

Slaying the Dragon

The History of Addiction Treatment and Recovery in America

William L. White

Table of Contents

Dedication.....	iii
Acknowledgments.....	iii
Introduction.....	xiii
Prologue: The Problem of Language.....	xvii

Section One

The Rise of Addiction and Personal Recovery Movements in the Nineteenth Century

1. The Seeds of Addiction Medicine and Personal Recovery Movements.....	1
Early American Drinking.....	1
Benjamin Rush and the Birth of the American Disease Concept of Alcoholism.....	2
A New Republic on a Binge.....	5
The Rise and Evolution of the American Temperance Movement.....	6
Temperance Philosophy.....	7
Early Involvement of Alcoholics in the Temperance Movement.....	8
From Individual Struggle to Shared Recovery.....	8
The Tortured Saga of Luther Benson.....	10
Frederick Douglass and the Early Roots of African American Recovery.....	11
2. The Washingtonian Revival.....	13
Founding and Growth of the Washingtonians.....	13
The Washingtonian Program.....	16
John Hawkins and John Gough.....	16
The Washingtonian Demise.....	19
The Washingtonian Legacy.....	20
3. Fraternal Temperance Societies and Reform Clubs.....	22
The Reform Clubs.....	24
Osgood's Reformed Drinkers Club.....	24
Reynolds' Red Ribbon Reform Clubs.....	25
Francis Murphy's Blue Ribbon Reform Clubs.....	26
Reform Clubs' Operation and Spread.....	28
Early Moderation Societies.....	28

Section Two

The Birth of Addiction Treatment in America

4. The Rise and Fall of Inebriate Homes and Asylums.....	31
Pre-Asylum Days: Knowledge of Addiction.....	31
Pre-Asylum Days: Care of the Addicted.....	32
The Earliest Institutions.....	33
Types of Institutions.....	33
Sponsorship and Financing.....	35

Relationships with Other Community Institutions.....	36
Early Professionalization: The American Association for the Cure of Inebriates.....	37
The Decline of the Inebriate Asylums.....	39
A Post-mortem of the Inebriate Asylum Movement.....	40
Legacy.....	43
Summary.....	44
5. Inebriate Homes and Asylums: Treatment Philosophies, Methods, and Outcomes.....	45
The Staff.....	45
The Patients: Demographic Profile.....	47
The Patients: A Clinical Profile.....	47
Treatment Philosophies.....	48
Treatment Methods.....	51
The Family and the Inebriate Asylum.....	55
Aftercare.....	56
Reported Treatment Outcomes.....	56
The Treatment of Alcoholism and Other Addictions in Women.....	58
6. Four Institutional Histories.....	62
The New York State Inebriate Asylum.....	62
The Boston Washingtonian Home.....	64
The Chicago Washingtonian Home.....	65
The San Francisco Home for the Care of the Inebriate.....	67
7. Franchising Addiction Treatment: The Keeley Institutes.....	68
Humble Beginnings of a National Phenomenon.....	69
Keeley: On the Causes of Inebriety.....	71
The Keeley Patients.....	71
The Keeley Staff.....	72
The Keeley Treatment.....	73
The Mail-Order Business.....	75
The Keeley Leagues.....	76
Reported Treatment Outcomes.....	79
Keeley Competitors.....	79
Early Controversies and Critics.....	80
Turn-of-the-Century Decline.....	82
The Later Keeley Years: 1900-1966.....	83
The Keeley Legacy.....	85
8. Miracle Cures for Alcoholism and Other Addictions.....	87
The Context.....	87
The Products.....	88
Promotional Schemes.....	90
Exposés and Legislative Reform.....	92
Continued Presence of Fraudulent “Cures”.....	94
Fraud as a Theme in the Early History of Treatment.....	95
9. Religious Conversion as a Remedy for Alcoholism.....	96
Religion and Recovery: Historical Roots.....	97
Skid Row, the Bowery, and the Birth of the Rescue Mission.....	97
Jerry McAuley’s Water Street Mission.....	98
The Salvation Army.....	101
America’s Keswick Colony of Mercy.....	103
The Drunkard’s Club.....	104
Early Professional Views on Religion and Recovery.....	104

Conversion and Recovery: The Ideas of William James.....	105
Later Professional Perspectives.....	106
Critics of Religious Approaches to Alcoholism Recovery.....	106

