Henry Luce's Strange Trip Coverage of LSD in *Time* and *Life*, 1954-68

Before possession of hallucinogens was made a federal crime, LSD was the subject of numerous stories in Time and Life magazines, many of which described the experience in glowing terms. The drug was frequently discussed as a scientific marvel that had the potential to enhance or induce religious experience, and this "instant mysticism" was often described in Christian and biblical terms. Letters and acid-trip journals in the papers of Clare Boothe Luce, the wife of Time and Life publisher Henry Luce, and other documentary evidence show that the extensive and largely positive coverage of LSD in these magazines was consistent with the beliefs of the Luces. The publisher remained enthusiastic about LSD even as recreational use of the drug was growing, and he made his views on the drug known to subordinates at the magazines.

It had become clear by 1966 that the hallucinogenic drug LSD was catching on with a certain segment of America, despite the concerns of lawmakers and moralists. The enactment of a California law restricting the sale of LSD was celebrated with an acidfueled "Love Pageant Rally" of hippies in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park.¹ Meanwhile, the federal government estimated 168,000 Americans dropped acid that year for the first time, a number that would nearly double in each of the next two years.² *Time* magazine reported "An Epidemic of 'Acid-Heads,'" extending from beatnik dives to college campuses, which, according to another article, was causing Los Angeles city hospitals to care for up to 200 victims of bad trips a day.³ When J.R.R. Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings* topped the paperback best seller list, *Time* noted "the hobbit habit seems to be almost as catching as LSD."⁴

LSD was the focus of nine articles in 1966 in Time, America's



STEPHEN SIFF is an assistant professor in the journalism program at Miami University. An earlier version of this study, which was funded by the E.W. Scripps School of Journalism at Ohio University, was presented at the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication convention in 2007. highest-circulation news magazine, including one titled "Mysticism in the Lab." It began:

St. Paul was converted while riding on the road to Damascus by a sudden vision of the Risen Christ, who appeared to him in the form of a blinding light that struck him to the ground.

Teresa of Avila, the 16th Century saint, had poetic visions of "pure water running over crystal, the sun reflecting it and striking through it." Simone Weil, the lonely Jewish girl who turned into a Christian mystic, tells how the recitation of lines by George Herbert, such as, "Love bade me welcome, yet my soul drew back," acted on her intuitive conscious like prayer. "Then it happened," she recalled. "Christ himself came down, and he took me."

Deep within myself. Most experiences of mystical consciousness have come only after hard work—spartan prayers, mediation, fasting, mortification of the flesh. Now it is possible, through the use of LSD and other psychedelic drugs, to induce something like mystical consciousness in a controlled laboratory environment.⁵

Time and Life were fascinated by LSD. Henry Luce's magazines discovered LSD in 1954 and remained enthusiastic even as the drug was becoming popular with recreational users, frequently discussing the experience in an explicitly biblical framework. Scare stories were balanced with endorsements of LSD by professors, businessmen, and celebrities, and some articles even read like advertisements. One, published eight weeks after "Mysticism in the Lab," began: "What kind of person is likely to enjoy a trip on LSD? Only the extravert, Alabama Psychiatrist Patrick H. Linton suggested last week at a regional meeting of the National Association for Mental Health."⁶

Coverage of LSD in *Time* and *Life* reflected the attitude toward the drug in the Luce home. Scores of personal letters and more than a dozen acid-trip journals in Clare Boothe Luce's papers at the Library of Congress testify to the Luces' advocacy for a drug that they used recreationally and believed had tremendous psychological and spiritual value. The papers, combined with other evidence from archival and secondary sources, show that both Henry and Clare Boothe Luce expressed special interest in how *Time* and *Life* covered the drug. Thus, they reflected the Luces' interest in LSD.

The revelation in a 1968 biography by John Kobler that the Luces took acid was considered notable enough to generate a headline in the New York Post.7 Henry Luce biographer Robert Hertzstein noted in 2005 that "LSD was the only part of 1960s 'counterculture' treated respectfully by Time-mainly because certain respected theologians expressed interest in the substance."8 The Luces' use of LSD was mentioned by subsequent biographers, including W.A. Swanberg, who wrote in 1972 that Henry was so impressed with the drug that he "turned up in New York to present the managing editors of Time, Life, and Fortune with copies of a book on psychedelic drugs along with an enthusiastic talk about the subject's story possibilities-a suggestion quickly adopted by Time and Life, the latter being the first 'family' magazine to cover it." Swanberg offered no attribution for this claim.9 The only academic biography of Henry Luce, James Baughman's Henry R. Luce and the Rise of the American News Media, briefly mentioned in 1987 that Henry was introduced to LSD through Clare. "Harry enjoyed his trips. During one he directed a symphony; during another he spoke with God," he wrote, before moving on to other topics.10 Other biographers said it was amusing when Henry surprised dinner guests by talking about the drug at a company party at the Hotel Pierre in New York and, on what apparently was another occasion, at the formal, annual dinner for the staff of Life.11

