

Culture Alcohol & Society Quarterly

Newsletter of Kirk/CAAS Collections at Brown

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This is the fifth new issue of the CA&SQ since it was revived in October 2004. This issue has material from the American Historical Association Affiliate (Alcohol and Drugs History Society) Afternoon Panel on January 6, 2006, along with a brief communication from Etta Madden on her paper on Benjamin Rush, which will be remembered from our Providence meeting, a Note on an archive containing church materials relevant to A.A. (the first in a series of such archival notes), and our continuing "Washingtonian Notes & Queries." Next issue will again see contributions on current work at the Brown collections, plans for future work, and results of past work from the collections and by those on the KirkWorks listserv (including another Note on materials elsewhere available) – Jared Lobdell, December 31, 2005

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COMMUNICATION FROM ETTA MADDEN

My only new news relevant to CA&SQ is that I finally found a publication home for my lengthy essay on Benjamin Rush. It will be appearing in *Early American Literature*, Vol. 41, no. 2 (2006), as “‘To Make a Figure’: Benjamin Rush’s Rhetorical Self-Construction and Scientific Authorship,” with much of the material on alcohol and healing [*unfortunately!* – editor] removed from it. I’m also involved with putting together two sessions on “Narratives of Healing” for the Fall 2006 meeting of the Society for the Study of American Women Writers, which will be in Philadelphia. I’ve not given up on future research in the Kirk collection, but for now I’m trying to complete some work on the 19th century [Philadelphia] culinary writer Eliza Leslie [1787-1858]. – Etta

ABSTRACT OF PAPER BY JAMES SWAN TUIE Christian Social Sources of Alcoholics Anonymous Morality: From Soul Surgery to Helping Others

This paper depicts the practice of helping others (Twelfth-Step work) in Alcoholics Anonymous (A.A.) as a personal religious practice, by placing A.A. helping practices and Oxford Group Movement practices of working with others in the context of personal religious practices – using William James’s conception of “personal religion practices” as a template, this paper surveys two manuals describing personal evangelism and helping others respectively to identify Christian sources of AA morality.

Prepared by James Swan Tuite, Religious Studies Brief Biography of Presenter and this Research Project

Currently, I am serving as the Donaghue Visiting Scholar at Yale University’s Center for Bioethics where my chief research effort is psychiatric ethics with an emphasis on questions of consent. The research for this “religious practices” project was completed while serving as the Kirk Fellow at Brown University’s Center for Alcohol and Addiction Studies and is part of a larger project that classifies the religious dimensions of the A.A. movement in order to clarify conceptions of religion and A.A.

Note on the Panel

There were four papers at the Panel: Michelle Morales, a graduate student at the University of Michigan, “A Queer Explanation for Alcohol Problems 1880-1935” focusing on Karl Abraham’s 1908 paper on alcoholism and homosexuality and “sexological” work by Magnus Hirschfeld; Jason Lantzer of Indiana University/Purdue University at Indianapolis, on “Faulty Alliances of Rhetoric” in the state’s “dry” movement, centering on Edward Seitz Shumaker (1867-1929) and of particular interest (in light of recent work on early Indiana A.A.) for its consideration of alcohol and Indiana race relations; past Kirk Fellow Jim Swan Tuite’s paper on “Christian Social Sources of Alcoholics Anonymous Morality” (not delivered); and the editor’s paper on “Problems in A.A. History and Historiography.” The chair was Albert Acena of the College of San Mateo.

CONCLUDING EXCERPT FROM PAPER BY THE EDITOR (10th, 11th, AND 12th HISTORIOGRAPHICAL QUESTIONS)

The (more general) tenth historiographical question is, What can reasonably be said about existing attempts to write the history of A.A., or parts of it? Here we can look at, first and foremost, Ernest Kurtz, *Not-God: A History of Alcoholics Anonymous* (1979, new ed. 1991), as noted earlier, along with the collection of Ernie's essays (many of them historical) in *The Collected Ernie Kurtz*, which came out in 1999 from The Bishop of Books (in Wheeling, West Virginia) and at Barry Leach and John L. Norris, "Factors in the Development of Alcoholics Anonymous" in *The Biology of Alcoholism*, ed. H Begleiter, Vol. 5 (1977), pp. 441-553. Jack Norris was a Class A (non-alcoholic) Trustee of A.A. for many years, Barry Leach a well-known psychologist specializing in alcoholism and drug addiction: this is the most balanced of the "inside" accounts of A.A. Ernie Kurtz has preserved (as he says) his ambiguity rather than his anonymity, so that he can be a link between the historical profession and A.A. (*Not-God* was an outgrowth of his 1976 Harvard Ph.D. dissertation in History), but his original training was to be a (Roman) Catholic priest, and his interest in A.A. is both philosophical and historical.

