

HOW ONE EDITOR
TRANSFORMED
AMERICAN RELIGION
A BOOK AT A TIME

GOD THE BESTSELLER

Stephen Prothero



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Many thanks as well to Professors Matthew Hedstrom and Leigh Eric Schmidt, who discovered Exman before I did and helpfully placed him in broader traditions of liberal religion and seeker spirituality. Matthew was my most valued academic conversation partner

as I worked through the archives. He also read and commented on the whole manuscript.

Early conversations with my friend and former editor Paul Elie helped shape the book in the direction it took as a conversation triangulated between an editor, his authors, and the books they made together. The enthusiasm of my former student Maria Smilios for Exman as a character searching for something he would never find jump-started my early work on the book and kept me going through the final edits.

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Lucy Prothero and Holden Ramage helped me catalog the Ex-man books, including inscriptions and the ephemera secreted inside them. Lucy also read and expertly fact-checked the whole book.

I owe another big debt to my editor Gideon Weil, who took over from a series of HarperOne editors who preceded him in this project. Margueritte Bro, in one of hundreds of humorous (and insightful) passages in her letters, wrote that “asking a feller to swap editors is like asking him to take on a different home and mother and use somebody else’s false teeth.” True enough, as a general principle. In this case, the swap was all for the good, as Gideon offered sage advice as he worked and reworked the manuscript. My thanks go out as well to my prior HarperOne editors: Miles Doyle, Mickey Maudlin, and especially Roger Freet, who is now a good friend. Mark Tauber, HarperOne’s former publisher, has also been a cheerleader for this project from start to finish. Hugh Van Dusen, who worked with Exman and recently retired after a six-decade Harper career, sat with me for hours of interviews and taught me a lot about publishing along the way. Others at HarperOne who helped to turn this manuscript into a book include assistant editor Maya Alpert, copyeditor Elizabeth Berg, and the talented arts and production team.

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what the Quakers call the Inner Light, which I continue to try to do. Whatever is good in this book I owe to his mentoring.

Finally, thanks to my family: to Molly and Lucy Prothero, for continuing to put up with a father who spends more time than he should at his laptop; to my mother, Helen Anderson Prothero, for a lifetime of love and support; to my late father, S. Richard Prothero, to whose memory this book is gratefully dedicated; and to my siblings, Laurie, Eric, Dan, and David, who kindly pretend to be interested in what I do. One final deep bow goes out to my partner, cheerleader, fellow author, editor, co-PI, and lifetime collaborator, Meera Subramanian. Words fail.

Notes

Prologue: A Graveyard Epiphany

1. This account of the defining moment in Exman's life is largely based on five key sources. The first four are manuscripts by Eugene Exman in the Eugene Exman Archive, located at Middlebury College in Middlebury, Vermont: "An Experimental College," handwritten autobiographical fragment; untitled, single-page, handwritten account of his Blanchester graveyard experience; untitled autobiographical type-script sent to Gerald Heard, August 1942; and "Week-End Retreat, Rye, New York, May, 1967," transcript. The fifth source is Eugene Exman, "Individual and Group Experiences," in *Proceedings of Two Conferences on Parapsychology and Pharmacology* (New York: Parapsychology Foundation, 1961), 10–13. There are additional scattered references to this experience in Exman's correspondence.
2. Exman baptismal certificate, Exman Archive.
3. Exman, "An Experimental College," Exman Archive.

Preface

1. Patricia Holt, "Harper's Spiritual Quest," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 2, 1991, Sunday Review, 1, quoted in Matthew S. Hedstrom, "The Commodification of William James: The Book Business and the Rise of Liberal Spirituality in the Twentieth-Century United States," in *Religion and the Marketplace in the United States*, eds. Jan

Stievermann, Philip Goff, and Detlef Junker (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 128; Clayton Carlson, “In the Beginning: A Note from Our Founding Publisher,” *News and Pews from HarperOne*, September 27, 2017, <https://newsandpews.com/in-the-beginning-a-note-from-our-founding-publisher/>.

2. Matthew S. Hedstrom, *The Rise of Liberal Religion: Book Culture and American Spirituality in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 128, 92. See also Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Restless Souls: The Making of American Spirituality* (New York: HarperOne, 2005), 260–61.
3. Exman, untitled, handwritten autobiographical fragment, Exman Archive.
4. Exman to Harry Emerson Fosdick, February 16, 1951, Exman Archive.

Introduction: Where God Walks

1. Exman notes in “Permanent Memoranda and Addresses” folder, Exman Archive.
2. Untitled autobiographical typescript regarding Exman’s early life, Exman Archive.
3. “Denison Almost Free from Influenza,” *The Denisonian*, October 18, 1918, 1; Editor’s note, *The Denisonian*, October 25, 1918, 1.
4. Exman, “The Most Unforgettable Character I’ve Met,” draft of unpublished *Reader’s Digest* article on Fosdick, circa 1959, Exman Archive.
5. Leola Davis to Exman, September 24, 1921, Exman Archive.
6. Denison College, *The Adytum* (Granville, OH: 1922), 49; J. W. Decker to Exman, November 15, 1921, Exman Archive.
7. Leslie B. Moss to Exman, April 7, 1923, Exman Archive.
8. Harold Exman to Eugene Exman, April 16, 1923, and Mary Etta Exman to Eugene Exman, April 23, 1923, both in Exman Archive. Exman’s mother was not a standard speller. In this letter she spelled *maybe* “maby” and *interfere* “interfear.” Throughout this book, unorthodox spellings have been silently corrected.
9. Kenneth Latourette to Exman, May 29, 1923, Exman Archive.
10. Johnnie Lechner to Exman, February 23, 1922, Exman Archive.

11. John Calvin Siler, "Modernism," in *The Union Seminary Review* 36, no. 4 (July 1925): 351; Shailer Mathews, *The Faith of Modernism* (New York: Macmillan, 1924), 35.
12. William R. Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976); John Horsch, *Modern Religious Liberalism: The Destructiveness and Irrationality of the New Theology* (Scottsdale, PA: Fundamental Truth Depot, 1921), 266; Mathews, *The Faith of Modernism*, 103, 68.
13. Eugene Exman to Sunny Exman, March 17, 1929, Exman Archive.
14. Exman, "Getting Underway at Harpers," autobiographical fragment, Exman Archive.
15. Exman, "Getting Underway at Harpers," autobiographical fragment, Exman Archive.
16. Exman, "Getting Underway at Harpers," autobiographical fragment, Exman Archive.
17. Mary Rose Himler, "Religious Books as Best Sellers," *Publishers' Weekly*, February 19, 1927, 691; "The Religious Renaissance," *Publishers' Weekly*, February 19, 1927, 684, both quoted in Matthew S. Hedstrom, *The Rise of Liberal Religion: Book Culture and American Spirituality in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 80.
18. David A. Hollinger, "After Cloven Tongues of Fire: Ecumenical Protestantism and the Modern American Encounter with Diversity," *Journal of American History* 98, no. 1 (June 2011): 21–48.
19. *Harper Religious Books & Bibles, Summer–Fall 1948*, HarperCollins Archive, New York, New York. The book was Margueritte Harmon Bro's *More Than We Are* (New York: Harper, 1948); William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1902), 31.
20. Mathews, *The Faith of Modernism*, 270.
21. See Robert T. Handy, "The American Religious Depression, 1925–1935," *Church History* 29, no. 1 (March 1960): 3–16; Harper religious book department account pages, Exman Archive. On book sales declines, see Matthew Hedstrom, "The Commodification of William James: The Book Business and the Rise of Liberal

- Spirituality in the Twentieth-Century United States,” in *Religion and the Marketplace in the United States*, ed. Jan Stievermann, Philip Goff, and Detlef Junker (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 130–33.
22. Judy Exman to Sunny Exman, February 2, 1958, Exman Archive; Martin Gardner, *Fads and Fallacies in the Name of Science* (New York: Dover, 1986), front cover, 204, 186.
 23. Judy Exman to Sunny Exman, February 2, 1959, Exman Archive.
 24. Eugene Exman to Judy Exman, February 16, 1959, Exman Archive.
 25. Eugene Exman to Judy Exman, February 16, 1959, Exman Archive.
 26. Eugene Exman to Judy Exman, February 16, 1959, Exman Archive. Exman attached to this letter a clipping from Aldous Huxley, whose *The Perennial Philosophy* had popularized mystical experiences as the common foundation on which all the world’s religions were built. In that article, Huxley quoted William James approvingly.
 27. William James to Miss Frances R. Morse, in William James, *The Letters of William James, Volume II*, ed. Henry James (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1920), 127; James, *Varieties*, 31.
 28. William James to Henry W. Rankin, June 16, 1901, quoted in Robert D. Richardson, *William James: In the Maelstrom of American Modernism* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2006), 406.
 29. James, *Varieties*, 419.
 30. Hedstrom, “The Commodification of William James”; “Digest of Mr. Exman’s Speech at the ATLA Conference,” Union Seminary, June 16, 1955, Exman Archive.
 31. “Wives of College Presidents Agree Life Has Its Thorns and Theirs Is No Easy Job,” *New York Times*, January 12, 1949, 25.
 32. Catherine L. Albanese, *A Republic of Mind and Spirit: A Cultural History of American Metaphysical Religion* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007); William James, “The Pragmatic Method,” *The Journal of Philosophy* 1, no. 25 (December 8, 1904): 682.
 33. Margueritte Bro to Exman, December 17, 1949, Exman Archive.
 34. Wallace Exman interview, April 2, 2016; Exman to Bro, November 13, 1946, Exman Archive.

35. On this history, see Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Restless Souls: The Making of American Spirituality* (New York: HarperOne, 2005).
36. For the sources of this account of Exman's road to Blanchester experience, see Endnote 1 under "Prologue: A Graveyard Epiphany."
37. Regarding this and other "revelatory events," I have learned much from Ann Taves, whose investigations into these uncanny experiences are deeply informed by wide reading in both religious history and the cognitive science of religion. See, especially, her *Religious Experience Reconsidered: A Building-Block Approach to the Study of Religion and Other Special Things* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009); and *Revelatory Events: Three Case Studies of the Emergence of New Spiritual Paths* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016).
38. Both Leigh Eric Schmidt and Matthew Hedstrom take on these stereotypes by taking seekers seriously, and by noting their many contributions to American religion and culture. Schmidt argues that seekers have typically been socially and politically engaged, and as such offer an important antidote to the religious right. Hedstrom observes how liberal Protestants, while seemingly in decline, have scored a "cultural victory" by spreading "spiritual cosmopolitan" well beyond the church pews of liberal Protestant denominations, not least through the publishing of books. See Schmidt, *Restless Souls*; Hedstrom, *The Rise of Liberal Religion*.
39. Exman, "Week-End Retreat, Rye, New York, May, 1967," transcript, Exman Archive.
40. Exman, "Week-End Retreat, Rye, New York, May, 1967," transcript, Exman Archive.
41. Exman, autobiographical fragment on Thakur, Exman Archive.

Chapter 1: America's Pastor Harry Emerson Fosdick and the Religion of Experience

1. "Religion: At Geneva," *TIME*, September 21, 1925, <https://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,721121,00.html>; Martin Luther King Jr. to Harry Emerson Fosdick, November 17, 1958, Martin Luther King Jr. Research and Education Institute, Stanford University, <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/documents/harry-emerson-fosdick>. The *TIME* quote is from Rabbi Stephen Wise.

2. Fosdick to Exman, February 10, 1953; Exman, “My Experience with H.E.F.,” autobiographical fragment; Exman, “The Most Unforgettable Character I’ve Met,” article draft, all in Exman Archive. Also in Exman Archive, see “Books by Harry Emerson Fosdick Published by Harper & Brothers under EE’s Editorship—since 1928,” which lists these sixteen books: *As I See Religion* (1932); *The Hope of the World* (1933); *The Secret of Victorious Living* (1934); *The Power to See It Through* (1935); *Successful Christian Living* (1937); *A Guide to Understanding the Bible* (1938); *Living Under Tension* (1941); *On Being a Real Person* (1943); *A Great Time to Be Alive* (1944); *On Being Fit to Live With* (1946); *The Man From Nazareth* (1949); *A Faith for Tough Times* (1952); *What Is Vital in Religion* (1955); *The Living of These Days* (1956); *Riverside Sermons* (1958); and *A Book of Public Prayers* (1959). A seventeenth followed: *Dear Dr. Brown: Letters to a Person Perplexed About Religion* (1961). Fosdick also contributed to many other books on Exman’s list. For example, he wrote a chapter in Louis Finkelstein, ed., *American Spiritual Autobiographies: Fifteen Self-Portraits* (New York: Harper, 1948), and the introduction to Benson Y. Landis, *A Rauschenbusch Reader* (New York: Harper, 1957).
3. Exman to Sunny, January 31, 1929; Exman to Sunny, January 30, 1929; Exman to Sunny, February 2, 1929, all in Exman Archive.
4. Exman to Sunny, February 28, 1929; Exman to Sunny, February 12, 1929, both in Exman Archive.
5. Mrs. Miller to Sunny, October 12, 1930, Exman Archive.
6. Harry Emerson Fosdick, *The Living of These Days* (New York: Harper, 1956), 36.
7. Transcript of Exman/Fosdick interview, *Wisdom*, NBC television, May 1959, Exman Archive; Fosdick, *Living of These Days*, 52; Fosdick, “Harry Emerson Fosdick,” in Finkelstein, ed., *American Spiritual Autobiographies*, 108; Robert Moats Miller, *Harry Emerson Fosdick: Preacher, Pastor, Prophet* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 40; Gary Dorrien, *The Making of American Liberal Theology: Idealism, Realism, & Modernity, 1900–1950* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), 359.
8. Fosdick, *Living of These Days*, 213–14, 73.
9. Exman, “The Most Unforgettable Character I’ve Met,” Exman Archive.