Archival material suggests these brief mentions of LSD use by biographers greatly underplayed the profound impact that the drug had on the couple's personal lives.¹² While biographers have mentioned the Luces' advocacy of LSD as idiosyncratic details in the expansive lives of their subjects, its impact on coverage of the topic in *Time* and *Life* has been neglected. This article breaks new ground by examining the links between the Luces' advocacy of the drug in their personal and professional lives and the discussion of the drug in their magazines. *Time* especially covered LSD earlier and more extensively than other popular magazines prior to 1968.

The extraordinary coverage of LSD in *Time* and *Life* was noted by contemporaneous figures sympathetic to the drug movement, but it has been ignored by scholars.¹³ On trial for leading protests against the 1968 Democratic National Convention, countercultural icon Abbie Hoffman "prescribed" LSD to the judge and dismissed as fantasy the rumors that Yippie protesters planned to dump acid into Chicago's water supply.¹⁴ In his 1980 memoir, he recalled deciding to try LSD in 1965, "just about the time a *Life* magazine cover story was touting LSD as the new wonder drug that would end aggression." He added:

I've always maintained that Henry Luce did more to popularize acid than Timothy Leary. Years later I met Clare Boothe Luce at the



Clare Boothe Luce, the U.S. ambassador to Italy, and her husband, Henry Luce, arrive at New York's Idlewild Airport in 1954. Time and Life discovered LSD in 1954 and within five years, Clare began using it. (New York World Telegram & Sun photograph by Phil Stanziola)

Republican convention in Miami. She did not disagree with this opinion. America's version of the Dragon Lady caressed my arm, fluttered her eyes and cooed, "We wouldn't want everyone doing too much of a good thing,"¹⁵

The drug LSD was first synthesized in 1938 from the grain fungus ergot by Albert Hofmann, a chemist for the Swiss pharmaceutical company Sandoz. The substance sat untouched for five years until he experienced the first known LSD trip after inadvertently absorbing a minute amount of the drug through his fingertips. Hoping to find an application for the drug, Sandoz began providing LSD to American researchers in 1949. Early academic experiments examined perceived similarities between the LSD experience and schizophrenia, while American military and CIA tests explored its uses as a truth serum and a chemical warfare agent.¹⁶ Sandoz tightened investigators' access to the drug in 1963 and 1966 amid concerns about the volume of LSD leaking out of laboratories and into the hands of recreational users. Then, in 1965, the U.S. Congress passed legislation prohibiting the sale of LSD, although not possession of the drug for personal use, and the New York Legislature also passed an anti-LSD law. The California legislature followed suit a year later. In 1968, Congress passed a bill making sale of the drug a federal felony and simple possession a misdemeanor punishable by a year in prison and a \$1,000 fine. Thus, nineteen years after LSD arrived on America's shores it was outlawed in every state.17

William Braden, a *Chicago Tribune* reporter who delved into the drug culture in a 1967 book, *The Private Sea: LSD and the Search for God*, complained newspapers had done a poor job of covering the drug movement by focusing on irresponsible behavior, medical side effects, and the relatively rare horrific trip. He also said editors feared that describing the LSD experience might encourage readers to try the drug. "I must add that run-of-mill coverage of LSD has more often than not been superficial at best and violently distorted at worst. Since 1963, the newspapers had had almost nothing to say about the potential benefits of psychedel-

ics in psychotherapy and related fields," he wrote in an essay reprinted in a 1973 anthology. In contrast, he found the topic absent from television and radio with the exception of talk radio. But Braden introduced his two-paragraph, impressionistic description of magazine LSD coverage by writing: "It is painful to admit that the major magazines have done a better job than newspapers in reporting on LSD, and that *Time* and *Life* between them have possibly done the best job of all."¹⁸

Wilson Web's Reader's Guide Retrospective database was used to approximate the extent of coverage devoted to LSD in major consumer magazines. Though far from comprehensive, the database includes many of the mass-circulation, popular magazines of the period, including the weeklies *Time*, *Newsweek*, *U.S. News & World Report, Saturday Evening Post, Life, Look, New Republic, The Nation*, and *Business Week*, as well as monthlies, including *Readers Digest, The Atlantic, Esquire, Ladies' Home Journal*,

Popular Science, Mademoiselle, and *McCall's*. Five specialty scientific publications indexed by the database, *Science, Chemistry, Science News Letter, Science News*, and *Science Digest*, were excluded from this analysis.

