

# ROWLAND HAZARD

## Part 1 of 2

NOTE BY GLENN C. (South Bend, Indiana) -- What has now become the definitive account of Rowland Hazard's life and role in the founding of A.A. is contained in a recent book by Richard M. Dubiel, Professor at the University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point, entitled *\*The Road to Fellowship: The Role of the Emmanuel Movement and the Jacoby Club in the Development of Alcoholics Anonymous,\** Hindsfoot Foundation Series on the History of Alcoholism Treatment (New York: iUniverse, 2004).

For more details about the book see the Hindsfoot website at: <http://hindsfoot.org>

In my own view, it is a book which should be read and studied in detail by anyone, from this point on, who wishes to write about early A.A. history. It gives us an incredible insight into the actual thought currents of the period in American history during which A.A. was coming into being -- it puts A.A. into historical context, in ways that we have to understand in order to determine what was important to the founders, and what the problems were which they were trying to solve -- and which they in fact DID solve so well.

What follows is an excerpt from Chapter 4 of that book, though without the copious and detailed endnotes. Anyone wishing to do serious research on Hazard needs to get a copy of the book and check through all of those carefully.

Some of the more important findings are that Rowland Hazard (who was a very busy businessman in the United States) had no opportunity to see the famous psychiatrist Carl Jung, who lived and worked in Switzerland, except for a two month period (at most) in 1931, when Rowland and other members of the Hazard family traveled around Europe for part of the summer. He did not join the Oxford Group and get sober immediately after seeing Jung -- there is in fact no record of him being involved with the Oxford Group until almost three years later. He was hospitalized for his alcoholism in February and March of 1932, and totally incapable of carrying on business activities from January 1933 until October 1934. He had recovered enough however to come to Ebby Thatcher's rescue in August 1934 (along with two other Oxford Groupers) when Thatcher was threatened with commitment to the Brattleboro Asylum. After his rescue, Thatcher took to the program of the Oxford Group with a good deal of enthusiasm. Three months afterwards, Ebby then passed the message on to Bill W. in the latter's kitchen in November 1934.

What is even more important is that Rowland was under the care of the Emmanuel Movement therapist Courtenay Baylor in 1933 and 1934. Although Carl Jung might have planted a valuable seed a few years earlier, the therapist who really got Rowland sober was Baylor.

The reason for paying careful attention to Courtenay Baylor's role, is that the only three groups in the United States during the first half of the twentieth century which had any notable success in getting alcoholics sober and keeping them sober, were the Emmanuel Movement (where Baylor was a key leader), the closely associated Jacoby Club, and Alcoholics Anonymous.

In spite of the importance of the Oxford Group to A.A. beginnings, and the way it shaped some of the phrasing of the Twelve Steps, and so on, the Oxford Group all by itself had had no great success at all in sobering up alcoholics. As long as Bill W. had only the Oxford Group, he was still miserable and desperate a good deal of the time, and hanging onto sobriety only by the skin of his teeth. Richmond Walker, the author of *\*Twenty-Four Hours a Day,\** managed to stay sober in the Oxford Group for two and a half years (1939-1941), but then went back to drinking again. It was only joining the Jacoby Club-linked Alcoholics Anonymous group in Boston in May 1942 that got Rich permanently sober. Dr. Bob was never able to stop drinking at all, as long as the only thing he had was the Oxford Group.

Rowland Hazard was able to get sober when he had both the Oxford Group people AND the Emmanuel Movement therapist Courtenay Baylor working with him. But he then stopped going to Baylor for counseling, and by 1936 was back drinking once again.

The Oxford Group clearly had PART of the vital answer to how alcoholics could stop drinking, but one must also look at A.A. after the gradual split from the O.G. started occurring, and at the Emmanuel Movement and the Jacoby Club -- and what these latter three groups all had in common -- in order to see what else in addition was necessary in order to produce high success rates in treating alcoholism.

Prof. Dubiel's book gives us an excellent account of the Emmanuel Movement (which was linked strongly to the Episcopal Church and its spiritual tradition), and is the only detailed research ever published on the Jacoby Club, which was spiritually oriented but run by lay people, and was even closer to A.A. in the way that it was organized and the way it worked with suffering alcoholics.

But let me now start excerpting from Prof. Dubiel's book, which explains things much better than I can:

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## CHAPTER 4

### **Rowland Hazard and the Beginnings of A.A.**

Rowland Hazard III was a wealthy Rhode Island businessman who had become an alcoholic, requiring hospitalization on more than one occasion. He is well-known to the A.A. tradition as one of the Oxford Group circle who rescued Ebby Thatcher and got him sober when Ebby was threatened with commitment to the Brattleboro Asylum in August 1934. Three months later, in November 1934, Ebby visited Bill Wilson, the co-founder of A.A., and they sat in Bill's kitchen talking for hours in the famous scene which is reported in the first chapter of *\*Alcoholics Anonymous\**. Ebby was the messenger to Bill W. of victory over the alcoholic compulsion through a new spiritual way of life.