10. George M. Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1991), 1.
11. James Hudnut-Beumler, "Riverside Church and the Development of Twentieth-Century American Protestantism," in Peter J. Paris et al., *The History of the Riverside Church in the City of New York* (New York: New York University Press, 2004), 14.
12. Harry Emerson Fosdick, "Shall the Fundamentalists Win?," <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5070/>. In *The Making of American Liberal Theology: Imagining Progressive Religion, 1805–1900* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), Gary Dorrien observes that nineteenth-century liberal Protestant theologians sought a "third way between regnant orthodoxy and an ascending infidelism" (xiv).
13. Miller, *Harry Emerson Fosdick*, 116; Fosdick, "Shall the Fundamentalists Win?"; Fosdick, *Living of These Days*, 145.
14. Darren Dochuk, *Anointed with Oil: How Christianity and Crude Made Modern America* (New York: Basic, 2019), 12, 269; Miller, *Harry Emerson Fosdick*, 159.
15. Fosdick, "Harry Emerson Fosdick," in Finkelstein, ed., *American Spiritual Autobiographies*, 117.
16. Miller, *Harry Emerson Fosdick*, 162–63.
17. "Fosdick Outlines His Liberal Church in Opening Sermon," *New York Times*, June 1, 1925, 1–2.
18. "1,500 Hear Fosdick at Park Av. Church," *New York Times*, October 4, 1926, 18.
19. Robert T. Handy, "The American Religious Depression, 1925–1935," 3–16.
20. Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy: An Essay in Political and Social Criticism* (London: Smith, Elder, 1869), viii; Janice A. Radway, *A Feeling for Books: The Book-of-the-Month Club, Literary Taste, and Middle-Class Desire* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 283. On middlebrow literature, see also Joan Shelley Rubin, *The Making of Middlebrow Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992). On middlebrow religious books, see Erin A. Smith, *What Would Jesus Read?: Popular Religious Books and Everyday Life in Twentieth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of

- North Carolina Press, 2015); and Matthew S. Hedstrom, *The Rise of Liberal Religion: Book Culture and American Spirituality in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).
21. Radway, *A Feeling for Books*, 286, 283.
 22. Exman, "Deans in My Life," autobiographical fragment, Exman Archive.
 23. Exman, "Fosdick as Author," *Christian Century*, May 21, 1958, 619; Exman, "Experience with H.E.F.," autobiographical fragment, Exman Archive.
 24. Wallace Exman interview, November 7, 2018.
 25. Exman, "Experience with H.E.F.," Exman Archive. In explaining this impasse to *Christian Century* readers, Exman recalled receiving a similar rebuff after asking Albert Schweitzer if he might allow a book of his sermons to go out into the world. "No, sermons are to be preached, not read," Schweitzer replied. "A printed sermon is like a beautiful, embalmed child; it is no longer alive" (Exman, "Fosdick as Author," *Christian Century*, May 21, 1958, 617).
 26. Fosdick, *As I See Religion* (New York: Harper, 1932), 1, 4, 32, 33, 40.
 27. Fosdick, *As I See Religion*, 148, 6, 16.
 28. Harry Emerson Fosdick, *The Hope of the World: Twenty-Five Sermons on Christianity Today* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1933), vii; Joel Carpenter, "Oral Roberts, Harry Emerson Fosdick, and the Divergent Unities of American Protestantism," *Fides et Historia* 18, no. 3 (January 1, 1986): 75. The other sermon collections written by Fosdick for Exman are *The Secret of Victorious Living: Sermons on Christianity Today* (1934); *The Power to See It Through: Sermons on Christianity Today* (1935); *Successful Christian Living: Sermons on Christianity Today* (1937); *Living Under Tension: Sermons on Christianity Today* (1941); *A Great Time to Be Alive: Sermons on Christianity in Wartime* (1944); *On Being Fit to Live With: Sermons on Post-war Christianity* (1946); *What Is Vital in Religion: Sermons on Contemporary Christian Problems* (1955); and *Riverside Sermons* (1958).
 29. Miller, *Harry Emerson Fosdick*, 76; Fosdick, "Then Our Men Came!" *American Magazine* 86, no. 6 (December 1918): 30.

30. Miller, *Harry Emerson Fosdick*, 497, 499; “Fosdick Summons Church to End War in Geneva Sermon,” *New York Times*, September 14, 1925, 1, 4.
31. Fosdick, “My Account with the Unknown Soldier,” *Christian Century*, June 6, 1934, 754–56.
32. Fosdick, “Harry Emerson Fosdick,” in Finkelstein, ed., *American Spiritual Autobiographies*, 109; Matthew Bowman, *The Urban Pulpit: New York City and the Fate of Liberal Evangelicalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 258. In his wide-ranging survey of liberal Protestant theology in the United States, Dorrien divides early twentieth-century liberal Protestants into four categories: evangelical liberals, naturalistic-empiricist liberals, personalist liberals, and mystical liberals. See his *The Making of American Liberal Theology: Idealism, Realism, & Modernity, 1900–1950*, 3–9, and throughout.
33. Fosdick, *The Manhood of the Master* (New York: Association Press, 1913), 171.
34. Martin E. Marty, review of Miller, *Harry Emerson Fosdick*, in *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 54, no. 2 (Summer 1986): 356.
35. Miller, *Harry Emerson Fosdick*, 4, 36.
36. Fosdick, *Living of These Days*, 72, 74–75.
37. Fosdick, *Living of These Days*, 73; William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1902), 135. Another key influence was James’s student Edwin Starbuck, who is mentioned forty-six times by name in *Varieties*. Starbuck’s studies of evangelical conversion convinced him that the world of religion was shifting decisively from old-fashioned dogmas to vital experiences. “A multitude of superstitions and crudities are doomed to fold their tents,” Starbuck wrote in a letter to James in 1902. “People will be living in a new era of religious experience before they know it.” See Christopher White, “A Measured Faith: Edwin Starbuck, William James, and the Scientific Reform of Religious Experience,” *Harvard Theological Review* 101, nos. 3–4 (2008): 432–33.
38. Fosdick, *On Being a Real Person* (New York: Harper, 1943), viii; Fosdick, “Harry Emerson Fosdick,” in Finkelstein, ed., *American Spiritual Autobiographies*, 111.
39. Exman, “Experience with H.E.F.,” Exman Archive.

40. *Harper Religious Books Spring 1943*, in HarperCollins Archive.
41. Exman, "Books and Authors I've Known," *Christian Herald*, November 1949, 89.
42. Fosdick, *On Being a Real Person*, 3.
43. Fosdick, *On Being a Real Person*, x, 183; Heather Rachelle White, *Reforming Sodom: Protestants and the Rise of Gay Rights* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 15.
44. Fosdick, *On Being a Real Person*, 33, 52.
45. Fosdick, *On Being a Real Person*, 11.
46. Fosdick, *On Being a Real Person*, 252.
47. Transcript of Exman/Fosdick interview, *Wisdom*, NBC television, May 1959, Exman Archive. It is unclear whether Fosdick got the phrase "divine invasion" from Exman or whether Exman got it from Fosdick, but in accounts of his mystical moment at the Blanchester graveyard, Exman wrote of experiencing a "divine invasion." Exman, untitled, single-page, handwritten account of his Blanchester graveyard experience, Exman Archive.
48. W. B. Yeats, "The Second Coming," in his *The Poems: A New Edition*, ed. Richard J. Finneran (New York: Macmillan, 1983), 187. Data on the phrase "search for meaning" comes from the Google Ngram Viewer, <https://books.google.com/ngrams>.
49. Exman, "Search for Meaning," *Hibbert Journal* 62, no. 239 (July 1962): 275–83. This essay is also published in Exman, Thomas E. Powers, and Douglas V. Steere, *Search for Meaning* (Rye, NY: Wainwright House, 1961).
50. Ralph Waldo Emerson, "An Address," in *Nature: Addresses and Lectures* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1904), 146; Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, Written by Himself* (Boston: Anti-Slavery Office, 1845), 118, <http://utc.iath.virginia.edu/abolitn/abau14t.html>. The observation that Fosdick's personal notebooks contained forty pages of Emerson quotes is from Dorrien, *The Making of American Liberal Theology: Idealism, Realism, & Modernity, 1900–1950*, 382.
51. Exman, "Search for Meaning," 279–80.

52. See Robert Wuthnow's useful distinction between "seek-oriented spirituality" and "dweller-oriented spirituality" in his *After Heaven: Spirituality in America Since the 1950s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 15.
53. Exman, "Search for Meaning," 276, 278, 279, 283.

Chapter 2: Collecting Mystics in a California Commune

1. Exman to Thomas Kelly, January 4, 1941, Quaker Collection, Haverford College Library, Haverford, PA. This letter is quoted in Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Restless Souls: The Making of American Spirituality* (New York: HarperOne, 2005), 260; and Matthew S. Hedstrom, *The Rise of Liberal Religion: Book Culture and American Spirituality in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 108.
2. Official participants are listed in "Seminar Personnel at La Verne," Exman Archive. This typed and mimeographed sheet of names and addresses is annotated in Exman's hand with some additional names and addresses. The twenty-five typed names also appear in a roster for "LaVerne, CA," in American Friends Service Committee, *Annual Report* (1941), 51. They are Edna Acheson, Donald Booz, Margaret Calbeck, Harold Chance, Rachel Davis DuBois, Eugene Exman, Harry Farash, Denny Fouts, H. Rodney Gale, Marian B. Gale, Felix Greene, Gerald Heard, Allan Hunter, Cora Belle Hunter, Elizabeth Hunter, Christopher Isherwood, Denver Lindley, George Little, Patrick Lloyd, Theodore McCrea, Lucille Nixon, William Rahill, Etta Mae Wallace, David White, and Harold Winchester.
3. Exman, "An Experimental College," Exman Archive; Arthur Vanderbilt, *The Best-Kept Boy in the World: The Life and Loves of Denny Fouts* (Bronx, NY: Magnus Books, 2014), 136; Christopher Isherwood, *Diaries: Volume One: 1939–1960*, ed. Katherine Bucknell (New York: HarperFlamingo, 1998), 162–63.
4. "About Gerald Heard," GeraldHeard.com; Alison Falby, *Between the Pigeonholes: Gerald Heard, 1889–1971* (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 1.
5. Jake Poller, *Aldous Huxley and Alternative Spirituality* (Boston: Brill, 2019), 28, 151.

6. Gerald Heard, "Religion and the Problems of a Modern Society," *Time and Tide* 12, no. 6 (February 6, 1932): 145–46.
7. Exman, "An Experimental College," Exman Archive; Jeffrey J. Kripal, *Esalen: America and the Religion of No Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 94.
8. Walter Truett Anderson, *The Upstart Spring: Esalen and the Human Potential Movement* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1983), 12; Isherwood, *Diaries*, 21–22.
9. Jules Evans, "Michael Murphy on Esalen, Huxley and Alan Watts," *Medium*, December 4, 2019, <https://medium.com/@julesevans/michael-murphy-on-esalen-and-the-mystical-expats-b36a07636913>; Exman, untitled, handwritten notes from Trabuco visit, March 8, 1945, Exman Archive.
10. Don Lattin, *Distilled Spirits: Getting High, Then Sober, with a Famous Writer, a Forgotten Philosopher, and a Hopeless Drunk* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 6.
11. Jiddu Krishnamurti, "Truth Is a Pathless Land," August 3, 1929, <https://jkrishnamurti.org/about-dissolution-speech>.
12. Alan Watts, *In My Own Way: An Autobiography, 1915–1965* (New York: Pantheon, 1972), 180; Isherwood, *Diaries*, 143; Jake Poller, email to author, April 5, 2022; Isherwood, *Diaries*, 50.
13. Exman, "An Experimental College," Exman Archive. References to this conversation in subsequent paragraphs are from this same source.
14. Heard to Exman, November 26, 1940, and December 18, 1940, both in Exman Archive. Heard continued to write about this "new syncretism" in Heard to Exman, January 2, 1941, Exman Archive; and Heard to E. M. Forster, April 10, 1942, quoted in Falby, *Between the Pigeonholes*, 106.
15. Isherwood, *Diaries*, 169; "Laverne Seminar Report," Exman Archive. This report was written by David White, a young pacifist who attended the seminar. White refers to writing this report in a series of letters to Exman, beginning on August 6, 1941, Exman Archive. For example, in a September 28, 1941, letter, he told Exman that he was in Norman, Oklahoma, "writing our report of the Seminar. Gerald wants

it short, and I am having the very devil of a time shortening the six hundred pages of notes I took to fit the mere five thousand to seventy-five hundred words which he insists on." On December 4, 1941, White wrote to Exman, "I'm glad you find the report usable."

