. **151.** Mercadante, L. (1996). *Victims and sinners: Spiritual roots of addiction and recovery*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press. **152.** Room, R. (1993). Alcoholics Anonymous as a social movement. In B. McCrady & W. Miller (Eds.), *Research on Alcoholics Anonymous: Opportunities and Alternatives* (pp. 167-187). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Center of Alcohol Studies. **153.** Levine, H. (1984). The alcohol problem in America: From temperance to alcoholism. *British Journal of Addiction*, 79, 109-119. **154.** Tournier, R. (1979). Alcoholics Anonymous as treatment and as ideology. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 40, 230-239. **155.** Tiebout, H. (1958). Direct treatment of a symptom. In P. Hoch & J. Zubin, *Problems of*

*addiction and habituation* (pp. 17-26). New York: Grune & Stratton. Tiebout, H. (1963). Treating the causes of alcoholism. *AA Grapevine*, 20(6), 9-11. **156.** Humphreys, K. (2006). The trial of Alcoholics Anonymous. *Addiction*, 101, 617-618. **157.** Kaskutas, L. A. (2009). Alcoholics Anonymous effectiveness: Faith meets science. *Journal of Addictive Diseases*, 28, 145-157. **158.** Fingarette, H. (1988). Alcoholism: The mythical disease. *Utne Reader*, Nov/Dec, 64-69. Peele, S. (1989). *Diseasing of America: Addiction treatment out of control*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. **159.** *Alcoholics Anonymous* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition). (1955). New York: AA World Services, Inc. Wilson, B. (1944). Basic concepts of Alcoholics Anonymous. *New York State Journal of Medicine*, 44(16), 1805-1808. **160.** For reviews and representative studies, see Kelly J. F., & Yeterian, J. (2008). Mutual-help groups. In W. O'Donohue & J. R. Cunningham (Eds.), *Evidence-based adjunctive treatments* (pp. 61-106). New York: Elsevier; Project MATCH Research Group. (1997). Matching alcoholism treatment to client heterogeneity: Project MATCH posttreatment drinking outcomes. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 58, 7-29; Moos, R.H. & Moos, B.S. (2005). Paths of entry into Alcoholics Anonymous: Consequences for participation and remission. *Alcoholism: Clinical and Experimental Research*, 29(10), 1858-1868. White, W. (2009). *Peer-based addiction recovery support: History, theory, practice, and scientific evaluation*. Chicago, IL: Great Lakes Addiction Technology Transfer Center and Philadelphia Department of Behavioral Health and Mental Retardation Services. **161.** Morgenstern, J., Kahler, C. W., Frey, R. M., & Labouvie, E. (1996). Modeling therapeutic response to 12-step treatment: Optimal responders, nonresponders, and partial responders. *Journal of Substance Abuse*, 8, 45-60. **162.** Brown, B.S., O'Grady, K.E., Farrell, E.V., Flechner, I.S., & Nurco, D.N. (2001). Factors associated with frequency of 12-Step attendance by drug abuse clients. *American Journal of Drug and Alcohol Abuse*, 27(1), 147-160. Connors, G.J., Tonigan, S., & Miller, W. (2001). *Religiosity and responsiveness to alcoholism treatments*. Bethesda, MD: Department of Health and Human Services. Winzelberg, A. & Humphreys, K. (1999). Should patients' religiosity influence clinicians' referral to 12-Step self-help groups? Evidence from a study of 3018 male substance abuse patients. *Journal of Counseling and Clinical Psychology*, 67(5), 790-794. **163.** Trimpey, J. (1989). *The small book*. New York: Delacorte Press. **164.** Bean, M. (1975). Alcoholics Anonymous: Part II. *Psychiatric Annals*, 5, 7-57. **165.** Ogborne, A. (1989). Some limitations of Alcoholics Anonymous. In M. Galanter (Ed.), *Recent developments in alcoholism* (Vol. 7, pp. 55-65). New York: Springer. **166.** Cain, A. (1963). Alcoholics Anonymous: Cult or cure. *Harper's Magazine*, 226, 48-52. Alexander, F., & Rollins, M. (1984). Alcoholics Anonymous: The unseen cult. *California Sociologist*, 7(1), 33-48. Herman, E. (1988). The Twelve Step program: Cure or cover. *Utne Reader*, November/December, 52-63. Bufe, C. (1991). *Alcoholics Anonymous: Cult or cure?* San Francisco: Sharp Press. **167.** Emrick, C. D. (1989). Alcoholics Anonymous: Membership characteristics and effectiveness as treatment. In M. Galanter (Ed.), *Recent developments in alcoholism* (Vol. 7, pp. 37-53). New York: Springer. **168.** Montgomery, H. A., Miller, W. R., & Tonigan, J. S. (1995). Does Alcoholics Anonymous involvement predict treatment outcome? *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment*, 12, 241-246. **169.** Kurtz, E. (2002). Alcoholics Anonymous and the disease concept of alcoholism. *Alcoholism Treatment Quarterly*, 20(3/4), 5-39. **170.** Bufe, C. (1991). *Alcoholics Anonymous: Cult or cure?* San Francisco: Sharp Press. **171.** For a most interesting response to this criticism, see Kurtz, L. (1997). Recovery, the 12-Step movement, and politics. *Social Work*, 42(4), 403-405. **172.** Tournier, R. (1979). Alcoholics Anonymous as treatment and as ideology. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 40, 230-239. **173.** Tournier, R. (1979). Alcoholics Anonymous as treatment and as ideology. *Journal of Studies on*

*Alcohol*, 40, 230-239. Emrick, C. D. (1989). Alcoholics Anonymous: Membership characteristics and effectiveness as treatment. In M. Galanter (Ed.), *Recent developments in alcoholism* (Vol. 7, pp. 37-53). New York: Springer.