Section Three

Evolving Approaches to Alcoholism Treatment: 1860-1940

10. Alcoholism Treatment Settings: 1900-1940.....	108
The Inebriate Farm/Colony.....	108
Alcoholism and City Hospitals.....	109
Alcoholics in Local Psychopathic Hospitals and State Psychiatric Hospitals.....	110
Drying Out the Rich and Famous: A Continuing Story.....	112
Tales from a “Jag House”.....	113
The Saga of Willie Seabrook.....	113
The Charles B. Towns Hospital for the Treatment of Drug and Alcoholic Addictions.....	115
11. Physical Methods of Treatment and Containment.....	119
Physical Treatments for Alcoholism Between 1840 and 1950: An Overview.....	119
Eugenics: Sterilization and Benign Neglect.....	120
Natural Therapeutics.....	122
The Water Cures.....	124
Drug Therapies: 1860-1930.....	126
Convulsive Therapies.....	127
Psychosurgery and Addiction: The Lobotomy Era.....	128
Miscellaneous Treatments.....	129
12. Psychological Approaches to Alcoholism and Addiction.....	129
The Psychoanalytic Approach.....	130
The Emmanuel Clinic and the Lay Therapy Movement.....	134
Aversion Therapy: Early Efforts.....	142

Section Four

Treating Addictions to Narcotics and Other Drugs

13. The Treatment of Addiction to Narcotics and Other Drugs: 1880-1925.....	146
The Use of Cocaine as an Addiction Cure—and Freud’s Retraction.....	146
Cocaine, Morphine, and the Father of American Surgery.....	147
Opiate Addiction: A Hidden Disease.....	148
Drug Treatments and Drug Cures Before the Harrison Act.....	148
Drug Treatment, The Harrison Act, Drug Enforcement, and The Supreme Court.....	150
The Morphine Maintenance Clinics.....	152
14. The Treatment of Addiction to Narcotics and Other Drugs: 1925-1950.....	158
Voices of Protest.....	158
1920-1950: Medical Detoxification and Hidden Drug Maintenance.....	160
Dr. Thomas Ratigan, Jr.: Villain or Hero?.....	161
Phantastica and Narcotics Research.....	161
The Federal Narcotic Farms.....	162
The Addiction Research Center.....	167
The World Outside Lexington and Ft. Worth.....	168

Section Five

A.A. and the Modern Alcoholism Movement

15. The Birth of Alcoholics Anonymous: A Brief History.....	169
--------------------------------------------------------------------	------------

Carl Jung and Rowland Hazard's Failed Psychotherapy.....	170
The Oxford Group.....	170
The Oxford Groups, Ebby T., and Bill Wilson's "Hot Flash".....	170
Bill W. Meets Dr. Bob.....	172
A.A. Identity and Early A.A. Growth.....	173
Grandiose Visions.....	174
A Rich Man's Caution about Money.....	175
The "Big Book".....	175
Early Rituals.....	177
The Period of Explosive Growth.....	178
A Maturing A.A.....	180
Those Who Shaped the A.A./Treatment Relationship.....	182
Bill Wilson.....	183
Dr. Bob Smith.....	185
Dr. William D. Silkworth.....	187
Sister Ignatia.....	187
Dr. Harry M. Tiebout.....	188
16. The Program of Alcoholics Anonymous.....	190
Defining the A.A. Program.....	190
A.A. Steps and A.A. Practices.....	192
A.A. Experience and A.A. Logic.....	192
Identity Reconstruction Within A.A.....	193
Reconstruction of Personal Relationships.....	194
Reconstruction of Daily Lifestyle Within A.A.....	194
Reframing: The Curse that Became a Blessing.....	196
The Recovery Program of A.A. and Its Predecessors: Shared Characteristics.....	197
Innovations in A.A.'s Program of Recovery.....	197
A.A.'s Organizational Structure and Practices.....	199
A.A.'s Mission.....	199
A.A.'s Philosophy of Addiction.....	199
A.A.'s Prescription for Short- and Long-term Recovery.....	200
Carrying the Message of A.A. Recovery.....	200
Internal A.A. Relationships.....	200
Defining A.A. Membership.....	201
The Expected Duration of A.A. Participation.....	201
Power and Decision-Making in A.A.....	202
The Voice of A.A.....	202
A.A. Relationships with Allied Fields and Related Causes.....	202
Managing Member Growth.....	203
Leadership Development.....	203
Managing the Issues of Money, Property, and Personal Ambition.....	203
Social Context and Organizational Endurance.....	203
A.A. Critics and A.A. Legacy.....	204
Stretching A.A.'s Gateway of Entry: Women and People of Color in A.A.....	206
Were the experiences of women and people of color instrumental in shaping the Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions of A.A.?.....	206
Has A.A. adapted its program to address the special needs of women and people of color?.....	208
What is the degree of participation of women and people of color in A.A.?.....	210
A.A.'s Place in History.....	211
17. A.A. and the Professional Care of Alcoholics: 1935-1960.....	214
Visions of A.A. Hospitals.....	214
The Knickerbocker Paradox: Actions of A.A. Versus Actions of A.A. Members.....	216