16. Christopher Isherwood, "The Day at La Verne," *The Penguin New Writing* 14 (July–September 1942): 13.
17. Isherwood, *Diaries*, 164.
18. Isherwood, *Diaries*, 162.
19. Isherwood, *Diaries*, 163.
20. Heard, *Training for the Life of the Spirit, Pamphlet No. 1* (New York: Harper, 1941); and Heard, *Training for the Life of the Spirit, Pamphlet No. 2* (New York: Harper, 1942). The quotes are from the second pamphlet, 18, 55, 56. Heard pushed for the first pamphlet to be published anonymously. "It is a joint work of all of us and it is in praise of and emphasis on Anonymity," he wrote to Exman on November 27, 1940 (Exman Archive), but Exman published the pamphlets under Heard's name alone. In a later letter to Exman, Heard referred to "You Denver & I" having "le style collective" "when we amalgamate in anonymity." A marginal note on the letter, written in Exman's hand, refers to "our pamphlet" (Heard to Exman, March 3, 1941, Exman Archive).
21. "Laverne Seminar Report," 6.
22. "Laverne Seminar Report," 6.
23. Sunny to Exman, July 26, 1941, Exman Archive; Isherwood, *Diaries*, 163; Heard, *Training for the Life of the Spirit, Pamphlet No. 2*, 50.
24. Heard to Exman, January 18, 1941; and Exman to Willard Sperry, May 4, 1946, both in Exman Archive.
25. Heard to Exman, February 2, 1942; April 19, 1943; March 3, 1941; June 11, 1941, all in Exman Archive.
26. Heard to Exman, July 9, 1940, and December 18, 1940, both in Exman Archive. See also Falby, *Between the Pigeonholes*, 104–5.
27. Isherwood, *Diaries*, 234.
28. Heard to Exman, March 1, 1942, Exman Archive.

29. Aldous Huxley, typed draft of contribution to leaflet, Exman Archive; Isherwood, *Diaries*, 247.
30. Christopher Isherwood, *My Guru and His Disciple* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1980), 96.
31. Exman, "An Experimental College," and Exman to Sunny, July 20, 1942, both in Exman Archive.
32. Exman, "An Experimental College," Exman Archive.
33. Untitled pocketbook-size ring binder, Exman Archive. See also "Notebook on First Seminar Held at Trabuco with Gerald Heard" (Exman Archive), which includes references on its first page to the Upanishads and the Bhagavad Gita and defines yoga as "the path to Realization of God."
34. "Trabuco Seminar 1942," Exman Archive.
35. Heard to Exman, August 25, 1942, Exman Archive.
36. Exman to Heard, undated autobiographical typescript, Exman Archive.
37. Exman to Heard, untitled autobiographical typescript, August 1942, Exman Archive.
38. *Trabuco* (Trabuco Canyon, CA: Trabuco College, 1942), Exman Archive. This copy is accompanied in the Exman Archive by a September 21, 1941, letter from Felix Greene to Exman. According to Greene, this document was prompted by a mandate of the trustees to "issue a leaflet as soon as we could for the people who keep asking 'what Trabuco is all about.'" "Isherwood was a great help with it," said Greene, who ran off 450 copies and was planning on sending two or three to each of the "seminarists."
39. Isherwood, *Diaries*, 217.
40. "Some First Steps in Meditation," Exman Archive.
41. Untitled Trabuco pamphlet, Exman Archive.
42. "Trabuco Pamphlet #2, Mss. By G.H. (Heard), C.I (Isherwood), A.H. (Huxley)," Exman Archive. See also Isherwood, *My Guru and His Disciple*, 96.
43. Lucille Nixon to Trabuco Trustees, July 14, 1943, Exman Archive; Heard, *Training for the Life of the Spirit, Pamphlet No. 2*, 37; Allan Hunter to Exman, February 14, 1945, Exman Archive.

44. Bro to Exman, February 16, 1945, and February 23, 1945, both in Exman Archive; Swami Yogeshananda, "Trabuco College Tryout," <https://www.geraldheard.com/writings-and-recollections/2017/8/2/trabuco-college-tryout>.
45. Bro to Exman, February 23, 1945, Exman Archive; Gerald Heard, *The Eternal Gospel* (New York: Harper, 1946), 168.
46. Exman to Heard, March 28, 1947; and Exman to Malcolm Dana, September 9, 1947, both in Exman Archive.
47. Albert Day to Exman, June 9, 1949, Exman Archive.
48. Swami Yogeshananda, "Trabuco College Tryout," <https://www.geraldheard.com/writings-and-recollections/2017/8/2/trabuco-college-tryout>.
49. Laurence Veysey, *The Communal Experience: Anarchist and Mystical Communities in Twentieth-Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 272.
50. Sybille Bedford, *Aldous Huxley: A Biography* (New York: Knopf, 1974), 463.
51. Margaret Gage to Exman, April 3, 1947, Exman Archive; Rachel Davis DuBois, quoted in Jan Rosenberg, *Intercultural Education, Folklore, and the Pedagogical Thought of Rachel Davis Dubois* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 96; Franklin Zahn, "Temporary Monk," <https://www.geraldheard.com/writings-and-recollections/2017/8/2/temporary-monk>.
52. Bro to Exman, June 15, 1947, Exman Archive. See also Bro to Exman, Labor Day, 1947, Exman Archive: "He [Heard] is always a main factor in my life."
53. Harold Winchester to Exman, June 8, 1949, Exman Archive.
54. Timothy Miller, "Notes on the Prehistory of the Human Potential Movement: The Vedanta Society and Gerald Heard's Trabuco College," in *On the Edge of the Future: Esalen and the Evolution of American Culture*, eds. Jeffrey J. Kripal and Glenn W. Shuck (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2005), 93.
55. Gerald Heard, *Prayers and Meditations* (New York: Harper, 1949), 9; note from John Chambers to Exman, undated [summer of 1947], Exman Archive. Although Heard is credited as the sole author of

Prayers and Meditations, it was a collaborative project; Huxley wrote seven of the meditations.

56. Exman to Bro, March 30, 1945; Exman to Bro, March 28, 1947; Bro to Exman, June 15, 1947, all in Exman Archive.
57. Gerald Heard, "The Philosophia Perennis," *Vedanta and the West* 6, no. 5 (September–October 1943): 149.
58. Heard, *The Eternal Gospel*, 16, 5, 6. The original title for his book, announced in Exman's Spring 1945 religion catalog, had been *Christianity's Contribution to the Eternal Gospel*. The second half of *The Eternal Gospel* is devoted to that topic.
59. Huxley, *The Perennial Philosophy* (New York: Harper, 1945), vii, 23, 200–211. For a useful discussion of Huxley's perennialism, see Poller, *Aldous Huxley and Alternative Spirituality*, 122.
60. Huxley, *Perennial Philosophy*, 270, 242.
61. Huxley, *Perennial Philosophy*, 269.
62. Mark Greif, *The Age of the Crisis of Man: Thought and Fiction in America, 1933–1973* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015); Huxley, *Perennial Philosophy*, 95, 257, 99.
63. Huxley, *Perennial Philosophy*, 96, 93, 94.
64. Huxley, *Perennial Philosophy*, vii, 242
65. Harold Rosenberg, "The Yogi and the Englishmen," *Commentary*, January 1, 1946, 397; W. E. Garrison, "God's Greatest Mistake," *Christian Century*, December 12, 1945, 1384–85; Bro to Exman, January 8, 1946, Exman Archive.
66. Alfred Kazin, "Shortest Way to Nirvana," *New Republic*, November 5, 1945, 610–613.
67. Signe Toksvig, "Aldous Huxley's Prescriptions for Spiritual Myopia," *New York Times Book Review*, September 30, 1945, 117.
68. See Charles B. Schmitt, "Perennial Philosophy: From Agostino Steuco to Leibniz," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 27, no. 4 (1966), 505–32.
69. Exman to Fred Becker, January 10, 1950, Exman Archive.

Chapter 3: Margueritte Bro, Strange Spirituality, and the Ethics of Publishing

1. Bro, "Psychic Servant: The Other Side of Edgar Cayce," *The Disciple*, November 2, 1975, reprinted in Edgar Cayce, *My Life as a Seer: The Lost Memoirs*, ed. Arthur Robert Smith (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2014), 398.
2. Margueritte Harmon Bro, "Explain It as You Will," *Christian Century*, June 2, 1943, 664–65.
3. Margueritte Harmon Bro, "Miracle Man of Virginia Beach," *Coronet Magazine*, September 1943, <https://cayce.com/news/miracle-man-virginia-beach>.
4. Bro, "Psychic Servant," 398.
5. Heard to Exman, June 16, 1943, Exman Archive. Bro quotes from the Exman letter in Bro, "Psychic Servant." Almost all of the surviving Bro/Exman correspondence is now in the Exman Archive. Unfortunately, most of it is from Bro to Exman. Copies of many letters he sent to her also survive, but they are in the distinct minority. Bro's family members also have some of her correspondence, and they shared with the author a few of her letters to them.
6. Bro to Exman, August 27, 1943, Exman Archive.
7. Heard to Exman, October 5, 1943, Exman Archive.
8. Bro to Exman, October 9, 1943, Exman Archive.
9. Bro to Exman, October 22, 1943, Exman Archive.
10. Bro to Exman, October 22, 1943; Bro to Exman, December 27, 1943, both in Exman Archive.
11. Bro to Exman, December 25, 1943, Exman Archive.
12. Bro to Exman, December 25, 1943, Exman Archive.
13. Bro to Exman, December 25, 1943, Exman Archive.
14. Andy Bro interview, February 3, 2017.
15. Andy Bro interview, February 3, 2017.
16. Bro to Exman, November 1, 1955, Exman Archive.

17. Bro to Exman, December 4, 1943, Exman Archive.
18. Bro to Exman, June 21, 1949, Exman Archive.
19. Peter Racher interview, May 24, 2019; Pamela Bro interview, January 19, 2017; Linda Cohen interview, May 4, 2020.
20. Wally Exman interview, November 7, 2018.
21. Exman, "Some Pleasures of Publishing," mimeograph; "Digest of Mr. Exman's Speech at the ATLA Conference," Union Seminary, June 16, 1955; Bro to Exman, October 16, 1949; Exman to Bro and Glenn [Clark], June 17, 1949; Bro to Exman, January 21, 1953; Bro to Exman, April 16, 1958, all in Exman Archive.
22. Andy Bro interview, February 3, 2017.
23. Andy Bro interview, February 3, 2017.
24. Bro to Exman, August 1, 1949, and September 9, 1950, both in Exman Archive.
25. Bro, "Religion and Social Action," in Winfred Ernest Garrison, ed., *Faith of the Free* (Chicago: Willett, Clark, 1940), 80, 79.
26. Bro to Exman, November 24, 1950, Exman Archive.
27. Bro to Exman, October 16, 1949, Exman Archive.
28. Bro to Exman, November 29, 1961, September 12, 1969, April 14, 1944, and November 1, 1953, all in Exman Archive.
29. Bro to Exman, November 25, 1949, and September 14, 1962, both in Exman Archive.
30. Bro to Exman, April 25, 1944; Bro to Exman and John Chambers, January 8, 1954; Exman to Bro, January 14, 1954; Bro to Exman, January 21, 1954, all in Exman Archive.
31. June Bro interview, January 19, 2017.
32. William James, "Address of the President," in *Essays in Psychical Research* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), 131, xix. See also Ermine L. Algaier, "Epistemic Sensitivity and the Alogical: William James, Psychical Research, and the Radical Empiricist Attitude," *The Pluralist* 9, no. 3 (Fall 2014): 95–109. The list of James's ASPR committees comes from Algaier.
33. Marcus Ford, "William James's Psychical Research and Its

Philosophical Implications,” *Transactions of the Charles S. Peirce Society* 34, no. 3 (Summer 1998): 612–13.