Cahalan, D. (1979). Why does the alcoholism field act like a ship of fools? *British Journal on Addictions*, 74, 235-238. **174.** The careful reader of this chapter will note that the very activities AA is accused of involving itself in are strictly prohibited by AA traditions. The failure to delineate the actions of AA as an institution from the actions of alcoholism professionals—who may also happen to be AA members but who in no way speak for AA—and the confusion between AA and the broader alcoholism movement are obvious here.

**175.** Ellison, J. (1964). Alcoholics Anonymous: Dangers of success. *Nation*, 198, 212-214. **176.** See White, W., & Kurtz, E. (2010). *A message of tolerance and celebration: The portrayal of multiple pathways of recovery in the writings of Alcoholics Anonymous co-founder Bill Wilson*. Posted at [www.williamwhitepapers.com](http://www.williamwhitepapers.com). **177.** *AA Grapevine*, 1(4), 1, 3. **178.** Our critics can be our benefactors. (1963). *AA Grapevine*, 20(11), 2-4. **179.** *Dr. Bob and the good oldtimers: A biography, with recollections of early AA in the Midwest*. (1980). New York: AA World Services, Inc. AA World Services. (1984). *“Pass it on”: The story of Bill Wilson and how the AA message reached the world*. New York: AA World Services, Inc. **180.** The first edition did use the subtitle "The Story of How More Than One Hundred Men Have Recovered From Alcoholism." The second edition replaced the term “Men” with the phrase "Thousands of Men and Women." AA World Services. (1984). *“Pass it on”: The story of Bill Wilson and how the AA message reached the world*. New York: AA World Services, Inc. **181.** M., Marty. (1965). *4<sup>th</sup> International Convention, Toronto, Canada* [Audiotape]. **182.** Vourakis, C. (1989). *The process of recovery for women in Alcoholics Anonymous: Seeking groups “like me.”* Doctoral dissertation, University of California, San Francisco. **183.** Later studies would show that recovery rates for women in AA were comparable to those for men. Leach, B., & Norris, J. (1977). Factors in the development of Alcoholics Anonymous (AA). In B. Kissen & H. Begleiter (Eds.), *The biology of alcoholism, Volume 5, treatment and rehabilitation of the chronic alcoholic*. New York: Plenum Press. **184.** *Dr. Bob and the good oldtimers: A biography, with recollections of early AA in the Midwest*. (1980). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **185.** *Dr. Bob and the good oldtimers: A biography, with recollections of early AA in the Midwest*. (1980). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **186.** Maxwell reported that only three of AA’s first 100 members were women. Maxwell, M. (1982). Alcoholics Anonymous. In E. Gomberg, H. White, & J. Carpenter (Eds.), *Alcohol, science and society revisited* (pp. 295-305). Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press. **187.** Women alcoholics have a tougher fight. (1945). *AA Grapevine*, 1(12), 3. **188.** Professional observers of AA during its first 15 years also noted that women had more difficulty affiliating with AA than did men. Bacon, S. (1949). The administration of alcoholism rehabilitation programs. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 10(1), 1-47. **189.** (1946). *AA Grapevine*, 3(5), 1, 6. **190.** Richeson, F. (1978). *Courage to change*. Minneapolis, MN: M & M Printing. **191.** McElrath, D. (1981). *Roses of Dia Linn: A celebration of 25 years*. Center City, MN: Hazelden Foundation. **192.** W., Searcy. (1993). *A study book on my “alcoholism recovery” since May 10, 1946 and a history of how early AA groups started*. Dallas, TX: Texas Clinic-Hospital for Alcoholism, Inc. **193.** Alexander, J. (April 1, 1950). The drunkard’s best friend. *Saturday Evening Post*, 17-18, 74-76, 78-79. **194.** Vourakis, C. (1989). *The process of recovery for women in Alcoholics Anonymous: Seeking groups “like me.”* Doctoral dissertation, University of California, San Francisco. **195.** For a typical article, see: Lady AA members get their heads together. (1949). *AA Grapevine*, 5(12), 11. **196.** AA in the news: 1940-1942. (1982). *AA Grapevine*, 39(6), 25. **197.** McElrath, D. (1987). *Hazelden: A*