But even if Ebby was the one who actually talked with Bill, Rowland Hazard is recognized in the A.A. tradition as "the messenger behind the messenger," and two things about him are normally highlighted: He was a member of the Oxford Group, and he had been a patient of the famous psychiatrist Carl Jung in Switzerland. In the traditional A.A. version of the latter story, it was said that Hazard had been unable to stop returning to the bottle in spite of extensive Jungian therapy, until finally Jung told him that with alcoholics of his type only a spiritual conversion of some sort, which would enable him to radically remake and remold his inner spirit, would ever give him freedom from his overwhelming

compulsion to drink.

But there was a third factor involved in Hazard's story, one that up until now has been omitted in A.A. accounts of his role in their history. During both 1933 and that especially crucial year 1934, he was also a patient of the Emmanuel Movement author Courtenay Baylor, whose contributions and methods were discussed in the previous chapter. So early A.A. was influenced by the Emmanuel Movement from at least two different sources. Bill W. read Richard R. Peabody's *\*The Common Sense of Drinking\**, which taught a secularized and intellectualized version of the Emmanuelite methods (as was explained in the previous chapter), but he was also in secondhand contact (via Ebby) with Rowland Hazard and hence the ideas of Courtenay Baylor, who taught something much closer to the original spiritually based Emmanuel therapy as devised in 1906 by the Rev. Elwood Worcester in the basement meetings he conducted in the church he pastored in downtown Boston..

The discovery that Rowland Hazard was deeply involved with Courtenay Baylor and the Emmanuelite tradition in addition to his Oxford Group activities was in fact only made quite recently. The present chapter will discuss the way this new information can be documented in the Hazard family papers which are preserved in the Rhode Island Historical Society,. It will also attempt to sort out some of the perplexing issues surrounding the story of Rowland's therapy with Carl Jung in 1931, because materials contained in that same archival source make it clear that he was only in Europe from June to September of that year as part of a Hazard family trip, and that the dates and places given in the family's letters from that period would have given Rowland two months at most to spend in Switzerland with Jung. In fact, as will be seen, even that may be pressing the matter: Rick Stattler at the Rhode Island Historical Society, who did the primary research, sorting through all the family papers searching for relevant items, has stated that he believes that Rowland would have found it very difficult to have spent more than two weeks at most talking to Jung in any great depth during that trip to Europe.

### **Rowland Hazard III**

Rowland Hazard III was born in Peace Dale, Rhode Island, on October 29, 1881. (Bill Wilson was born in 1895 and Dr. Bob Smith in 1879, so he was closer to Dr. Bob's age, and fourteen years older than Bill W., who likely seemed to him but a brash young man.) Rowland ("Roy") represented the tenth generation of his family in Rhode Island. The first American Hazard, Thomas, was born in 1610; he came over to the New World after the British had begun settling in Massachusetts, taking up his residence first in Boston, then the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Roy was the eldest of five children born to woolen manufacturer Rowland Gibson Hazard and Mary Pierrepont Bushnell. Hazard graduated from the Taft School in Waterbury, Connecticut, and Yale University (1903) with a B.A. degree. He sang in the Glee Club and University Choir and was a member of Alpha Delta Phi fraternity as well as the Elihu Club.

After graduation Hazard worked at family businesses in Chicago and Syracuse briefly, then entered the woolen textile trade in Rhode Island, where he joined the Peace Dale Manufacturing Company, which specialized in woolen and worsted fabrics. The firm had been founded circa 1801 by his great-great-grandfather and his great-grand-uncle, Rowland Hazard and Joseph Peace Hazard respectively. He began work in the wool-sorting department and worked his way up, eventually being elected treasurer of the firm. The firm was sold in 1918.

Hazard served in the Rhode Island state senate between 1914 and 1916 and spent World War I as a

captain in the Chemical Warfare Service of the Army. Shortly after the war a number of family deaths left Hazard the eldest member of his generation. In 1919 he effected a plan originally formulated by his father and uncle and formed the Allied Chemical and Dye Company. By 1920 he was a director and so remained throughout his career. By 1921 Hazard had also joined the New York banking firm of Lee, Higginson and Company and remained there until 1927. Throughout this period he remained active in Rhode Island politics.

In the fall of 1927, Hazard went on a hunting expedition to Africa for big game and specimens for American museums. He contracted a tropical illness, and on his return to the United States in 1928 settled on the West Coast. He established a ranch in southern New Mexico, at La Luz, and shortly organized the La Luz Clay Products Company. He had discovered substantial deposits of high-grade clay for the manufacture of items ranging from roofing tiles to decorative urns and vases. Upon establishing La Luz, he returned to the East Coast to pursue other ventures. By 1931 he had transferred his residence from Peace Dale, Rhode Island, to a family home in Narragansett, Rhode Island, originally built in 1884 by his great-grand-uncle, Joseph Peace Hazard, and known as Druid's Dream. "He also kept residences intermittently at 52nd Street and other addresses in Manhattan; in La Luz, New Mexico; at 'Ladyhill' in Shaftsbury, Vermont; and at 'Sugarbush' in Glastonbury, Vermont."