34. Bro to Exman, November 2, 1956, Exman Archive.
35. June Bro interview, January 19, 2017; Pamela Bro interview, January 19, 2017.
36. Bro to Exman, November 21, 1950, Exman Archive.
37. Pamela Bro interview, January 19, 2017.
38. Harrie Vernet Rhoads, *In the One Spirit* (New York: Harper, 1951), 65–66.
39. Bro to Exman, January 21, 1973, Exman Archive.
40. Bro to Exman, October 2, 1959, and December 16, 1955, both in Exman Archive.
41. Bro to Exman, October 21, 1967, and November 2, 1956, both in Exman Archive.
42. *Harper Religion Books Summer/Fall 1957*, HarperCollins Archive; Arthur Ford, *Nothing So Strange: The Autobiography of Arthur Ford* (New York: Harper, 1958), 47; *Nothing So Strange* advertisement, *Los Angeles Times*, June 15, 1958, E7; W. E. Hocking to Exman, May 11, 1959, Exman Archive.
43. Norma Lee Browning, “He Talks with Ghosts,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 6, 1958, B3; Paul Lambourne Higgins, letter to the editor, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 3, 1958, B6; Martha Hejda, letter to the editor, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 31, 1958, B7. Hejda also defended Bro, praising her “warm and down to earth open mindedness.”
44. Ford, *Nothing So Strange*, 104, 220, 171.
45. Ford, *Nothing So Strange*, 191.
46. Ford, *Nothing So Strange*, 157, 110. In keeping with AA’s anonymity principle, Bro did not describe Ford as an alcoholic. Neither did she refer to Wilson by name. She called AA a “healing group” (215). She also asked Exman to delete references to AA from the catalog copy for *Nothing So Strange*, which he did. See Bro to Exman, January 22, 1958, Exman Archive.
47. Ford, *Nothing So Strange*, 7, 27.

48. Ford, *Nothing So Strange*, 213.
49. June Bro interview, January 19, 2017; Andy Bro interview, February 3, 2017.
50. Exman to Heard, untitled autobiographical transcript, August 1942, Exman Archive.
51. Exman to Blanche [no surname given], October 25, 1946; and Exman to Bro, November 22, 1946, both in Exman Archive.
52. Exman to Alfred [no surname given], November 12, 1945, Exman Archive.
53. Bro to Exman, October 9, 1947, Exman Archive.
54. Bro to Exman, February 4, 1948, Exman Archive.
55. Bro to Exman, October 28, 1949, Exman Archive.
56. Exman, untitled scrap paper with Bro annotations, Exman Archive. These notes are undated, but they refer to Exman's upcoming twentieth Harper anniversary on April 1, 1947, so the list is earlier.
57. Bro to Exman, March 15, 1954; Exman, untitled scrap paper, both in Exman Archive.
58. Bro to Exman, February 26, 1956, Exman Archive.
59. John Chambers to Exman, dated "Tuesday in K.C." and likely November 1946, Exman Archive. For Thurman's eulogy at the First Community Church of New York on August 20, 1955, see *John B. Chambers 1910–1955*, pamphlet, Exman Archive.
60. Bro to Exman, November 10, 1955, Exman Archive.
61. Christopher Isherwood, *Diaries: Volume One: 1939–1960*, ed. Katherine Bucknell (New York: HarperFlamingo, 1998), 164.
62. Wally Exman interviews, April 2, 2016, July 19, 2016, and November 7, 2018; and Bro to Exman, July 29, 1956, Exman Archive.
63. Bro to Exman, October 14, 1955; and Exman to Bro, November 13, 1947, both in Exman Archive.
64. Bro to Exman, February 10, 1947, Exman Archive.

Chapter 4: Catholic Activism, Anti-Catholicism, and *The Long Loneliness* of Dorothy Day

1. Harper books by Solomon Goldman included *A Rabbi Takes Stock* (1931), *The Jew and the Universe* (1936), and *Crisis and Decision* (1938). See also Gaius Glenn Atkins, *Life of Cardinal Newman* (1931); and Bede Frost, *Saint John of the Cross, 1542–1591* (1937).
2. Sholem Asch, *One Destiny: An Epistle to the Christians*, trans. Milton Hindus (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1945), 70–88.
3. John Cournos, *An Open Letter to Jews and Christians* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938), 29; Asch, *One Destiny*, 83. On the origins of the Judeo-Christian tradition, see Stephen Prothero, *American Jesus: How the Son of God Became a National Icon* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2003), 258–59.
4. See *Amen, Amen* (New York: Harper, 1942) by Exman's friend (and frequent correspondent) the Catholic layman Sam Constantino; and *Who Crucified Jesus?* (New York: Harper, 1942) by the Philadelphia-based Jewish historian Solomon Zeitlin, who argued that "neither the Pharisees nor the Sadducees, i.e. the Jewish people, were responsible for the crucifixion of Jesus" (*Harper Religious Books and Bibles Fall 1942*, HarperCollins Archive).
5. *Harper Religious Books Summer & Fall 1946*; *Harper Religious Books & Bibles Winter 1949–50*, both in HarperCollins Archive.
6. Reinhold Niebuhr, "Martin Buber: 1878–1965," *Christianity and Crisis* 25, no. 2 (1965): 146–47.
7. Louis Finkelstein, ed., *American Spiritual Autobiographies: Fifteen Self-Portraits* (New York: Harper, 1948), xi, viii, 14, 19. Exman also published Finkelstein's *The Jews: Their History, Culture, and Religion* (New York: Harper, 1949).
8. This mission statement appeared in many Harper religion catalogs from 1952 forward, but none before. See also Eugene Exman, *The House of Harper: One Hundred and Fifty Years of Publishing* (New York: Harper, 1967), 287–88. Many thanks to Tzofit Goldfarb at the HarperCollins Archive for tracking down dozens of Harper religion catalogs.

9. Eugene Exman, "Reading, Writing, and Religion," 86, 85, 87. In a letter to Exman, Bro praised a draft of this article as "a fine workmanlike job" yet inattentive to Exman's inner life. "Your article sounds as if the new interest in religion were philosophic," she wrote. "It is more than that. People want to participate. They are trying out God for themselves." She urged Exman to connect the dots between what he was observing in society and what he himself was experiencing. Bro to Exman, February 11, 1953, Exman Archive.
10. Exman, "Reading, Writing, and Religion," 89–90.
11. Exman, "Reading, Writing, and Religion," 88.
12. "Pendle Hill Mid-Winter Institute," list of attendees (Exman Archive) includes Exman, Day, and Fritz Eichenberg, an artist who first met Day at this conference and would go on to provide illustrations for the *Catholic Worker* and *The Long Loneliness*. Day, in a December 1978 diary entry referencing Pendle Hill, writes, "That was where I met Eugene Exman, then religious editor of Harper's Pub." Dorothy Day, *The Duty of Delight: The Diaries of Dorothy Day*, ed. Robert Ellsberg (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 2008), 596.
13. Daniel Berrigan, "The Long Loneliness of Dorothy Day," in Leroy S. Rouner, ed., *Loneliness* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), 163; David Allen, "'Down Here Near the End of Staten Island': Dorothy Day on the Beach and on the Page," Gotham Center for New York History blog, August 6, 2020, <https://www.gothamcenter.org/blog/down-here-near-the-end-of-staten-island-dorothy-day-on-the-beach-and-on-the-page>.
14. Berrigan, "The Long Loneliness of Dorothy Day," 161–62.
15. William Miller, *All Is Grace: The Spirituality of Dorothy Day* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1987), 3. In material Day gave him in 1975, Miller found a book-length "collection of retreat notes and spiritual reflections which she had entitled 'All Is Grace'" (2). According to Miller, "she fretted about this intended book for nearly forty years," but never published it (3). In an October, 15, 1964, letter to Day (Exman Archive), Exman referred to a book in progress by the same title. "I hope you will find time to do some work on the new book, All Is Grace," he wrote, noting that, although December 1 was the delivery date, what was most important was writing "a book that satisfies you." Day also refers to a book called *All Is Grace* in three letters published

in *All the Way to Heaven: The Selected Letters of Dorothy Day*, ed. Robert Ellsberg (New York: Image Books, 2020): to Emily Coleman, Tuesday in Holy Week, 1967, 431; to Judith Gregory, April 1967, 433; and to Della Spier, August 26, 1968, 447–448. Drafts of this unpublished book, which was also called *Spiritual Adventure*, are in the Dorothy Day Papers, Marquette University.

16. Exman, “Books and Authors I’ve Known,” 75. William Ruggles, manager of the Oxford University Press religious department, also calls Exman the “Dean of religious publishing” in a letter to Exman, May 19, 1953, Exman Archive.
17. Pope Francis, “Address of the Holy Father,” https://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2015/september/documents/papa-francesco_20150924_usa-us-congress.html; Dorothy Day FBI file, https://archive.org/details/DorothyDay/page/n423/mode/2up?_ga=2.206121491.108179348.1623421338-1218422392.1623421338.
18. Day, “From Union Square to Rome,” <https://www.catholicworker.org/dorothyday/articles/202.html>.
19. Alden Whitman, “Dorothy Day, Catholic Activist, 83, Dies,” *New York Times*, December 1, 1980, D12; Malcolm Cowley, *Exile’s Return: A Narrative of Ideas* (New York: Viking Press, 1934), 69.
20. Day, *The Long Loneliness* (New York: Harper, 1952), 85.
21. Day, *From Union Square to Rome* (Silver Spring, MD: Preservation of the Faith Press, 1938), 26–27; Day, *Long Loneliness*, 41.
22. John Loughery and Blythe Randolph, *Dorothy Day: Dissenting Voice of the American Century* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2021), 54; Robert M. Dowling, “‘Told in Context’: Dorothy Day’s Previously Unpublished Reminiscence of Eugene O’Neill,” *Eugene O’Neill Review* 38, nos. 1–2 (2017): 9, 8.
23. “‘Eleventh Virgin,’ by Dorothy Day,” *Oakland Tribune*, April 20, 1924, 74, <https://www.newspapers.com/clip/15168131/oakland-tribune/>; Day, *From Union Square to Rome*, 123.
24. Day, “On Pilgrimage,” *Catholic Worker*, October–November 1976, 4; Day, *Long Loneliness*, 141.
25. Day, *Long Loneliness*, 144.
26. Day, *Long Loneliness*, 140.

27. John Loughery, "The Best Books on Religion in an Age of Doubt," *Shepherd*, <https://shepherd.com/best-books/religion-in-an-age-of-doubt>.
28. William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1902), 464, 326, 466.
29. James, *Varieties*, 31, 29–30.
30. William James to Mrs. Henry Whitman, June 6, 1899, in *The Letters of William James, Volume II*, ed. Henry James (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1920), 90.
31. James, *Varieties*, 408, 346, 326. Teresa of Ávila, James continued, "wrote admirable descriptive psychology, possessed a will equal to any emergency, great talent for politics and business, a buoyant disposition, and a first-rate literary style" (346). She would lend Day her confirmation name, her daughter's middle name, and her lifelong devotion to the twentieth-century Saint Thérèse of Lisieux (often described as the second Theresa).
32. James, *Varieties*, 367–68.
33. Day, *Long Loneliness*, 111, 116, 139.
34. Day, *Long Loneliness*, 148.
35. Day, *Long Loneliness*, 144, 148.
36. Dorothy Day, "Pilgrimage to Mexico," *Commonweal*, December 25, 1958, <https://www.commonwealmagazine.org/pilgrimage-mexico>.
37. Dorothy Day, *Loaves and Fishes* (New York: Harper, 1963), 9.
38. *Catholic Worker*, May 1933, 1, 4, <https://merton.bellarmino.edu/files/original/daf15f7742b73d731d7106fb93e137ec1f259e47.pdf>.
39. Day, *Loaves and Fishes*, 22.
40. Day, *Loaves and Fishes*, 23.
41. Paul Elie, *The Life You Save May Be Your Own: An American Pilgrimage* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2004), 188.
42. Day diary, May 20, 1951, in her *The Duty of Delight*, 158; John Chambers to Day, February 15, 1951, Dorothy Day Papers, Marquette University.
43. John Chambers to Day, February 17, 1951, Dorothy Day Papers, Marquette University.