*spiritual odyssey*. Center City, MN: Hazelden Foundation. **198**. Mel B., personal communication, September 29, 1996. **199**. *Dr. Bob and the good oldtimers: A biography, with recollections of early AA in the Midwest*. (1980). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **200**. *Alcoholics Anonymous comes of age*. (1957). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **201**. Kurtz, E. (1979). *Not God: A history of Alcoholics Anonymous*. Center City, MN: Hazelden. Hudson, H. (1985). How and why Alcoholics Anonymous works for blacks. In F. Brisbane & M. Womble (Eds.), *Treatment of black alcoholics*. New York: Haworth Press. **202**. Mel B. taped interview with Jimmy F., 1978. **203**. Dr. Bob and Sister Ignatia also seem to have been instrumental in opening up some of the early hospital units. At first, Black alcoholics were denied access to St. Thomas' alcoholism ward in the 1940s because of the widespread practice of designating only certain hospitals or certain sections of a hospital for Blacks. During that time, Sister Ignatia and Dr. Bob were able to get the hospital administration to approve the inclusion of 1-2 "colored beds" in the alcoholism ward. (Mel B. Taped Interview with Edward B., 1978, AA Archives). **204**. Hudson, H. (1985). How and why Alcoholics Anonymous works for blacks. In F. Brisbane & M. Womble (Eds.), *Treatment of black alcoholics*. New York: Haworth Press. **205**. The negro in AA. (1951). *AA Grapevine*, 8(4), 47. **206**. The first survey of AA members was conducted in the State of New York by the National Council on Alcoholism. It revealed that most New York AA members were middle and upper class. Forty-eight percent had completed college, and eleven percent had completed professional or graduate education. New York AA was by no means representative of AA around the country. Measuring AA—A study. (1967). *AA Grapevine*, 23(9), 45. **207**. Harper, F. (1976). *Alcohol and blacks: An overview*. Alexandria, VA: Douglas Publishers. **208**. Hudson, H. (1985). How and why Alcoholics Anonymous works for Blacks. In: Brisbane, F. and Womble, M. Eds. *Treatment of Black Alcoholics*. NY: Haworth Press, pp. 11-30. **209**. Caetano defined this shared view in terms of agreement with three propositions: 1) "Alcoholism is an illness," 2) "Without help problems get worse and worse," and 3) "To recover, alcoholics have to quit forever." **210**. Caetano, R. (1993). *Ethnic minority groups and Alcoholics Anonymous: A review*. Berkeley, CA: Alcohol Research Group; Also In B. McCrady & W. Miller (1993). *Research on Alcoholics Anonymous: Opportunities and alternatives*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Center of Alcohol Studies. **211**. Humphreys, K., & Woods, M. (1993). Researching mutual help group participation in a segregated society. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 29, 181-201. **212**. Bean, M. (1975). Alcoholics Anonymous: Part II. *Psychiatric Annals*, 5, 7-57. **213**. *Dr. Bob and the good oldtimers: A biography, with recollections of early AA in the Midwest*. (1980). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **214**. Borden, A. (2007). *The history of gay people in Alcoholics Anonymous: From the beginning*. New York: Haworth Press. **215**. *Alcoholics Anonymous* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition). (1955). New York: AA World Services, Inc. Comments on AA's Triennial Survey. Report on survey of AA membership. (1968). *AA Grapevine*, 25(7), 43. Alcoholics Anonymous. (2008). *2007 Alcoholics Anonymous membership survey*. New York: AA World Services, Inc; See [http://www.aa.org/pdf/products/p-48\\_membershipsurvey.pdf](http://www.aa.org/pdf/products/p-48_membershipsurvey.pdf) **216**. Makela, K., Arminen, I., Bloomfield, K., Eisenbach-Stangl, I., Bergmark, K. H., Kurube, N.,...Rosovsky, H. (1996). *Alcoholics Anonymous as a mutual-help movement: A study in eight societies*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press. **217**. Laundergan, J. (1982). *Easy does it: Alcoholism treatment outcomes, Hazelden and the Minnesota Model*. Center City, MN: Hazelden Foundation. **218**. Beckman, L. (1993). Alcoholics Anonymous and gender issues. In B. McCrady & W. Miller (Eds.), *Research on Alcoholics Anonymous: Opportunities and alternatives*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Center of Alcohol Studies. **219**. Sanders, J. (2010). Acknowledging

gender in women-only meetings of Alcoholics Anonymous. *Journal of Groups in Addiction and Recovery*, 5(1), 17-33. Sanders, J.M. (2011). Feminist perspectives on 12-Step recovery: A comparative analysis of women in Alcoholics Anonymous and Narcotics Anonymous. *Alcoholism Treatment Quarterly*, 29, 357-378. Sanders, J. (2012). Use of mutual support to counteract the effects of socially constructed stigma: Gender and drug addiction." *Journal of Groups in Addiction and Recovery*, 7(2-4), 237-252. Sanders, J. (2009). *Women in Alcoholics Anonymous: Recovery and empowerment*. Boulder, CO: First Forum Press a division of Lynne Rienner Publisher, Inc. Sanders, J. (2014). *Women in Narcotics Anonymous: Overcoming stigma & shame*. New York, NY: Pelgrave Macmillan a division of St Martin's Press LLC. Sanders, J. (2006). Women and the Twelve Steps of Alcoholic Anonymous: A gendered narrative. *Alcoholism Treatment Quarterly*, 2006, Vol. 24, No. 3, 3-29. **220.** Alcoholics Anonymous. (2008). *2007 Alcoholics Anonymous membership survey*. New York: AA World Services, Inc. **221.** Caetano, R. (1993). *Ethnic minority groups and Alcoholics Anonymous: A review*. Berkeley, CA: Alcohol Research Group; Also In B. McCrady & W. Miller (1993). *Research on Alcoholics Anonymous: Opportunities and alternatives*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Center of Alcohol Studies. **222.** Heath, D. (1981). Determining the sociocultural context of alcohol use. In D. Heath, J. Waddell, & M. Topper (Eds.), *Cultural factors in alcohol research and treatment of drinking patterns*. New Brunswick, NJ: JSA. Caetano, R. (1993). Ethnic minority groups and Alcoholics Anonymous: A review. Berkeley, California: Alcohol Research Group; also, In: McCrady, B. and Miller, W. (1993). *Research on Alcoholics Anonymous: Opportunities and Alternatives*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Center of Alcohol Studies, pp. 209-231. Jilek-Aall, L. (1981). Acculturation, alcoholism, and Indian-style Alcoholics Anonymous. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 9, 143-158. **223.** Makela, K., Arminen, I., Bloomfield, K., Eisenbach-Stangl, I., Bergmark, K. H., Kurube, N.,...Rosovsky, H. (1996). *Alcoholics Anonymous as a mutual-help movement: A study in eight societies*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press. **224.** Montgomery, H. A., Miller, W., & Tonigan, J. S. (1993). Differences among AA groups: Implications for research. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 54, 502-504. **225.** Kurtz, E. (1982). AA works: The intellectual significance of Alcoholics Anonymous. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 43, 38-80. **226.** Trice, H., & Staudenmeier, W. (1989). A sociocultural history of Alcoholics Anonymous. In M. Galanter (Ed.), *Recent developments in alcoholism* (Vol. 7, pp. 11-35). New York: Plenum Press. **227.** Room, R. (1993). Alcoholics Anonymous as a social movement. In B. McCrady & W. Miller (Eds.), *Research on Alcoholics Anonymous: Opportunities and Alternatives* (pp. 167-187). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Center of Alcohol Studies. **228.** Wuthnow, R. (1994). *Sharing the journey: Support groups and America's new quest for community*. New York: Free Press. **229.** Kurtz, E. (1982). AA works: The intellectual significance of Alcoholics Anonymous. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 43, 38-80. **230.** Leach, B., & Norris, J. (1977). Factors in the development of Alcoholics Anonymous (AA). In B. Kissen & H. Begleiter (Eds.), *The biology of alcoholism, Volume 5, treatment and rehabilitation of the chronic alcoholic*. New York: Plenum Press. **231.** Mercadante, L. (1996). *Victims and sinners: Spiritual roots of addiction and recovery*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press.

