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This twelfth new issue of the CA&SQ (since its revival in October 2004) is Volume III, no. 4. After brief "News and Notes" (including another – a second – "Note" on early A. A.), we report on more of the editor's research on the "Messengers to Ebby" – who lie behind the early days of A.A. – specifically, a little more on Rowland, a little on Shep, and a little more material from the recorded conversation Cebra G. had with Bill W. in 1954. After that is a third section on a narrative of giving up drinking, by Samuel G. Blythe (1868-1947), in his Cutting It Out (1912) and The Old Game (1914), this time Chapter III of Cutting It Out. Our installment on archives relevant to our pursuits is Part III of our coverage of the H. Alexander Smith Papers at Princeton, a little deeper look at a few of the materials relating to the Oxford Group. This is followed by no. 16 in our series of "Washingtonian Notes and Oueries." Next issue (III, 5) will again see contributions on current work at Brown, plans for future work, and results of past work, from the collections and by those on the KirkWorks listsery. All who receive this and other issues are invited to contribute notes, queries, studies, and information on work in progress. – Jared Lobdell, September 30, 2007

News and Notes pp. 2-5

Progress Report: The Messengers to Ebby pp. 5-10 Further Material on Rowland, p. 5; Something on Shep, p. 7 Notes from the Cebra G. / Bill W. Conversation in 1954: Part III: p. 9

From Samuel George Blythe, Cutting It Out (1912, pp.), pp. 10-12

The Princeton H. Alexander Smith Papers, II, pp. 12-15

Washingtonian Notes and Queries (no. 16) pp. 15-18

NEWS AND NOTES

NEWS: RECENT SCIENTIFIC REPORTS

"Dissociation and alexithymia among men with alcoholism" in *Psychiatry and Clinical Neurosciences* 62 (1) pp. 40–47.

The aim of the study was to evaluate the relationship between alexithymia (inability to express feelings with words) and dissociation among men with alcoholism. Fifty-three patients were considered as having alexithymia. The alexithymic group had a significantly higher rate of patients with pathological dissociation; 62.3 percent according to Bayesian probability. Trait anxiety, overall psychiatric symptom severity, and pathological dissociation predicted alexithymia on covariance analysis. A multivariate analysis of covariance demonstrated that these predictors were related only to difficulty of identifying feelings, whereas trait anxiety was a significant covariant for difficulty of expressing feelings as well. Alexithymic phenomena are interrelated with dissociation and chronic anxiety among men with alcoholism. The relevance of this triad for prevention and treatment of alcoholism deserves interest in further research.

"Level of Response to Alcohol Within the Context of Alcohol-Related Domains: An Examination of Longitudinal Approaches Assessing Changes Over Time" in *Alcoholism: Clinical and Experimental Research* 32 (3), pp. 472–480

The manner in which a low level of response to alcohol relates to domains that enhance the risk for heavy drinking has traditionally been studied through cross-sectional models. However, many of the relevant domains, such as the maximum number of drinks consumed in twenty-four hours and drinking among peers typically decrease across adulthood. This study evaluated whether a person's level of response to alcohol predicted alcohol-related domains at multiple time-points and examined longitudinal relations among these domains in a sample of persons from the San Diego Prospective Study. A low level of response to alcohol at Time1 predicted higher levels of maximum drinking and drinking to cope at Time15. Higher levels of Time15 maximum drinking predicted smaller decreases in drinking with peers over time. Additional analyses found a time-specific effect of Time20 drinking to cope on Time25 maximum drinking even after accounting for the growth factors of both domains. These evaluations illustrate that level of response prospectively predicted relevant outcomes, and clarify how alcohol-related domains related to each other as the persons tested progressed through middle adulthood.

"Brain Activation, Response Inhibition, and Increased Risk for Substance Use Disorder" in *Alcoholism: Clinical and Experimental Research* 32 (3), pp. 405–413

Youth at high risk for developing substance use disorders (including alcoholism) often exhibit differences which suggest inhibitory impairments when compared to average risk youth. To examine the underlying neural activity related to these impairments, functional MRI was employed in adolescents during a task requiring inhibition of an eye movement response. Each subject's level of neurobehavioral disinhibition was assessed using a

multi-informant, multi-method approach, which has been shown to be highly predictive of substance-use-disorder onset. The data were categorized into neural regions of interest according to total frontal, parietal, occipital, and temporal lobe activation. Results demonstrated that the neurobehavioral disinhibition score was negatively correlated with total amount of frontal activation, but was not significantly correlated with total activation in any other neural region. These results indicate deficits in frontal activation in youth with high amounts of neurobehavioral disinhibition, suggesting a possible developmental delay of executive processes in high-risk youth.

"Differences in Frontostriatal Responses between Vulnerable and Resilient Children of Alcoholic Parents" in *Alcoholism: Clinical and Experimental Research* 32 (3), pp. 414–426

Children of alcoholics are at elevated risk for alcohol use disorders, yet not all such children will develop alcohol use disorders. The two primary aims of this study were to identify neural activation mechanisms that may mark protection or vulnerability to these disorders in the children of alcoholics and to map the same activation patterns in relation to risk behavior (externalizing or internalizing behavior). Twenty-two adolescent children of alcoholics were recruited from an ongoing community longitudinal study of alcoholic and matched control families. They were categorized as either vulnerable (n =11) or resilient (n = 11) based on the level of problem drinking over the course of adolescence. Six other adolescents with no parental history of alcoholism, and no evidence of their own problem drinking were recruited from the same study and labeled as low-risk controls. Negative, positive, or neutral words were presented to the participants in a passive viewing task during functional magnetic resonance imaging. Activation to negative versus neutral words and positive versus neutral words were compared between groups. Behavior problems were assessed with the Youth Self-Report. The resilient group had more activation of the orbital frontal gyrus, bilaterally, and left insula/putamen than the control and vulnerable groups, in response to emotional stimuli. In contrast, the vulnerable group had more activation of the dorsomedial prefrontal cortex and less activation of the ventral striatum and extended amygdala, bilaterally, to emotional stimuli than the control and resilient groups. The vulnerable group had more externalizing behaviors which correlated with increased dorsomedial prefrontal activation and decreased ventral striatal and extended amygdala activation. These results are consistent with dissociable patterns of neural activation underlying risk and resiliency in children of alcoholics. The authors propose that the pattern observed in the resilient groups represents an active emotional monitoring function, which may be a protective factor in this group. On the other hand, the vulnerable group displayed a pattern consistent with active suppression of affective responses, perhaps resulting in the inability to engage adaptively with emotional stimuli.

