

the conservative connection

the chairman of the board took lsd before timothy leary

eckard v. toy

In January of 1959, slightly more than a year and one-half before Timothy Leary would have his initial psychedelic experience, the chairman of the board of Southern California Edison Company casually informed a friend:

My LSD experience went off very nicely. There was nothing drastic about it in the sense of it being at all sudden or shocking or so strange as to be fearful . . . I am convinced that this drug is a real tool for exploration of consciousness. It holds great promise and as I reflect upon the experience I become more enthusiastic about it.¹

William C. Mullendore took LSD-25 three more times during the next four years, each experience binding him closer in his intellectual apprenticeship to the English-born novelist, lecturer, and philosopher Gerald Heard. Acting as master to novice, Heard introduced Mullendore to LSD as he would later introduce Henry and Clare Boothe Luce and other business leaders, Hollywood celebrities, and artists to the drug.²

Recent observers of American culture have usually emphasized the seminal roles of Timothy Leary, Ken Kesey, and Carlos Castaneda in popularizing the drug culture of the 1960s, and a discussion of conservatives and hallucinogenic drugs may even seem to be a contradiction in terms. But earlier assumptions about the influence of drugs in modern American society have been dramatically altered by revelations about experiments conducted by the Department of Defense and

the Central Intelligence Agency during the 1950s and 1960s.³ Equally obscure but perhaps less surprising were the numerous experiments conducted independently by researchers and intellectuals during those same years. "The drugs were there certainly," wrote Bruce Cook in *The Beat Generation*, "and others—such as Aldous Huxley, Gerald Heard, and Alan Watts— were working to get them better known." Yet, even considering the notoriety accorded Huxley's book *The Doors of Perception* (1954) and his article, "Drugs That Shape Men's Minds," which appeared in the October 18, 1958, issue of the staid *Saturday Evening Post*, the activities of these early promoters of drugs were overshadowed by their youthful counterparts in the 1960s.⁴ In part, the obscurity was self-imposed, since government researchers generally conducted their experiments in secret and intellectuals like Heard chose to propagate their ideas among a carefully chosen clientele, aiming at an elite rather than at the masses.

In *The Communal Experience*, Laurence Veysey identified Gerald Heard as one of the principal contributors to a counter-cultural tradition in the United States.⁵ Heard was a keen observer, an imaginative thinker, and a sharp critic of conventional culture. He recognized a persistent strain of cultural alienation in American life and proposed a search for alternative values. But this English expatriate did not fully reject either capitalism or science, emphasizing, instead, the need to enhance the quality of life by achieving a proper balance between material needs and spiritual values.

Henry Fitz Gerald Heard lived in Southern California from 1938 until his death in 1971, writing detective stories and science fiction as H. F. Heard and using Gerald Heard for his philosophical and speculative works. Born in 1889, Heard grew up in late Victorian and Edwardian England, taking honors in history at Cambridge University and doing post-graduate work in philosophy and the philosophy of religion. About the time of the First World War, Heard began a dual career in London as a prolific writer and a charismatic lecturer. He quickly adapted to the new medium of radio, and, in the 1930s, became a popular commentator on science for the British Broadcasting Company, while also serving as a council member of the London Society for Psychical Research.

But the shadow of impending war cast a pall over Heard's career and drastically altered his life. During the turbulent decade of the 1930s, Heard took an active part in the pacifist movement with his friend Aldous Huxley. And in 1937, disillusioned by the trend of events in England, Heard and Aldous and Maria Huxley joined the exodus of intellectuals from Europe to the New World. Typically, one of their first stops after arriving in the United States was at Duke University where Huxley and Heard visited parapsychologist J. B. Rhine. After a brief stay in Taos, New Mexico, Heard and the Huxleys found a sanctuary in California in the spring of 1938, establishing themselves

in Los Angeles on the fringes of a large colony of their fellow countrymen who were a significant part of the growing movie industry.