#### **Chapter Seventeen: AA and the Professional Care of Alcoholics: 1935-1960**

**232.** *Alcoholics Anonymous comes of age*. (1957). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **233.** Heersema, P. (1942). Present role of 'Alcoholics Anonymous' in the treatment of chronic alcoholism. *Minnesota Medicine*, 25, 204-205. Corwin, E., & Cunningham, E. (1944).

Institutional facilities for the treatment of alcoholism. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 5(1), 9-85. **234.** *Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions*. (1952). New York: AA Publishing, Inc. **235.** *Alcoholics Anonymous comes of age*. (1957). New York: AA World Services, Inc. Louisville plans clinic (1946). *A.A. Grapevine*, 2(9), 7, February. **236.** Appendix, Central Committee Hospital Committee Meeting, September 14, 1941: "Proposed Plan for AA Hospital" Clarence S. Papers". **237.** Central Committee Meeting Minutes, December 2, 1941, Clarence S. Papers. **238.** *Dr. Bob and the good oldtimers: A biography, with recollections of early AA in the Midwest*. (1980). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **239.** AA Central Committee Minutes, February 3, 1942, p. 6. Clarence S. Papers. **240.** Trustee vote fixes policy on gift funds. (1946). *AA Grapevine*, 3(1), 2, 8. **241.** (1947). *AA Grapevine*, 3(1), 3-5. **242.** (1946). *AA Grapevine*, June, 2. **243.** New York's long hard road to hospital facilities. (1952). *AA Grapevine*, 8(9), 19-23. **244.** The majority of material for this profile has been drawn from DBGGO, Mary Darrah's text, *Sister Ignatia: Angel of Alcoholics Anonymous*, and Sister Ignatia's own articles and speeches. **245.** Dr. Bob. (1951). *AA Grapevine, Special Edition* (January). **246.** (1969). *AA Grapevine*, 26(1), 4-8. **247.** For Sister Ignatia: Our everlasting gratitude. (1966). *AA Grapevine*, 23(3), 2-9. **248.** Darrah, M. C. (1992). *Sister Ignatia: Angel of Alcoholics Anonymous*. Chicago: Loyola University Press. **249.** Sister Ignatia. (1951). The care of alcoholics. *Hospital Progress*, 32, 293-296. **250.** Sister Ignatia. (1960). *25<sup>th</sup> AA International Convention, Long Beach, CA* [Audiotape]. **251.** Sister Ignatia. (1951). The care of alcoholics. *Hospital Progress*, 32, 293-296. Darrah, M. C. (1992). *Sister Ignatia: Angel of Alcoholics Anonymous*. Chicago: Loyola University Press. **252.** (1969). *AA Grapevine*, 26(1), 54-58. Sister Ignatia. (1951). The care of alcoholics. *Hospital Progress*, 32, 293-296. **253.** Hospitalization in Akron model for AA. (1945). *AA Grapevine*, 1(9), 4. **254.** Silkworth, W. (1937). Reclamation of the alcoholic. *MR*, 145, 321-324 (April 21). Silkworth W. (1939). Psychological rehabilitation of alcoholics. *MR*, 150, 65-66. **255.** MacCormick quite poignantly describes the risk that alcoholics might die in detoxification in his 1941 account of alcoholics in the criminal justice system: *I have known of men who were dying on their feet while they were being lectured by a judge and who died within an hour after being received at the institution to which they had been sentenced*. Quoted in Corwin and Cunningham, 1944, p. 23. Corwin, E., & Cunningham, E. (1944). Institutional facilities for the treatment of alcoholism. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 5(1), 9-85. **256.** *Dr. Bob and the good oldtimers: A biography, with recollections of early AA in the Midwest*. (1980). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **257.** (1969). *AA Grapevine*, 26(1), 4-8. **258.** *Dr. Bob and the good oldtimers: A biography, with recollections of early AA in the Midwest*. (1980). New York: AA World Services, Inc. Wing, N. (1992). *Grateful to have been there: My 42 years with Bill and Lois, and the evolution of Alcoholics Anonymous*. Park Ridge, IL: Parkside Publishing Corporation. **259.** *Dr. Bob and the good oldtimers: A biography, with recollections of early AA in the Midwest*. (1980). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **260.** *Alcoholics Anonymous comes of age*. (1957). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **261.** *Alcoholics Anonymous comes of age*. (1957). New York: AA World Services, Inc. *Hospital committee report, February 3, 1942*. (1942). Clarence S. Papers. **262.** *Dr. Bob and the good oldtimers: A biography, with recollections of early AA in the Midwest*. (1980). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **263.** Hospital facilities. (1951). *AA Grapevine*, 7(9), 19-23. **264.** From an early secretary's handbook (report on Knickerbocker Hospital). *Markings: Your Archives Interchange*, 15(1). **265.** From an early secretary's handbook (report on Knickerbocker Hospital). *Markings: Your Archives Interchange*, 15(1). **266.** Mann, M. (1948). The alcoholic in the general hospital. *Southern Hospitals*, 16(11), 27-31. **267.** AA ward at Knickerbocker proves