There is an unauthorized but useful history of the years 1957-1985 in circulation (in what looks like a photographic copy of a typeset but unpublished original, apparently by Bob P.), a number of local histories and documents available on the Internet (some of the documents without permission), perhaps a smaller number of local histories available in print, the local history Hindsfoot material, especially (as noted) the second edition, *The Factory Owner & the Convict* and *The St. Louis Gambler & the Railroad Man* (2005). There is also Wally P., *But, For the Grace of God ... How Intergroups & Central Offices Carried the Message of Alcoholics Anonymous in the 1940s* (1995), anecdotal but still useful in understanding the spread of A.A.

Hazelden has published a short biography of Ebby T. who "brought the message" to Bill W., as well as Sally Brown's biography of Marty Mann, the founder of the National Council on Alcoholism, and a biography of Dr. Silkworth (*The Little Doctor Who Loved Drunks*) – among others. But here we may consider the desiderata set out by the 1997 proposal to the Trustees for a History of A.A. (not because we agree with everything in that proposal – indeed, our periodization is different – but because it sets out a program of interest to us). The following is quoted from that proposal. "Should there be a history of A.A.? Yes, if only to study A.A.'s past as a guide to its future. First we should find out whether 1935 was a golden moment (or 1935-40 a golden time) for the founding of AA. Why did it come then, not before? What was there about this moment that made A.A. possible, apparently for the first time? We should consider the invention [in English] of the word *alcoholic* in 1891, the idea of Humility and the nineteenth/twentieth-century history of theology and religious experience, the First Century Christian Fellowship (Oxford Group), use of confession and conversation as education in nineteenth-century America (Mark Hopkins on one end of the log and a student on the other), the Age of Slogans.

"Second, if it was golden, we should try to find out whether the conditions and circumstances that made this the golden moment or golden time continued through the years – or, if they have changed, how they have changed, and what are the implications of the change for A.A. Is the present year enough like the years 1935-1940, or 1940-1955, for the Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions to work as they have worked, or the Service Structure to work as intended? Have the intervening years been enough alike? In other words, this would be an exercise in what is called Applied History – the application of the techniques of historical analysis to determine the comparability of the present with the past, in order to answer a question of practical importance – in this case of very great practi-

cal importance. A.A. has recognized the need for a history of A.A., but has not been able to find an acceptable way of getting that history written. In the existing A.A. literature, the years after 1950 are covered sketchily at best. Indeed, after 1955 there is almost no coverage except of Bill W. himself – barring material in the non-A.A. source *Not God*. And even *Not God* only goes to 1987 – and that only in an Appendix briefly covering the years 1972-1987. What is needed is at least a full history of A.A. from 1940 to the present year. This full history should be written with regard for the *dictum* from social-systems analysis that social systems must grow or die, and the leveling-off of A.A. membership in the United States may thus be a bad sign for the future. We need to look to A.A.'s history to see how the fellowship got where it is. It is important that this be a formal history of A.A., using the historian's techniques, and written by an historian who can write readable formal history.

“It is therefore not feasible that it be a simple continuation of *Alcoholics Anonymous Comes of Age*, an essentially personal document. Indeed, the time from the Jack Alexander article (early 1941) to the St. Louis Convention needs more than the anecdotal coverage provided in *Alcoholics Anonymous Comes of Age*. One historiographic problem unique to A.A. should be noted here. All human history is personal history, and although members of A.A. are constantly reminded to place principles before personalities, it remains true that A.A.'s history is both personal and institutional. How anonymous that personal history must be is up to A.A., but it must be included. In fact, personal histories are crucial in determining whether A.A. now is essentially the same fellowship in which the Twelve Steps were working in 1941 and the Twelve Traditions in 1951. The combined personal/institutional history of A.A. 1940-2000 can be conveniently divided into 15-year segments, roughly as follows: 1940-1955: Bill W., Dr. Bob, and the Coming of Age: From Before the Jack Alexander Article to the St. Louis Convention; 1955-1970: Building the Structure: From St. Louis to Miami and the Last Appearance of Bill W.; 1970-1985: A.A. Faces a New Age and a Generation Gap: After the Social Revolution of the 1960s; 1985-

2000: Struggle and Structure Here, Coming of Age Abroad: AA in a Changing World.”