Although their personal lives soon diverged, Heard and Huxley joined Christopher Isherwood and other intellectuals and movie celebrities in the Vedanta Center of Swami Prabhavananda in Hollywood. The Vedanta ideas heavily influenced Heard's writing and lecturing, and he carried this association into the founding of ill-fated Trabuco College, which he and a small group of disciples established in Trabuco Canyon east of Los Angeles in 1942. The genesis of Trabuco College was rooted in Heard's mysticism, his monastic inclinations, and his commitment to developing an elite of philosopher-kings. But the spartan living conditions and demanding spiritual discipline of the college limited its appeal. Trabuco College barely survived into the postwar years, succumbing finally in the late 1940s to the lack of students and funds. Heard lost more than \$100,000 when the college failed, and, with only limited income from his books and lectures, he became dependent on the good will and the devotion of a small number of wealthy patrons.⁶

For a brief time, Trabuco College had provided a haven for Heard and stimulated a renewal of his intellectual exchange with Huxley. Afterward, their paths separated once again, only to be rejoined in the 1950s when Dr. Humphry Osmond, another English expatriate conducting medical research in Canada, introduced the pair to mescaline within a few months of one another in 1953. Heard and Huxley had been fascinated with ESP, psychic phenomena, and mysticism for many years, and drugs offered a new experience to savor.⁷ While Huxley's biographers have sometimes exaggerated his contribution as a prophet of psychedelics, Heard has been sadly neglected. He lived nearly a decade longer than Huxley and for much of that time worked with Dr. Sidney Cohen in introducing corporation executives, actors, and artists to LSD-25 and other hallucinogens. In teaching that science and religion were interdependent, Heard gave his disciples a rationale that became both a sanction and a catalyst for their experiments.

In *American Mysticism*, Hal Bridges has noted Heard's emphasis on psychedelic agents as stimulants for enhancing consciousness, arguing that he focused his attention on intellect and not spiritual escapism or mere sensation. Sidney Cohen identified that "brain- mind" function in *The Beyond Within: The LSD Story* (1965):

It is here in the higher levels of organization of this immense network of networks, that Gerald Heard's "growing edge" of man's development will be found. The mind's . . . unknown potential is our future.

Heard advocated the conditional use of LSD in his rambling book,

The Five Ages of Man (1963), where he discussed the “corrective aid” of psychedelics and recommended them as an “initiation,” a first step toward true awareness.⁸ The qualification was important. The devotion of Huxley and Heard to psychedelic drugs was always qualified by their basic reliance upon intellect and limited by their inability to fully experience the visionary state. Although Heard later wrote that Huxley regarded LSD as “a sacrament, a perfect psycho-physical aid to sustain the mind at its utmost reach,” Huxley reminded Humphry Osmond:

Neither Gerald nor I can claim to be a good experimental subject. For we don't have visions with the eyes closed, show no signs of psi and seem to be too much interested in the “obscure knowledge” of Suchness to want to be bothered with anything else.⁹

Nevertheless, Huxley had promoted the use of psychedelics in *The Doors of Perception* and with Heard contributed to the work of Timothy Leary. Although these pioneers of the psychedelic movement cooperated with the Harvard psychologist, their enthusiasm for Leary rapidly diminished as Leary forfeited the respectability that Huxley and Heard had given to these early experiments. In part, Huxley and Heard were less devoted to drugs as sources of visionary experience, but they also appealed to an older, established generation and were less inclined to seek publicity.