success. (1946). *AA Grapevine*, 2(9), 3. **268.** Philadelphia story on hospitalization. (1945). *AA Grapevine*, 1(10), 4. **269.** Teddy R.'s story appeared in an October 3, 1952 issue of *Saturday Evening Post* in an article entitled, "I'm a Nurse in an Alcoholic Ward." **270.** AA and hospitalization. (1950). *AA Grapevine*, 17(2), 6-10. **271.** *Alcoholics Anonymous comes of age.* (1957). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **272.** AA World Services. (1984). *"Pass it on": The story of Bill Wilson and how the AA message reached the world.* New York: AA World Services, Inc. **273.** Allan B. (1956, December 18). [Letter to Colonel Towns]. Letter quoted in: P., Wally. (1995). *But, for the grace of God...: How intergroups & central offices carried the message of Alcoholics Anonymous in the 1940s.* Wheeling, WV: The Bishop of Books. **274.** *Alcoholics Anonymous comes of age.* (1957). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **275.** *Alcoholics Anonymous comes of age.* (1957). New York: AA World Services, Inc. Anderson, D. (1942). Alcohol and public opinion *QJSA*, 3(3):376-392.. The first hospital group. (1977). *AA Grapevine*, 34(1), 26-29. **276.** Wing, N. (1992). *Grateful to have been there: My 42 years with Bill and Lois, and the evolution of Alcoholics Anonymous.* Park Ridge, IL: Parkside Publishing Corporation. **277.** The Brooklyn group works closely with hospital patients. (1944). *AA Grapevine*, 1(2), 3. Washington DC has new clinic for alcoholics. (1945). *AA Grapevine*, 2(5), 7. (1946). *AA Grapevine*, 2(12), 12. Corwin, E., & Cunningham, E. (1944). Institutional facilities for the treatment of alcoholism. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 5(1), 9-85. Hope is born for hopeless behind doors of state hospital. (1947). *AA Grapevine*, 4(1), 15. Dr. Sam Parker of Kings County suggests 'Criteria for AA work in hospitals.' (1945). *AA Grapevine*, 1(10), 4. **278.** McMahan, H. (1942). The psychotherapeutic approach of chronic alcoholism in conjunction with the Alcoholics Anonymous program. *Illinois Psychiatric Journal*, 2, 15-20. **279.** Moore, R., & Buchanan, T. (1966). State hospitals and alcoholism: A national survey of treatment techniques and results. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 27, 459-468. Moore, R. (1971). Alcoholism treatment in private psychiatric hospitals. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 32, 1083-1085. **280.** W., Searcy. (1993). *A study book on my "alcoholism recovery" since May 10, 1946 and a history of how early AA groups started.* Dallas, TX: Texas Clinic-Hospital for Alcoholism, Inc. **281.** Twelfth Step Workshops. (1951). *AA Grapevine*, 7(9), 39-44. **282.** Chicago Committee on Alcoholism sparks civic interest. (1947). *AA Grapevine*, 4(4), 3. **283.** Shepherd, E. (1950). Reports on government sponsored programs. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 11, 351-371. **284.** Corwin, E., & Cunningham, E. (1944). Institutional facilities for the treatment of alcoholism. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 5(1), 9-85. P., Wally. (1995). *But, for the grace of God...: How intergroups & central offices carried the message of Alcoholics Anonymous in the 1940s.* Wheeling, WV: The Bishop of Books. **285.** A.A. (Los Angeles). (1952). *AA Grapevine*, 8(10), 21-22. **286.** Searcy W. Interview, May 16, 1996. **287.** Searcy W. Interview, May 16, 1996. **288.** Searcy W. Interview, May 16, 1996. **289.** *Lois Remembers.* (1994). New York: Al-Anon Family Group Headquarters, Inc.p. 122 **290.** Harbaugh, L. (1995). *Sister Francie and the ministry of high watch: From new thought to Alcoholics Anonymous* [Bachelor's Thesis]. Smith College. **291.** High Watch Board Meeting Minutes, October 1940. **292.** *Alcoholics Anonymous comes of age.* (1957). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **293.** High Watch Board Meeting Minutes, August 21, 1941. **294.** High Watch Board Meeting Minutes, July 5, 1941 and August 21, 1941. **295.** High Watch Board Meeting Minutes, July 5, 1941. **296.** Harbaugh, L. (1995). *Sister Francie and the ministry of high watch: From new thought to Alcoholics Anonymous* [Bachelor's Thesis]. Smith College. **297.** Marty M.'s letter of resignation from the High Watch Board, July 5, 1941. **298.** Marty M.'s letter of resignation from the High Watch Board, July 5, 1941. Marty did not always maintain this clear

distinction between treatment and AA. In her 1950 *Primer on Alcoholism*, she described AA as “a fellowship and a method of treatment.” Mann, M. (1950). *Primer on alcoholism*. New York: Rinehart and Company. **299.** Mann, M. (1948). The alcoholic in the general hospital. *Southern Hospitals*, 16(11), 27-31. **300.** Wilson, B. (1941, July 22). [Letter to Ray C.]. High Watch Archives. **301.** High Watch Board Meeting Minutes, August-November, 1941. **302.** Harbaugh, L. (1994). *A case study of the ministry of the High Watch: Political and economic pressures on a non-medical solution for alcoholism*. Unpublished manuscript. **303.** Kurtz, L. (1997). *Self-help and support groups*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications. **304.** *Alcoholics Anonymous comes of age*. (1957). New York: AA World Services, Inc. **305.** Richeson, F. (1978). *Courage to change*. Minneapolis, MN: M & M Printing. **306.** Miller, W., & Kurtz, E. (1994). Models of alcoholism used in treatment: Contrasting AA and other perspectives with which it is often confused. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 55, 159-166. Kurtz, E. (2002). Alcoholics Anonymous and the disease concept of alcoholism. *Alcoholism Treatment Quarterly*, 20(3/4), 5-40. **307.** Gresham, D. (1995). *A history of Alcoholics Anonymous in Oregon: 1943-1983*. Portland, Oregon: The Oregon Area General Service Committee of Alcoholics Anonymous. **308.** For early sentiments on this issue, see Bacon, 1949. Bacon’s position was clear: “A hospital should not play at being A.A., nor should A.A. play at being a hospital.” He further thought that the use of A.A. members should be restricted to non-therapist roles because the therapeutic functions of A.A. and those of professional therapists were different. He called for “cooperation without comingling of personnel.” Bacon, S. (1949). The administration of alcoholism rehabilitation programs. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 10(1), 1-47.