In his later years, following his move to Narragansett, Hazard served as the executive vice president of the Bristol Manufacturing Company, Waterbury, Connecticut, manufacturers of precision instruments. He also served as a director of the Allied Chemical and Dye Company, the Rhode Island Hospital Trust Company, and the Interlake Iron Company. From 1935 to 1938 he was in a general partnership with the New York brokerage house of Taylor Robinson Company, Inc. At one point he was director of the old Merchants' Bank in Providence.

In 1910 Hazard married Helen Hamilton Campbell, the daughter of a Chicago banker. The couple were divorced on February 25, 1929, and remarried on April 27, 1931, little more than a month before the trip to Europe during which Hazard was supposed to have had his crucial encounter with Carl Jung. Rowland and Helen had four children, Caroline C., Rowland G. III, Peter Hamilton, and Charles B. Of these four, it was Charles who lived the longest, dying in 1995.

Rowland Hazard III remains somewhat of a mystery, cloaked in a silence that was partly a feature of his times and his class, but a silence that was especially impenetrable because he left behind almost no extant letters of his own. We have to read about his life for the most part through the letters of other family members. In addition, much of the information concerning Hazard's relationship with early A.A. is anecdotal, very little of it documented.

On the surface, Hazard's life is mirrored effectively in the descriptions of some of the characters in F. Scott Fitzgerald's novel *\*The Great Gatsby\**, though Hazard was more like one of the East Egg crowd, the established wealthy class, than the upstart Jay Gatsby himself. When Fitzgerald (in a remark to Ernest Hemingway) spoke of the very rich as being different from you and me, he might have been speaking of the Hazard family and Rowland. Hazard moved from place to place with apparent ease, tried his hand in this business and adventure and then that. His success was seemingly always assured, his position never tangibly threatened. His alcoholism was spoken of in hushed terms, if mentioned at all. The information about exactly where he was and when during his trips to Europe or Africa is vague and not well documented.

And this has bearing on the claim that has been long accepted: that Hazard met with Carl Jung and was in therapy with him for an extensive period of time ("over a year" in the version frequently seen in the

later A.A. tradition). Since Rowland's own letters are no longer in existence, the correspondence between his mother and his brother, Thomas Pierre Hazard, provide the bulk of what we do know about "Roy," but they do not ever mention him going to Jung for psychiatric treatment. This may have been a matter which he did not fully share with his mother and brother, or they may have avoided talking about it in their letters out of embarrassment that a member of a family so solid and distinguished as theirs would need a psychiatrist. But these letters do provide enough information about where Rowland was during the period from 1930 to 1934 to make it clear that the only opportunity he would have had to see the Swiss psychiatrist Jung in Zurich in any kind of extensive fashion was for a couple of months in 1931.

Hazard clearly struggled with alcoholism throughout his life, even though mentions of it in the letters are scant. It embarrassed the family and it made them uncomfortable to acknowledge his drinking problem even to other family members. We do know that he eventually became acquainted with Ebby Thatcher, a friend of Bill Wilson's from their days as classmates at the Burr and Burton boarding school. And we know that Hazard's connection to A.A., that is, to Bill W., came through his meeting Ebby and helping rescue him from commitment to an asylum in August 1934.

### **Hazard and Courtenay Baylor**

Whatever his relationship to Jung -- an issue which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter -- Rowland Hazard had considerable involvement with Courtenay Baylor, establishing a direct link between the Emanuel Movement and the formation of Alcoholics Anonymous. The documentation of Hazard's treatment by Baylor is contained in the list of Hazard family documents prepared by Rick Stattler.

The relationship between Hazard and Baylor, though provable, is lacking in detail: ample evidence at the Rhode Island Historical Society documents that Hazard was a client or patient of Baylor during 1933 and 1934. The Hazard family papers also show that after January 1933, Rowland went through a long period when he was virtually incapacitated by his personal problems. He ceased being actively involved in the ventures he had begun in New Mexico, and his brother-in-law Wallace Campbell had to take over all his regular business. Rowland's canceled checks showed only routine payments (although they were still signed by him) for many months afterward. Finally in late 1933 he completely stopped writing any checks at all. During most or all of this period, he seems to have been in Vermont under the care of Courtenay Baylor, and only occasionally made trips to New York to see family and sign checks. He was unable to return to his normal high level of activity until October 1934.

So the period when Hazard was Courtenay Baylor's patient corresponded to the deepest slump in his life, the time between January 1933 and October 1934, when this normally aggressive and continuously active businessman, industrialist, and entrepreneur seems to have been rendered almost totally nonfunctional by his psychological and alcohol-related problems.