NOTE: POSSIBLE IMPLICATIONS OF THESE REPORTS

The first study tells us that fearful and dissociative male alcoholics (including presumably those who are fearful because they are dissociative) have great difficulty in expressing their feelings or indeed in expressing anything about themselves – which may very

probably include what A.A,. would call "telling their story" – which is a key to gaining sobriety in A.A. The second study tells us that a low level of response to alcohol in early drinking years (most likely adolescence or pre-adolescence) will be correlated with high levels of maximum drinking in a twenty-four-hour period and drinking with peers and drinking to cope into middle adulthood. The third study tells us low levels of frontal lobe activation (a slowed maturation process) in youth at high risk of substance use disorders (including alcoholism) suggest that the high risk is correlated with lack of executive processing in the brain – in other words, adolescents who "grow up" slowly are more likely to be alcoholics than those who grow up in a timely manner, though the direction of causation is uncertain. Finally, the fourth study tells us that the most vulnerable adolescents from alcoholic families are those who cannot engage adaptively with their environment or with other people (which may bring us back to the dissociative male alcoholics in the first study). – *Editor*

NOTE: EARLY AA – THOMAS KEAN B., LOIS VIRGINIA K. (I)

Among the signatures in the "first-purchased" copy of Alcoholics Anonymous in the GSO Archives – indeed, signature no. 3, after Bill W. and Hank P. – is Thomas K. B. (No. 4 is Jimmy B.). The "six ink-stained wretches" (Bill W.'s term) who began the AA Grapevine in 1944 were Abbot (Bud) T.; Lois K., Priscilla P., Chase H., Marty M., and Felicia G. Signature no. 22 in the book is that of Grenville C., the "Grenny" of Marty M.'s reminiscence in "Women Suffer Too." Unexpectedly, there seems to be a connection between Thomas Kean B. and Lois K. (her "K" is not for "Kean"), indeed a very close connection.

Lois Virginia K. was born in Detroit in 1899 and died in Los Gatos CA in 1973. Though it may be futile, we shall attempt to preserve the anonymity of her first three husbands, Horace D., Jr. (divorced 1927), Benjamin Franklin M. (married 1927 divorced 1929), J. Allan S. (married 1930, divorced 1939). She received a million-dollar cash settlement from Horace D., Jr. They had children Delphine Ione D. and Horace D. III. While she was still married to Horace, but filing for divorce, she took a boat to Honolulu, where Ben was a lieutenant in the Coastal Artillery. Horace flew to Honolulu (in 1927) to try to effect a reconciliation – unsuccessfully, but the flight was headline news. She began divorce proceedings against Ben while they were on an around-the-world honeymoon cruise (he left the cruise at Manila according to one report, at Shanghai according to another). Not long before her divorce from Allan, she made headlines by leaving \$100,000 in jewels at a railroad-station newsstand (her one-time mother-in-law had left even more in jewels at a similar site in the 1920s).

The engagement notices of Delphine D. and Horace D. III both describe them as the children of Horace D. Jr. and Mrs. Thomas K. B., of Old Mamaroneck Rd, in Westchester County, N. Y. It would seem then that Lois must have married Thomas B. after 1939 (when he signed the book and when she was divorced from Allan) and before February 1944 (when Delphine was married – Horace III was married in October 1944). It may be noted that Delphine attended the Fermata School in Aiken SC, the same school attended by Nathalie Laimbeer, Shep Cornell's second wife, though Nathalie was some years older than Delphine. In any case, it would appear that the marriage of Lois Virginia K. and Thomas Kean B. was an early "AA

marriage." It would appear this marriage lasted no better than Lois's others, as we next hear of Tom, having moved south, as married to Margaret, who predeceased him. Tom's death on December 2, 1964, was announced by Squadron A (Cavalry) of the New York National Guard (activated as the 101st Cavalry). We have communicated with Squadron A to attempt to find out more about Thomas Kean B. The letter from Squadron A gave us several addresses for Thomas K. B., one (in the 1930s) being 756 Riverside Drive, his parents' address.

In addition, we got in touch with the Archivist at GSO in NYC. From the Archivist: Tom B. got sober January 16, 1939, according to a letter in the Archives. He was apparently living in New York when he sobered up. He served as a Class B trustee on the Alcoholic Foundation Board, elected October 1944. In 1945 it appears he moved to Atlanta, but stayed on the Board as an out-of-town trustee (his expense reports are listed in the minutes, for his rail travel to each Board meeting). At some later point in the 1940s he moved to Raleigh, North Carolina, where he lived the rest of his life. From brief examination of the minutes it would appear Tom B was involved in the incorporation of the Grapevine and was behind many changes to the by-laws of the Foundation. He served on the Nominating Committee and was elected Vice President of the Board in 1951. The Board accepted his resignation at its January 28, 1952 meeting. His wife Margaret died in March 1964 (letter to Bill W. in the Archives, noting he was still sober) and he died in December 1964. There is an undated recording of Tom in the Archives audio collection, and a couple of letters between Bill and Tom, late in Tom's life, and a couple of others in which Tom is discussed by a third party.

In the next issue we will cover whatever the undated recording reveals about Tom's life, whatever we can find about him from other sources, and whatever we discover through contact with the family of Lois Virginia K., and .any papers she may have left. The editor wonders if this may have been the original "boy meets girl on AA campus" of which Bill W. spoke.

PROGRESS REPORT: THE MESSENGERS TO EBBY

(a) Rowland Hazard

(1) We begin with brief material on Rowland Hazard's wife and her family, taken from a family genealogical page.