44. Day diary, February 1977 and November 1976 diary entries, in her *The Duty of Delight*, 571, 567.
45. Day, *Long Loneliness*, 11, 84.
46. Day, *Long Loneliness*, 51, 120.
47. Day, *Long Loneliness*, 285.
48. Paul Elie, "Why & How Day Wrote It," *Commonweal*, June 14, 2004, <https://www.commonwealmagazine.org/why-how-day-wrote-it>.
49. *Harper's Religious Books, Winter 1951–52*, HarperCollins Archive.
50. Advertisement, *New York Times*, January 20, 1952, BR21; *Kirkus Reviews*, January 1, 1952, <https://www.kirkusreviews.com/book-reviews/a/dorothy-day/the-long-loneliness>; "Dorothy Day's Diary," *Newsweek*, January 21, 1952, 85; Marjorie Snyder, *Washington Post*, February 10, 1952, B7; Edward Barry, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 10, 1952, 14; *New Yorker*, March 8, 1952, 124. A *New York Times* review hazarded little more than reprising key moments in Day's life. See R. L. Duffus, "Behind the Slogans She Saw the Dream in Men's Hearts," *New York Times*, January 20, 1952, BR12.
51. H. A. Reinhold, "The Long Loneliness of Dorothy Day," *Commonweal*, February 29, 1951, 521–22. A second *Commonweal* review was similarly tepid. See John C. Cort, "The Catholic Worker and the Workers," *Commonweal*, April 4, 1952, 636–37.
52. Day diary, July 1, 1952, in her *The Duty of Delight*, 172.
53. Dwight Macdonald, "The Foolish Things of the World—I," *New Yorker* (October 4, 1952), 37; Dwight Macdonald, "The Foolish Things of the World—II," *New Yorker* (October 44, 1952), 39.
54. Tom Sullivan, "Chrystie Street," *Catholic Worker*, November 1952, 2.
55. Natasha Walter, "Sweetness and Blight," *Guardian*, January 3, 2004, <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2004/jan/03/biography>; Macdonald, "The Foolish Things of the World—II," 56. Day's hope was to write about the life of Saint Thérèse of Lisieux "from the mother and woman's standpoint" (Day diary, March 15, 1951, in her *The Duty of Delight*, 155).
56. Bro to Mrs. Charles W. Boardman, February 7, 1950, Exman Archive. Aware that she might be overstepping by asking a biographer to rewrite

her subject's prayers, Bro added, "I would not want you to modify your own convictions or even your own taste the least little bit, but often there are two ways of saying the same thing and if one makes a basic truth more palatable, we had just as well use it."

57. Bro to Exman, February 26, 1954, and March 3, 1954, both in Exman Archive. Boardman's biographies were *Such Love Is Seldom: A Biography of Mother Mary Walsh* (New York: Harper, 1950); and *Good Shepherd's Fold: A Biography of St. Mary Euphrasia Pelletier, R.G.S.* (New York: Harper, 1955).
58. Exman to Day, April 19, 1956, Dorothy Day Papers, Marquette University. Day was more compliant when it came to writing for a general audience. In a letter to Saint Thérèse's older sister seeking copies of family letters, she wrote, "I am anxious to bring her story of the little way to the non-Catholic readers of our country" (Day to Sister Genevieve of St. Theresa, April 16, 1956, in *All the Way to Heaven*, 307).
59. Jim Shaw to Exman, June 11, 1956, Dorothy Day Papers, Marquette University.
60. Bro to Exman, July 2, 1956, Exman Archive.
61. Bro to Exman, July 2, 1956, Exman Archive.
62. Exman to Day, October 29, 1958, Dorothy Day Papers, Marquette University; Day diary, December 23, 1958, in her *The Duty of Delight*, 240; Day to Donald Powell, April 9, 1959, in her *All the Way to Heaven*, 327.
63. Dorothy Day calls this book *The Last Eleven Years* in "On Pilgrimage," *Catholic Worker*, June 1960, 2, 7, <https://www.catholicworker.org/dorothyday/articles/765.html>. In her diary for May 18, 1960, she refers to a contract offered by Harper for a book about the "last eleven years" (*The Duty of Delight*, 297).
64. The Merton quote is from the back cover of *Loaves and Fishes*. The Thomas quote appeared in a Harper ad in the *New York Times*, October 13, 1963, 389.
65. Day, *Loaves and Fishes*, 39, 50.
66. Day, *Loaves and Fishes*, 95, 105.
67. "Peter the 'Materialist,'" *Catholic Worker*, September 1945, 6; "What We Are Doing in Town and Country," *Catholic Worker*, September 1936, 2.

68. "What We Are Doing in Town and Country," 2.
69. Day, *Loaves and Fishes*, 200, 137, 144, 149–150.
70. Day, *Loaves and Fishes*, 215.
71. Robert Orsi, "When $2 + 2 = 5$," *American Scholar*, Spring 2007, <https://theamericanscholar.org/when-2-2-5/>.
72. Day to Bill Gauchat, May 26, 1951, in her *All the Way to Heaven*, 254.
73. Day to Ammon Hennacy, January 1952, in her *All the Way to Heaven*, 259–60.
74. Day to Ammon Hennacy, January 1952, in her *All the Way to Heaven*, 259–60.
75. Day to Exman, December 27, 1962, in her *All the Way to Heaven*, 373–74; Exman to Day, December 28, 1962, Dorothy Day Papers, Marquette Archives.
76. Day, *Long Loneliness*, 11; Day to Ammon Hennacy, February 1952, in her *All the Way to Heaven*, 263.
77. Exman, "God's Own Man: Dr. Albert Schweitzer," *United Nations World*, December 1952, 34; Whitman, "Dorothy Day, Catholic Activist, 83, Dies"; David J. O'Brien, "The Pilgrimage of Dorothy Day," *Commonweal*, December 19, 1980, 711–15.
78. Exman to Day, February 28, 1952; Exman to Heard, July 31, 1952, both in Exman Archive.

Chapter 5: African Missions, Colonialism, and *The World of Albert Schweitzer*

1. Exman to family, September 17, 1950; Exman to Sunny, September 13, 1950, both in Exman Archive.
2. Exman Africa diary, Exman Archive.
3. "Reverence for Life," *TIME*, July 11, 1949, 68–74; "The Greatest Man in the World," *Life*, October 6, 1947, 95–98; Heard to Exman, June 29, 1949, Exman Archive. Exman's early Schweitzer books included George Seaver, *Albert Schweitzer: Christian Revolutionary* (1944); George Seaver, *Albert Schweitzer: The Man and His Mind* (1947); Charles R. Joy, ed., *Albert Schweitzer: An Anthology* (1947); and Charles R. Joy and Melvin Arnold, *The Africa of Albert Schweitzer* (1948).

4. Exman to Harper colleagues, October 6, 1950; Exman to family, October 8, 1950, both in Exman Archive.
5. Exman Africa diary, Exman Archive.
6. Exman Africa diary, Exman Archive.
7. Exman Africa diary, Exman Archive.
8. Exman Africa diary, Exman Archive.
9. Nils Ole Oermann, *Albert Schweitzer: A Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 6.
10. Paul Elie, *Reinventing Bach* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012), 13.
11. Joy, ed., *Albert Schweitzer: An Anthology*, 155, 246, 155.
12. Joy, ed., *Albert Schweitzer: An Anthology*, 157.
13. Albert Schweitzer, *Out of My Life and Thought*, trans. C. T. Campion (New York: Henry Holt, 1933), 126.
14. Schweitzer, *Out of My Life and Thought*, 139; Albert Schweitzer, *On the Edge of the Primeval Forest*, trans. C. T. Campion (London: A & C Black, 1922), 3.
15. Oermann, *Albert Schweitzer: A Biography*, 100.
16. Ara Paul Barsam, *Reverence for Life: Albert Schweitzer's Great Contribution to Ethical Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), ix.
17. Oermann, *Albert Schweitzer: A Biography*, 108.
18. Oermann, *Albert Schweitzer: A Biography*, 165, 169; Reinhold Niebuhr, "Can Schweitzer Save Us from Russell?" *Christian Century*, September 3, 1925, 1093; Reverend John A. O'Brien, "God's Eager Fool," *Reader's Digest*, March 1946, reprinted in *Reader's Digest Omnibus* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1952), 115–20; "The Greatest Man in the World," 95–98; "Reference for Life." Early Beacon books on Schweitzer include: Charles R. Joy, ed., *Albert Schweitzer: An Anthology* (1947); Albert Schweitzer, *Selected Works*, ed. Charles R. Joy (1947); Albert Schweitzer, *Goethe: Two Addresses*, ed. Charles R. Joy (1948); Albert Schweitzer, *The Psychiatric Study of Jesus: Exposition and Criticism*, trans. Charles R. Joy (1948); Albert Schweitzer, *Goethe: Four Studies*, trans. Charles

R. Joy (1949); and Charles R. Joy, ed., *The Wit and Wisdom of Albert Schweitzer* (1949). Exman and Arnold also copublished a book coauthored by Joy and Arnold called *The Africa of Albert Schweitzer* (1948).

19. Oermann, *Albert Schweitzer: A Biography*, 169.
20. Exman to Sunny, October 27, 1950; Exman to John Chambers, October 22, 1950, both in Exman Archive.
21. Exman, "The Most Unforgettable Character I've Met," Exman Archive.
22. Exman, "The Most Unforgettable Character I've Met," Exman Archive.
23. Exman, "The Most Unforgettable Character I've Met," Exman Archive.
24. Exman, "The Most Unforgettable Character I've Met," Exman Archive.
25. Exman to Sunny, October 31, 1950, Exman Archive.
26. Exman to Emma Haussknecht, February 1, 1951; Exman, "A Visit with Albert Schweitzer," *Presbyterian Life*, November 24, 1951, 14 ff.; Exman, "God's Own Man: Dr. Albert Schweitzer," *United Nations World*, December 1952, 30–34; Exman to Charles W. Ferguson, June 19, 1957, Exman Archive. Suggesting that there might be "a lesson here for all executives," Exman told Ferguson that Schweitzer reminded him in some respects of John D. Rockefeller Jr., who also had "great competence for handling and mastering detail."
27. William D. Patterson to Exman, April 2, 1953, Exman Archive.
28. Charles Poore, "Books of the Times," *New York Times*, January 15, 1955, 11; Dorothy Green, "Four Great Men Make Up Schweitzer," *Washington Post*, January 30, 1955, E6; "Best Seller List," *New York Times*, February 6, 1955, BR8; "Best Seller List," *New York Times*, February 27, 1955, BR8. Over these four weeks, the book was number 15, 13, 10, and then 9 on the "general" (nonfiction) list.
29. Exman to Schweitzer, undated, Exman Archive. Exman narrates disputes over *The World of Albert Schweitzer* royalties in an untitled, seven-page handwritten memo in the Exman Archive. Barbara Morgan, whose contributions to the book Exman vigorously defended to both Anderson and Schweitzer, offers her own telling in "The Making of a Great Book—"The World of Albert Schweitzer,"" *Publishers' Weekly*, January 1, 1955 (Exman Archive).

30. John Russell, "Schweitzer Centennial Today: A Legacy Eclipsed?" *New York Times*, January 14, 1975, 41; John Gunther, "The Doctor Darkly: Verdict on Schweitzer," *New York Times*, July 26, 1964, BR3.
31. Exman, unpublished draft of *Reader's Digest* feature on Schweitzer, Exman Archive.
32. Exman, transcript of talk at Riverside Guild, January 15, 1950, Exman Archive.
33. "Reverence for Life"; Russell, "Schweitzer Centennial Today: A Legacy Eclipsed?" 41; Emory Ross, "Portrait: Albert Schweitzer," *American Scholar* 19, no. 1 (Winter 1949–50): 87; George Orwell, "As I Please," *Tribune*, October 20, 1944, <http://www.telelib.com/authors/O/OrwellGeorge/essay/tribune/AsIPlease19441020.html>.
34. Harvey Brett, "Repeat Performances Appraised," *New York Times*, July 10, 1949, BR20. "Of course," Brett added, "none of this is Dr. Schweitzer's doing." Which wasn't exactly true.
35. "Albert Schweitzer: An Anachronism," *TIME*, June 21, 1963, 35; Schweitzer to Dr. Robert Weiss, 1963, in Albert Schweitzer, *Albert Schweitzer: Letters: 1905–1965*, ed. Hans Walter Bähr, trans. Joachim Neugroschel (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 331.
36. *Christian Register* 126 (1947): 324; "Albert Schweitzer: An Anachronism," 35; David Goodin, *The New Rationalism: Albert Schweitzer's Philosophy of Reverence for Life* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2013), 8; Predrag Cicovacki, *The Restoration of Albert Schweitzer's Ethical Vision* (New York: Continuum, 2012), 117; Ross, "Portrait: Albert Schweitzer," 88.
37. James Carleton Paget, "Albert Schweitzer and Africa," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 42, no. 3 (2012): 293.
38. Albert Schweitzer, *Christianity and the Religions of the World* (New York: George H. Doran, 1923), 37–38.
39. Russell, "Schweitzer Centennial Today: A Legacy Eclipsed?" 41; Gerald McKnight, *Verdict on Schweitzer: The Man Behind the Legend of Lambaréné* (New York: John Day).
40. David L. Dungan, *Christian Century*, October 8, 1975, 874; Bro to Exman, November 1, 1950, Exman Archive.