A query for "lysergic or LSD" using the database's "All—Smart Search" feature located 129 magazine articles about LSD between 1948 and 1968. The earliest articles appeared in *Time* and *Look* in 1954. The query revealed six *Time* stories about LSD prior to 1965, compared to three in *Newsweek*, two in *Look*, two in the *Saturday Evening Post*, and one in *Life*. Using this method, no other non-scientific magazine was found to have more than one article on LSD prior to 1965. No articles were found in *U.S. News & World Report*.

The overall level of magazine coverage increased dramatically between 1965 and 1968. Ninety-nine articles were located across all of the magazines during this period, compared with only twenty-one articles during the previous eleven years. *Time* magazine not only turned on to LSD earlier than other magazines, but it also wrote about it more extensively. The *Readers' Guide* search located twenty stories about LSD in *Time* during the fourteen-year period, compared to fifteen in *Newsweek*, eight in *Look*, six in the *New Republic*, and five in *Life*, which were the next-highest totals. There were three stories in *U.S. News & World Report*.

The articles on LSD in *Time* also were longer on average than the stories in *Newsweek* and U.S. *News & World Report*. The average length of the *Time* articles on LSD was 950 words, compared with 720 words in *Newsweek* and 520 words in *U.S. News*. Prior to 1969, *Time* wrote nearly 19,000 words about LSD, *Newsweek* devoted almost 11,000 words, and *U.S News* ran almost 1,600 words.

While there were fewer stories about LSD in *Life*, several of the articles treated psychedelic drugs extensively, including 1963's "The Chemical Mind-Changers," which archival evidence shows was reviewed by both Henry and Clare Boothe Luce prior to publication.¹⁹ An earlier *Life* story about psychedelics ("Seeking the Magic Mushroom" in 1957), which was not indexed under "lyser-

gic" or "LSD," was credited by Martin A. Lee and Bruce Shlain in 1985 for inspiring hundreds of Americans to take trips across the Mexican border.²⁰

Time and *Life* were especially fascinated by the hallucinogenic experience when it involved socially or culturally prominent people. The first *Time* article about LSD, published on June 28, 1954, opened with a quotation from Aldous Huxley, a towering literary figure whose 1932 novel *Brave New World* was basic to high school curricula.²¹ The story began:

"I took my pill at eleven," reported Novelist Aldous Huxley in *The Doors of Perception.* "I [was] in a world where everything shone with the Inner Light.... The legs, for example, of that chair—how miraculous their tubularity.... I spent several minutes—or was it several centuries?—not merely gazing at those bamboo legs but actually being them" Amateur Mystic Huxley was experimenting with mescaline, a drug which some have thought might become a psychiatrist's tool, like pentothal and Amytal. The purpose

of these drugs is to banish a patient's inhibitions and "bring him out of himself." One of the most effective of these drugs—and most bizarre in its brain-stabbing effects—is lysergic acid diethylamide, better known to the trade as LSD 25.²²

The article described the effect of LSD as "roughly like the ordinary dreamer who knows he is dreaming" and touted the results of a British study published that month which found LSD to be "the best of all such drugs so far tested" as an aid to psychotherapy. "No psychiatrist will go as far as Author Huxley (who prescribed mescaline for all mankind as a specific [anecdote] against unhappiness)," the article continued. "But LSD 25, while it has no direct curative powers, can be of great benefit to mental patients."²³

Time discussed LSD's perceived ability to replicate symptoms of mental illness in a 1955 article which opened with a description of LSD discoverer Hofmann's first trip.²⁴ The same anecdote was used to begin a 1958 story announcing he had isolated the psychoactive compound psilocybin from hallucinogenic mushrooms, giving researchers yet another drug to explore mental illness.²⁵ *Time* had cause to take pride in the discovery. The mushroom samples used by Hofmann to isolate psilocybin were collected during hallucinogenic mushroom-hunting expeditions that were chronicled the previous year in *Life*.²⁶

That story, "Seeking the Magic Mushroom," was a first-person account by J.P. Morgan Vice President R. Gordon Wasson of his