St. Thomas: The Beginning of a Model.....	217
Model Evolution: A.A. Involvement with Public and Private Hospitals.....	219
Model Extension: A.A. and Private Hospitals, Sanitaria, and Psychiatric Institutions.....	222
A.A. Members as Moral and Business Entrepreneurs.....	223
The Boundary Between Treatment and A.A.: The Story of High Watch.....	225
The Distinction Between A.A. and Treatment.....	228
A.A. and Alcoholism Treatment: A Synopsis.....	231
18. The “Modern Alcoholism Movement”: The Core.....	232
The Context.....	233
The Alcohol and Alcoholism Movements.....	234
The Volatility of the Post-Repeal Period.....	235
Research Council on Problems of Alcohol.....	236
The Yale Center of Alcohol Studies.....	238
The National Committee for Education on Alcoholism.....	242
19. The “Modern Alcoholism Movement”: The Periphery.....	244
Changing Medical Opinion on Alcoholics and Alcoholism.....	245
The Alcoholism Movement in the Workplace.....	246
The Alcoholism Movement in the Church.....	248
Municipal, State, and Federal Responses to Alcoholism.....	249
R. Brinkley Smithers: Private Philanthropy and the Alcoholism Movement.....	251
The Role of A.A. and Recovered Alcoholics in the Alcoholism Movement.....	254
The Role of the Alcohol Beverage Industry in the Alcoholism Movement.....	255
The Legacies of the Alcoholism Movement.....	257
Origin of the Modern Disease Concept.....	258
Section Six	
Mid-Century Addiction Treatment	
20. The Birth and Spread of the “Minnesota Model”.....	261
Pre-A.A. History.....	261
The Story of Pat C.....	261
Pioneer House.....	262
Hazelden: The Early Years.....	263
Willmar State Hospital.....	265
Hazelden: The Continuing Story.....	271
Further Minnesota Developments.....	273
Defining the Minnesota Model.....	273
Why Minnesota?.....	275
The Spread of the Minnesota Model.....	275
Further Contributions of the Minnesota Model.....	277
21. Mid-Century Alcoholism Treatments.....	278
Organizational Activity in the Alcoholism Field: 1950-1960.....	278
Expanding Knowledge and Ideas About Alcoholism.....	279
Mid-Century Alcoholism Treatment: An Overview.....	283
A.A. and Mutual Aid: 1950-1971.....	288
Other Mutual-Aid Societies: Alcoholics Victorious and the Calix Society.....	290
22. Mid-Century Alcoholism Treatment: Treatment Methods.....	292
Hypnosis Revisited.....	292
Physical Methods of Alcoholism Treatment: An Overview.....	292
Nutrition, Alcoholism, and Vitamin Therapy.....	293
ACTH: Alcoholism and Endocrine Dysfunction.....	293

The Use of Tranquilizers, Anti-depressants, Mood Stabilizers, and Sedatives.....	293
Benzedrine in the Treatment of Alcoholism.....	295
Antabuse and Other Antidipsotropics in the Treatment of Alcoholism.....	296
LSD and the Treatment of Alcoholism.....	298
Miscellaneous and Multiple Drug Therapies.....	300
The Carbon Dioxide Treatment for Alcoholism.....	300
Advances in Psychosocial Rehabilitation Technology.....	301
The Halfway House Movement.....	301
Social Model Programs.....	304