41. Albert Schweitzer, *Memoirs of Childhood and Youth*, trans. C. T. Campion (New York: Macmillan, 1949), 45–46.
42. Schweitzer sermon quoted in Paget, “Albert Schweitzer and Africa,” 288; Schweitzer, *On the Edge of the Primeval Forest*, 172.
43. Howard Thurman, “The Inward Journey: Albert Schweitzer — Reverence for Life,” sermon, January 14, 1962, Boston University, <https://thurman.pitts.emory.edu/items/show/1081>; W. E. B. Du Bois, “The Blackman and Albert Schweitzer,” in A. A. Roback, ed., *The Albert Schweitzer Jubilee Book* (Cambridge, MA: Sci-Art Publishers, 1945), 119–27, reprinted in W. E. B. Du Bois, *Writings by W. E. B. Du Bois in Periodicals Edited by Others*, ed. Herbert Aptheker (New York: Kraus-Thomson, 1982), 295, 255–56. The estimate that Schweitzer treated roughly 130,000 patients is from George N. Marshall and David Poling, *Schweitzer: A Biography* (New York: Doubleday, 1971), 330.
44. Schweitzer to W. E. B. Du Bois, December 5, 1945, <https://credo.library.umass.edu/view/pageturn/mums312-b108-i160/#page/1/mode/1up>.
45. W. E. B. Du Bois to Albert Schweitzer, July 31, 1946, <https://credo.library.umass.edu/view/pageturn/mums312-b112-i071/#page/1/mode/1up>. Two decades later, after dozens of African nations had achieved their independence, Du Bois advanced similar arguments in another Schweitzer commemorative volume. After acknowledging how important medical care is in fighting disease in Africa, he insisted that “what is needed more is free, intelligent manhood and the abolition of the exploitation so often carried on by the very persons who contribute to the hospitals.” W. E. B. Du Bois, “Whites in Africa after Negro Autonomy,” in A. A. Roback, ed., *In Albert Schweitzer’s Realms: a Symposium* (Cambridge, MA: Sci-Art Publications, 1962), 256.
46. Ali A. Mazrui, “Dr. Schweitzer’s Racism,” in *Transition* 53 (1991): 101, 97; Schweitzer, *On the Edge of the Primeval Forest*, 130–131. Mazrui distinguishes between three types of racism: “malignant racism,” “benign racism,” and “benevolent racism.” Others have referred to Schweitzer’s “unconscious racism.” See David L. Dungan, “Reconsidering Albert Schweitzer,” *Christian Century*, October 8, 1975, 875.

47. Exman to Edward Groth, March 9, 1942, Exman Archive.
48. John F. Kennedy, "Response to Albert Schweitzer," June 6, 1962, https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/John_F._Kennedy_response_to_Albert_Schweitzer.
49. Gunther, "The Doctor Darkly: Verdict on Schweitzer," BR3; Paget, "Albert Schweitzer and Africa," 278.
50. Russell, "Schweitzer Centennial Today: A Legacy Eclipsed?" 35, 41.
51. "Rachel Carson Speaks on Reverence for Life, "Animal Welfare Institute, *Information Report* 12, no. 1 (January–February, 1963): 223, <http://linyifaguangzi.com/sites/default/files/uploads/documents/AWI-1963-IR.pdf>.
52. Barsam, *Reverence for Life*, x, 4, 60; Schweitzer's Lambaréné hospital, Barsam writes, was "a model of ecological responsibility" that refused to trample on nearby flora and fauna and "reused every piece of wood, string, and glass." Ara Paul Barsam, "Schweitzer, Albert," in *The Encyclopedia of Religion and Nature* (2010), in Oxford Reference Online, <https://www-oxfordreference-com.ezproxy.bu.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780199754670.001.0001/acref-9780199754670-div1-1570>.
53. Schweitzer to Exman, undated English translation, Exman Archive.
54. Schweitzer, *Out of My Life and Thought*, 186–87.
55. Exman, typed draft of article later published as "A Visit with Albert Schweitzer," Exman Archive.
56. Exman, unpublished, twenty-eight page typescript of article on Schweitzer, Exman Archive.
57. William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1902), 377.

Chapter 6: White Liberals and Martin Luther King Jr.'s *Stride Toward Freedom*

1. Exman to Coretta Scott King, April 11, 1968, Exman Archive. Exman is conflating two different visits to Montgomery. On the date he gives for this first visit, February 4, 1958, he did in fact visit the Kings. That is confirmed in Exman's personal datebook and the Exman family calendar, which describe Exman taking the "night train to Montgomery" (February 3) and "with Martin Luther King till after lunch which was

served by Coretta King. MLK in bed, recovering from flu” (February 4). However, this was actually Exman’s *second* trip to Montgomery to see King, who had already signed a book contract with Harper. The first visit came months earlier.

2. Martin Luther King Jr., “Montgomery Bus Boycott” speech, December 5, 1955, https://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtid=3&psid=3625.
3. M. S. Wyeth Jr. to King, January 23, 1957; King to M. S. Wyeth Jr., January 30, 1957, both in the Martin Luther King Jr. Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University, Boston, MA.
4. Mel Arnold to King, February 5, 1957; King to Mel Arnold, February 28, 1957. See also Henry Robbins (Knopf) to King, February 20, 1957. All are in King Collection, Boston University.
5. Ned Bradford (Little, Brown) to King, April 2, 1957; Arthur E. Burgess Jr. (Houghton Mifflin) to King, April 3, 1957; John Peck (FSC) to King, June 27, 1957, all in King Collection, Boston University. See also Clement Alexandre (Doubleday) to King, June 1, 1956; King to Clement Alexandre, June 18, 1956, also in King Collection, Boston University.
6. Exman to Bro, February 27, 1958, Exman Archive. This letter is a response to a letter Bro sent to Exman a few days earlier, asking, “What happened when you got to Luther King? Was his writer adequate? Is there a date line on his book?” She then suggested her sister Harriet Harmon Dexter as a ghostwriter who could “whip out the King” book. Bro to Exman, February 22, 1958, Exman Archive.
7. Exman to Bro, February 2, 1958, Exman Archive.
8. Exman to King, February 6, 1958, King Collection, Boston University.
9. Exman to Bro, February 27, 1958, Exman Archive; Marie Rodell to King, February 26, 1958, King Collection, Boston University; Exman to King, February 26, 1958, King Collection, Boston University.
10. Hermine Popper to King, March 21, 1958, King Collection, Boston University.
11. Mark Kauffmann, “Great Preachers: These 12—and Others—Bring Americans Back to the Churches,” *Life*, April 6, 1953, 126–33; Lerone

- Bennett Jr., "Howard Thurman: Twentieth Century Holy Man," *Ebony* 33, no. 4 (February 1978): 68–85.
12. Howard Thurman, *With Head and Heart: The Autobiography of Howard Thurman* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979), 218.
 13. Thurman, *With Head and Heart*, 136; Thurman, *Footprints of a Dream: The Story of the Church for the Fellowship of All Peoples* (New York: Harper, 1959), 24.
 14. *Harper Religious Books & Bibles Winter 1947–48*, HarperCollins Archive; Thurman, "Judgment and Hope in the Christian Message," in William Stuart Nelson, ed., *The Christian Way in Race Relations* (New York: Harper, 1948), 229.
 15. Peter Eisenstadt, *Against the Hounds of Hell: A Life of Howard Thurman* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2021), 280.
 16. Gary Dorrien, *Breaking White Supremacy: Martin Luther King Jr. and the Black Social Gospel* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2018), 162.
 17. Thurman, "Windbreak . . . Against Existence," *Bostonia* (Fall 1960), in *The Papers of Howard Washington Thurman, Volume 4*, ed. Walter E. Fluker (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2017), 282.
 18. Thurman, *Deep Is the Hunger: Meditations for Apostles of Sensitiveness* (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1973), 144; Eisenstadt, *Against the Hounds of Hell*, 386; Thurman, *Jesus and the Disinherited* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1949), 7.
 19. Thurman, *With Head and Heart*, 134–35; Mahadev Desi, "Two Negro Visitors," *Harijan*, March 14, 1936, reprinted in Mahatma Gandhi, *The Gandhi Reader: A Sourcebook of His Life and Writings*, ed. Homer A. Jack (New York: Grove Press, 1994), 316.
 20. Peter Dana, "Dr. Thurman Speaks on Indian Question," *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 29, 1942, 3, <https://theconversation.com/how-howard-thurman-met-gandhi-and-brought-nonviolence-to-the-civil-rights-movement-110148>; Dorrien, *Breaking White Supremacy*, 162; *Backs Against the Wall: The Howard Thurman Story*, PBS, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wVl_irB59lM.
 21. "Chapter 7: Montgomery Movement Begins," Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu>

/king-papers/publications/autobiography-martin-luther-king-jr
-contents/chapter-7-montgomery-movement.

22. Thurman to King, July 18, 1958, and November 9, 1958, both in King Collection, Boston University.
23. Martin Luther King Jr., *Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story* (New York: Harper, 1958), 134.
24. King, *Stride Toward Freedom*, 134–35.
25. Thurman, *Footprints of a Dream*, 28.
26. King, *Stride Toward Freedom*, 220.
27. Bro to Exman, January 14, 1958, January 9, 1958, and February 22, 1958, all in Exman Archive.
28. Bro to Exman, January 9, 1958, Exman Archive.
29. Bro to Exman, January 14, 1958, Exman Archive.
30. Exman to Bro, March 3, 1958, Exman Archive.
31. Bro to Exman, March 7, 1958, and March 21, 1958, both in Exman Archive.
32. Exman to Bro, March 27, 1958, Exman Archive.
33. Bro memo to Exman and Mel Arnold, April 4, 1958, Exman Archive.
34. Bro memo to Exman and Mel Arnold, April 4, 1958, Exman Archive.
35. Bro to Exman, April 6, 1958, Exman Archive.
36. Bro to Exman, April 6, 1958, Exman Archive.
37. Exman, handwritten draft of unsent letter to Bro, April 1958, Exman Archive.
38. Exman to Bro, April 24, 1958, Exman Archive.
39. Bro to Exman, October 14, 1958, Exman Archive.
40. *Amsterdam News*, September 27, 1958, King Collection, Boston University.
41. Exman to Bro, September 19, 1958, Exman Archive.
42. Thurman, *With Head and Heart*, 255; King to Thurman, November 8, 1958, King Collection, Boston University. Exman may have tried to see King at the hospital on the night of the stabbing. An entry for

that day in his 1958 calendar in the Exman Archive reads: “Eve with Dr. King at Harlem Hosp.” But this is crossed out in pencil. In an October 1, 1958, letter to Bro (Exman Archive), Exman wrote: “I saw Howard Thurman on Monday. He came from Boston to see Martin King and we went to the hospital together.”

43. “Stride Toward Freedom by Martin Luther King Jr.,” *Catholic Worker* 25, no. 4 (November 1, 1958): 4, <https://thecatholicnewsarchive.org/?a=d&d=CW19581101-01.2.10&srpos=7&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN-%22stride+toward+freedom%22----->; Perry Miller, “The Mind and Faith of Martin Luther King,” *The Reporter*, October 30, 1958, 40.
44. E. Earle Ellis, “Segregation and Dr. King,” *Christianity Today*, January 19, 1959, 34–35; Kinchen Exum, “Rev. Martin Luther King Has Startling Opinion of Negroes,” *Chattanooga News-Free Press*, October 8, 1958, both in King Collection, Boston University.
45. George H. Dunne, “The Meaning of Racism,” *Commonweal*, February 6, 1959, 494; Harold R. Isaacs, “Civil Disobedience in Montgomery,” *New Republic*, October 6, 1958, 19.
46. Ralph C. Abele, “America’s Champion of Non-Violence,” *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, November 30, 1958; Marvel Cooke, “Montgomery Story,” *Mainstream*, December 1958, 31; H. E. Fey, “Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story, by Martin Luther King, Jr.,” *Christian Century*, September 24, 1958, 1071.
47. Lillian Smith, “And Suddenly Something Happened,” *Saturday Review*, September 20, 1958, 21. King later wrote to Smith, “Of all the reviews that I have read on *Stride Toward Freedom*, I still consider yours the best.” King to Lillian Smith, January 23, 1959, quoted in “Smith, Lillian Eugenia,” King Institute, Stanford University, <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/smith-lillian-eugenia>.
48. Harry Emerson Fosdick, *The Hope of the World: Twenty-Five Sermons on Christianity Today* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1933), vii; King, *Strength to Love* (New York: Harper, 1963), ix–x. King requested Fosdick’s book of sermons in a June 2, 1958, letter to Mel Arnold, King Collection, Boston University.
49. Thurman, *A Strange Freedom: The Best of Howard Thurman on Religious Experience and Public Life* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998), 186.