"William Braden, a Chicago Tribune reporter who delved into the drug culture in a 1967 book, The Private Sea: LSD and the Search for God, complained newspapers had done a poor job of covering the drug movement by focusing on irresponsible behavior, medical side effects, and the relatively rare horrific trip." thirty-year quest to find hallucinogenic mushrooms and the "astonishing" effects when they were consumed. He described his experience with Mexican hallucinogenic mushrooms in wholly positive terms: "For the first time the word ecstasy took on real meaning. For the first time it did not mean someone else's state of mind."²⁷ After vividly describing the resplendent palaces and the mythological beasts he saw under the influence of the drug, he wrote:

The visions were not blurred or uncertain. They were sharply focused, the lines and colors being so sharp that they seemed more real to me than anything I had seen with my own eyes. I felt that I was now

seeing plain, whereas ordinary vision gives an imperfect view; I was seeing the archetypes, the Platonic ideals, that underlie the imperfect images of everyday life.²⁸

Wasson reported that he and his friends woke on the morning following the experience "rested and heads clear, though deeply shaken by the experience we had gone through." He said he participated in mushroom rituals nine times and brought more mushrooms from Mexico, which he consumed later.²⁹ His interest in hallucinogens' potential to create mystical experience led to his collaboration with Hofmann and classical scholar Carl A.P. Ruck on a 1978 book suggesting that an ancient Greek rite, the Eleusinian Mysteries, revolved

around consumption of the hallucinogenic fungus ergot.³⁰ By the late 1950s, LSD was being used by cutting.ed

By the late 1950s, LSD was being used by cutting-edge clinicians to treat alcoholism, depression, and sexual frigidity. Psychotherapists especially were impressed with its apparent ability to give people insight into their own behavior. Scholars estimated that between 1950 and 1965, LSD was the subject of approximately 2,000 scientific papers and six international conferences and was administered by researchers and clinicians to 40,000 Americans.³¹ A 1972 Consumers Union report noted: "Few drugs known to man have been so thoroughly studied so promptly."³²

lare Boothe Luce was supplied with LSD by Los Angeles therapist Sidney Cohen in 1959. She took the drug with a mutual friend, theologian and mystic Gerald Heard, during a visit to the Luces' Phoenix home.³³ Heard explained the value of LSD in a 1963 article for the first edition of the *Psychedelic Review*:

You see and hear this world, but as the artist and the musician sees and hears. And, much more important, it may also give far-reaching insights into one's own self and into one's relationship with others. Some takers of it have even felt that they had won an insight into the "nature of the Universe and the purpose of Life." These insights can be remembered and, if the person wishes, can be incorporated into his or her everyday living to bring it a "better order."³⁵

When she tried the drug in 1959, Clare was at loose ends. She had experienced a phenomenally successful career by any standard: author of four successful Broadway plays in the 1930s, managing editor of *Vanity Fair* from 1933 to 1934, two-term congresswoman in the 1940s, and ambassador to Italy from 1953 to 1956, among other accomplishments. A front-page obituary in the *New York*

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Times in 1987 said she was often on lists of the world's ten most admired women.³⁵ But in an "informal, and very private report" to Heard and Cohen in 1959 on her first three experiments with LSD, she described herself as deeply unhappy with her entire life, prone to migraines and gastric upset and, at times, paralyzed by indecision. Recent events made things worse: Henry announced that he planned to leave her for a twenty-four-year-old English woman.³⁶ The love affair was in the gossip columns.³⁷ Perhaps worse still, she was forced to recognize that her husband had lied when he had claimed to be impotent twenty-three years earlier. "For almost 58 years—all my conscious life—until last spring—I felt certain-that

> I would be deserted, rejected, 'let down,' denied by everyone or anyone I came to love, or even respect, sooner or later," she wrote.³⁸

When Clare took LSD with Heard and another friend for the first time in her Phoenix home on March 11, 1959, she said she saw the world through the eyes of "a happy and gifted child," full of bliss and contentment, without fear, in joyous acceptance of the good-andevil duality of nature and at one with the world. "Whatever the effects of LSD on the body, the effect on the psyche—my psyche—in any event, were at the time altogether good," she wrote to the psychiatrist. She credited her new peace of mind for the strength to negotiate the continuation of her marriage to Henry

and to turn down a prestigious job that she did not want, ambassador to Brazil.³⁹

Although the year was not included in the dates of many of the fourteen hand-written journals of acid trips in Clare's papers, journals and correspondence indicate she took acid at least four times before the end of 1959 and at least twice in 1960 with companions including Heard and Father John Murray.⁴⁰ A Catholic priest, he also served as an intermediary between Clare and Henry as they worked through their marital problems during this period.⁴¹