A good example of Heard's influence was evident in his association with The Wayfarers, an inner circle of the principal sponsors of Spiritual Mobilization. The Reverend James W. Fifield, Jr. of the First Congregational Church of Los Angeles led the parent organization, which had its roots in the anti-New Deal sentiment of the 1930s. When Fifield, Donald J. Cowling, president of Carleton College, and Professor William Henry Hocking of Harvard University established the Mobilization for Spiritual Ideals in 1935, they sought “to arouse the ministers of all denominations in America to check the trends toward pagan stateism [*sic*].” Spiritual Mobilization continued to thrive during the postwar period as part of a resurgent conservative movement, and through its magazine, *Faith and Freedom*, in radio and television programs, and in seminars for ministers and businessmen, Spiritual Mobilization played a leading role in the anticommunist crusade. But some of its principal members were not satisfied with these activities and, under the spell of Gerald Heard, established The Wayfarers in 1955.¹⁰

The new organization evolved from a series of discussions held by James C. Ingebretsen, president of Spiritual Mobilization, Leonard E. Read, president of the Foundation for Economic Education at Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, the Reverend Edmund A. Opitz, a

Unitarian minister who was on the staff of Spiritual Mobilization before joining Read's organization, and Mullendore. They chose the name, The Wayfarers, after Ingebretsen rejected Orpheus Fellowship because he considered that title too pagan. Ironically, The Wayfarers, which resembled the Oxford Group in its psychological impact and in its techniques, deviated significantly from orthodox Christian theology. Beginning in the summer of 1955 and continuing through the summer of 1959, The Wayfarers held a series of retreats and conferences with Heard in such scattered locations as Idyllwild, California; Green Lake, Wisconsin; Rye, New York; Lancaster, Massachusetts; Lexington, Kentucky; Chicago, Illinois; and New York City.

Conservative in politics and economics, The Wayfarers were both angered and frightened by apparent trends toward socialism in American society. Perceiving an economic and ethical malaise and rejecting consensus politics, many of The Wayfarers sought to transcend traditional Protestantism and the New Thought techniques of the positive thinkers. Some of The Wayfarers embraced new forms of harmonial religion and esoteric philosophical beliefs; a few, Mullendore for example, experimented with drugs and psychic phenomena. Their faith seemed to be represented best by Heard's conviction that "The great need is for us to be as scientific about religion as we are religious about science." Heard emphasized the need to extend the "Growing Edge" of intellect and stressed the crucial links between biology and psychology. "We are the first generation in history," he reminded The Wayfarers, "in which self-conscious people have been conscious of the unconscious."¹¹

Although some of the original sponsors of The Wayfarers soon tempered their enthusiasm for Heard, Ingebretsen and Mullendore became more deeply absorbed in his teaching. Soon, however, disagreements about Heard's other activities and the lack of adequate financial support shattered The Wayfarers. Heard severed his official relations with the group, but Michael Jay Barrie, Heard's secretary and companion, explained that the split was amicable and intended to avoid identifying Heard too closely with Spiritual Mobilization. In June of 1958, Ingebretsen had revealed that Heard was conducting experiments with Sidney Cohen and that psychedelics "seem to Gerald to offer real hope for spiritual discernment." Ingebretsen readily admitted that some members of Spiritual Mobilization and the clergymen the organization sought to attract might consider Heard's new interests controversial; thus he thought it best to terminate the relationship with The Wayfarers and work independently with Heard to sponsor a conference of "Growing Edge" scientists in New York City in 1960.¹²

Yet Heard's influence on former members of The Wayfarers did not end in 1959. He continued to serve as a spiritual guide for Ingebretsen, Mullendore, and other former Wayfarers. Mullendore, in

particular, had grown increasingly pessimistic about the survival of the older America that he cherished. He was convinced that the Republican Party had succumbed to revolutionary currents in choosing Dwight D. Eisenhower over Robert A. Taft in 1952 and sought solace in Heard's elitist visions. Although he was a conservative Republican, a moderately devout United Presbyterian, and sixty-six years old when he first tried LSD, Mullendore did not consider his actions either rebellious or deviant. He sought primarily to improve his creative intelligence and, secondarily, to enhance his spiritual awareness. Mullendore found in his experiment with LSD a partial corrective for his deepening pessimism about the future of the United States.