Helen Hamilton Campbell was born on 13 Apr 1889 in Chicago, Cook County, Illinois. She died on 17 Oct 1946. She graduated from Briar Cliff Manor. She died from pneumonia which developed after she was overcome by carbon Monoxide fumes in her garage. She married Rowland Hazard, son of Rowland Gibson Hazard and Mary Pierrepont Bushnell Hazard, on 5 Oct 1910. Rowland was born on 29 Oct 1881 in Peace Dale, Washington County, Rhode Island. He died on 20 Dec 1945. He graduated with a BA from Yale in 1903. He died of a coronary occlusion while at his office desk. Rowland and Helen had the following children: Caroline Campbell Hazard; Capt. Rowland Gibson Hazard, born on 17 Feb 1917, died in 1944; Peter Hamilton Hazard,

born on 27 Jun 1918, died in 1945; Charles Ware Blake Hazard. Helen's father, Augustus Scott Campbell was born on 13 Nov 1842 in Galena, Jo Daviess County, Illinois. He died on 9 Sep 1898 in Highland Park, Lake County, Illinois. He attended preparatory school at Exeter Academy and graduated from Hamilton College. He was for several years United States Marshal of the Northern District of Illinois. He became director of the Bank of Illinois just one year prior to its failure, which occurred in the spring of 1895. He was a large stock holder and one of the principal losers by its collapse. In 1894 he bought a large Victorian house at Highland Park, Illinois, from W. W. Flynn. The house, called "Fancy Hill," was located at the end of Belle Avenue on a bluff overlooking Lake Michigan. Augustus married Abbie Joseph Hamilton on 14 Oct 1878 in Chicago, Cook, Illinois. Abbie was born on 17 Jul 1851 in Virginia. She died on 15 Jan 1897[?] in Highland Park, Lake County, Illinois. They had the following children: Benjamin Hamilton Campbell born on 26 Apr 1882 in Chicago, Cook County, Illinois, died on 10 Mar 1886; Helen Hamilton Campbell (Rowland's wife); Augustus Scott Campbell, born in Jun 1890 in Chicago, Cook County, Illinois, died on 12 Jul 1891.

(2) Passport descriptions (1921):

Rowland Hazard was then (April 22 1921) 39 years old, 5'10" tall, high forehead, brown eyes, medium nose, regular mouth, square chin, dark hair, dark complexion, long oval face. [Note: His 1919 passport description is the same except age is 37, nose is "medium and straight," and chin is "square and prominent."]

Helen Campbell Hazard was then (May 2 1921) 32 years old, 5'1" tall, high forehead, gray eyes, medium nose, medium mouth, round chin, light brown hair, fair complexion, oval face.

(3) Rowland Hazard and lawn tennis:

Although lawn tennis was something of a Hazard family sport, Rowland did not play for Yale, and there is no indication of his playing except in the years 1913-1916, principally at Point Judith CC at Narragansett Pier (Newport), but also at Longwood Cricket Club outside Boston. Both of these were centers of American tennis at the time. In 1914 he lost to William J. Clothier (1881-1962) of Philadelphia (U.S. national champion in 1906. and a member of the Tennis Hall of Fame), in men's singles at Longwood, after which (the newspaper reports) Clothier split sets with the California sensation, Maurice (Red) In 1916 he teamed with Philadelphian Craig Biddle (1879-1948) in doubles at Point Judith against the left-handed Japanese sensation Ichiva Kumagae (1890-1968, fifth-ranked in the United States that year) and his partner Hachishiro Mikami. (Kumagae was the better player of the two, though Mikami played acceptably on their tour, albeit losing, for example, to young Chuck Garland of Pittsburgh at Utica.) Biddle's career is recalled in a brief TIME obit, January 5, 1948. "Died. Craig Biddle, 68, gay blade of the mauve decade, socialite, sportsman; of a heart ailment; in Wakefield, R.I. Brother of famed Marine Jujitsu Instructor Anthony J. Drexel Biddle, uncle of ex-U.S. Ambassador to Poland Anthony J. Drexel Biddle Jr., Craig Biddle was a society leader on two continents, ran two showplace mansions (Lauranto in Radnor PA,

Nethercliffe in Newport), played Davis Cup tennis, married three times." Rowland Hazard was clearly not a top-ranked player, but for a club player in his thirties, who hadn't played in college, he was traveling in fast company indeed — Davis Cuppers, national champions, Olympic medalists. And Bill Tilden (1893-1953) began his meteoric rise by beating that same Craig Biddle in the 1916 Pennsylvania State Championships that same year.

(b) The Oxford Meeting, Stockbridge June 1936, Shep Cornell Present

TIME June 15, 1936

In the green Berkshire Hills of Massachusetts nestle a knot of towns – Lenox, Lee, Stockbridge, Great Barrington – whose natives are hardheaded Yankees, whose summer colonists are sedate, aristocratic New Englanders and Manhattanites. Two of the swankest, most comfortable hotels in the neighborhood are Heaton Hall and the Red Lion Inn at Stockbridge, both owned by Massachusetts' benign, broad-beamed Republican Representative Allen Towner Treadway. Manager of the Red Lion Inn is the Congressman's Yale-educated son, Heaton Ives Treadway, who in the winter runs hotels in Pinehurst, N. C. and Florida.

In Florida last winter Heaton Treadway met some members of Dr. Frank Nathan Daniel Buchman's Oxford Groups. Well aware of how those earnest evangelists stalk the upper classes in their native habitat, Manager Treadway discoursed on the advantages of the Berkshires. Result was that last fortnight Representative Treadway was saying: "I guess the movement is beneficial. All that I've heard of the Groups is interesting and sound." And in Heaton Hall, the Red Lion Inn and other hostelries in and around Stockbridge were gathered a "team" of 800 Oxford Groupers from all over the world, in whose wake followed some 2,000 paying guests at Dr. Buchman's most ambitious U. S. effort to date, a "National Assembly."

Local Yankees were divided as to whether the "Buchmanites" practiced free love or were Socialists, but by the time the ten-day Assembly ended last week the rest of the U. S. could gain an honest, restrained view of its zealous activities from the newsreels, wire services and the Eastern press, which gave it publicity comparable to that which the Oxford Groups have received in Europe. Welcomed because an Oxford Group tenet is to spread the message of "God-control" as widely as possible, the publicity emphasized the adroit staging of the Assembly, the newsworthiness of the names identified with it, the singular nature of the testimony by which Oxford Group ideas were proffered to those who cared to listen.

On Memorial Day an airplane roared over New England trailing a banner inscribed: AMERICA AWAKE, THE OXFORD GROUP, STOCKBRIDGE. With the local post of the American Legion the Groupers paraded, held a meeting in front of the Stockbridge town hall. Leader of the parade, in a dirty, beaded leather jacket, was an Indian chief named Uhm-Pa-Tuth, billed as a Stockbridge (Mohican) Indian who had ended up on a reservation in Wisconsin, there turned to God and away from civilization and education which, he told the meeting, "don't make an Indian or anybody else any better." Marchers in the parade carried the flags of 48 States and 18 nations, including

Germany's swastika, adverse comment on which was parried with the statement that thus does the Oxford Group bring nations together.