Clare's writings while on LSD are largely prosaic; during one trip in 1959, she described gazing through a kaleidoscope and marveling at the taste of jam.⁴² During another in 1960, she discussed nuclear war with her friends and came to the conclusion that "life like a bell has many resonances—work, children, the copper-brass amalgam—friendships—but faith is the clapper that strikes and makes the resonances."⁴³ She spent part of one acid trip in 1961 sorting mosaic glass by her swimming pool.⁴⁴

While Clare was a prolific writer during the use of acid, many of her acid-trip writings were undated. In an undated account of an acid trip with Henry in their Phoenix home, she described her husband examining plants in the garden and then coming back in the house to talk. They discussed the drug: "We agree this could never be taken like alcohol 'Just for kicks."⁴⁵

Biographers have described two LSD experiences by Henry, the son of a Presbyterian missionary. During one, he conducted an imaginary orchestra in his back yard, and in the other, "he claimed to have talked to God on the golf course, and found that the Old Boy seemed to be on top of things and knew pretty much what he was doing," in the words of biographer Wilfred Sheed.⁴⁶ The origin of these accounts and the dates when they took place is not clear.⁴⁷ However, correspondence from Clare to Heard indicated that Henry had tried LSD by February 1960.48

The next *Time* article about LSD, published in March 1960, discussed its use by Los Angeles psychiatrists in treating celebrity clients, a scenario that cast a positive light on the Luces' own use. The story, "The Psyche in 3-D," began:

In Hollywood, it was only natural that psychiatric patients undergoing analytic treatment should have visions in wide screen, full color, and observe themselves from cloud nine. What was remarkable was that these phenomena—experienced by (among others) such glossy public personalities as Cary Grant and his third exwife [*sic*], Betsy Drake were reported in the cold, grey scientific

columns of the A.M.A.'s Archives of General Psychiatry.⁴⁹

LSD was credited by the magazine with "accelerated recovery" for about half of the patients on which it was used. The drug trip was described as vivid, colorful visions, sometimes populated by puppets or Disney characters, sometimes based on perfectly recalled childhood memories, sometimes fantasies of God and the devil. Researchers cited in the article said LSD should only be administered by psychiatrists who had taken the drug from twenty to forty times themselves so that they understood what patients would be experiencing. The story ended with celebrity endorsements:

> In Hollywood, word of LSD's powers inevitably circulated with the martinis, led to a fad to try it. An osteopathic psychiatrist gave it experimentally to a number of the curious, including famed Novelist-Mystic Aldous (*The Doors of Perception*) Huxley. Among the [Ar-

thur] Chandler-[Mortimer] Hartman patients were several movie notables, whom the doctors refused, because of professional ethics, to name. But some named themselves. One of these was durable Actor Grant, 56, who emerged from therapy to give a confused account of what had ailed him during a long and successful career, but he was convinced that he had at last found "a tough inner core of strength."⁵⁰

The article described drugs being given under psychiatric supervision in a comfortable room with classical music playing and the patients outfitted with blinders and sometimes wearing earplugs.⁵¹ Use in the Luce home was much more casual. In 1960, Clare explored purchasing supplies of the drug directly from an Italian pharmaceutical distributor, and she once received LSD through the mail from Cohen with the note: "Dear Clare—Have you found the enclosed capsule? May it be a glorious day." In one, undated journal, she described dropping acid by herself before getting in a car for the ride from the couple's New York apartment to their Connecticut estate, where she went for a walk in the autumn woods. "Great beauty, peace, 'reconciliation'—to be alone, mediatory, doing nothing—<u>not</u> to be bored, or feel guilty, or even very much alone . . . this is the beauty of the chemical, that it destroys boredom."⁵²

Scholars have established that the early spread of LSD was due to medical professionals who shared the drug with friends. The FDA's first investigation in 1961 into the misuse of LSD focused on Southern California physicians and psychologists who were not

"Scholars have established that the early spread of LSD was due to medical professionals who shared the drug with friends. The FDA's first investigation in 1961 into the misuse of LSD focused on Southern California physicians and psychologists who were not authorized to use the drug, and this resulted in raids on several Los Angeles therapists in 1962."

authorized to use the drug, and this resulted in raids on several Los Angeles therapists in 1962.⁵³ The number of researchers eligible to receive LSD from Sandoz was curtailed in February 1963 following the passage of new federal regulations requiring Food and Drug Administration approval for drug trials.⁵⁴