This being said, the eleventh historiographical question is, Do we (in all this or elsewhere) have a usable model or paradigm for writing A.A. history? The study *From Joyous Garde to Area 59* (planned by this author), as we have noted, suggests a model for historical research on Alcoholics Anonymous as a continuing company or society. In fact, it suggests the Henry Teune-Zdravko Mlinar model in *The Developmental Logic of Social Systems* (Sage 1979); considering A.A. as a social (developmental) system/subsystem, and thus considering local or regional A.A. as a further hiving off of system properties into subordinate subsystems (“sub-subsystems”). Besides establishing the necessity for A.A. to grow and change or else die, this paradigm has some implications for studying the development of “spontaneous order” in the history and historiography of A.A., this involving at least (1) distinctions between and among conventional order (mechanical or neo-mechanical systems), natural order (biological/ecological systems), and social order (social/developmental systems, ordered by human action but not specific human intention); (2) the question of the spontaneous “survival of the fittest” (but not always, which goes with the problem of well-being as accident), and (3) problems of freedom and co-ordination in spontaneous order without market mechanisms. (This is to be set out in Part VI of *From Joyous Garde to Area 59*.) There's been a good deal of study of developmental systems as well as of spontaneous order (and also of the “invention of tradition”), so that the models or paradigms formed in that study can bring understanding to ours. But this is not the only model-making to be involved here.

The principal point to be made here (taken from *This Strange Illness: Alcoholism and Bill W.* [2004], p. 17) is that social systems, being developmental systems, must change (by creating new internal diversity in response to new exogenously created diversity), and that the guidelines for orderly change are in the “Twelve Traditions” Bill W. created between 1946 and 1952 – which brings us to the area of the “Invention of Tradition” (a

field generally connected with the study of literature, particularly of the Celtic Revival of the Nineteenth Century) and then (in a search for non-self-ordering “governance”) to the “Theory of Committees” (a field generally connected with political and decision sciences). These too are part of our model-building.

Societies, as J. G. A. Pocock has taught us (*Politics, Language, and Time*, 1989), exist in time and conserve images of themselves as continuously so existing. An essential feature of society is tradition – meaning, the handing on of formed ways of acting. Tradition in this sense is immemorial, prescriptive, and presumptive. What stands outside tradition is charismatic, whether postulating timeless existence or sacred origin (which includes creative origin). The criticism – but thus the affirmation – of tradition is history. All classical (as opposed to romantic) social systems are of this traditionalist sort. But because societies necessarily – in order to be societies – conserve images of themselves as existing (and acting in a certain way) *nemo meminisse contradicente*, there is necessary conservatism in the very idea of a society. They appeal to tradition and are thus traditional (or traditionalist). They conserve tradition and are thus conservative, even if the tradition they conserve is not a conservative tradition – as in Romanticism, and (perhaps) Alcoholics Anonymous. Certainly one of the founders of Al-Anon (and early strengtheners of A.A.), Dr. Ruth Fox (Coleman) was far from being a Conservative – indeed, like her husband and her sister and her sister’s second husband, she was a Socialist. (Her sister’s first husband was perhaps a little further to the left.)

Traditions should provide “responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition” (Eric Hobsbawm in *The Invention of Tradition*, 1981). The key words may be *old* and *past*, though certainly there is quasi-obligatory repetition of the Twelve Traditions at many A.A. meetings. We can look at these Traditions as a kind of social engineering for a *koinonia* ordered (appropriately) through a committee structure. Bill W.’s emphasis on committee consensus rather than majority vote may be seen

as a way of avoiding the pitfalls of intransitivity of social choice. The emphasis on the primary purpose or singleness of purpose may be seen as a way of ensuring single-peaked preferences so as to permit Condorcet solutions and avoid the necessity for mechanistic De Borda solutions or the log-rolling of Dodgson solutions. But in the end, the social engineering was based on a spiritual insight, and with all the safeguards of the Twelve Traditions, it looks to us as though A.A. will function well as a *koinonia* (community) in the social-systems sense pretty well to the degree it functions well as a *koinonia* (fellowship) in the spiritual-assembly sense.

And finally, the twelfth historiographical question, overarching our whole set of questions, is this: if history is biography (and much of it is), how can we write the history of those who must remain anonymous? This question was noted in the 1997 Proposal quoted above. (The model or paradigm can help, but it will not solve the problem – and this is also related to the question of A.A. history by A.A.s or by non-A.A.s). As we have gone along, talking about Fitz M. and Johnny L. and Mike E., and Mac H., and Yev G., and even Bill W. and Dr. Bob S., and it begins to be borne in on us (or at least on me) that these are abstractions. In fact, Matt Raphael has considered this point – as a matter of individual biography – in his *Bill W. and Mr. Wilson* (University of Massachusetts Press 2000). Which was the real person – Bill W. or William G. Wilson? Or both? And who could tell? And how was Mr. Wilson acting a different part when he was Bill W? And was it like *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*? When Jack Alexander wrote his article for the Saturday Evening Post in 1941, he used pseudonyms. It is more certainly satisfying to talk about Sarah Martin than Marty M., or (as in articles in CA&SQ) of Aaron Burr Baldrige than of Aaron Burr B., of the Baldrige family rather than the B. family in the rolling land of Western Kentucky in the days of the Purchase, or of James Payne Lawrence than of J. P. (Johnny) L. (Obviously these are pseudonyms though in some way based on the original names.)