Gerald Heard and William C. Mullendore were nearly the same age, but came from vastly different backgrounds. Mullendore, who was born in Howard, Kansas, in 1892, graduated from the University of Michigan with an AB degree in 1914 and earned a JD degree from the University of Michigan Law School in 1916. The First World War gave him an opportunity for government service that shaped his later political devotion to Herbert Hoover and Robert A. Taft. The young lawyer served under Hoover as Assistant Counsel of the Food Administration in 1917, working "with Bob Taft, Ed Pugh and Harvey Bundy under Judge Curtis H. Lindley." Although Mullendore spent most of 1918 in the Army Air Service, he returned to the Food Administration soon after the Armistice and remained into 1919. After the demise of the Food Administration, Mullendore continued to work with Hoover in the American Relief Administration, serving in London, Prague, Vienna, Hamburg, and Berlin before becoming secretary to Hoover in the European Children's Fund in 1920. When Hoover became Secretary of Commerce in the Harding administration, Mullendore served from 1922 to 1923 as his Executive Secretary, "taking care of his appointments, traveling with him, and doing stenographic work and secretarial work when he was working on the Colorado River Compact and when he made the trip to Alaska with President Harding."¹³

It was only a short step from government service into corporation leadership, and Mullendore eventually had a long and successful career as president and then Chairman of the Board of Southern California Edison Company. After retiring as chairman, he continued to serve as a director of the electric company, of North American Aviation, and of the Union Pacific Railroad and as a Trustee of Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York. Considering this background it would be no surprise to learn that Mullendore was also a prominent member of San Francisco's exclusive Bohemian Grove Club and a communicant of the Wilshire Presbyterian Church of Los Angeles. Mullendore maintained his church affiliation even though he personally rejected "total reliance upon the infallibility of the Bible as interpreted by Calvin, Knox and the Puritans," simply declaring, "I

am a member of the Presbyterian Church, but I cannot go along with much of their dogma . . . ”¹⁴

Mullendore’s political and spiritual values were mutually reinforcing components of his ideology, and his pessimism about the future of Western Civilization, the United States in particular, was firmly established by the mid-1950s. The political events of that decade confirmed the militantly anti-New Deal posture he had held since the 1930s. In a speech, “Timetable of the American Revolution of 1933-1952,” Mullendore gave his apocalyptic version of history:

The revolution was accomplished swiftly and . . . secretly in the first year of the New Deal. . . . The . . . period from August 1933 to July 1952 may be properly described as the period of extension and consolidation of the revolution. . . . with war and preparation for war the dominant instrumentality.

The final blow, the death knell, of freedom was . . . struck at Chicago in the Republican Convention in July of 1952, because it was there that the last remaining vestige of real opposition to the great forces of the revolution flickered and died . . .

He believed that uncontrollable, seemingly diabolical, forces had driven the United States to the brink of an historical abyss. Mullendore denounced the politicians who had succumbed so willingly to these trends and, in 1955, lamented to a fellow businessman and Wayfarer: “I suspect that there are many millenia yet before there will be any cessation of the rise and fall and the dominance of the stupid mass man . . . ”¹⁵

His gloomy predictions about politics and his pessimistic assumptions about human nature were, in part, the product and, in part, the symptom of two decades of cataclysmic historical events. Memories of depression and war and the threat of nuclear devastation each contributed to his assessment of man’s future. Possibly more the Calvinist than he cared to admit, Mullendore blamed much of the American dilemma on a “spiritual vacuum” in the political and social milieu of the 1950s. An avid reader of popular philosophy, he shared an abiding if shallow interest in religious ideas with his close friend Leonard E. Read of the Foundation for Economic Education. They had been friends since the 1930s when both were active in the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, and their personal correspondence during the 1950s attests to their intensive effort to explore outside the bounds of conventional religion. The correspondence also reveals how receptive Mullendore would be to Gerald Heard’s philosophical outlook. Shortly before meeting Heard and less than a year after Aldous Huxley published *The Doors of Perception*, Mullendore informed Read:

I think you will find it a stimulating account of Huxley's experiment, and also that you will like the philosophical comments. This fellow Huxley undoubtedly has great merit. He is a man of insight, even though we may not agree with some of his economic philosophy.