### Chapter Eighteen: The “Modern Alcoholism Movement”: The Core

**309.** Chapters Eighteen and Nineteen have been enriched by two dissertations: Bruce Holley Johnson’s 1973 *The Alcoholism Movement in America* and Ron Roizen’s 1991 *The American Discovery of Alcoholism, 1933-1939*. I would like to acknowledge the particular contributions Ron Roizen made to the development of these chapters. His research and writings on this period and our ongoing correspondence about the context, institutions, and people of this period provided invaluable details and perspective. **310.** Levine, H. (1987). The discovery of addiction: Changing conceptions of habitual drunkenness in America. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 39(1), 143-174. **311.** Roizen, R. P. (1991). *The American discovery of alcoholism, 1933-1939*. Berkeley, CA: University of California. **312.** Haggard, H. (1945). Editorial: The “wets” and “drys” join against science. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 6(2), 131-134. **313.** Pattison, E. M., Bishop, L. A., & Linsky, A. S. (1968). Changes in public attitudes on narcotic addiction. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 125(2), 160-167. **314.** Roizen, R. P. (1991). *The American discovery of alcoholism, 1933-1939*. Berkeley, CA: University of California. **315.** Roizen, R. P. (1991). *The American discovery of alcoholism, 1933-1939*. Berkeley, CA: University of California. **316.** Roizen, R. P. (1991). *The American discovery of alcoholism, 1933-1939*. Berkeley, CA: University of California. **317.** Roizen, R. P. (1991). *The American discovery of alcoholism, 1933-1939*. Berkeley, CA: University of California. **318.** Johnson, B. (1973). *The alcoholism movement in America: A study in cultural innovation* [PhD dissertation]. University of Illinois. **319.** Keller, M. (1982). On defining alcoholism: With comment on some other relevant words. In L. Gomberg, H. White, & J. Carpenter (Eds.), *Alcohol, science, and society revisited* (pp. 119-133). Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press. **320.** Keller, M. (1979). Mark Keller’s history of the alcohol problems field. *Drinking and Drug Practices Surveyor*, 14(1), 22-28. Roizen, R. (1991). Research council on problems of alcohol. *Social*

*History of Alcohol Review*, 24, 9-16. **321.** Roizen, R. P. (1991). *The American discovery of alcoholism, 1933-1939*. Berkeley, CA: University of California. **322.** Roizen, R. P. (1991). *The American discovery of alcoholism, 1933-1939*. Berkeley, CA: University of California. **323.** Moore, H. (1940). Activities of the Research Council on Problems of Alcohol. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 1, 104-107. **324.** Roizen, R. (1995). *Four unsung moments in the genesis of the modern alcoholism movement* [unpublished manuscript]. **325.** Anderson, D. (1942). Alcohol and public opinion. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 3(3), 376-392. **326.** Research Council on Problems of Alcohol. (1943). *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 4, 148-150. **327.** *State programs on alcoholism research, treatment and rehabilitation*. (1955). New York: Licensed Beverage Industries, Inc. **328.** Anderson, D. (1950). *The other side of the bottle*. New York: AA Wyn, Inc. **329.** Keller, M. (1979). Mark Keller's history of the alcohol problems field. *Drinking and Drug Practices Surveyor*, 14(1), 22-28. **330.** Yale plan. (1947). *AA Grapevine*, 4(5), 4-5, 14-15. **331.** Roizen, R. (1994). *Paradigm sidetracked: Explaining early resistance to the alcoholism paradigm at Yale's Laboratory of Applied Physiology, 1940-1944* (Revised). Presented at the Alcohol and Temperance History Group's International Congress on the Social History of Alcohol, Huron College, London, Ontario, Canada, May 13-15, 1993. **332.** Roizen, R. (1994). *Paradigm sidetracked: Explaining early resistance to the alcoholism paradigm at Yale's Laboratory of Applied Physiology, 1940-1944* (Revised). Presented at the Alcohol and Temperance History Group's International Congress on the Social History of Alcohol, Huron College, London, Ontario, Canada, May 13-15, 1993. **333.** This residential summer program was later extended to six weeks, then reduced to three weeks; most recently, the program has operated as a two-week program with two supplemental week-long sessions, one designated as an advanced session for students who have completed the basic school. **334.** Milgram, G. (1986). The summer school of alcohol studies: An historical and interpretive review. In D. L. Strug, S. Priyadarsini, & M. M. Hyman (Eds.), *Alcohol interventions: Historical and sociocultural approaches* (pp. 59-74). New York: The Haworth Press. **335.** Jellinek, E. M. (1944). Notes on the first half year's experience at the Yale Plan clinics. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 5(2), 279-302. Haggard, H., & Jellinek, E. (1944). Two Yale savants stress alcoholism as true disease. *AA Grapevine*, 1(1), 1. **336.** Jellinek, E. M. (1944). Notes on the first half year's experience at the Yale Plan clinics. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 5(2), 279-302. **337.** McCarthy, R. (1946). A public clinic approach to certain aspects related to alcoholism. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 6, 500-514. **338.** McCarthy, R. (1946). A public clinic approach to certain aspects related to alcoholism. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 6, 500-514. **339.** McCarthy, R., & Douglas, E. (1949). *Alcohol and social responsibility*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company and Yale Plan Clinic. **340.** Jellinek, E. M. (1944). Notes on the first half year's experience at the Yale Plan clinics. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 5(2), 279-302. McCarthy, R. (1946). A public clinic approach to certain aspects related to alcoholism. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 6, 500-514. **341.** Keller, M. (1979). Mark Keller's history of the alcohol problems field. *Drinking and Drug Practices Surveyor*, 14(1), 22-28. *Pioneers we have known in the field of alcoholism*. (1979). Mill Neck, NY: The Christopher D. Smithers Foundation. **342.** Bacon, S. (1949). The administration of alcoholism rehabilitation programs. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 10(1), 1-47. Myerson, D. (1957). The study and treatment of alcoholism: A historical perspective. *New England Journal of Medicine*, 257, 820-825. **343.** McCarthy, R. (1946). A public clinic approach to certain aspects related to alcoholism. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 6, 500-514. Bacon, S. (1949). The administration of alcoholism rehabilitation programs. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on*