The Web-group AAHistoryLovers allows (though certainly does not require) the use of full

names for those members who are dead. I have noted that many of those members who are identifiable from their email “names” as A.A.s (such as Merton M, for example) routinely refer to members alive or dead by first name and last initial, and of course that is the policy enjoined on those who carry out research not only at the G.S.O. Archives in New York, but (for example) at the Kirk and other Alcohol & Addiction Studies Collections at Brown. A local history of A.A. in North Jersey, available at the Silkworth.net web site, carries the anonymity idea even further by leaving entirely blank the name of a putative first member in Ridgewood, New Jersey, thereby rendering the reference entirely useless to anyone doing research without access to the original documents. (Even first name and last initial may of course be misleading, as with traveling salesman George L. who started A.A. in Reading PA, traveling salesman George L. who started A.A. in nearby Lebanon PA, and traveling salesman George L. who started A.A. up north in Scranton PA – and they were three different George L.s, even though all three had Philadelphia connections.) On the other hand, a recent inquiry and interchange on the HistoryLovers site used the full name of a well-known member whose story is in the current edition of the “Big Book” but who died while this edition was being published. And of course there is a point – as with tapes of talks at A.A. meetings – where use of an identification such as Stevie Ray V. does nothing to preserve anonymity.

One difficulty, of course, is that well-known personalities, who are the ones who may most welcome anonymity in their lives, and whose families may welcome it thereafter, are the ones least likely to get it, while the A.As important in local and regional (or even early national) development of the fellowship whose full names may be highly useful or even necessary in research may be protected because no one ever writes their full names down. (Fitz M.’s nephew and his whole family were unaware that Fitz had gotten sober, let alone been of great importance in the early days of A.A.). A student of local A.A. history may be able to identify most of those locally important (subject to vagaries in spelling), but unless they are

then written down, the useful information may not be passed on. Because the AAHistoryLovers can use full names, it is sometimes possible to get them there, but certainly not always, and in research on Eastern Pennsylvania, one of the best ways of establishing contact with the families of early A.A.s has been through the GenForum web site, which of course requires the family names. A.A. publications with last names are marked “Confidential – full names used,” which is meant to restrict use to members of A.A. All the materials developed on Yev G., Johnny L., Fitz M., Aaron Burr B., Oscar V. (to take just five examples), have required full names. Admittedly the full name of Yvelin G. was easy to get – the first name fed into the search engine on the Internet provided it – but one cannot hope for a whole collection of highly unusual first names: it is much more likely that an A.A. group will have “Furniture Frank” or “Frank the Fox” or “Bad Frank” or “Good Frank” than that the members will have names like Yvelin – and probably several of them will be Frank M. As Matt Raphael’s book suggests, there is an artificiality to the first-name last-initial *persona* – and artificial biography isn’t, so to speak, a real option.

We suggest there was in some sense a “golden moment” particularly appropriate to the founding of A.A., that A.A. was indeed founded by Bill W. but not by him alone (and not entirely by the co-founders or other founders he acknowledged), that A.A. grew by magazine and newspaper publicity and by “apostolic” travels, that it grew rapidly up to a natural growth limit, that the next generation ought to be studied in detail, along with the yet-unstudied founders and others of the first generation, that we need full attention to the continued relations among and between medicine, religion, and A.A., and attention to what might be called the bottom-up politicization of A.A. after 1954.

The history of A.A. should be written because there is an advantage to knowing A.A. history, for understanding A.A. and for understanding the *koinonia*, for understanding the uses of tradition, for understanding social system development and spontaneous order, and because of its importance in the history of alcoholism and its treat-

ment. It can be done, though only very carefully to avoid overt advocacy casting doubt on the history being written; it must be local history, regional history, and national history, should be written from the inside (with inside knowledge, but not a “winners/losers” mentality) and from the outside (with impartiality), from the top down and from the bottom up, ideally by A.A.s *but not as* A.A.s, necessarily using a model or paradigm, and somehow avoiding the perils of artificial (because any-

mous) biography that produces artificial (because anonymous) history. When *From Joyous Garde to Area 59* is completed and published (I hope), we’ll have a better idea whether what we seek can be found. But I think we will always need to go on, perhaps need to try new models, certainly need more study, “to strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield.”