Baylor may in fact have been first called in when Hazard was hospitalized for his alcoholism in February and March of 1932, but this would be merely supposition. We do know that Baylor visited the family and worked in some fashion with other family members also during 1933 and 1934. But the lack of full detail means that though we know that their continuing relationship existed during this period, we know little else about it. The available documents thus do not allow us to discover whether Hazard's enthusiasm for the Oxford Group was aided by his work with Baylor or diminished by it. We

do know that Hazard did not remain sober throughout his life, and did drink again after 1934.

The first mention of Baylor in the surviving family documents occurs in a list of acquaintances compiled by Hazard on April 13, 1933. Hazard was attempting to sell maple syrup from his farm in Vermont and a "C. Baylor" is listed. According to Stattler's notes, Baylor responded but did not order syrup. The next reference to Baylor occurs on July 24, 1933, when his mother writes to Thomas Hazard from Vermont: "Mr. Baylor just arrived. Am to have a talk with him today, Roy goes to N.Y. and Baylor will go to Burlington tonight and come back here tomorrow." The first therapeutic contact, as mentioned previously, may of course have arisen much earlier, and may have been related to Hazard's hospitalization for alcoholism in February and March 1932. Perhaps the severity of that episode triggered a serious recovery effort on Rowland's part, or caused his family to call in Baylor for an intervention. But this must be conjecture. And it is also possible that Baylor may not have become involved in trying to help until after Rowland's further breakdown in January 1933.

Of the fourteen letters in the RIHS material pertaining to Baylor, most concern bills from him paid by Thomas Hazard. As Stattler summarizes, "It collectively indicates that Hazard hired Baylor from at least December 15, 1933 to October 16, 1934 for unspecified services" There is also reference to the fact that Baylor worked with the entire family, not simply on a personal basis with Hazard alone. In one letter (November 20, 1934), Thomas Hazard wrote: "Inasmuch as throughout 1933 and 1934 you were working with Helen, Carol and Rowley as well as Roy, it seemed to me that it would be proper to estimate that one-third of your remuneration could be considered as a gift to my brother."

Baylor seemed to have become rather a part of the family in some ways. While brother Thomas was signing checks, he was also a potential business partner, or so it seemed in Baylor's eyes. On Feb. 2, 1934, Baylor sent Thomas Hazard a long letter detailing the opportunity to buy into a Nevada gold and silver mine. Baylor referred to the deal as one which he believed to be as "clean a proposition as could be found in mining." Thomas checked this out with business friends who advised him against the deal. On February 13, Thomas's secretary curtly informed Baylor that "Mr. T. P. Hazard has directed me to advise you that all the individuals have been heard from, in connection with your letter, and are not in favor of going into the venture." The letter concludes with a reference to an Internal Revenue tax matter covering payments to Baylor by Hazard's mother.

The RIHS packet of Hazard-Baylor letters concludes with a rare document of Emmanuel Movement history. In 1949 a letter was written to Thomas Hazard at Peace Dale, the family home, by the Courtenay Baylor Memorial Committee, so indicated by the letterhead. The letter is a request for donations for a memorial to Baylor, consisting of lighting fixtures at the entrance of the Parish House of the Emmanuel Church. They were to be wrought-iron lanterns, "one to be fixed to the outside of the Parish House entrance, and the other to be placed inside the entrance porch. A dedicatory inscription will be carved into the stone wall of the porch." The author of the letter preceded this description with the comment that "the idea [of the lighting] is a particularly happy one as it is symbolic of the light shed by him on the paths of so many people."

The bills from Baylor to Hazard document the continued existence of the Emmanuel Movement, renamed the Craigie Foundation, as manifested in Baylor's work. The full nature of the foundation's activities during this time are not easy to document. The bills do not explicitly specify that Baylor was paid this money for treating Hazard for his alcoholism, but it is difficult to see anything else Baylor could have provided them for which payments of this sort would be due.

Baylor knew that a person had to rethink and reformulate himself, that is, "remake himself," if he were

to escape from alcoholism. Attempting to bring this message to a person of Rowland Hazard's stature and accomplishments could only have been a vexing task.

Just how Baylor related to the rest of the Hazard family raises questions the surviving documents cannot answer. Baylor believed "every alcoholic came from what might be called an alcoholic or neurotic atmosphere" and that "we can hardly expect a patient to become or stay cured if he must remain in an environment which has in all probability contributed to his own abnormal nervous condition. This environment must in its turn be 'cured.'" So in terms of Baylor's normal methodological assumptions, it would make sense if, in the process of attempting to treat Rowland for his alcoholism, he also made some efforts to change the way the other members of his family interacted with one another. Nevertheless, given the accomplishments and self-confidence of the Hazard family as evidenced by their letters to one another, it is difficult to believe that Baylor would have remained a popular guest if he had pushed too hard on the other members of the family to change their ways also. Hazard's mother in particular does not appear to be the type of person who would take kindly to the suggestion that she too needed to be cured.

Hazard was also participating in the Oxford Group during this same period. The earliest reference in the Rhode Island Historical Society collection is a letter from Thomas P. Hazard to his mother in February of 1934 which refers to Rowland as being a member of the Oxford Group, but he could in fact have joined them much earlier.