For Mullendore and Read, Gerald Heard's "Explorations" with The Wayfarers simply took them farther in the direction they were already going. Yet, Heard's charismatic personality and philosophical stance were crucial stimulants and after the first Wayfarer's Exploration in 1955 Mullendore praised Heard as "the greatest scholar with whom I have ever come in contact, a truly great historian and psychologist, and a man of deep spiritual insight." Mullendore was immensely pleased when Read confirmed this impression the following year at another Exploration.¹⁶

In the summer of 1957, after two years of Explorations with Heard and The Wayfarers, Mullendore acknowledged an even more profound intellectual debt when he confided to Ingebretsen that "these sessions with Gerald Heard have made the greatest contributions to my perception and understanding which have been made from any single source in my lifetime." Heard's contribution was twofold. He confirmed Mullendore's belief about the deterioration in the human condition but tempered that judgment by offering hope for an eventual recovery of intellectual dominion by a properly visionary scientific and philosophical elite. While Mullendore considered the "Eisenhower Recession" of 1957-1958 merely an indicator of worse things to come, predicting that "inflation and disintegration of human relations and our free institutions will make this adjustment one of the critical periods in our history," he agreed with Heard by arguing that "the most urgent need for research is in the psychological, or more particularly the spiritual life."¹⁷

Obsessed for more than two decades by a bleak vision of American life, Mullendore wrote an article that Russell Kirk published in the winter 1959-1960 issue of *Modern Age*. The title, "Our Tragic State of Confusion: A Diagnosis," reflected Mullendore's belief that "our crisis is spiritual, not economic." He considered the economic and political burdens of the Cold War and the complexities of a technological society mere symptoms of this greater crisis. In September, 1959, several months after his initial experiment with LSD and shortly after he had completed his article for *Modern Age*, Mullendore joined a small group of thirty to thirty-five persons from the Los Angeles area who had been invited to Robert Welch's first meeting to organize the John Birch Society on the Pacific Coast. Mullendore appraised Welch for B. E. Hutchinson, former treasurer of Chrysler Corporation, who was also a Wayfarer and, with Mullendore, a Trustee of Spiritual Mobilization and the Foundation for Economic Education: "He has a good

balanced viewpoint of our entire situation, and I was particularly pleased that he emphasizes the spiritual and moral aspects." Although he declined to join the Birch Society, Mullendore admitted that "I could find nothing to disagree with in his presentation of the facts and his analysis of the meaning of those facts."¹⁸

If Mullendore was easily convinced by Welch's sincerity and analysis, he was just as willing to believe that the candidates and the issues in the election of 1960 were proof of the continuing process of historical decline. Only a few weeks before the narrow defeat of Richard Nixon by John F. Kennedy, Mullendore concluded that Americans needed "a rebirth of ideals, aims, and purposes. Probably nothing demonstrates it better than the current presidential campaign." In that judgment about national purpose, Mullendore agreed with numerous other Americans in 1960. But political conditions did not improve. Four years later he lamented that "it was indeed a blessing to have had a man of the stature of Herbert Hoover as the last President of the Republic."¹⁹ Seemingly overwhelmed by history, Mullendore became more and more obsessed with internalizing the human struggle. LSD was one means to that end, and his arguments for its use demonstrate both Heard's influence and Mullendore's susceptibility to that influence.

Although the Relm Foundation declined to support Gerald Heard's proposed experiments in "Growing Edge" research, Ingebretsen attracted sufficient funding for his own Foundation for Social Research to establish the program. For three years Ingebretsen provided Heard and Jay Barrie with an annual compensation of \$15,000 in tax-free funds. Sidney Cohen also helped, and, in addition, Robert Greenleaf, executive of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, who had also taken LSD under Heard's guidance, was instrumental in gaining support for Heard from the Parapsychology Foundation.