Archival Note I: The Dick B. Shoemaker/A.A. Collection

Our next contribution provides a brief look at an archival collection (not well known and recently relocated) which can supplement materials at Brown. We hope in subsequent issues to note other collections useful or adjunct to A.A. history, especially church-related collections. The next issue we hope to cover the “Addiction: Alcohol” folders in the Father John C. Ford (1902-1989) Collection in the Archives of the New England Province of the Society of Jesus. This note is based on a communication from Dick B. as edited.

1. *New Light on Alcoholism: God, Sam Shoemaker, and A.A.* 2d ed Dick B.

Yjis is Dick B.’s book on Shoemaker, his writings, and his relationship with Bill Wilson and Alcoholics Anonymous. There are useful appendices and an extensive bibliography.

2. Other Titles by Dick B. pertaining to Rev. Sam Shoemaker and A.A.

Dr. Bob and His Library, 3rd ed.
Anne Smith’s Journal, 1933-1939
The Books Early A.A.s Read for Spiritual Growth, 7th ed.
Good Morning: Quiet Time, Morning Watch, Meditation and Early A.A.
The Oxford Group and Alcoholics Anonymous
The Akron Genesis of Alcoholics Anonymous Making Known the Biblical History and Roots of A.A.

3. Books written by Sam Shoemaker with date published – fuller bibliographical description in *New Light on Alcoholism*

A Young Man’s View of the Ministry, 1923
Beginning Your Ministry, 1963 (with jacket)
By the Power of God, 1954 (inscribed by SHS, with jacket)
Calvary Church Yesterday and Today, 1936
Children of the Second Birth, 1927
Christ and This Crisis, 1943
Christ’s Words from the Cross, 1933
Confident Faith, 1932
Extraordinary Living for Ordinary Men, 1965 (with jacket)
Freedom and Faith, 1949
God’s Control, 1939 (with jacket)
How to Become a Christian, 1953 (with jacket)
How You Can Find Happiness, 1947 (with jacket)
How You Can Help Other People, 1946 (with jacket)
If I Be Lifted Up, 1931 (with jacket)
Living Your Life Today, 1947 (with jacket)
National Awakening, 1936 (with jacket)
One Boy’s Influence, 1925
Realizing Religion, 1921

Religion That Works, 1928
Revive Thy Church, 1948 (inscribed by SHS)
Sam Shoemaker at His Best, 1964
Steps of a Modern Disciple, 1972
The Church Alive, 1950 (with jacket)
The Church Can Save the World, 1938
The Conversion of the Church, 1932
 (inscribed by SHS)
The Experiment of Faith, 1957 (with jacket)
The Gospel According to You, 1934
They're on the Way, 1951 (with jacket)
Twice-Born Ministers, 1929
Under New Management, 1966
With the Holy Spirit and with Fire, 1960
 (with jacket)

4. Important articles and pamphlets by Shoemaker

Act As If, October, 1954
A First Century Christian Fellowship: A Defense of So-called Buchmanism by One of Its Leaders, 1928
God and America, Gramercy Park, n.d.
How to Find God, 1957
Lord, Teach Us to Pray, 1977
Morning Radio Talk No. 1, 1945
My Life Work and My Will, circa 1930
Power to Become, 1944
The Breadth and Narrowness of the Gospel, 1929 (fragment)
The Way to Find God, 1935
Creative Relationships, 1946
Calvary Mission, n.d.
What the Church Has to Learn From Alcoholics Anonymous, 1956

5. Symposia edited by, and with chapters or material by Shoemaker

Faith at Work. NY: Hawthorne Books, 1958
Together. NY: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1956
The Centennial History of Calvary Episcopal Church Pittsburgh, 1955
The Guideposts Trilogy. NY: Guideposts Associates, 1962
Steps to a New Beginning. TN: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1993

Get Going Through Small Groups. NY: Guideposts, n.d.
Marriage is for Living. MI: Zondervan, 1968

6. Shoemaker articles on the A.A. Program

And so from my heart I say, Sept. 1948
The Spiritual Angle, October, 1955
The Spiritual Path of A.A., n.d.
The Twelve Steps of A.A., 1953
Those Twelve Steps as I Understand Them, 1986
12 Steps to Power, 1983