The increased regulation on LSD came just as a new chapter was beginning in the history of LSD. The removal of Leary and Richard Alpert from the Harvard University faculty in 1963 for running what *Esquire* called "a drug cult in the Social Relations Department" launched LSD into the national news

and created two new spokesmen.55 The academics were accused of handing out enough hallucinogenic drugs to undergraduates to feed a local drug scene, and Leary offered the media far-out claims about the potential of psychedelic drugs to expand the human mind. Time, like other national magazines covering the scandal, exhibited little sympathy. Its story mentioned that "by last fall, it became clear that some psychiatrists and some investigators who were supposed to be experimenting only with animals were slipping LSD to unqualified buddies, who were using the drug for kicks. In Los Angeles, beatniks and assorted addicts lapped the stuff up, buying (for \$1 apiece) lumps of sugar in which a drop of the potent raw material had been absorbed." The story had little good to say about the drug:

According to some psychiatrists, all three drugs [mescaline, psilocybin and LSD] are useful, but only if they are given in small

doses under the strictest supervision. Then the drugs sometimes speed up psychotherapy by increasing insight, and LSD has been acclaimed as a trigger mechanism that enables many alcoholics to face the emotional bases of their addiction. But psychiatrists and other physicians in general are solidly arrayed against non-medical application of such potent drugs.³⁶

Time's position on the non-medical use of LSD softened seven months later. An October 1963 religion department story, "Instant Mysticism," illustrated the magic of the LSD experience through its non-medical use by upstanding citizens. It began:

In every age, men have struggled to perceive God directly rather than as a tenuously grasped abstraction. Few succeed, and the visions of the world's rare mystics have normally come only after hard spiritual work—prayer, meditation, acetic practice. Now, a number of psychologists and theologians are exploring such hallucinogenic drugs as mescaline, psilocybin and LSD-25 as an easy way to instant mysticism.⁵⁷

The article went on to discuss how the new "hip way to get kicks" had produced mystical experiences for Huxley, a prison psychologist, a divinity school professor, a Princeton researcher, and an MIT instructor. The story mentioned that Leary "was dropped from the Harvard faculty last spring after receiving strong criticism for his research on the use of LSD and psilocybin," but it reported the findings of his research, including the famous Good Friday experiment which found that LSD heightened seminarians' religious experience, without questioning its validity.⁵⁸

In March 1963, *Life* published the second of a two-part series on "Control of the Brain," titled "The Chemical Mind-Changers," which focused extensively on LSD. The Luces took a special interest in this series. A rough draft of the stories, initialed by Henry with a hand-written note to Clare, was in her papers. The first part of the series, which dealt with the electronic stimulation of the brain using electrodes, underwent few changes between review by the Luces and publication in *Life*. Several paragraphs were lightly rewritten and 250 words discussing the brain's make-up were added.⁵⁹

Changes to the second part of the series, "Chemical Mind-Changers," were more dramatic. As well as getting a new lead and a 500-word introduction, the section of the story dealing with LSD was thoroughly revised and expanded. The rough draft of the story reviewed by the Luces described the general effects of LSD and contemporary psychiatric research with the drug in about 400 words with no attribution. The published story devoted about 1,600 words to contemporary LSD research and included expert comment by two psychiatrists, including the one who provided the drug to the Luces. Cohen was cited as the primary source for "some landmarks that will aid

the reader in reaching a rational opinion" on what had lately become a matter of controversy. The article said he had found "the evidence indicates that with proper precautions, they [LSD and mescaline] are safe when given to a selected healthy group," and "for 'normal' people, the hallucinogens can give a rewarding esthetic, philosophical or religious experience—such as a sudden sense of comprehension of the nature of God."⁶⁰

In the following year, *Time* heralded Cohen's publication of *The Beyond Within: The LSD Story*, with a 1,300-word story, "The Pros & Cons of LSD." ⁶¹ Swanberg's claim that Luce gave managing editors at *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune* copies of a book on psychedelic drugs and told them to cover the subject can not be verified.⁶² If true, however, this article about Cohen's book may have been the result. The Luces thought highly of him, and a copy of *The Beyond Within* inscribed to Clare was among her papers.⁶³

"The Pros & Cons of LSD" described Cohen's book as the first "impartial appraisal by a competent scientist writing in lay language" about LSD. The story recounted several blissful trips, mentioned the possibility of horrible ones, and labeled the drug as "definitely dangerous" for borderline psychotics. The primary disadvantage, however, was that a vital tool for scientific inquiry could get a bad name even though it was an important way to study the human mind. "But the responsible hopes raised by serious and cautious research have been matched by wildly visionary claims. Irresponsible misuse of the drug has led to both scares and scandals," the lead paragraph ended. This point was picked up at the article's conclusion:

Antics & Reaction: In the last few years, Dr. Cohen and other reputable researchers have been disturbed by what he calls the "beatnik microculture" and its abuses of LSD and other hallucinogens. The danger, he says, is that the public reaction against oddball antics may set back serious research for many years.