Members of the National Assembly could stay in hotels at \$4 a day or a tent colony at \$1.50. Those who chose the latter shivered at first, later found it a pleasant enough spot with its Army tents, mess tent and assembly tent which had done circus duty. According to one of its inmates, Rev. Charles Jarvis Harriman of Philadelphia's Episcopal Church of St. James the Less, the camp cost \$600 as against preliminary estimates of \$4,300. "God guidance is the answer," said Mr. Harriman. "We did not see how we could afford several thousand dollars to get our equipment from large supply houses, so we consulted God." The Groupers had 20 caddies carry tables for nothing from the town hall to the mess tent. "Guidance," said Grouper Harriman. "That's what made me walk on the golf course just at that moment." The man in charge of the camp canteen, one James Mariano who claimed he had been a "drunk, pick pocket and strongarm man," told an Assembly audience that "the canteen is directed by the Holy Spirit. We have no cashier. You simply go in and take what you want and pay for it and be Godguided all the time you are there." Said Camp Cook Francis Flannagan: "We have our quiet times in the morning so that through guidance we may make our menus."

Next to Frank Buchman, beaming and circulating briskly among the numerous places where Assembly meetings were held, the most ubiquitous Grouper was A. S. Loudon Hamilton, the tall, burly, pink-cheeked Scot who is second in command in the Group's world army. It was in his Oxford rooms that the movement received its first impetus in 1921. Subsequently a footballer at Colgate University, Grouper Hamilton married, begat two children, continued to live on a basis of faith without ever accepting a salaried position. Said he last week: "It takes God's guidance to make a Scot accept a situation like that."

Despite Grouper Hamilton's expert stage-managing, there occurred a slip on Frank Buchman's 58th birthday last week. Arising at 4:45 a.m. for his "quiet time" of listening to God's directions, Founder Buchman looked forward to a day during which he would broadcast to England, the expenses to be paid as a birthday gift from his British followers. But that afternoon as Dr. Buchman was motoring to fulfill this engagement, the gasoline feed line of his automobile clogged, precious minutes passed and finally Grouper H. Kenaston Twitchell read the Founder's words into the microphone. Outstanding birthday greeting received by Dr. Buchman was from Groupers in Hell, Norway, who cabled: "Hell's bells are ringing, our hearts are singing" in honor of "Frank's fifty-eighth."

Tennist Helen Wills Moody spent a week-end in Stockbridge, attended no Group meetings. But one day last week a private railway car rolled into a siding and out popped Clara Bryant Ford, self-effacing wife of Henry Ford. Far from exploited by the Groups, who made clear that she was not identified with their movement, Mrs. Ford quietly attended meetings, lunched with Dr. Buchman and the most important of his followers, beheld a documentary Group film called *Bridge Builders*. Two days later she departed, thus ending rumors that her husband was to arrive in the company of **Harvey Firestone**, whose family have been active in Group work.

Other distinguished visitors during the National Assembly: pious Copperman Cleveland Earl Dodge and his pious wife; Emily Newell Blair, writer and Democratic politician; Episcopal Bishop Walter Mitchell of Arizona; Mrs. Henry Noble MacCracken,

wife of the president of Vassar College; Mrs. Henry Guggenheim, wife of the onetime Ambassador to Cuba; Mr. and Mrs. F. Shepard Cornell, Manhattan socialites; Lord Addington of England; Baroness de Watteville-Berckheim of Paris; Dr. J. E. W. Duys of The Netherlands Parliament; Carl Vrooman, onetime Assistant Secretary of Agriculture; Bernard Hallward, director of the Montreal *Star*; Herman Hintzen, Rotterdam banker; Eric Bentley, Canadian businessman; W. Farrar Vickers, British businessman; Sir Philip Dundas, of Edinburgh. Likewise present were the usual Oxford Group retired generals, admirals, sons and daughters of Anglican bishops, Scandinavian lawyers, reformed Communists, college students, etc., etc.

Typical of Oxford Group testimony in their mixture of humor, piety and crassness were the following statements during Assembly meetings: "I now can see that God has a plan for business"—Charles Hogan, Manhattan butcher. "God can even show us how to play golf"—British Rear Admiral Horace Summerford. "A conservative aristocrat, I am proud to stand on the same platform with a Dutch Socialist"—Lord Addington. "Our budget is God-controlled. There is a real thrill and purpose in teas and dinner parties"—Mrs. Howard Reynolds. "I took time off from studying the part to listen to what God had to tell me. All fear of competition vanished"—Marion Clayton Anderson, bit player in Mutiny on the Bounty. "When I went to a party, I could not stop. When I came home after a two-day absence I bought flowers and threw them through the door. If they didn't come flying out, I would go in. ... Later I went to one of these Oxford Group meetings ..."—Brig. General Eric D. Luce, U. S. A., retired. "A supernational network over live wires. A spiritual radiophone in every home. Every last man in America, in every last place in America, in every last situation in America, guided by God" — Dr. Buchman. "Thanks to God for Frank Buchman" — Loudon Hamilton.

This week, after a large post-Assembly meeting in Manhattan's Metropolitan Opera House, Dr. Buchman and two carloads of "life-changers" were to entrain for Cleveland and the first of the two national political conventions at which they planned to submit "God-guidance" planks.

Note: The name of Philip Dundas is put in boldface as a founder of A.A. in Great Britain, Harvey Firestone for his Akron connection with the Sieberlings, Sam Shoemaker, and Walter Tunks, among others involved in the founding of A.A. in Akron.

(c) Summarizing Cebra's Recorded 1954 Conversation with Bill W. Part III: Cebe in 1940

A transcript of Bill W.'s conversation with Cebra G. and his (fifth) wife, Lucette, is in the Alcoholics Anonymous General Service Office Archives in New York. By the courtesy of the Archivist, Amy Filiatreau, a copy of the transcript was made available to me in June 2007. Summaries of portions have been published in CASQ 3,2 and CASQ 3,3. Here is a brief summary of Cebe's account of his introduction to A.A. in 1940.