7. Sam Shoemaker papers specifically collected and copied by Dick B.

(a) Selected pages from the personal diary of Rev. Sam Shoemaker for 1931, which discuss the Firestone/Oxford Group/A.A. events – 18 pages
 (b) Selected pages from the personal diary of Rev. Sam Shoemaker for 1935, which specifically mention Bill Wilson and other Calvary Church and Oxford Group leaders of the period – 16 pages
 (c) Morning Radio Talk by the Rev. Samuel M. Shoemaker (Transcript): “Gems for Thought,” a presentation of the American Broadcasting Company Thursday, October 4, 1945 from 8:55 to 9:00 A.M., Eastern Standard Time. Located by Dick B. in the Princeton University Alumni Archives and copied with permission
 (d) A list of books and pamphlets by Oxford Group writers and by Rev. Sam Shoemaker that were advertised in Oxford Group Books and in the *Calvary Evangel*

8. Biographies of and biographical titles about Sam Shoemaker

I Stand By the Door, by Helen Smith Shoemaker, Wordbooks, 1967
The Breeze of the Spirit, by W. Irving Harris, Seabury Press, 1978
And Thy Neighbor. . ., by Cecile Cox Offill, Wordbooks, 1967

Calvary Church in Action, by John Potter Cuyler, Jr. Fleming Revell, 1934
Kairos: Moments Remembered, by Griffin C. Callahan, WV: 1999
Taking the Gospel to the Point: Evangelicals in Pittsburgh and the Origins of the Pittsburgh Leadership Foundation, by Michael J. Sider, n.d.
Sam Shoemaker's Theological Influence, Ph.D. dissertation by Charles Knippel
No Outside Enterprises. Ph.D. dissertation by Randolph G. Aitkins

9. Titles by Helen Smith Shoemaker (wife of Rev. Sam Shoemaker)

The Secret of Effective Prayer
Prayer and Evangelism
Power Through Prayer Groups
Prayer and You

10. Bankers Box containing relevant magazines, news articles, correspondence, interview notes, personal journal copies, and manuscripts pertaining to Sam Shoemaker and A.A.

(1) Shoemaker's grandson, Ben Rea – 2 pages
(2) Shoemaker's older daughter, Sally Robinson – 1 page
(3) Shoemaker's wife, Helen Smith Shoemaker – 3 pages
(4) Mrs. W. Irving (Julia) Harris, who lived in Calvary House, helped her husband, Shoemaker, and Bill Wilson – resource – 19 pages
(5) Episcopal Church Archives in Austin, Texas: 230 items selected from 52 boxes of Shoemaker correspondence, booklets, "materials examined and copied with approval."
(6) *Calvary Evangel* – recommended books and articles - 8 pages
(7) Pittsburgh Experiment literature and news articles – 20 pages
(8) Calvary Mission, first anniversary pamphlet – 8 pages
(9) *Calvary Evangel* Articles by Rev. W. Irving Harris – 5 issues

(10) Writings of Rev. W. Irving Harris, Shoemaker's assistant minister, Evangel editor, and resident of Calvary House during the 1930s. Wrote Shoemaker biography – 53 pages
(11) Pittsburgh Leadership Foundation literature and news
(12) *Calvary Evangel* articles by Shoemaker – 8 issues, plus 16 page article on Calvary Mission
(13) "Act as If" article by Shoemaker
(14) Four often-reprinted sermons delivered by Shoemaker at Calvary Church, Pittsburgh – 15 pages
(15) Princeton University Alumni Archives on Shoemaker
(16) Article – "What the Church has to Learn from Alcoholics Anonymous" by Shoemaker
(17) Six important articles and papers by Shoemaker: (a) "The Way to Find God;" (b) "Calvary Mission;" (c) Transcript of Bill Wilson's talk at A.A.'s 20th Anniversary dinner as transcribed by Shoemaker; (d) "A First Century Christian Fellowship;" (e) "My Life's Work and Will;" (f) "Lord, Teach us to Pray." - 60 pages in all.
(18) Transcript of Sam Shoemaker's address to A.A.'s International Convention at Long Beach, California – original and edited 12 pages in all.
(19) Shoemaker's 6 articles on Alcoholics Anonymous and its Twelve Steps: (a) "Twelve Steps to Power;" (b) "Those Twelve Steps as I understand them;" (c) "And so from my heart I say;" (d) "The Twelve Steps of A.A.;" (e) "Power to Become;" (f) "The Spiritual Angle." – 19 pages in all
(20) Several special Oxford Group materials from Episcopal Church Archives, copied with permission – (a) Loudon Hamilton's article on Some Basic Principles of Christian Work; (b) Wilfrid Holmes-Walker's article on "The New Enlistment;" (c) Bishop Carey's article on "The Group System and the Catholic Church;" (d) Henry B. Wright's article on "Secret Prayer;" (e) Loudon Hamilton's description of A First Century

Christian Fellowship – the Oxford Group; (f) Victor C. Kitchen’s Evangel article, “Points West.” – 37 pages in all.