50. James Baldwin, "The Dangerous Road Before Martin Luther King," *Harper's Magazine*, February 1961, 33–42. On unfavorability polling from 1968, see Ibram X. Kendi, "The Second Assassination of Martin Luther King Jr.," *The Atlantic*, October 14, 2021, <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2021/10/martin-luther-king-critical-race-theory/620367/>.
51. James H. Cone, *Martin & Malcolm & America: A Dream or a Nightmare* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1991), 123.
52. King, book inscription to Harry Emerson Fosdick, November 17, 1958, King Institute, Stanford University, <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/documents/harry-emerson-fosdick>.
53. Michael Korda, "Prompting the President," *New Yorker*, October 6, 1997, 88.
54. Bayard Rustin to Stanley Levison in FBI-transcribed phone conversation, quoted in David J. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York: William Morrow, 1986), 649.
55. Harriett Harmon Dexter, *What's Right with Race Relations* (New York: Harper, 1958), 11; *Presbyterian Life* 12, no. 3 (February 1, 1959): 46. A *Christianity Today* reviewer was similarly troubled by the naïveté of *What's Right with Race Relations*: "Mrs. Dexter's book speaks the language of a sizeable segment of our intellectual world which is convinced that it is best to emphasize the positive and to assume that things are not so bad in the long run; that our culture is endowed with an immanent predilection for better ways and in spite of occasional distractions and disturbances, e.g. our current racial stresses, the general progress is good basis for optimism." Tunis Romaine, "Books in Review: In Search of Proper Balance," *Christianity Today*, November 9, 1959, 38.
56. Bro to Thurman, February 6, 1958, in Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University; *Footprints of a Dream* order form, Thurman Collection, Boston University; "Notes on Conference at Harper," March 26, 1958, King Collection, Boston University. Similar efforts to deradicalize King persisted in the editing of his later Harper books. While working on *Stride Toward Freedom*, Mel Arnold had cut or softened King's critiques of colonialism and capitalism, supposedly to insulate his author from allegations of anti-communism by "enemies

of freedom and of liberalism” (Mel Arnold to King, May 5, 1958, King Institute, Stanford University, <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/documents/melvin-arnold>). When it came to *Strength to Love*, he and other Harper staff again chipped away at the sharp edges of King’s thought, even when it came to antinuke and antiwar sentiments Exman would have wholeheartedly endorsed. In one telling edit to King’s sermon on “Love in Action,” editors disposed of criticisms of the stupidity of supposedly good White moderates who just happen to believe in segregation. “There is plenty of information available if we consider it as serious a moral obligation to be intelligent as to be sincere,” King wrote in these excised lines. “One day we will learn that the heart can never be totally right if the head is totally wrong.” “Strength to Love” manuscript drafts, King Collection, Boston University. Thanks here to the historian Paul Harvey, who graciously provided me with six pages of his notes on King’s book manuscripts in the King Collection, Boston University. See also Paul Harvey email to the author, March 10, 2022.

57. Exman, “Dreams” folder, March 24, 1965, Exman Archive.
58. Thurman letter, phoned in to deliver to Exman, handwritten by Harper secretary, undated but definitely 1965, in Thurman Collection, Boston University.
59. Bro to Exman, undated but likely November 1943, Exman Archive.
60. Exman, Africa diary, October 12–13, 1950, Exman Archive.
61. John Fischer memo to Exman, October 27, 1958; and Exman to King, October 29, 1958, both in King Archive, Boston University.
62. King, *Stride Toward Freedom*, 224.

Chapter 7: Bill Wilson, LSD, and the Book That Changed Everything

1. “Alumnus Pushes Temperance Plan,” *The Denisonian*, October 3, 1933, 2; “Frank Amos, a Co-Founder of Alcoholics Anonymous,” *New York Times*, July 20, 1965, 33.
2. *Alcoholics Anonymous*, 4th ed., “Foreword to the Second Edition,” xvii, https://www.aa.org/assets/en_US/en_bigbook_forewordsecondedition.pdf.
3. The Layman with a Notebook, *What Is the Oxford Group?* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), 6, https://web.archive.org/web/20071015070506/http://www.stepstudy.org/downloads/what_is.pdf.

4. *Alcoholics Anonymous Comes of Age: A Brief History of A.A.* (New York: Alcoholics Anonymous World Services, 1957), 39; Robert Thomsen, *Bill W.* (New York: Harper, 1975), 188; Emmet Fox, *Power Through Constructive Thinking* (New York: Harper, 1940), 43.
5. William H. Schaberg, *Writing the Big Book: The Creation of A.A.* (Las Vegas: Central Recovery Press, 2019), 14–15, 58–59.
6. Schaberg, *Writing the Big Book*, 18.
7. Ruth Hock to Bill Wilson, November 10, 1955, http://www.preston-group.org/aa_docs/Ruth_Hock_Recollections.pdf; *Alcoholics Anonymous Comes of Age*, 17. In *Writing the Big Book*, Schaberg calls Parkhurst “the forgotten man of early A.A. history,” likely because he fell off the wagon (34). He also describes Parkhurst as “something of a Deist” (202).
8. *Alcoholics Anonymous Comes of Age*, 63.
9. *Alcoholics Anonymous*, 14.
10. *Alcoholics Anonymous Comes of Age*, 153. In narrating the story of Exman’s role in the making of the Big Book, I draw largely on *Alcoholics Anonymous Comes of Age*. Because it was published by Exman, he likely agreed with, or at least signed off on, its details.
11. As the first chapters written for the Big Book, these two went through multiple versions. According to Schaberg, the version that Exman likely saw was written between May and June of 1938. That version appears in Appendix 3 of Schaberg, *Writing the Big Book*, 615–36.
12. Schaberg, *Writing the Big Book*, 617, 618, 624.
13. Schaberg, *Writing the Big Book*, 164, 624.
14. Schaberg, *Writing the Big Book*, 624. “Vital religious experiences” appears to be Wilson’s paraphrase of Jung’s understanding of what is needed to treat alcoholism. In a much later letter to Wilson, Jung refers to the “highest religious experience” as an antidote to the “poison” of alcohol. Carl Jung to Bill Wilson, January 30, 1961, reproduced in “The Jung-Wilson Correspondence,” <http://recoverytable.blogspot.com/2011/05/jung-wilson-correspondence.html>.
15. Schaberg, *Writing the Big Book*, 616, 619.
16. Schaberg, *Writing the Big Book*, 627. For an analysis of how Wilson rewrote this Winchester Cathedral story over time, see Schaberg,

Writing the Big Book, 507–8. Ann Taves carefully compares competing accounts of this story in *Revelatory Events: Three Case Studies of the Emergence of New Spiritual Paths* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 324–27.

17. Schaberg, *Writing the Big Book*, 633–35.
18. According to Exman's son-in-law, Walter Kaess, "The Exmans were taken by total surprise being invited after church on Sunday for Cape Codders" (a cranberry juice and vodka cocktail), but within a few years of their arrival on Cape Cod, "Eugene was drinking Harvey's Bristol Crème Sherry, and Sunny a glass of whiskey at cocktail hours." Email from Walter Kaess to the author, August 19, 2021.
19. Exman, "Deans in My Life," Exman Archive.
20. *Alcoholics Anonymous Comes of Age*, 154; Schaberg, *Writing the Big Book*, 292.
21. *Alcoholics Anonymous Comes of Age*, 155; Exman, "Deans in My Life," Exman Archive. As Exman was going through his papers, he wrote in a January 11, 1957, letter from Wilson (Exman Archive): "I told Bill that he should publish privately if he wanted to use the book to forward his movement."
22. Exman, "Deans in My Life," Exman Archive.
23. *Alcoholics Anonymous*, 217. Florence Rankin was the author of "A Feminine Victory," and Marie Bray wrote "An Alcoholic's Wife."
24. Schaberg, *Writing the Big Book*, 152.
25. *Alcoholics Anonymous*, 71, 71–72, 464. Wilson reported first hearing the phrase "God as I understand/understood Him" from Ebby Thacher, whose pluralism extended to "spiritual principles and rules of practice . . . common to all of the worthwhile religions and philosophies of mankind." Schaberg, *Writing the Big Book*, 122.
26. Ruth Hock to Bill Wilson, November 10, 1955, <https://aainthedesert.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/RUTH-HOCK-LETTER-TO-BILL-WILSON-1955.pdf>.
27. Schaberg, *Writing the Big Book*, 584. Schaberg makes a case for April 10, 1939, as the real "Founding Day" for AA—"The day on which the movement known as Alcoholics Anonymous *truly* came into being" (585).

28. This statement of perennialism, attributed by Bill Wilson to his friend Ebby Thacher, comes from Bill Wilson, "Original Story," <https://www.aamo.info/bb/billstory/index.htm>. See also Schaberg, *Writing the Big Book*, 122.
29. Percy Hutchison, "Alcoholic Experience," *New York Times*, June 25, 1939, BR10.
30. W. D. Silkworth, "A New Approach to Psychotherapy in Chronic Alcoholism," *Journal-Lancet* 59, no. 7 (July 1939): 312–14, <https://silkworth.net/alcoholics-anonymous/journal-lancet-vol-46-july-1939/>; "Book Review, *Alcoholics Anonymous*," *New England Journal of Medicine* 22, no. 115 (October 12, 1939), <https://silkworth.net/alcoholics-anonymous/new-england-journal-of-medicine-vol-22115-october-12-1939/>.
31. "Book Review," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* 42, no. 3 (September 1940), <https://silkworth.net/alcoholics-anonymous/journal-of-nervous-and-mental-disease-vol-423-september-1940/>; "Book Review," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 113, no. 16 (October 14, 1939), <https://silkworth.net/alcoholics-anonymous/journal-of-the-american-medical-association-vol-11316-october-14-1939/>.
32. Harry Emerson Fosdick to A. LeRoy Chipman, March 9, 1939, quoted in Schaberg, *Writing the Big Book*, 549; Harry Emerson Fosdick book review, in *Alcoholics Anonymous Comes of Age*, 322–23.
33. Jack Alexander, "Alcoholics Anonymous," *Saturday Evening Post*, March 1, 1941, 9–11, 89–92.
34. Francis Hartigan, *Bill W.: A Biography of Alcoholics Anonymous Co-founder Bill Wilson* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 163, 185.
35. Huxley quoted in Susan Cheever, *My Name is Bill: Bill Wilson—His Life and the Creation of Alcoholics Anonymous* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004), 175; Miriam King, "Life at Trabuco," <https://www.geraldheard.com/writings-and-recollections/2017/8/2/life-at-trabuco>.
36. Bill Wilson to Mel B., July 2, 1956, reprinted in Glenn F. Chesnut, *Father Ed Dowling: Bill Wilson's Sponsor* (New York: iUniverse, 2015), 387.
37. "Twelve Suggested Points of AA Traditions," *AA Grapevine*, April 1946, <https://rbee44.com/misc-literature/page-1/12-suggested-points-of-aa-traditions>.

38. *Alcoholics Anonymous Comes of Age*, 221.
39. Schaberg, *Writing the Big Book*, 604.
40. *Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions* (New York: Alcoholics Anonymous World Services, 1953), 27, 41.
41. *Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions*, 140, 141, 147.
42. *Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions*, 51, 118, 133.
43. Edward Dowling, “Catholic Asceticism and the Twelve Steps” (1953), <https://silkworth.net/alcoholics-anonymous/01-038-catholic-asceticism-and-the-twelve-steps-by-reverend-edward-dowling-s-j-n-c-c-a-blue-book-an-anthology-brooklyn-1953/>; Ernest Kurtz, *Not God: A History of Alcoholics Anonymous* (Center City, MN: Hazelden, 1991), 124. *Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions* sold well through AA networks but not so well through Harper. In an exchange of letters in 1963, Exman told Wilson that *Twelve and Twelve* was going out of print at Harper because it was selling 250 copies a year at best, while, according to Wilson, AA World Services was selling 7,000 annually. See Exman to Bill Wilson, September 10, 1963; Bill Wilson to Exman, September 17, 1963, both in Exman Archive.
44. *Alcoholics Anonymous Comes of Age*, 110, 167.
45. *Alcoholics Anonymous Comes of Age*, 63, 153, 162. James also figured in Wilson’s characterization of AA as a remedy for what James referred to as the “sick soul” type. “Truly transforming spiritual experiences are nearly always founded on calamity and collapse,” Wilson wrote in a paraphrase of James (13). “Deflation at great depth is the foundation of most spiritual experiences” (68).
46. *Alcoholics Anonymous Comes of Age*, 40–41.
47. On Exman’s influence on AA, here is what AA’s first archivist, Nell Wing, wrote to Exman just weeks before his death in 1975: “Your particular contributions were crucial to the development and growth of the A.A. movement in its infancy. Of course, I’m thinking of your enthusiastic help and advice to Bill as a textbook for the movement was being contemplated back in 1938.” Nell Wing to Exman, September 3, 1975, Exman Archive.
48. *Pass It On: The Story of Bill Wilson and How the A.A. Message Reached the World* (New York: Alcoholics Anonymous World

Services, 1984), 278; Bill Wilson to Ed Dowling, July 17, 1952, quoted in Chesnut, *Father Ed Dowling*, 339.