*Alcohol*, 10(1), 1-47. **344.** McCarthy, R. (1946). A public clinic approach to certain aspects related to alcoholism. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 6, 500-514. **345.** There was not wide concurrence, even in Yale, on how best to use recovered alcoholics. In 1949, Seldon Bacon advocated a more limited use of recovered alcoholics, not in the role of therapist, but as liaisons with courts or as hospital attendants. Bacon, S. (1949). The administration of alcoholism rehabilitation programs. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 10(1), 1-47. **346.** Roizen, R. P. (1991). *The American discovery of alcoholism, 1933-1939*. Berkeley, CA: University of California. **347.** Keller, M. (1979). Mark Keller's history of the alcohol problems field. *Drinking and Drug Practices Surveyor*, 14(1), 22-28. **348.** Keller, M. (1979). Mark Keller's history of the alcohol problems field. *Drinking and Drug Practices Surveyor*, 14(1), 22-28. **349.** Room, R. (1978). *Governing images of alcohol and drug problems: The structure, sources and sequels of conceptualizations of intractable problems* [PhD Dissertation]. Berkeley, CA: University of California. **350.** Johnson, B. (1973). *The alcoholism movement in America: A study in cultural innovation* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois. **351.** Johnson, B. (1973). *The alcoholism movement in America: A study in cultural innovation* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois. **352.** In a touch of historical irony, an organization called the National Committee on Alcohol Hygiene, which was founded by Dr. Robert Seliger, a psychiatrist with impeccable credentials in alcoholism education and treatment, died out from lack of support. Johnson, B. (1973). *The alcoholism movement in America: A study in cultural innovation* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois. **353.** Johnson, B. (1973). *The alcoholism movement in America: A study in cultural innovation* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois. **354.** Anderson, D. (1950). *The other side of the bottle*. New York: A.A. Wyn, Inc. *Pioneers we have known in the field of alcoholism*. (1979). Mill Neck, NY: The Christopher D. Smithers Foundation. **355.** Mann, M. (1944). Formation of a National Committee for Education on Alcoholism. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 5(2), 354-358. **356.** Mann, M. (1944). Formation of a National Committee for Education on Alcoholism. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 5(2), 354-358. **357.** Anderson, D. (1944). Committee for Education on Alcoholism historic event. *AA Grapevine*, 1(5), 1. **358.** Johnson, B. (1973). *The alcoholism movement in America: A study in cultural innovation* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois. **359.** (1947). *AA Grapevine*, 4(5), 14. Mann, M. (1947). What shall we do about alcoholism? *Vital Speeches*, 13, 253-256. **360.** Johnson, B. (1973). *The alcoholism movement in America: A study in cultural innovation* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois. **361.** Keller, M. (1985). Alcohol problems and policies in historical perspective. In D. Kyvig (Ed.), *Law, alcohol and order: Perspectives on national prohibition* (pp. 159-175). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press. **362.** "Special Bulletin," 1949, Marty Mann Collection, Box Number 3, Folder 'NCAA-Yale Severance.' Marty Mann, in a letter to an NCEA colleague, described this announcement as a "pallid and thoroughly cleaned-up version of what was actually a knock-down-and-drag-out fight." The strain did emerge from growing differences in philosophy, but it was further complicated by money problems—money owed to Yale by NCEA and competition between Yale and NCEA in raising funds. **363.** Mann, M. (1949, December 8). [Letter to Houston]. Marty Mann Collection, Box Number 2, Folder "Personal Letters."