Cebe reports that he really knew nothing about A.A. until 1940, when he was hypnotized in an effort to get over drinking and had promptly gotten drunk again. He saw a friend of his, an older woman, whose husband had died from cirrhosis of the liver and other alcohol-related problems, at the age of 92. She asked him what was wrong and he told her about the failure of hypnotism to cure his drinking. She asked him if he

remembered Morgan R. and how he used to stumble and fall around? He said he did. She said Morgan hadn't had a drink in several years. Cebe went to see Morgan, who was busy, but gave him the name of Bert T. He went to see Bert and went to a meeting that night and saw Ebby there, at the clubhouse on 24th Street that had just opened up. He expected to see people from the Bowery, but that didn't bother him, because he figured that was where he belonged anyway. He reports he had no trouble accepting the first step because he was licked when he got there and seriously felt he was crazy – so we was happy to find he was an alcoholic and amazed that there were people who could do something about it. (Cebe carried the message to Ebby in 1934; he came to A.A. in 1940; he did not finally get sober until 1954.)

SAMUEL GEORGE BLYTHE (1868-1947), CUTTING IT OUT (1912)

Last issue we briefly rehearsed the life of Samuel George Blythe, born of English emigrant parents in upstate New York in 1868, newspaper editor, journalist, frequent contributor to the Saturday Evening Post, political correspondent and in the 1930s a foreign correspondent before he settled permanently in Carmel, California, where he was living when he died in 1947. We noted that his best-known book is probably The Fun of Getting Thin, How To Be Happy and Reduce the Waist Line, and he was considered by the humorist Irvin S. Cobb as one of the three funniest authors in America. This issue's selection from Cutting It Out is Chapter III (pp. 31-44), "What I Quit." Next issue will print Chapter IV (pp. 45-55), "When I Quit," and Chapter V (pp. 57-60), "After I Quit." After that, we may go on to the sequel, The Old Game (1914). Here is Chapter III of Cutting It Out (pp. 31-44):

"I had been drinking thus for practically twenty years. I did not drink at all until after I was twenty-one and not much until after I was twenty-five. When I got to be thirty-two or thirty-three and had gone along a little in the world, I fell in with men of my own station; and as I lived in a town where nearly everybody drank, including many of the business and professional men — men of affairs — I soon got into their habits. Naturally gregarious, I found those men good company. They were sociable and convivial, and drank for the fun of it and the fun that came out of it.

"My business took me to various parts of the country and I made acquaintances among men like these – the real live ones in the community. They were good fellows. So was I. The result was that in a few years I had a list of friends from California to Maine – all of whom drank; and I was never at a loss for company or highballs. Then I moved to a city where there isn't much of anything else to do but drink at certain times of the day, a city where men from all parts of the country congregate and where the social side of life is highly accentuated. I kept along with the procession. I did my work satisfactorily to my employers and I did my drinking satisfactorily to my self.

"This continued for several years. I had a fixed habit. I drank several drinks a day. Sometimes I drank more than several. My system was organized to digest about so much alcohol every twenty-four hours. So far as I could see, the drinking did me no harm. I was well. My appetite was good. I slept soundly. My head was clear. My work proceeded easily and was getting fair recognition. Then some of the boys began dropping off and some began breaking down. I had occasional mornings, after big dinners or especially convivial affairs, when I did not feel very well — when I was out of

tune and knew why. Still, I continued as of old, and thought nothing of it except as the regular katzenjammer – to be expected.

"Presently I woke up to what was happening around me. I looked the game over critically. I analyzed it coldly and calmly. I put every advantage of my mode of life on one side and every disadvantage; and I put on the other side every disadvantage of a change in procedure and every advantage. There were times when I thought the present mode had by far the better of it, and times when the change contemplated outweighed the other heavily.

"Here is the way it totted up against quitting: Practically every friend you have in the United States — and you've got a lot of them — drinks more or less. You have not cultivated any other line of associates. If you quit drinking, you will necessarily have to quit a lot of these friends, and quit their parties and company — for a man who doesn't drink is always a death's-head at a feast or merry-making where drinking is going on. Your social intercourse with these people is predicated on taking an occasional drink, in going to places where drinks are served, both public and at homes. The kind of drinking you do makes greatly for sociability, and you are a sociable person and like to be round with congenial people. You will miss a lot of fun, a lot of good, clever companionship, for you are too old to form a new line of friends. Your whole game is organized along these lines. Why make a hermit of yourself just because you think drinking may harm you? Cut it down. Take care of yourself. Don't be such a fool as to try to change your manner of living just when you have an opportunity to live as you should and enjoy what is coming to you.

"This is the way it lined up for quitting: So far liquor hasn't done anything to you except cause you to waste some time that might have been otherwise employed; but it will get you, just as it has landed a lot of your friends, if you stay by it. Wouldn't it be better to miss some of this stuff you have come to think of as fun, and live longer? There is no novelty in drinking to you. You haven't an appetite that cannot be checked, but you will have if you stick to it much longer. Why not quit and take a chance at a new mode of living, especially when you know absolutely that every health reason, every future-prospect reason, every atom of good sense in you. Tells you there is nothing to be gained by keeping at it, and that all may be lost.

"Well, I pondered over that a long time. I had watched miserable wretches who had struggled to stay on the water-wagon – sometimes with amusement. I knew what they had to stand if they tried to associate with their former companions; I knew the apparent difficulties and the disadvantages of this new mode of life. On the other hand, I was convinced that, so far as I was concerned, without trying to lay down a rule for any other man, I would be an ass if I didn't quit it immediately, while I was well and all right, instead of waiting until I had to quit on a doctor's orders, or got to that stage where I couldn't quit.

"It was no easy thing to make the decision. It is hard to change the habits and associations of twenty years! I had a good understanding of myself. I was no hero. I liked the fun of it, the companionship of it, better than anyone. I like my friend and, I hope and think, they like me. It seemed to me that I needed it in my business, for I was always dealing with men who did drink.

"I wrestled with it for some weeks. I thought it all out, up one side and down the other. Then I quit. Also, I stayed quit. And believe me, ladies and gentlemen and all others present, it was no fool of a job.

"I have learned many things since I went on the water-wagon for fair – many things about my fellow man and many things about myself. Most of these things radiate round the innate hypocrisy of the human being. All those that do not concern his hypocrisy concern his lying – which, I reckon, when you come to stack them up together, amounts to the same thing. I have learned that I had been fooling myself and that others had been fooling me. I gathered experience every day. And some of the things I have learned I shall set down.