Whether from his therapy with Courtenay Baylor or his participation in the Oxford Group (or both combined), Rowland Hazard was ultimately apparently able to achieve at least significant periods of continuous sobriety; whether he achieved real serenity and happiness we cannot know.

A linked chain did however exist, starting with the Rev. Elwood Worcester at Emmanuel Episcopal Church in Boston, and linking him to Courtenay Baylor, who in turn worked with Rowland Hazard during the years 1933 and 1934. Hazard in turn was linked, through Ebby Thatcher, to Bill Wilson at the decisive moment at the beginning of the A.A. movement. Hazard also knew the people at Calvary Church in New York, where Bill W. started going in 1934 for further spiritual help with his alcoholism. So he definitely moved in the same orbits as the early members of A.A. and was present during the time period when Bill W. was first getting sober.

How and to what degree Hazard influenced events must remain more conjectural, beyond a few bare bones facts such as his major role in helping to rescue Ebby Thatcher and get him sober in August 1934. Nevertheless A.A. historians must take seriously not only his continual and important presence behind the scenes during that key period, but also the possible ways that he could have been of major influence.

# ROWLAND HAZARD

## Part 2 of 2

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NOTE BY GLENN C. (South Bend, Indiana) -- Excerpted from Richard M. Dubiel, *\*The Road to Fellowship: The Role of the Emmanuel Movement and the Jacoby Club in the Development of Alcoholics Anonymous,\** Hindsfoot Foundation Series on the History of Alcoholism Treatment (New York: iUniverse, 2004), Chapter 4, "Rowland Hazard and the Beginnings of A.A."

See <http://hindsfoot.org> for more details.

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### Hazard and Jung

Ernest Kurtz's definitive history of A.A. regards Hazard as instrumental in one of the four founding moments of Alcoholics Anonymous, the point where Bill W. learned from Ebby Thatcher about what Carl Jung was supposed to have told Hazard, that is, that alcoholics could not recover without some sort of spiritual conversion. Bill W. interpreted this kind of conversion experience as necessarily involving a major ego deflation.

"One-half of the core idea -- the necessity of spiritual conversion -- had passed from Dr. Carl Jung to Rowland. Clothed in Oxford Group practice it had given rise to its yet separate other half -- the simultaneous transmission of deflation and hope by "one alcoholic talking to another" -- in the first meeting between Bill and Ebby."

Kurtz quotes Bill W.'s own words on this issue (where the "Oxford Group friend" is of course Rowland Hazard):

"*Deflation at depth*, yes that was *it*. Exactly that had happened to me. Dr. Carl Jung had told an Oxford Group friend of Ebby's how hopeless his alcoholism was and Dr. Silkworth had passed the same sentence upon me. Then Ebby [Thatcher], also an alcoholic, had handed me the identical dose."

Carl Jung (along with the American psychologist William James) was frequently cited by Bill W. and the early A.A.s as a way of legitimizing their emphasis on the spiritual dimension of recovery. For James, religion embodied a perfectly valid kind of experience, one that could be studied and said to have its own objective reality. It could be demonstrated that certain kinds of religious experiences could produce extraordinary life changes. For Jung, religion was a way of expressing in symbolic fashion certain key components within the human psyche, using archetypal images which were part of the makeup of all human minds at the unconscious level. This material had to become integrated at the conscious level, he stated, to produce full mental health.

Conventional psychiatry by itself could not bring freedom from the alcoholic compulsion to a certain type of chronic alcoholic, as Bill W. had heard the story of what Jung told Hazard. So as Bill interpreted what he believed to be Jung's opinion, he saw this at first as a decree of hopelessness just as severe as the one imposed on him by his own American psychiatrist William D. Silkworth. The



psychiatrists, even the best in the world, could not help a certain kind of chronic alcoholic by conventional psychiatry. But Jung had said to Hazard, according to the story Bill had been told, that a real spiritual conversion could provide the power to stop drinking.

So conversion then became the only hope. This necessity of conversion became a key ingredient in the formation of A.A. For the history of A.A., the connection with the ideas of Carl Jung was extremely important in this way, and in a variety of other ways also. Kurtz goes into considerable depth on this matter, including long discussions of the way Bill W. regarded Jung (and William James too) and appropriated their material.

All these observations remain valid. Carl Jung stated in a letter to Bill W. many years later that the A.A. understanding of his theory of alcoholism was in fact correct, and those who have studied Jungian psychiatry can easily see how that understanding fits smoothly into his overall theoretical structure. Jung praised the A.A. movement in that letter and indicated that he wholeheartedly approved of their approach. But the fact is that there was at the very least a considerable exaggeration of the length and depth of Rowland Hazard's contact with Carl Jung in Switzerland. Part of the Hazard-Jung story, as recounted in later A.A. sources, was clearly more legend than historical reality.