On the eve of his first experience with LSD, Mullendore decried the unwillingness of most scientists to explore the "spiritual, psychic space of the inner man" and expressed the hope that someday they would support the work of Heard and his colleagues

who are exploring and working . . . in the fields of higher consciousness. There is hope of a renaissance in these areas of human existence of far greater import than the Renaissance which ushered in this modern era of science, exploration and discovery in the outer and physical world.²⁰

His experiments with LSD would have a profound effect on his thought and attitudes, and Mullendore took pride in his pioneering role.

Mullendore's explanation of his LSD experience was not fun-

damentally different from those of Huxley, Timothy Leary and other advocates of the drug culture. Convinced that man's "relationship to God, Society, and the World" had been changed irrevocably by the new scientists, Mullendore echoed Huxley in a June, 1961, letter:

One way to explain what LSD does for the recipient of its favors is this: it opens the doors of perception to beauty of form, color and sound of which we are not normally aware. The "mind" of the perceiver is given a much higher orientation, and is temporarily endowed with a power of attention which enables one to "see," to select and to "compose" those parts of the whole which express the highest, truest and most harmonious *meaning*.

He accepted Heard's argument that traditional science distorted truth and produced a "meaningless order of history." Mullendore rejected conventional religion because "the ministerial frame of reference holds the mind closed to the cosmos as offered by LSD." As he explained to his son-in-law, who planned to try the drug also:

LSD steps up our voltage and frequency. To use the new vision thus made available one must be able to "plug in," "get in tune" — "to harmonize" with this new environment which LSD opens for us to correspond with.²¹

For a brief time during the early 1960s, Mullendore was a missionary for LSD. In the casual atmosphere of the Bohemian Grove in California, where influential businessmen and politicians shared the fraternal bond of the good outdoor life, the wonders of the psychedelic experiments were a topic of discussion in Mullendore's camp.²² His favorable experiences outweighed the criticism leveled at Timothy Leary, and some of the businessmen were attracted by the drug's potential for positively influencing personality and increasing efficiency. Although he drew back from an unqualified endorsement of drugs, Mullendore defended the proper use of psychedelic agents.

Mullendore's ability to relate the insights of Huxley and Heard to his own experience makes him an interesting study. Although he was a superficial thinker, he explained his feelings clearly, and, if his mystical experiences were artificial and limited, he had them nevertheless. Writing to his son-in-law, who had recently tried LSD, Mullendore explained:

LSD in some way by-passes our ego. . . . Thus, you saw and felt and knew *you*, yourself, to be *here* and *now* of significance because you are *here* and *now* existing and as a being, within the *Great Being*. . .

Hence you laughed at the value system of your ego at Louis

and what he *had thought* important—when and as you saw and felt or *experienced* the true Reality, with which you were then *united*.

If practical businessmen and economists placed more faith in materialism than in metaphysics, Mullendore sympathized with their dilemma but criticized their inability to look beyond the complexities of daily life. If life seemed to have lost its meaning, it was

because we have been too absorbed in automobiles and gadgets and devices and standards of living and prestige to give any thought to “The Good Life.” A great and dangerous vacuum in human life into which the Commies pour their promises which lead to hell, is the result.

He attributed this lack of understanding to an unwillingness to communicate: “Communion or correspondence with Cosmic Consciousness—as in the LSD experience—is the supreme need of man.”²³ Mullendore’s pessimism about the future was not lessened by his personal growth. As he passed into his seventies, he seemed more resigned to the fact that mankind was on a fixed course toward destruction.

After the assassination of John F. Kennedy and the transition to LBJ, his mood approached the level of despair. In the spring of 1964, Mullendore was convinced that civilization was in the last stages “of a crisis of unprecedented proportions, which will destroy much of the structure of the present systems of human relations existing throughout the world . . .” A conversation with Gerald Heard convinced him that mankind was rapidly approaching a new evolutionary stage and might not survive the crisis in consciousness. Ingebretsen confirmed this dismal conclusion from another direction, reporting “that some of his sources, such as the prophets and seers among the American Indians and the astrologers, assure him that the BIG SHOW starts either at the end of 1964 or in 1965.” Later in the summer of 1964, Mullendore momentarily gained hope when Leonard E. Read introduced him to the writings of Lao and Walter Russell and their University of Science and Philosophy of Swannanoa, Virginia.²⁴ Mullendore did not abandon Gerald Heard, but he did shift his emphasis from LSD. Drugs provided only one means to an end, and Mullendore continued to search for that elusive guide to ultimate truth.