"You have all known the man who says he quit drinking and never thought of drink again. He is a liar. He doesn't exist. No man in this world who had a daily habit of drinking ever quit and never thought of drinking again. Many men, because they habitually lie to themselves, think they have done this; but they haven't. The fact is, no man with a daily habit of drinking ever quit and thought of anything else than how good a drink would taste and feel for a time after he quit. He couldn't and he didn't. I don't care what any of them say. I know.

"Further, the man who tells you he never takes a drink until five o'clock in the afternoon, or three o'clock in the afternoon, or only drinks with his meals, or only takes two or three drinks a day, usually is a liar too — not always, but usually. There are some machine-like, non-imaginative persons who can do this — drink by rote or by rule; but not many. Now I do not say that many men do not think they drink this way, but most of these men are simply fooling themselves.

"Again, this proposition of cutting down drinks to two or three a day is all rot. Of what use to any person are two or three drinks a day? I mean to any person who drinks for the fun of it, as I did and most of my friends do yet. What kind of a human being is he who comes into a club and takes one cocktail and no more? — or one highball? He's worse, from any viewpoint of sociability, than a man who drinks a glass of water. At least the man who drinks the water isn't fooling himself or trying to be part one thing and part another. The way to quit drinking is to quit drinking. That is all there is to that. This paltering along with two or three drinks a day is mere cowardice. It is neither one thing nor the other. And I am here to say, also, that nine out of every ten men who say they only take two or three drinks a day are liars, just the same as the men who say they quit and never think of it again. They may not think they are liars, or intend to be liars; but they are liars just the same.

"Well, as I may have intimated, I quit drinking. I drank that last, lingering Scotch highball – and quit! I decided the no-liquor end of it was the better end, and I took that end."

THE PRINCETON H. ALEXANDER SMITH PAPERS PART III: NOTES ON OXFORD GROUP CONTENT

Smith, H. Alexander (Howard Alexander) 1880-1966. Papers, 1897-1966 (bulk 1920-1966) (Repeated from CA&SQ, III, no. 2): H. Alexander Smith served as the executive secretary of Princeton University and was later elected to the United States Senate from New Jersey. Smith made contributions to United States foreign policy while serving on

the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The bulk of documentation focuses on his tenure in the Senate and the period immediately after his retirement; reports, correspondence, and printed material from his work at Princeton are also included. The papers contain diaries, correspondence, speeches, notes, photographs, and memorabilia. 283.53 linear feet (665 boxes).

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H. (Howard) Alexander Smith served as the executive secretary of Princeton University and was later elected to the United States Senate representing New Jersey. Smith made contributions to United States foreign policy while serving on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. But their principal interest here is in Smith's long connection with Frank Buchman and the Oxford Group.

While in Washington with the Food Administration during World War I, Smith developed a renewed interest in his alma mater. Smith was encouraged by fellow alumni critical of current university policy to visit Princeton, and after receiving approval from President John Grier Hibben, he spent two months of 1919 interviewing administration. faculty, and trustees. Shortly after completing this task, Hibben offered Smith a position at the University. Smith spent the next year chairing the Committee on University Organization, which surveyed finances, academics, campus life, the endowment campaign, and the University's future goals, and concluded that the University needed to operate in a more business-like, streamlined manner. Among the committee's recommendations were plans to overhaul alumni activities, expand fundraising, raise faculty salaries, and reorganize administrative offices and operations. Included in the committee's suggestions for administrative reorganization was the proposal to create the position of executive secretary, a role intended to serve as an assistant to the president. Smith became the first person to hold the position in the fall of 1920, and he spent the next several years attempting to implement many of the committee's recommendations. His relationship with Princeton became strained after he differed with administration's handling of the Philadelphian Society, a campus religious group that fell under the influence of the controversial Frank N. D. Buchman. The basic tenants of Buchmanism preached living a life free of sin while setting aside time each day for quiet reflection in which one searched for divine guidance. However, the Buchmanites tended to be aggressive in their tactics when they evangelized to those they considered sinners. After Buchmanism caused a small national stir in the mid-1920s, President Hibben ordered an investigation of the Philadelphian Society on campus. Hibben concluded that the Philadelphian Society was distracting students from their studies and recommended that the Society's campus activities be scaled back. Smith disagreed, was sympathetic toward Buchman, and felt that

President Hibben did not take Buchman's criticism of the University seriously enough. Smith converted to Buchmanism shortly after the controversy. He was a deeply religious person and remained in correspondence with Buchman and other followers of the movement throughout his life. Smith ultimately resigned from his executive secretary position as a result from his dispute with President Hibben but remained at Princeton. In the fall of 1928, he began a new position as a lecturer in the department of politics. Smith's courses focused on international relations and United States foreign policy. However, Smith quickly became disillusioned with the secular direction of Princeton and teaching and left the university in 1930. His political career is less relevant to those studying the Oxford Group — but he remained in contact with Buchman and his movement until his death. Here are some additional notes on materials related to the Oxford Group in the Smith Papers.

In Series 2: Relief Work and Princeton University, 1915-1934 In Subseries 2A: Federal Relief Work, 1916-1932 Twitchell, H. K. and M. S., 1928-30 Box 44, Twitchell, Hanford M., 1928-1930 Box 44. In Subseries 2C: Princeton University Administration/Faculty 1915-34 Philadelphian Society, 1923-1926 Box 115. Buchmann, Frank, Clippings and Pamphlets, 1927-1928 Box 117 and Correspondence, 1926-1930 Box 117. Purdy, Ray F., 1928-1929 Box 118. Raven, Canon Charles E., 1928-1929 Box 118 Shoemaker, Reverend S. M. Jr., 1928-1929 Box 118

In Series 3: New Jersey Politics, 1919-1945 In Subseries 3A: New Jersey State Republican Affairs, 1930-1944. Article, Moral Rearmament for America, 1939, Box 149 Moral Re-Armament, 1943, Box 177. In Subseries 3B: Personal, 1925-1945. Moral Re-Armament Broadcasts, Correspondence, 1940, Box 202. Oxford Group General 1932-41 Box 203 Brown, Philip [Marshall], 1935-1939 Box 203. Buchman, Frank, 1936-1941 Box 204. First Century Christian Fellowship, 1932-3 Box 204. Houseparties, 1934-1935 Box 204. Moral Re-Armament, Madison Square Garden, 1939, Box 205. Moral Re-Armament, Broadcast 1940. Box 205. Shoemaker, S. M., 1935-1942 Box 205. Twitchell, M. S. – H. K., 1935-1942. Box 213. Vrooman, Carl, 1932-1938 Box 213. Moral Re-Armament, 1939 Box 213. "Musings of a Near-Dry," 1932 Box 213. Oxford Group: Newspaper Clippings 1932-38 Box 233; Press Releases 1932-35 Box 233; Press Releases 1938-40 Box 234. Vrooman, Carl, 1932-1933 Box 239. In Subseries 3D: Public Relations, 1934-1944, Oxford Group, 1939 Box 243