### **The Traditional Account of Hazard's Therapy with Carl Jung and Its Influence on A.A.**

The official story regarding Hazard goes something like this, as stated by Bill's early biographer Thomsen and quoted by later A.A. historians. The story begins with the assertion that Hazard "wound up in Zurich, a patient of Carl Jung," and that he worked with him in therapy of some sort for "over a year." This was supposed to have happened in 1931. Hazard apparently thought that he had seen the depths of his unconscious and understood himself to the extent that he could rest easily in a sober life. According to the basic Bill W. biography, Hazard then left Zurich but soon found himself drunk once again. He returned to Zurich and once more sought the counsel of Jung. At this time the psychologist told Hazard that he was hopeless in his alcoholism, insofar as conventional psychiatry was concerned, and that religious conversion seemed the one hope for such cases.

After this second meeting, Hazard is said to have discovered the Oxford Group and to have begun to flourish in the program it provided. Hazard then came to Ebby Thatcher's rescue in August 1934 when Thatcher was threatened with commitment to the Brattleboro Asylum. The intervention of Hazard, along with Cebra G. and another Oxford Group member, Shep C., was apparently fortuitous. The three members happened to be vacationing at a summer home near Bennington when they heard of the impending commitment. So they decided there on the spot to make Thatcher a "project."

After his rescue, Thatcher took to the program of the Oxford Group with a good deal of enthusiasm. Their zeal and evangelical fervor appealed to him, granting him an extended period of sobriety. Three months after the Oxford Group people had saved him from the insane asylum, he passed the message on to Bill W. in the latter's kitchen in November 1934. The standard A.A. tradition regards this as the context in which Ebby told Bill W. the story about Rowland Hazard and Carl Jung. And then, according to the time-honored story, the account of what Jung had told Hazard continued to sit and ferment in Bill W.'s mind, and was one of the more important things that Bill learned from Ebby in that meeting in his kitchen in November 1934.

The importance of Jung to Bill W. is not in doubt. But the detailed account given for many years by

A.A. people of Rowland Hazard's activities from 1931 to 1934 clearly contained some legendary elements. Hazard could not conceivably have seen Jung for more than two months, perhaps less, in 1931. There is no evidence in the Hazard family papers that he joined the Oxford Group at that point. In fact, the earliest documentary evidence of him being a member did not appear until February 1934, six months before he helped rescue Ebby Thatcher from the asylum. Although this does not mean that he could not have joined the Oxford Groupers much earlier, all our evidence so far of any deeply committed involvement on his part in that group's activities comes from 1934. Furthermore, we have now considerable evidence of Hazard's contact with the Emmanuel Group author Courtenay Baylor during 1933 and 1934, presumably as Baylor's patient, which is a key factor which was left out of the traditional A.A. legend.

So to understand the actual role which Rowland Hazard may have played in the development of early A.A., it will be necessary to go beyond the legend and see what the Hazard family papers reveal of what may or may not have actually happened.

### **The Problems with the Traditional Account of the Hazard-Jung Contact**

Two scholars, Rick Stattler and William L. White, have recently investigated Hazard's role in the founding of Alcoholics Anonymous, in part by examining materials at the Rhode Island Historical Society (RIHS) in Providence. This author likewise examined selected Hazard material at the RIHS, focusing largely on Hazard's connection with the Emmanuel Movement, but also reading materials discovered by Stattler which might pertain to the Carl Jung question. Scholars must be warned that the nature of these papers means that many important questions still cannot be answered. They give us evidence which is in many ways partial and sometimes frustrating.

In recent correspondence with the author, Rhode Island Historical Society Manuscripts Curator Rick Stattler summarized the findings of a 1998 research project which endeavored to document Hazard's whereabouts during the period 1930-1934. Stattler's scholarship as summed up in this letter and seen in an accompanying six-page document list (1930-1934) is thorough and germane to the subject at hand: Hazard's involvement with Courtenay Baylor.

Stattler himself best summarizes his main point: "I can state with confidence that Rowland Hazard did not undergo any counseling in Zurich for more than a couple of months between 1930 and 1934. I can also state that the records examined, which are very suggestive on other matters, do not so much as hint at any treatment by Dr. Jung, at least not as I have interpreted them."

The Stattler letter is accompanied by a document list, an annotated list of letters from the Hazard Family Papers between 1930-1934. The letters either place Hazard in a specific locale or refer in some way to his alcoholism. The letters verifying his 1931 trip to Europe also substantiate Stattler's claim that "there is no way he could have spent an extended period in Europe between 1930 and early 1933; he was intimately involved in several business ventures in New York and New Mexico." When he did visit Europe from June to September of 1931 he was with his wife and children. Stattler adds: "it seems very unlikely that he could have spent more than a couple of weeks in Zurich." This author examined the letters on Stattler's document list and can attest to the reasonableness of Stattler's conclusions. The letters during the 1931 trip do in fact give the feel of a family adventure. In one such letter Hazard's mother, Mary, writes to his brother Thomas from Florence, Italy, wondering if Roy (Rowland) won't bring her LaSalle automobile over when he arrives so she can take it to England. When the itinerary is discussed in several places, a familial feeling pervades, at least in the heart of the mother. There is an

expectation that all the family members will be in contact and will meet at some point