In 1956, Lewis Mumford asserted in *The Transformation of Man* that the future task was “to create a new self,” to challenge technological man. Gerald Heard and William C. Mullendore echoed this idea as they shaped the original psycho-therapy experiments with psychedelic drugs into a quasi-religious form. It was an egocentric spiritual experience, a revitalization movement for neo-Brahmins. But, if these experiments stimulated Mullendore’s interest in philoso-

phy and religion, too often he caught at mere scraps of ideas, identifying himself at different times as “an Albert Jay Nock ‘extremist’ ” and as “a devotee of Ortega.”²⁵ Mullendore was, in the end, an individualist who longed for an elitist utopia and a pessimist who had faith that somehow man’s mind would transcend and survive mankind.

While Huxley, Heard, and Mullendore accepted psychedelic drugs as a means to heighten consciousness, their elitist perspective diminished their influence and potential appeal. The impetus shifted to the campus and the streets. After September, 1960, when a small group of psychologists at Harvard University began their research with psychedelic chemicals, Huxley and Heard were largely relegated to a secondary role. Soon, other influences in the developing drug culture overwhelmed the primacy of intellectual and scientific inquiry. By the mid-1960s, even Leary’s missionary zeal as the self-styled guru of “Buddha drugs” appeared to be misplaced as members of a younger generation seemed devoted primarily to his invocation to drop out and turn on. Even though LSD continued to have the status of a religious sacrament, new political and cultural influences widened the social and generational gaps between Harvard and Haight-Ashbury. Even before Ken Kesey’s celebrated Kool-Aid acid test at the Fillmore Ballroom in San Francisco in 1965, the drug culture had grown beyond its embryonic stages, and the scientific elite no longer monopolized LSD. Aldous Huxley, Gerald Heard, and even Timothy Leary would be left behind, and, late in the 1960s, William C. Mullendore commented sadly: “What a shame that [LSD] is so easily manufactured and has fallen into the hands of the dope peddlers, the ignorant youthful ‘Hippies’ and the like.”²⁶

notes

1. William C. Mullendore to Joseph R. Brookshire, January 22, 1959; Mullendore to Mark M. Jones, September 11, 1967; William C. Mullendore Papers, Special Collections, University of Oregon. Bruce Cook, *The Beat Generation* (New York, 1971), 187ff, has a description of Leary’s introduction to psychedelic drugs.

2. Stephen Shadegg, *Clare Boothe Luce: A Biography* (New York, 1970), 293.

3. Richard Blum with Eva Blum and Mary Lou Funkhouser, “The Natural History of LSD Use” in Richard Blum and Associates, *Utopiates* (New York, 1964), 22-68; John Marks, *The Search for the “Manchurian Candidate”: The CIA and Mind Control* (New York, 1979).

4. Cook, *The Beat Generation*, 188. Aldous Huxley, *The Doors of Perception* (New York, 1954); “Drugs That Shape Men’s Minds,” *Saturday Evening Post*, 231 (October 18, 1958), 28-29, 108, 110-11, 113.

5. Laurence Vesey, *The Communal Experience: Anarchist and Mystical Counter-Cultures in America* (New York, 1973), 9.

6. James C. Ingebreten to B. E. Hutchinson, October 15, 1956, James C. Ingebreten Papers, Special Collections, University of Oregon.