In Series 4: Senatorial Career, 1931-1958 In Subseries 4A: Campaigns, 1943-1958, Twitchell, H. K., 1952 Box 251. In Subseries 4B: Correspondence, 1943-1958, Twitchell, H. Kenaston, 1945 Box 261 Shoemaker, Mrs. Samuel M., Jr., 1945-1949 Box 262, Twitchell, H. K., 1948-49 Box 262, Twitchell, H. K., 1950 Box 267 Shoemaker, Mr. and Mrs., 1950-1951 Box 269. Twitchell, H. K., 1951 Box 269. Shoemaker, Samuel, 1952, Box 277. Positions, Charles Clapp, 1957, Box 278 Shoemaker, Mrs., 1950 Box 279. Twitchell, Kennie, Lunch, 1957 June 26 Box 280 Moral Re-Armament, Play and Trip to Far East, 1955 Box 281. Moral Re-Armament, 1950-1957 Box 282. Faith At Work, 1957 Box 289. Moral Re-Armament, 1958 Box 291. Shoemaker, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel M., 1954 Box 292. Twitchell, Mr. and Mrs. H. Kenaston, 1954 Box 294. Buchman, Frank, 1952 Box 295. Twitchell, Mr. and Mrs. H. Kenaston, 1952 Box 299.

In Subseries 4D: Proposed Bills and Voting Record, 1943-1958 Brown, Philip Marshall, 1947 Box 344. Vrooman, Carl, 1958 Box 459.

In Series 5: Post-Senatorial Career, 1959-1966. Shoemaker-Robinson, 1961-1962 Box 638. Twitchell, Wishard, 1961-1962 Box 639. Faith at Work, 1960 Box 641. Faith at Work, 1964 Box 647.

In Series 6: Diaries, 1902-1959. Material not yet indexed.

In Series 7: Miscellaneous, 1917-1965. Oral History Columbia University Box 661

WASHINGTONIAN NOTES & QUERIES No. 16:

One of the questions frequently asked about the rapid decline of the Washington Temperance Society of Baltimore (the "Washingtonians") is why was the decline so rapid? Here as evidence toward an answer are some abbreviated entries from the journal begun by John H. W. Hawkins after his departure from Baltimore for Boston in April 1841 (*Life of John H. W. Hawkins*, pp. 81-83, 88-90, 95-96, 98-101):

"William E. Wright and myself left Baltimore, Sunday, April 10th, 1841, by especial invitation of the Boston City Temperance Society, to spend a few weeks in lecturing on the subject of intemperance. We arrived in New-York at two o'clock on a Sunday morning in a heavy snow storm which prevented us from proceeding on our journey; the captain of the steamboat considering it dangerous to go through the sound in the day or night in such a storm. We thought to improve our short stay in New York. We therefore got up a meeting in the Rev. W. W. Wallace's church ...

"We left New York for Boston in the steamboat *Mohegan* on Tuesday morning, April 13, at six o'clock. Arrived in Boston twelve o'clock same night ... During our stay we lectured in the following places – First, Tremont Chapel, Wednesday evening, April 14th, second, Thursday evening, Odeon, April 15th, eighty-two signed; third, Friday evening, Marlboro' Chapel, two hundred and seventy-nine signed; fourth, Saturday, Bennet-Street Methodist Church, one hundred and forty signed. Sunday morning – Went with Deacon Moses Grant to the Houses of Correction and Reformation. Addressed sixty-two boys in the House of Reformation. We then visited the House of Correction. Addressed one hundred and seventy-two men and one hundred a fifteen women; they appeared to feel much on the subject. At night addressed a crowded assembly at the Bethel, Rev. Mr. Taylor's, four hundred and twenty-nine signed. Same night addressed a crowded house at the Odeon; two hundred signed the pledge. The work was now fairly begun; many that signed were notorious drunkards.

"Monday, April 19th – Held a meeting in Rev. Dr. Sharp's Church (Baptist); ninety-four signed. Tuesday, 20th – Held a meeting in Roxbury; full house; adjourned till Saturday afternoon. Wednesday evening, 21st – Held the first meeting in Faneuil Hall; the house was filled to overflowing, notwithstanding the rain.... [The hall was draped in mourning, in token of the deep grief of the nation at the death of President Harrison.] ... Two hundred and ten persons signed the pledge; and the meeting adjourned to Friday

evening. [Thursday, 22^{nd} – Addressed a meeting in the Baptist Church, Chelsea; one hundred and sixteen signed.] Faneuil Hall, Friday Evening, April 23^{rd} – Meeting according to adjournment – General Theodore Lyman in the chair; interest increasing; a vast number signed the pledge.... [Saturday, 24^{th} – Met the people of Roxbury; many signed the pledge and a Washington Temperance Society was formed; at night, lectured at the North-Russell Street Methodist Church: one hundred and fifteen signed the pledge. Sunday evening, 25^{th} – addressed the prisoners in the State Prison at Charlestown, three hundred and twenty-seven in number.] They seemed to feel much their situation, knowing the primary cause of their misery was the use of intoxicating drink; they wept like children. Sunday night the 25^{th} – Lectured at the Odeon; the house was filled to overflowing; exceeding great interest was manifested in the cause of temperance; great numbers signed the pledge.

"Monday, 26^{th} – Afternoon, held a meeting in Tremont Chapel; formed a "Martha Washington Temperance Society." Evening – held a meeting in Marlboro' Chapel; formed a "Boston Washington Temperance Society" of reformed inebriates; one hundred and thirty gave in their names. Tuesday, 27^{th} – Held a meeting in South Boston; one hundred and sixty signed the pledge. Wednesday, 28^{th} – Boston W. T. Society met in the Marlboro' Chapel according to adjournment; one hundred and fifty signed the pledge. Thursday, 29^{th} – Held a meeting in Danvers; crowded house; large numbers signed the pledge; adjourned to meet again for the purpose of forming a society. Friday morning, April 30^{th} – Left Boston for Baltimore, by way of Worcester; remained in Worcester till Monday morning, May 3^{rd} ; three hundred and eighteen persons signed the pledge.