It is tempting, he suggests, to say that one gets from the LSD encounter what one deserves, but he quotes Aquinas for a more accurate summation: "Quidquid recipietur secundum modum recipientis recipietur"—our nature determines what we receive. But mankind will not always know its present mental limits. "The mind's surmised and still unknown potential," says Dr. Cohen, "is our future. The experience called hallucinogenic will play a role in leading us to the future."⁶⁴

By this time, Henry had become outspoken with subordinates

"In March 1963, Life published the second of a two-part series on 'Control of the Brain,' titled 'The Chemical Mind-Changers,' which focused extensively on LSD. The Luces took a special interest in this series." at *Time* and *Life* about his enthusiasm for LSD. One incident, which apparently took place in 1964, was recounted in 1987 by former *Life* publisher and *Time* chairman Andrew Heiskell for Columbia University's Notable New Yorkers oral history project:

Q: You reminded me of something. What about LSD?

Heiskell: Oh! That! We had a dinner at the Pierre, I think it was. And he [Luce] was giving a big speech—I forget—maybe it was when [Hedley] Donovan was made editorial director—

Q: Well, it had to have been in the 1960s if it was LSD.

Heiskell: Yes, yes. It was around there. And he was talking about Time Inc., and talking about the modern world, all the things that were going on, and how everything was changing. And without any preamble that I can remember, he said that he and Clare were taking LSD! And two hundred and fifty people fainted. [laughter] And then he went right on. I don't think he had any notion of what he had said. I don't know whether he thought all of us took LSD and therefore he would be one of the boys—maybe that. You know, he was very specific about it. He said, "Yes, yes, we take LSD. We do it under doctors [*sic*] supervision."⁶⁶⁵

In 1964, Henry stepped down as editor-in-chief of all of his publications, but he retained the title of editorial chairman with both the power and the inclination to influence coverage. At the time of his retirement, he was asked by a magazine columnist, "But if the editors now decide to support candidate A for President, and you are for candidate B, which candidate will the magazines support?" Henry responded: "That's simple. They will support candidate B."⁶⁶ The official *Time* corporate history had him confiding to an old associate, "I do reserve the human right to talk to managing editors and writers and correspondents without going through channels."⁶⁷

In 1965, LSD was mentioned three times in *Time*: in a review of a book on the fungi kingdom, in a listing for a television drama about a doctor accused of manslaughter for advocating LSD, and in one sentence in a story about the new phenomenon of college drop-outs. ("Victor Scott Keppel, 23, a dropout who spent two years on the Avenue before returning seriously to his studies, recalls his hiatus as a fast-moving kaleidoscope of LSD, drinking, faceless girls, and empty days. 'The nonstudent [*sic*] life tastes like peanut butter, stale bread and leftover booze,' he says.")⁶⁸ It was the calm before the storm.

In 1965, an underground laboratory operated by Augustus

Owsley Stanley III, also famous as the soundman for the Grateful Dead, began production. His high-quality, low-cost LSD washed over the streets of San Francisco and found its way to colleges across the country.⁶⁹ The federal government estimated the number of first-time LSD users nearly doubled between 1966 and 1967, and by the end of the latter year, about 500,000 Americans had tried the drug.⁷⁰ The master of a college at Yale, John Hersey, wrote he was relieved that during a 1966 visit by Henry that the sixty-eight-year-old publisher waited until college students were gone from a meeting before launching into a lecture to him on the virtues of LSD. "We were having a little trouble with LSD then," the Pu-

litzer-prize winning novelist and former *Time* writer said.⁷¹

As LSD gained traction as a street drug in 1966, stern warnings about side effects were mixed in with coverage in *Time* and *Life*. Reporting about "An Epidemic of 'Acid-Heads," in 1966, *Time* declared "everywhere the diagnosis is the same: psychotic illness resulting from unauthorized, nonmedical use of the drug LSD-25." Cohen was quoted: "'LSD can kill you dead—by making you feel that you can walk on water, or fly."⁷² But the magazines did not shy away from de-

scribing the drug's possibilities or abandon hope it would provide regular people with mystical experiences envisioned in traditional Christian language. For example, "Mysticism in the Lab," the article that opened with anecdotes about two saints, Paul and Theresa of Avila, was published in 1966.⁷³ A *Life* cover story in the same year, "The Exploding Threat of the Mind Drug that Got Out of Control," balanced concerns and hopes for LSD in a five-article package. The stories were cautionary in parts, offering *Life* science editor Albert Rosenfield's opinion that LSD was "emphatically not" for everyone and for some it might be "a one way ticket to an asylum, a prison or a grave."⁷⁴