Examining the family correspondence, however, still leaves a few mysteries during the overall period that ran from 1930 to 1934. In a March 9, 1930, letter to Thomas, the mother asserts: "I think Roy has had a spiritual awakening which makes him ready to do anything which he feels incumbent upon him. That is why I think those about him should try to prevent a sacrifice which is not to the best good of all." She recognizes his vulnerability at this point, particularly with regard to his ex-wife. At that time he would have been considering remarriage to Helen after their divorce a year earlier. The point is that this spiritual awakening would have been in advance of meeting Dr. Jung or being introduced to the Oxford Group or any contact that we know of between him and Courtenay Baylor. What was this awakening? At this point we do not know.

A second mystery surfaces in letters written on February 3, 5, and 13 of 1933, in which his mother mentions Roy's "successes" with a "patient" and later refers to other "patients," presumably while he was in Vermont. The "patient" could not have been Thatcher at this point, since Hazard and Cebra did not carry out their intervention with him until August 1934. Was Hazard attempting to be like Baylor, emulating his own doctor and trying to take on patients himself as a lay psychotherapist? This would be interesting in itself since the first actual documentation on any connection between Hazard and Baylor does not occur until December 15, 1933, ten months later. But as has been noted, there is the possibility that Baylor may have first been called in when Hazard was hospitalized for his alcoholism in February and March of 1932, so his apparent attempts to play lay psychotherapist in early 1933 could have occurred under Baylor's influence. There are no other mentions of this practice in the collections, so the references to Hazard having "patients" of his own in early 1933 remain a mystery.

It is important to note that these investigations do not conclude that Hazard had no contact with Jung. It is possible that the two had a brief encounter, and that it was of such a force that the meeting turned into a legend which, in the retelling, was expanded into the tale of a course of extensive psychotherapy that soon encompassed a full year or more. The news from Jung that so impressed Bill Wilson might also have affected Hazard in a similar manner; such is the nature of "good news." Apostles, stricken as they are with the revelatory nature of the message, are more interested in passing the message along than in documenting times and dates. And so it may have been with Hazard and Jung. A cynical interpreter would also note that alcoholics tend by their nature to exaggerate and boast and inflate the stories which they tell. Such is the nature of the disease.

## **The Correspondence between Bill W. and Carl Jung**

On January 23, 1961, Bill Wilson wrote a letter to Carl Jung referring to the psychiatrist's encounter with Rowland Hazard thirty years earlier, and on January 30, 1961 Jung wrote him back [*"Pass It On" The Story of Bill Wilson and How the A.A. Message Reached the World\** (New York: Alcoholics Anonymous World Services, 1984), 381-6]. Jung said that he remembered working with Hazard, and that Bill's account of what he told Rowland at that time was "adequately reported" and completely correct.

[In recent correspondence with the author, Glenn F. Chesnut, Indiana University South Bend, noted:] Jung's letter also gives the only perhaps potentially deep insight we could possess into Hazard's personality and character. The psychiatrist seemed, on the basis of his remarks in his letter to Bill W., to have had other experience in trying to work with alcoholics, and made the interesting observation in that letter that the kind of spiritual conversion he was referring to when he spoke to Hazard could take

one of three forms. It could be produced by "an act of grace," but Hazard, the hardheaded businessman, apparently had too many mental blocks in place to ever allow himself to have anything like the vision of divine light, for example, which Bill W. experienced in the Charles B. Towns Hospital not long after his meeting in the kitchen with Ebby Thatcher, or any equivalent to that sort of spiritual experience. Conversion could also be produced, Jung said in his letter to Bill W., "through a higher education of the mind beyond the confines of mere rationalism," but the pragmatic industrialist and banker Hazard did not seem to have had any ability to explore the Jungian interpretation of religious ritual and art in a way which would involve the deeper feeling levels. Hazard's mind apparently was too prosaic for that.

But a spiritual remaking could also be produced, Jung commented, "through a personal and honest contact with friends," that is, through joining in a fellowship of people who were attempting to lead the spiritual life and then becoming totally immersed in the activities of that group. And on the basis of what Bill W. had reported in his letter, Jung said that he believed that Rowland had chosen that way, "which was, under the circumstances, obviously the best one." Fellowship among recovering people -- that vital part of both the Emmanuel Movement method and the Oxford Group's practices -- had been the only one of these three routes through which a man like Rowland Hazard could be reached and freed from his alcoholic compulsion.

The Rhode Island Historical Society material requires us to regard part of the later A.A. account of the meeting between Rowland Hazard and Carl Jung as legendary expansion. Whatever specific conclusion a reader of those documents might reach, their contents cannot be simply ignored. Yet we also have this 1961 letter from Carl Jung affirming that he had in fact had some sort of significant contact with Hazard thirty years earlier, and that the A.A. account of what he had told the Rhode Island businessman at that time was substantially correct. And it seems unquestionably the fact that Jung came into the thinking of the A.A. founders in 1934, and exerted a profound influence on their ideas during the years following.