## Chapter Nineteen: The "Modern Alcoholism Movement": The Periphery

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## Section Six

### Chapter Twenty: The Birth and Spread of the "Minnesota Model"

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Convention of Alcoholics Anonymous, July 5-6, Denver, CO. **23.** Evidence of this slow evolution can be found in a 1954 booklet distributed to Willmar patients, which expressed a preference for the term “problem drinker” rather than “alcoholic” and stated that “alcoholism is fundamentally the result of a personality disorder.” Anderson, D. (1954). *Alcoholism and the Willmar treatment program*. Miller, MN: Willmar State Hospital. **24.** Dan Anderson, personal interview, May 8, 1996. **25.** Anderson, D. (1981). *Perspectives on treatment--The Minnesota experience*. Center City, MN: Hazelden Educational Materials. **26.** Bradley, 1960, Audiotape **27.** There are differing reports on the length-of-sobriety requirement, placing it at between two and five years. Required sobriety time may have increased with the growth of the pool of recovered alcoholics from which staff could be recruited. Richeson, F. (1978). *Courage to change*. Minneapolis, MN: M & M Printing. **28.** Gordon Grimm, personal interview, May 8, 1996. **29.** Dan Anderson, personal interview, May 8, 1996. **30.** Corwin, E., & Cunningham, E. (1944). Institutional facilities for the treatment of alcoholism. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 5(1), 9-85. **31.** Rossi, J., Stach, A., & Bradley, N. (1963). Effects of treatment of male alcoholics in a mental hospital: A follow-up study. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 24, 91-108. **32.** Dan Anderson, personal interview, May 8, 1996. **33.** Richeson, F. (1978). *Courage to change*. Minneapolis, MN: M & M Printing. **34.** Keller, J. (ND). *The history of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America mission in alcoholism/drug abuse* [unpublished manuscripts]. Received from author June 1995. **35.** Keller, J. (ND). *The history of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America mission in alcoholism/drug abuse* [unpublished manuscripts]. Received from author June 1995. **36.** Spicer, J. (1993). *The Minnesota Model: The evolution of the interdisciplinary approach to addiction recovery*. Center City, MN: Hazelden Educational Materials. **37.** Dan Anderson, personal interview, May 8, 1996. **38.** Rossi, J., & Bradley, N. (1960). Dynamic hospital treatment of alcoholism. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 21, 432-446. **39.** Rossi, J., Stach, A., & Bradley, N. (1963). Effects of treatment of male alcoholics in a mental hospital: A follow-up study. *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 24, 91-108. **40.** McElrath, D. (1981). *Roses of Dia Linn: A celebration of 25 years*. Center City, MN: Hazelden Foundation. **41.** Crewe, C. (ND). *Hazelden history* [unpublished manuscript]. Center City, MN: Hazelden Library. **42.** Laundergan, J. (1982). *Easy does it: Alcoholism treatment outcomes, Hazelden and the Minnesota Model*. Center City, MN: Hazelden Foundation. **43.** Anderson, D. (1981). *Perspectives on treatment--The Minnesota experience*. Center City, MN: Hazelden Educational Materials. **44.** Retrieved January 30, 2014 from <http://www.hazleden.org> **45.** Richeson, F. (1978). *Courage to change*. Minneapolis, MN: M & M Printing. **46.** Anderson, D. (1981). *Perspectives on treatment--The Minnesota experience*. Center City, MN: Hazelden Educational Materials. McElrath, D. (1987). *Hazelden: A spiritual odyssey*. Center City, MN: Hazelden Foundation. Spicer, J. (1993). *The Minnesota Model: The evolution of the interdisciplinary approach to addiction recovery*. Center City, MN: Hazelden Educational Materials. Laundergan, J. (1982). *Easy does it: Alcoholism treatment outcomes, Hazelden and the Minnesota Model*. Center City, MN: Hazelden Foundation. **47.** Goffman, I. (1961). *Asylums*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books. **48.** Dan Anderson, personal interview, May 8, 1996. **49.** Jerry Spider, personal interview, May 22, 1996. **50.** Spicer, J. (1993). *The Minnesota Model: The evolution of the interdisciplinary approach to addiction recovery*. Center City, MN: Hazelden Educational Materials. **51.** Dan Anderson, personal interview, May 8, 1996. **52.** Gordon Grimm, personal interview, May 8, 1996. **53.** This section draws primarily from interviews conducted with Dan Anderson, Gordon Grimm, Jerry Spicer, and Damian McElrath. **54.** Richeson, F. (1978). *Courage to change*. Minneapolis, MN: M & M Printing. **55.** Rossi, J., & Bradley, N.



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#### **Chapter Twenty-Four: The Birth, Rebirth, and Evolution of Narcotics Anonymous**

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#### **Chapter Twenty-Five: Mid-century Addiction Treatment: Part Two**

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## Section 7

### Chapter Twenty-Six: The Rise of Modern Addiction Treatment (1960-1994)

**1.** My reference to “community-based” treatment programs in this chapter refers to programs that, through support from public funds, are accessible to a broad spectrum of alcoholics and addicts—including the indigent—in their communities. “Private” programs are treatment institutions that are supported primarily through client self-pay or non-governmental third-party payors. **2.** Institute of Medicine (1990). *Treating drug problems, Vol. 1*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press. **3.** Plaut, T. (1967). *Alcohol problems: A report to the nation by the Cooperative Commission on the Study of Alcoholism*. New York: Oxford University Press. **4.** Plaut, T. (1967). *Alcohol problems: A report to the nation by the Cooperative Commission on the Study of Alcoholism*. New York: Oxford University Press. **5.** Blume, S. (1977). Role of the recovered alcoholic in the treatment of alcoholism. In B. Kissin, & H. Beglieter (Eds.), *The biology of alcoholism, Vol. 5: Treatment and rehabilitation of the chronic alcoholic* (pp. 545-565). New York: Plenum Press. **6.** *Pioneers we have known in the field of alcoholism*. (1979). Mill Neck, NY: The Christopher D. Smithers Foundation. **7.** Johnson, B. (1973). *The alcoholism movement in America: A study in cultural innovation*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois. **8.** Glasscotte, R., Sussex, J., Jaffe, J., Ball, J., & Brill, L. (1972). *The treatment of drug abuse: Programs, problems, prospects*. Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association. **9.** National Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse. (1973). *Drug use in America*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing. **10.** Glasscotte, R., Sussex, J., Jaffe, J., Ball, J., & Brill, L. (1972). *The treatment of drug abuse: Programs, problems, prospects*. Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association. **11.** National Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse. (1973). *Drug use in America*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing. **12.** Johnson, B. (1973). *The alcoholism movement in America: A study in cultural innovation*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois. **13.** Smithers, R. B. (1977). *25<sup>th</sup> anniversary report*. Mill Neck, NY: The Christopher D. Smithers Foundation, Inc. **14.** Nancy Olson, personal interview, November 3, 1997 **15.** Anderson, D. (1989). *Celebrating forty years of progress: A look at the history of alcohol/drug treatment*. Presented at the 40<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the Alcohol and Drug Problems Association, August 27-30, Washington, DC. **16.** Gordis, E. (1988). Milestones. *Alcohol Health and Research World*, *12*(4), 236-269. **17.** Lewis, J. (1982). The federal role in alcoholism research, treatment and prevention. In L. Gomberg, H. White, & J. Carpenter, *Alcohol, science and society revisited*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press. **18.** NIDA. (1978). *Report on manpower and training issues*. Rockville, MD. **19.** Brown, B. (1993). Observations on the recent history of drug user counseling. *International Journal of the Addictions*, *28*(12), 1243-1255. **20.** Cook, F. (1992). *TASC: Case management models linking criminal justice and*



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### Chapter Twenty-Seven: Parkside: A Rich Legacy and a Cautionary Tale

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### **Chapter Twenty-Nine: Modern Addiction Treatment: Seminal Ideas and Evolving Treatment Technologies**

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## Section 8

### Chapter Thirty: The Recovery Revolution

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