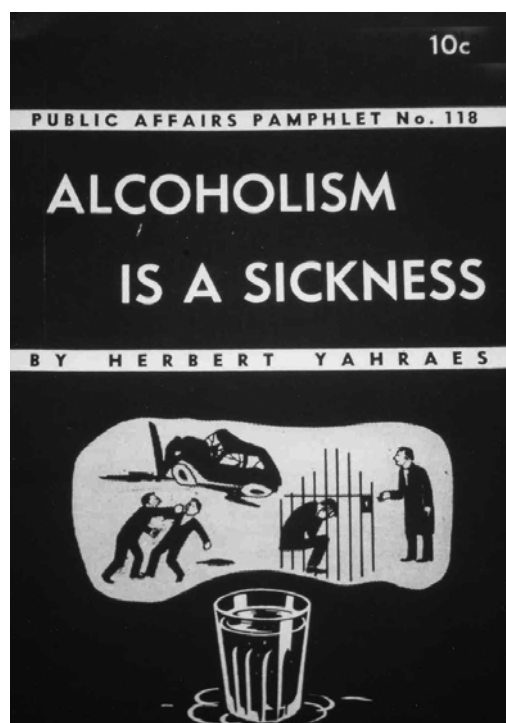
(21) Personal Notes of Dick B. from his interviews at Ft. Myers Beach, Florida with James D. Newton alone and also with Newton and Shoemaker’s younger daughter Nickie Haggart specifically reviewing parallel diary entries in Newton’s and Shoemaker’s diaries of Shoemaker/Firestone events of 1931 and of the Akron/Firestone/Oxford Group events of 1933 – 6 pages

(22) *The History of Faith at Work*, by Karl A. Olsson, M.D. A five part historical series detailing the various aspects of Shoemaker’s work and accomplishments: (1) “Rooted in the 19th Century, FAW Grew From a Series of Births and Rebirths;” (2) “Frank Buchman, the Oxford Group and the Four Absolutes: Honesty, Purity, Unselfishness and Love;” (3) “Sam Shoemaker and Faith at Work;” (4) “An Organization Emerges;” (5) “The Later Years – Changes to Challenges.” 11 pages in all

(23) Sam Shoemaker’s letter to Bill Wilson, dated January 22, 1935 little more than a month after Bill got sober in Towns Hospital, congratulating and thanking Bill for helping the Chemistry Professor (Breithut) and having been guided to help Oxford Group worker Jim Williams. Signed by Sam, original at Stepping Stones, “copied with approval”

(24) Printed letter, dated November 1, 1941, signed by Sam Shoemaker and his Associate Rector J. Herbert Smith, explaining to the Parishioners of Calvary Church the termination of the use of Calvary House as “national headquarters for Moral Re-Armament. Original at Hartford Seminary Archives, “copied with permission”

(25) Typed letter from Calvary Rectory, dated November 4, 1941, signed by Sam Shoemaker, addressed “Dear Friends,” confirming belief “as firmly as ever in the principles of the Oxford Group,” and reminding them that they and any of their friends “are always welcome at Calvary Church and Calvary House.” Original at the Calvary Church Archives in New York, “copied with permission”



WASHINGTONIAN NOTES & QUERIES

No. 8

The following passages are from Timothy Shay Arthur's *Six Nights With The Washingtonians*, originally published in separate parts in the Baltimore *Merchant* in 1840, then as separates in Baltimore in 1842, collected in two volumes bound together as *Temperance Tales, or, Six Nights With The Washingtonians* (Philadelphia: Leary & Getz, 1848). Specifically they are from "The Experience Meeting" (pp. 45-90 in the 1848 edition). They are printed here because they refer by name to the President of the Washingtonians, Mr. Mitchell, and allowing for possible reporter's license, they may be taken to give something of a genuine portrait of William K. Mitchell, in action. Timothy Shay Arthur (1809-1885) was born in Orange County, New York, moved to Baltimore as early as 1831 (when he married Eliza O'Brian there), and was remarried there (to Eliza Alden) in 1837. He is best known as the author of *Ten Nights in a Bar-Room* and of the song "Please, Father, Dear Father, Come Home."

"A few weeks after my first visit to the Washingtonians, I again attended one of their meetings (p. 45)... After the preliminaries of the meeting were over, the President announced that an hour or so would be spent in the recital of their experiences by such members of the society as felt inclined to speak (p. 49)....