### **Additional Emmanuel Movement Influence on A.A.: the Emphasis on Fellowship**

Hazard's later years seem to have been prosperous enough, although he never did join Alcoholics Anonymous. In 1936 he became a member of the Episcopal Church and remained active in several of its organizations. Throughout the latter part of his troubled life, Hazard relied on the fellowship of the Oxford Group (including activities such as his work with Ebby Thatcher in 1934) to aid and comfort him in his struggle with alcohol. It was fellowship that helped him even toward the end of his life, when he was being returned to New York after his 1936 binge. The comment Carl Jung made in his letter to Bill W. seems to have been correct, that a saving encounter with the healing quality of the spiritual life could in fact be brought about "through a personal and honest contact with friends," and that this route had been "obviously the best one" for someone of Rowland Hazard's personality.

It was fellowship between recovering people that was a vital part of the approach which the Emmanuel Movement and its offshoot, the Jacoby Club, began developing in 1906-1909. We do not know whether Courtenay Baylor was one of the people who was encouraging Hazard to participate in the activities of the Oxford Group in 1934, but since Hazard lived at a great distance from Boston where Emmanuel Episcopal Church and the Jacoby Club were located, the Oxford Group could have appeared to Baylor as a useful alternative to suggest to the businessman.

Fellowship with recovering alcoholics was also one of the most important features of the A.A. method of freeing people from the compulsion to drink. There have been voices to the contrary: Linda

Mercadante, in her book *\*Victims and Sinners\**, claims that the original intention of A.A.'s founders was to have the Big Book the central point of recovery. She insists that "meeting attendance was not seen as 'vital to sobriety.'" In her analysis, the rise of meetings was accidental, more or less an afterthought that later took over the very character of the movement. This seems a very strained interpretation. While it is true that the Big Book was seen as the central point, capable of evoking reverence both then and now, this does not diminish that fact that fellowship, the idea of one drunk helping another, sprang forth almost immediately as one of the key ingredients in the movement. A person cannot get sober alone: this became an axiomatic and vital A.A. tenet. Fellowship became indistinguishable from the movement itself. This was a situation in which one could not tell the dancer from the dance.

Rowland Hazard's own personal experiences made the importance of fellowship clear to the early A.A. people who knew him. And he was a patient of Courtenay Baylor, who came out of the fellowship-oriented Emmanuel Movement tradition. Rowland himself was very active in 1934 in the Oxford Group, which was a strongly fellowship-based spiritual program, and as a result of this, seems to have recovered from his almost two-year total breakdown and returned to his normal business activities by October of that year.

Although Hazard did not get along with Bill Wilson and the other early A.A.s, never joined an A.A. group, and may not have even liked its program, the fact is that he knew from personal experience the power of the fellowship he had seen, felt, and witnessed in other contexts. And he must have had some sort of influence on early A.A.s who knew about him, whether at first or second hand.

Could one imagine that some small portion of the power of the early Emmanuel meetings, held by Elwood Worcester in the church basement in Boston back at the beginning of the century, was somehow carried through time and was conveyed to Hazard by Courtenay Baylor when he ministered to and influenced him in 1933 and 1934? We cannot know. But it is clear that behind Ebby Thatcher, the messenger who brought the word of salvation to Bill Wilson in the kitchen of Bill's apartment in November 1934, lay the figure of Rowland Hazard III, the mysterious messenger behind the messenger.

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NOTE BY GLENN C. (South Bend, Indiana) -- Prof. Dubiel backs up his account with a set of detailed endnotes, which have been omitted from this brief excerpt from his book, except for one of the notes, which is important to cite.

There he talks about the actual dates of Rowland Hazard's involvement in the Oxford Group, as nearly as we can reconstruct this: "Rowland's membership and active participation in the Oxford Group is well-documented in family correspondence. See the letter from Mary P. B. Hazard to Thomas P. Hazard dated 25 February 1934 in the Thomas P. Hazard Papers; and the letters from Thomas P. Hazard to Mary P. B. Hazard dated 14 February and 28 March 1934 in the Rowland G. Hazard II Papers, both in the Manuscripts Collection, RIHS."

What is especially important to observe in this set of dates is that there is no indication that Rowland Hazard joined the Oxford Group immediately after talking with Carl Jung in 1931. Or at any rate, references to his involvement in the Oxford Group do not appear in any documents now known until almost three years later. The later statements by various A.A. members purporting to show that Rowland saw the light and joined the Oxford Group within a few days or weeks after seeing Jung and

never drank again (often accompanied by what looks like an amazing amount of detail) seem to be on the whole totally legendary. In fact, the later A.A. oral traditions about Rowland Hazard, for some unknown reason, seem to show more in the way of free-floating creative imagination and pure invention than almost any other part of early A.A. history!

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