23. Mid-Century Addiction Treatment: The Rise of New Approaches.....	305
The Legal Context.....	305
Medical and Psychiatric Context.....	305
Juvenile Addiction: The Story of Riverside Hospital.....	307
Community-based Support of Institutionalized Addicts.....	308
Religious Approaches to Addiction Recovery.....	309
Synanon: The Birth of Ex-Addict-Directed Therapeutic Communities.....	313
The Therapeutic Community Movement.....	318
The Therapeutic Community: Treatment Methods.....	320
24. The Birth, Rebirth, and Evolution of Narcotics Anonymous.....	326
Addiction Recovery in A.A.: Dr. Tom M.....	326
Houston S. and Addicts Anonymous.....	327
Danny C.: The Rise and Fall of the First N.A.....	330
Betty T., Jack P., and the West Coast A.A./Lexington Connection.....	333
Jimmy K. and the Birth of Today's N.A.....	335
The Steps.....	337
N.A.'s Near-Death Experience.....	340
N.A. Literature and N.A.'s Basic Text.....	341
Explosive Growth.....	343
The N.A. Tree and Beyond.....	344
N.A. Comes of Age.....	347
25. Mid-Century Addiction Treatment: Part Two.....	349
Civil Commitments.....	349
The Evolution of Methadone.....	351
Narcotics Antagonists.....	366
Multimodality Treatment Systems: The Story of the Illinois Drug Abuse Program.....	367
Lexington and Forth Worth: The Twilight Years.....	371

Section Seven

The Evolution of Modern Addiction Treatment

26. The Rise of Modern Addiction Treatment (1960-1994).....	374
Reaching Critical Mass.....	374
The Cooperative Commission on the Study of Alcoholism.....	375
A Deluge of Addiction Treatment Legislation.....	376
Local Sponsorship and Organization.....	380
Two Worlds: Alcoholism and Drug Abuse.....	381
Early Programs.....	382
Alcoholism: An Insurable Illness.....	383
Program Accreditation and Licensure.....	385
Three Worlds: Public, Private, and Military.....	386
Early Treatment in the Military.....	387
An Evolving Workforce.....	388
A Hidden Story: The Exploitation and Relapse of Recovering Alcoholics and Addicts.....	389
Professionalization: Training, Credentialing, and Worker Certification.....	390
The Rebirth of Addiction Medicine.....	392
Explosive Growth.....	392
Early Intervention Programs.....	393
Recovery as a Cultural Phenomenon.....	394

The Betty Ford Story.....	396
Competition, Profit, and Profiteering.....	397
Ethical Context and Breaches of Ethical Conduct.....	398
The Financial Backlash.....	399
The Ideological and Cultural Backlash.....	400
The Crash.....	401
A Panicked Field In Search of Its Soul and Its Future.....	403
27. Parkside: A Rich Legacy and a Cautionary Tale.....	405
The Birth.....	405
Early Influences.....	406
The Early Program.....	407
Contrasts Between Lutheran General and Hazelden.....	408
The Treatment Team.....	409
The Role of the Alcoholism Counselor.....	410
The A.A./Treatment Center Relationship.....	411
Al-Anon and Family Programming.....	411
Early Diversification.....	412
Evaluation Research.....	412
Model Dissemination.....	412
Explosive Growth.....	413
Later Diversification.....	415
The Demise.....	416
Lessons and Legacies.....	418
A Lasting Legacy.....	422
28. Twenty-first Century Addiction Treatment (1995-2014).....	422
Federal and State Infrastructures.....	423
Total Funding & Personal Costs of Addiction Treatment.....	424
A National Profile of Addiction Treatment Programs.....	425
The Addiction Treatment Workforce.....	427
National Profile of People Entering Addiction Treatment.....	431
Treatment Levels of Care and Modalities.....	432
Philosophical Orientation and Service Elements.....	432
Principles of Effective Addiction Treatment.....	432
Key Treatment Performance Benchmarks.....	433
29. Modern Addiction Treatment: Seminal Ideas and Evolving Treatment Technologies....	437
Seminal/Controversial Ideas.....	437
The Concept of Inebriety Reborn.....	437
Multiple Pathways of Addiction/Recovery.....	438
The Neurobiology of Addiction.....	439
Developmental Models of Recovery.....	440
Rethinking the Question of Motivation: Pain versus Hope.....	441
Addiction as a Chronic Disease.....	442
Toward a Continuum-of-Care.....	443
Natural Recovery, Spontaneous Remission, and Maturing Out.....	443
The Question of Controlled Drinking and Drug Use.....	445
Addiction Treatment and Public Health.....	447
Family Recovery.....	450
Codependency: Popularization and Backlash.....	451