7. Sybille Bedford, *Aldous Huxley: A Biography II, 1939-1963* (London, 1974), 161, speculated that Huxley took mescaline about three times and LSD or psilocybin “at least seven, and possibly nine, times.” Laura Archera Huxley, *This Timeless Moment: A Personal View of Aldous Huxley* (New York, 1968), 138, 298ff, gives a total of twelve psychedelic experiences for Huxley. She and Bedford also differ slightly in their accounts of Huxley’s final moments on November 22, 1963, when he was administered LSD on his deathbed.

8. [Leonard] Hal Bridges, *American Mysticism: From William James to Zen* (New York,

1970), 82-83; Sidney Cohen, *The Beyond Within: The LSD Story* (New York, 1965), 60; Gerald Heard. *The Five Ages of Man* (New York, 1963), 192, 237-41.

9. Heard quoted in Bridges, *American Mysticism*, 127. Aldous Huxley to Humphry Osmond, June 29, 1956, in Grover Smith, ed., *The Letters of Aldous Huxley* (New York, 1969), 799. Huxley gives a less positive appraisal of drugs in *Brave New World Revisited* (New York, 1958).

10. See Eckard V. Toy, Jr., "Spiritual Mobilization: The Failure of an Ultra-conservative Ideal," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, 61 (April, 1970), 77-86. Ingebretsen to Gerald Heard, July 15, August 18, 19, 1954, Ingebretsen Papers.

11. "From Beulah's notes of Gerald Heard at Idyllwild, California [1955]," Ingebretsen Papers.

12. Ingebretsen to William H. Albritton, June 12, 1958, Ingebretsen Papers; Michael Jay Barrie to James W. Clise, September 16, 1959; Ingebretsen to Clise, October 1, 1959, James W. Clise Papers, Special Collections, University of Oregon.

13. Mullendore to James H. Shideler, February 11, 1954, Mullendore Papers.

14. Mullendore to Ivan R. Bierly, August 15, 1969, Mullendore Papers.

15. "Timetable of the American Revolution of 1933-1952" (n.d.), Mullendore Papers; Mullendore to Clise, August 18, 1955, Clise Papers.

16. Mullendore to Leonard E. Read, February 1, 1955; Read to Mullendore, March 14, 1955; Mullendore to Read, July 11, 1955; May 28, 1956, Mullendore Papers.

17. Mullendore to Ingebretsen, June 17, 1957, Ingebretsen Papers; Mullendore to Clise, August 2, 1957; January 8, 1958, Mullendore Papers.

18. William C. Mullendore, "Our Tragic State of Confusion: A Diagnosis," *Modern Age*, 4 (Winter, 1959-1960), 21; Mullendore to Hutchinson, September 21, 1959, Mullendore Papers.

19. Mullendore to Clise, October 18, 1960, Clise Papers; Mullendore to D. H. Redinger, October 30, 1964, Mullendore Papers.

20. Ingebretsen's Foundation for Social Research continued to support Heard through 1963. Mullendore to Read, December 1, 1958, Mullendore Papers.

21. Untitled paper by Mullendore, June 21, 1961; Mullendore to Louis H. T. Dehmlow, July 11, 1962, Mullendore Papers. He enclosed copies of a "Graduate Seminar on the Human Potentiality" taught by Willis W. Harman, Professor of Electrical Engineering at Stanford University. The seminar covered such topics as poetry, psychotherapy, meditative techniques, and the use of LSD and psilocybin.

22. Mullendore to Conley Brooks, August 1, 1962; September 5, 1963, Mullendore Papers.

23. Mullendore to Dehmlow, August 23, 1962; March 20, 1963, Mullendore Papers.

24. Mullendore to Dehmlow, April 22, 1964; Mullendore to Read, June 25, 1964, Mullendore Papers.

25. Quoted in Herbert J. Muller, *The Children of Frankenstein: A Primer on Modern Technology and Human Values* (Bloomington, Ind., 1970), 405. Mullendore to Read, March 23, November 15, 1967, Mullendore Papers.

26. Mullendore to Jones, September 11, 1967, Mullendore Papers.