"'Mr. President,' said a short, stout man, with a good-humored countenance, and a florid complexion, rising as the last speaker took his seat, 'I have been a tavern-keeper.' At this announcement there was a movement through the whole room, and an expression of increased interest. 'Yes, Mr. President,' he went on – 'I have been a tavern-keeper, and many a glass have I sold to you, and to the secretary there, and to dozens that I see here,' – (glancing around upon the company.) 'That's a fact,' broke in the President – 'many a gin-toddy and brandy-punch have I taken at your bar. But times are changed now, and we have begun to carry the war right into the enemy's camp. And our war

has not been altogether unsuccessful, for we have taken prisoner one of the rum-sellers' bravest generals! But go on friend W—, let us have your experience...(pp. 72-73)

"The time had gone on until nearly ten o'clock, and, as the last speaker took his seat, Mr. Mitchell, the President, rose, and in a brief, but pertinent address, invited and urged those who had not yet done so, to come forward and sign the pledge. The Secretary was then directed to read the pledge, which was done. After this followed a scene hard to be described.

"'Come along,' cried the President, as the Secretary resumed his seat. 'Who will sign first to-night? Ah! there he comes! The very man for whom I have been waiting these two months. That's right, friend L—. I thought we should get hold of the same end of the rope again. Many a drinking frolic, and fishing frolic have we been on, together! And now we strike hands again,' grasping the hand of the individual he was addressing, who had, by this time, reached the secretary's table – 'and shoulder to shoulder, hand to hand, and heart to heart, we will wage together, a war of extermination against old KING ALCOHOL and all his emissaries!... [The man signs the pledge.] ... You never did a better deed than that in your life, friend L—!' the President said in a lively, exulting tone, as the man rose from the secretary's table. 'And now who will come next?'...(pp. 85-86)....

"'Ten names already!' the President now cried out, loud and cheerfully, 'and the table crowded. Come along! we have room for hundred and thousands; we'll stay here all night if you'll keep coming.' ... 'Sixty names!' said the President, as the space in front of the secretary's table became once more vacant. 'We must have more than that number to-night. Yes, come along my friend,' he continued, his voice changing to one of encouragement and sympathy, as he looked steadily towards the door. 'Come along, my friend, and we will do thee good!' ... 'Do go, John!' I could now

hear the woman urging, 'Do go! and we shall be so happy!'

"'Yes, John, come along!' the President said, taking up the earnest persuasion of his wife – 'and we shall all be so happy! Come along, my good man!' (p. 87)...[He signs the pledge] ... 'Come along, we are waiting,' again urged the President. 'Don't put it off a single day. Come along, and make your wives happy, as John did just now. None of you like to see their faces clouded, and yet how can sunshine rest there while you are neglecting and abusing them? Come along! Why eighty signed at the last meeting, and here we have only sixty-two. We surely haven't got all the drunkards yet! O no! I see three or four down there that ought to sign. So come along my boys! If you want excitement, come and get a little of this teetotal excitement. It makes one feel a thousand times better than rum-excitement, and produces no after consequences but good ones. Ah! there comes another! – and another! and another! That's the way. One helps another. You don't know how much good you may do by coming forward. You influence one, and he another, and they others, until from the impulse given by a single individual, hundreds are brought in. There were only six at first, and now we have hundreds upon hundreds. Suppose those six had held back, where would we all have been? Come along then, and do your duty to yourselves and society.' (p. 88) ...[Ten more come forward.]

"'Any more?' the President asked. 'Yes, one more at least,' said a man near the door, rising to his feet. 'You've just got my last customer, and now you might as well have me. I've sold liquor for fifteen years. But you temperance folks have broken me up. And now I am forced to try some better and honester means of getting a living.' And

so saying, he walked resolutely up to the table and signed the pledge.

"'And now, friend P—,' the President said to him, 'what are you going to do with the liquid fire you have on hand?'

'What am I going to do with it?' in a tone of surprise.

'Yes, what are you going to do with it?'

'As to that,' the man replied, 'I never gave the subject a thought.'

'You won't sell it, I hope.'

'And why not?'

'Sell poison?'

'What shall I do? Give it away?'

'O no, that would be as bad.'

'Well, sir, what would you do, if you were in my place?'

'Why, I would throw every drop of it in the gutter. It will hurt no one there. You needn't be afraid of the hogs getting drunk, for a hog won't touch it.'

'My liquors cost a good deal.'

'No doubt of it. How much do you think?'

'Two hundred dollars, I should suppose.'

'No more?'

'I think not.'

"'There must be some mistake in your calculations,' the President said: 'you have forgotten the sighs and tears of abused and neglected wives and children. The money that bought your liquor cost all these and more.' The man paused a moment, and then said, emphatically: 'I'll do it! I've made enough men drunk in my time!' And thus saying, he turned away and mingled with the crowd. The books were then closed, seventy-five having signed the pledge that night. A few remarks were added by the President, and then the meeting broke up, and I returned home."