"Monday [May 4th] – Arrived in Norwich, Conn.; lectured in the Town Hall; left same evening for New York; five hundred and twenty signed the pledge. Reached New York Tuesday morning, May 5th, 7½ a.m. At 12¾ took the cars for Paterson New Jersey. Tuesday evening – Held a meeting in the Methodist church; house crowded; no pledges circulated. Wednesday evening May 6th – Meeting in the same house; large congregation; one hundred signed the pledge. [Thursday, May 7th – Met the females in the Free Church and formed a "Martha Washington Temperance Society."] Friday evening, May 8th – Held a meeting in the Methodist Church; formed a Washington Temperance Society; three hundred and fifteen signed the pledge. Saturday afternoon, May 9th – Held a meeting in Brooklyn at three o'clock; not well attended; at night held a meeting at the "Log Cabin," Brooklyn. Sunday morning, 10th – At 8 o'clock held a meeting at the Methodist Church, Brooklyn. At ten held a meeting on board the steamship Fulton; eighteen seamen signed the pledge. In the afternoon met the children of the Sunday School at Mr. Spencer's church. Sunday night addressed a large congregation at Rev. Mr. Spencer's church.

"Monday [May 11th] – Addressed, at 3 p.m., a large congregation in the Free Church; at night addressed a very large congregation in the "Log Cabin." Tuesday, 12th – Held a meeting in Allen Street. Wednesday, 13th – Addressed the hatters in Columbian Hall; same evening addressed a meeting in Pearl Street, near Broadway. Thursday 14th – Addressed the Young Men's National Temperance Convention, which had been holding meetings in the city. Held a meeting in Carmine-Street Church; eighty signed the pledge. Friday [May 15th] – 6 a.m. Left New York for Baltimore; arrived in Philadelphia at 1 p.m. I was arrested on the wharf by a constable for an old grog bill, which I paid, but was

detained by it until next day. Left Philadelphia Saturday morning [May 16th] at 7½ a.m.; reached Baltimore in the afternoon; found my family well.

The *Life* tells us (p. 109) that Mr. Hawkins remained in Baltimore less than a week, re-embarking for Boston on May 21st. Below are brief entries from his journal on his way to Boston, which he reached from Springfield on May 31st. There he remained, with side trips to other parts of New England, until beginning his return to Baltimore on July 29th. He remained in Baltimore until November 8, 1841. He was briefly in Baltimore again on February 24, 1842, and again the next week (p. 195), then against between September 28th and October 11th (p. 245). But here is his return journey to Boston in the late spring of 1841 (pp. 109-111):

"The Boston Temperance Society having engaged my services on a mission of Temperance, I accordingly gathered my family together [consisting of his wife, his daughter Hannah, two orphan children, a nephew and a niece of his wife, his daughter Elizabeth being then with her grandmother, and his son learning the business of a grocer in his uncle's store and left Baltimore at 3 p.m. for Boston, on Friday, May 21st; reached Philadelphia at eleven o'clock at night. Left next morning, 7 a.m. [May 22nd], reached New York at 2½ p.m.; was kindly invited to make our stay with Mr. Asa Bigelow. Sunday afternoon, 23rd – Lectured in Sullivan-Street Church. Sunday night, lectured in Methodist Protestant Church, Attorney Street. Monday, 24^{th} – Met the Washington Temperance Society; an interesting meeting. Tuesday, 25^{th} – Left New York for Middletown, Ct., in company with Rev. John Marsh; lectured at night. Wednesday, 26th May - Left Middletown for Hartford, Ct. Lectured save evening in Rev. Dr. Hawes' church. Thursday, 27^{th} – Afternoon, lectured in the session room of same church, and at night in the Town Hall. Friday [May 28th] lectured again in the Town Hall. Saturday, May 30th – Reached Springfield at 7 p.m., and lectured same evening in the Presbyterian church. On Sunday afternoon, [May] 30th, addressed an interesting congregation of children, with their parents; much interest felt; and at eight addressed a large congregation in the same church. Monday, May 31st – Arrived in Boston with my family, and took boarding at the National Temperance Hotel, kept by Mr. Louis Boutelle."

Note:

In slightly more than a month, from April 14, 1841, to May 16, 1841, John Hawkins addressed more than forty meetings (the exact number depending on how the Prison and Houses of Reformation and Correction are counted) and gained 3362 signed pledges plus a "vast number" at each of several other meetings – somewhere between 4,000 and 5,000 altogether. A few meetings were adjourned to form branches of the Washington Temperance Society.

This may be contrasted with the from-the-bottom-up and local growth of the original Washington Temperance Society of Baltimore. Only once in his journal does John Hawkins specifically note that those who signed the pledge were reformed inebriates (at Marlboro' Chapel, the night the Boston Washington Temperance Society was formed, April 26, 1841). I have no idea what part William E. Wright played (who accompanied Hawkins to Boston), but it would seem evident, that for John Hawkins,

generating enthusiasm for Temperance was the important thing, not so much enthusiasm for Washingtonian principles (as presented in the "experience meeting"). Certainly John Hawkins was an effective speaker, and certainly he was a reformed inebriate, but when one looks at all the Methodist churches and chapels and the Methodist ministers and John Marsh and Gen. Theodore Lyman, one finds oneself very far from David Anderson and Archibald Campbell and John F. Hoss and James McCurley and William K. Mitchell and George Steers on April 5, 1840, and even from John Zug and his little book outlining the history and principles of the Washington Temperance Society of Baltimore.

John Hawkins and (presumably) William E. Wright were in Paterson May 5th and 6th – probably because on April 16th the "friends of temperance" in Paterson had appointed a committee to meet with the "Delegation from Baltimore" (Hawkins and Wright) then in Boston. The Paterson Washington Temperance Benevolent Society was formed on May 10th. The word "Benevolent" indicates a connection with the New York version of the Washingtonians. (Material on the foundation of the Washington Temperance Benevolent Society in Paterson and Newark may be found in Leonard U. Blumberg, "The Significance of The Alcohol Prohibitionists for the Washington Temperance Societies With Special Reference to Paterson and Newark, N J" in *Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, 41 [1980].)