Treatment of Special Populations and Treatment in Special Settings.....	452
The Public Inebriate.....	453
Changing Responses to the Substance-Impaired Driver.....	454
Gender Specific Treatment.....	455
Adolescent Treatment.....	456
The Substance-impaired Employee.....	458
Treating Impaired Professionals.....	460
Culturally Competent and Trauma-informed Addiction Treatment.....	460
The Substance-involved Offender.....	462
People with HIV/AIDS or Hepatitis C.....	463
The Multiple Problem Client.....	464
Modern Addiction Treatment Technologies.....	465
Engagement Strategies.....	465
Models and Methods of Treatment.....	466
Current Status of Medication-assisted Treatment.....	468
Addressing Nicotine Addiction.....	470
“Relapse Prevention”.....	471
New Media of Treatment and Recovery Support.....	472
Systems-level Treatment Evaluation Research.....	472

Section Eight

The Recovery Revolution

30. The Recovery Revolution.....	475
The Context for Revolution.....	475
Varieties of Recovery Experience.....	476
The New Recovery Advocacy Movement.....	484
New Recovery Support Institutions.....	489
Recovery Culture Development.....	493
Treatment Works, But.....	494
Toward a Recovery Paradigm.....	495
Defining Recovery.....	497
Recovery Prevalence.....	497
Recovery-focused Transformation of Addiction Treatment.....	498
Peer Recovery Support Services.....	500
Medication-Assisted Recovery Comes of Age.....	501
Role of Community in Recovery.....	503
Family Recovery and Advocacy.....	505
Community Recovery.....	505
Toward a Recovery Research Agenda.....	506
31. Some Closing Reflections on the Lessons of History.....	510
Approaching History.....	510
Recovery.....	510
Addiction Science.....	511
The Rise of Treatment Institutions and Mutual-Aid Societies.....	514
Observations on the Treatment Field.....	517
Treatment in Relationship to Community and Society.....	522
The Fall of Treatment Institutions and Mutual-Aid Societies.....	524
The Future of Treatment and Mutual Aid.....	526
Reflections on Recovery Advocacy Movements.....	528
Final Words.....	531

Bibliographic Essay and Link to Endnotes.....	534
Index / Names.....	536
Index / Subject / Institution / Product	543
About the Author/Chestnut Health Systems.....	559

The product of more than 35 years of research, the Second Edition of *Slaying the Dragon* is the remarkable story of America's personal and institutional responses to alcoholism and other addictions. It is the story of mutual aid societies spanning Native American recovery circles, the Washingtonians, the Ribbon Reform Clubs, Twelve Step Fellowships and more recent secular and religious mutual aid alternatives. It is a story of addiction treatment institutions from the inebriate asylums through rise of modern addiction treatment. It is also the story of the rise of a new addiction recovery. Those among us having a fondness for history are accustomed to being transported to the past, and Mr. White does this deliciously in the second edition of *Slaying the Dragon: The History of Addiction Treatment and Recovery in America*, beginning with a sojourn to Colonial America to meet Dr. Benjamin Rush, "unquestionably the first American authority on alcohol and alcoholism." Rush's writings stand as the first articulation of a disease concept of alcoholism by an American physician. (Dragon, p. 2-3). Of course, Rush's ideas ran counter to the prevailing attitudes of the era, in which drunkenness was seen as sin, chronic inebriety as "moral failing."

THE BIRTH OF ADDICTION TREATMENT IN AMERICA -- THE RISE AND FALL OF INEBRIATE HOMES AND ASYLUMS -- Pre-asylum days: knowledge of addiction -- Pre-asylum day[s]: care of the addicted -- The earliest institutions -- Types of institutions -- Sponsorship and financing -- Relationship with other community institutions -- Early. AS A REMEDY FOR ALCOHOLISM -- Religion and recovery: historical roots -- Skid Row, the Bowery, and the birth of the rescue mission -- Jerry McAuley's Water Street mission -- The Salvation Army -- America's Keswick Colony of Mercy -- Early professional views on religion and recovery -- Conversion and recovery: the ideas of. Drug treatment, the Harrison Act, drug enforcement, and the Supreme Court