49. Bill Wilson to Sam Shoemaker, June 1958, quoted in *Pass It On*, 374.
50. James, *Varieties*, 387; Aldous Huxley, “A Treatise on Drugs,” in *Moksha: Writings on Psychedelics and the Visionary Experience (1931–1963)*, eds. Michael Horowitz and Cynthia Palmer (New York: Stonehill, 1977), 3–5.
51. Heard to Exman, January 3, 1955, Exman Archive. Some medical researchers criticized *Doors of Perception*—one reduced its recipe to “99 percent Aldous Huxley and only one half gram mescaline” (Louis Cholden, ed., *Lysergic Acid Diethylamide and Mescaline in Experimental Psychiatry* [New York: Grune & Stratton, 1956], 67)—but it became a countercultural hit that gave the rock band the Doors their name and inspired a generation of Huxley’s creative misinterpreters to “turn on, tune in, drop out,” as Leary famously put it.
52. Heard to Exman, January 3, 1955, Exman Archive.
53. Bro to Exman, December 1956, Exman Archive. See also an anonymous reader’s report, “Journey into Consciousness by Heard and Cohen,” Exman Archive.
54. Heard to Ernest Hocking, July 1, 1947, Heard Papers, Department of Special Collections, University Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles, quoted in Steven J. Novak, “LSD before Leary: Sidney Cohen’s Critique of 1950s Psychedelic Drug Research,” *Isis* 88, no. 1 (March 1997): 93.
55. Dieter Hagenbach and Lucius Werthmuller, *Mystic Chemist: The Life of Albert Hofmann and His Discovery of LSD* (Santa Fe, NM: Synergetic Press, 2013).
56. Heard to Ernest Hocking, July 1, 1947, Heard Papers, Department of Special Collections, University Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles, quoted in Steven J. Novak, “LSD before Leary: Sidney Cohen’s Critique of 1950s Psychedelic Drug Research,” *Isis* 88, no. 1 (March 1997): 93.
57. Don Lattin, *Distilled Spirits: Getting High, Then Sober, with a Famous Writer, a Forgotten Philosopher, and a Hopeless Drunk* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 205; “Mysticism in the Lab,” *TIME*, September 23, 1966, 62, quoted in Stephen Siff, “Henry Luce’s

Strange Trip: Coverage of LSD in Time and Life, 1954–68,” *Journalism History* 34, no. 3 (Fall 2008): 126. This intriguing chapter in American psychedelic history is the subject of *Flying Over Sunset*, a 2021 Broadway musical featuring an imaginary encounter between Huxley, Clare Boothe Luce, and Cary Grant.

58. Heard, “Bill W.’s Experiences Under L.S.D.,” August 29, 1956, Basic Group LSD Experiments, Harvard University. My thanks to Maxwell Pingeon for tracking down these documents.
59. Bill Wilson to Heard, September 1956, quoted in Chesnut, *Father Ed Dowling*, 700; Don Lattin, *The Harvard Psychedelic Club: How Timothy Leary, Ram Dass, Huston Smith, and Andrew Weil Killed the Fifties and Ushered in a New Age for America* (New York: HarperOne, 2010), 67; Bill Wilson to Heard, December 4, 1956, quoted in Lattin, *Distilled Spirits*, 205. In a letter to the Trappist monk Thomas Merton, Huxley also reported that Wilson saw the spiritual effects of LSD as “identical” to the “spontaneous theophany, which changed his life as completely as St. Paul’s was changed on the road to Damascus.” Huxley to Thomas Merton, January 10, 1959, quoted in Ernest Kurtz, *The Collected Ernie Kurtz* (New York: Authors Choice Press, 1999), 39.
60. Bill Wilson to Sam Shoemaker, June 1958, quoted in *Pass It On*, 375; Bill Wilson to Ed Dowling, December 29, 1958; and Bill Wilson to Ed Dowling, October 26, 1959, both quoted in Lattin, *Distilled Spirits*, 207–8.
61. Heard to Exman, December 31, 1956, Exman Archive.
62. According to “The Basic Group and Early LSD Experimentation,” a summary of the Basic Group LSD Experiments archive at Harvard University, there were eight founding members of this group. Laidlaw and Yoder were the medical professionals. The remaining six were Powers, Exman, Lucille Kahn, Helen Wynn, Carlton Sherwood, and Ewing Reilley. Sherwood was an attorney active in Prohibition enforcement who had been on the team of Rockefeller associates attempting to raise money for AA. He also had religious and spiritual interests, serving on the boards of the New York Theological Seminary, Wainwright House, and the American Society for Psychical Research. Ewing Reilley, who previously funded the LSD research of Cohen and Eisner, may have been a partner at McKinsey and Company. Other participants not listed in the Harvard archive included Wilson,

DuBois, David Kahn, Garma Chen-Chi Chang, and a man named Paul Martin. A journalist and Navy veteran, Martin was sponsored in AA by Powers. Although the Basic Group had no formal leadership, Powers was likely the key organizer. Two important founding documents appear to be typed on the same typewriter that produced a letter to Lucille Kahn signed by Powers. Also, given that the Basic Group was an East Coast outgrowth of the Heard/Huxley/Wilson experiments on the West Coast, and given how close Powers was to Wilson, it would make sense that Powers was the organizational man behind it. The inclusion of Sherwood and Martin, both AAs, among the founding members, also seems to point to Powers.

63. L.K. [Lucille Kahn], "Subjective Report" of June 28, 1958 experience, Exman Archive.
64. For the account that follows of Exman's first trip, see: Exman, "Subjective Report" of July 5, 1958 experience; "Objective Report," headlined "LSD Experience 7/5/58 Subject: E.E."; and a reel-to-reel audio tape of this experience, all in Exman Archive.
65. Eugene Exman, "Individual and Group Experiences," in *Proceedings of Two Conferences on Parapsychology and Pharmacology* (New York: Parapsychology Foundation, 1961), 10.
66. Exman, "Individual and Group Experiences," 11.
67. Exman, "Individual and Group Experiences," 12.
68. Lucille Kahn to Exman family, March 11, 1976, Exman Archive.
69. Exman, "Dreams" folder, December 14, 1958; Exman to Bro, December 19, 1958, both in Exman Archive.
70. Tom Powers to Exman, February 7, 1960; and Exman to Tom Powers, February 11, 1960, both in Exman Archive.
71. Bill Wilson to Ed Dowling, November 23, 1959, quoted in Chesnut, *Father Ed Dowling*, 448. The other exception was likely the LSD experience on November 8, 1958, of the Buddhist scholar Garma Chen-Chi Chang, whose trip was so bad he wrote a letter to the group explaining his reaction and apologizing. "Holy hell, this is bad," Chang says on a reel-to-reel tape of his experience, which began with laughing and ended in tears. Other members of the group try to convince him to experience the "joy," but all he reports is discomfort. "Very bad experience, very bad experience indeed," he says. "I need

help. Will you help me?” See reel-to-reel tape of Dr. Garma Chen-Chi Chang LSD experiment, November 8, 1958, and Dr. Garma Chen-Chi Chang to Lucy Kahn and Dr. Robert Laidlaw, November 1958, both in Basic Group LSD Experiments archive, Harvard University. Thanks to Maxwell Pigeon for transcribing this reel-to-reel tape.

72. Bill Wilson to Ed Dowling, November 23, 1959, quoted in Chesnut, *Father Ed Dowling*, 448. Chesnut does not seem to know that “G.” here was Exman, whom Wilson referred to as Gene.
73. Eugene Exman, “Reading, Writing, and Religion,” *Harper’s Magazine*, May 1, 1953, 87.
74. Exman, “Individual and Group Experiences,” 12.
75. Frederic Spiegelberg, *The Religion of No Religion* (Stanford, CA: J. L. Delkin, 1953). This term is also ably utilized by Jeffrey J. Kripal in *Esalen: The Religion of No Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).
76. *Alcoholics Anonymous Comes of Age*, 144.

Conclusion: Selling the Religion of Experience

1. Sree Sree Thakur Anukulchandra, “What Does Satsang Want,” in *Be Ye Peaceful* 14 (September 2018): frontispiece, https://www.satsangamerica.org/sites/default/files/books/Souvenir-US_2018.pdf.
2. Exman to Judy Exman, July 30, 1961, Exman Archive.
3. Edward Groth to Exman, August 9, 1961, Exman Archive. A similar letter arrived from an English journalist who warned Exman not “to get mixed up in the affairs of such a shady character.” Gerald Yorke to Exman, undated but received December 6, 1961, Exman Archive.
4. Exman to “Dear Ones,” September 13, 1961, Exman Archive.
5. Bro to Exman, June 21, 1949, Exman Archive.
6. Bro to Exman, Easter Day 1958, Exman Archive.
7. Eugene Exman, *The Brothers Harper: A Unique Publishing Partnership and Its Impact upon the Cultural Life of America from 1817 to 1853* (New York: Harper, 1965), ix, ii.
8. Eugene Exman, *The House of Harper: One Hundred and Fifty Years of Publishing* (New York: Harper, 1967), ix, 302.

9. Bro to Exman, February 9, 1965, Exman Archive. Elsewhere, Bro explained her infrequent letter writing like this: “There isn’t any one I write as many letters to as I do to you. The only difference is that I write to you on the ceiling at night or against the backdrop of drab houses seen vaguely outside the windows or on the nose of my car as it speeds from errand to errand. And then I can’t find the right kind of stamps for that sort of letter.” Bro to Exman, November 5, 1962, Exman Archive.
10. Bro to Exman, February 9, 1965, and October 21, 1967, both in Exman Archive.
11. Exman dream journal, September 2, 1968, Exman Archive.
12. Exman to Bro, May 16, 1969, Exman Archive.
13. Exman to Bro, May 16, 1969, Exman Archive.
14. Walter Kaess interview, December 5, 2019.
15. Wallace Exman interview, April 2, 2016.
16. Exman to Mrs. Miller, June 12, 1944, Exman Archive.
17. Katherine Kaess Christensen interview, July 19, 2022.
18. Judith Exman, handwritten notes for Exman eulogy; Alec Allenson to Sunny Exman, November 2, 1975, both in Exman Archive.
19. Norman Cousins to Sunny Exman, December 12, 1975; and Bro to Exman, January 8, 1946, both in Exman Archive.
20. Eugene Exman, “Researchers of the Spirit,” in *Laymen Speaking* 6, no. 3 (May 1947): 45, 42.
21. Thanks here to Kathryn Lofton, personal email, May 1, 2022.
22. Thanks to Matt Hedstrom for alerting me to this commercial.
23. Gregory A. Smith, “About Three-In-Ten U.S. Adults Are Now Religiously Unaffiliated,” Pew Research Center, December 14, 2021, <https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2021/12/14/about-three-in-ten-u-s-adults-are-now-religiously-unaffiliated/>; Evan Stewart, Nazita Lajevardi, Roy Whitaker, and Tarah Williams, “What Does American Identity Mean? A Cultural Legacy of Pluralism and Exclusion,” PRRI, July 15, 2022, <https://www.prri.org/spotlight/what-does-american-identity-mean-a-cultural-legacy-of-pluralism-and-exclusion/>.

24. Michael Lipka and Claire Gecewicz, "More Americans Now Say They're Spiritual but Not Religious," Pew Research Center, September 6, 2017, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/09/06/more-americans-now-say-theyre-spiritual-but-not-religious/>; "The New Religious Paradigm: From Judeo-Christian to Interfaith America," May 3, 2022, <https://www.ppri.org/spotlight/the-new-religious-paradigm-from-judeo-christian-to-interfaith-america/>.
25. Bro to Exman, August 8, 1958, Exman Archive.