But the package also included two pages of testimonials on the potential of LSD to induce religious experiences under the subtitle, "Scientists, Theologians, Mystics Swept up in a Psychic Revolution." And along with a typical anecdote about a teenage girl's bad trip, the package included a first-person account by a "hard-headed, conservative, Midwestern, Republican businessman" who discovered an understanding of God while using LSD.⁷⁵ In an editorial in the following month, *Life* suggested lawmakers should take a lesson from the failure of alcohol prohibition (1920 to 1933) and find a way to discourage LSD "cultism" while still "making LSD available, under controlled conditions, to researchers and citizens who have good reason to try LSD and who can pass the necessary physical and mental tests."⁷⁶

Henry died of heart blockage on February 28, 1967, one day after checking into St. Joseph's Hospital in Phoenix.⁷⁷ His death came as recreational LSD use was growing and new medical studies purporting to demonstrate increasingly severe side effects from LSD were emerging. It is worth noting that the most severe physiological problems, including chromosomal damage, birth defects, and spontaneous abortion, have never been confirmed.⁷⁸

Coverage of LSD in *Time* and *Life* became much more ordinary following his death. After four articles in 1966, *Life* did not publish another major article about LSD in the 1960s. The *Readers' Guide Retrospective* search located four *Time* stories about LSD in 1967 and two in 1968, but the magazine was through waxing poet-

ic about the theological implications of LSD trips. Three stories in 1967 discussed studies that LSD caused cell damage and damaged fetuses, but they framed the evidence as preliminary, and another article that year discussed hallucinogens used by native peoples but not yet explored by scientists.⁷⁹ The magazine also reported on arrests of tripping motorists in Los Angeles and purported cases of blindness caused by college students staring at the sun.⁸⁰ A similar legend about western Pennsylvania college students going blind was debunked by the magazine in 1968.⁸¹ *Time* also reported on the reluctant decision of the head of the FDA to support new federal laws making possession of the drug a crime.⁸²

"As LSD gained traction as a street drug in 1966, stern warnings about side effects were mixed in with coverage in Time and Life." Thus, late in life, as Henry Luce became fascinated with LSD, that interest was reflected in his magazines. This article presents circumstantial evidence that he may have directly influenced staffers at his publications to print positive coverage of LSD, but direct involvement by him may not have been necessary to achieve this result. Just the knowledge that he was interested in LSD might have been enough to motivate writers and editors to cover the subject more frequently and more thoroughly than they otherwise might have done. And any

impulse toward more sympathetic coverage may have been propagated through journalists' habit of referring to past clippings when writing new stories.

In hindsight, the Luces' experimentation with LSD seemed out of character with their Middle-American image, and the promotional coverage of LSD seemed out of character with their magazines because of their conservatism. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, however, the drug was on the cutting edge of psychiatric research. It was being used with success in the treatment of alcoholism and psychological complaints and was believed by some to be the key to new understandings of religion, consciousness, and the brain. While surprising when viewed through the lens of subsequent events, the early coverage in *Time* and *Life* reflected the excitement about LSD in the scientific community.⁸³

This coverage was more than merely a tie-dyed skeleton in Henry's closet. In 1965, *Time* had a circulation of more than 3 million, far more than any American newspaper, and it sold early as many copies each week as *Newsweek* and *U.S. News & World Report* combined. In addition, the circulation of *Life* was 7.2 million in 1965, making it the sixth-largest magazine in the country.⁸⁴ Marketers routinely seek positive editorial coverage to move their product, and the magazine industry has a long history of popularizing drugs, from nineteenth-century patent medicines to contemporary pharmaceuticals. The magazines' coverage of LSD certainly introduced many readers to the drug.

These articles were not likely the direct cause of many informal LSD experiments, despite Abbie Hoffman's contention that a *Life* magazine article inspired his. Magazine coverage may have piqued an individual's interest, but to use LSD he or she needed to have personal contact with a doctor, a distributor, or a dealer willing to hand it out. The diffusion of LSD relied fundamentally on personal contacts.

But while the magazines did not make anyone try LSD, they surely contributed to the public awareness that a drug with the unique effects of LSD existed and was possibly desirable. LSD offered something new. Everett M. Rogers included it on a list of contemporary "innovations" in his 1971 book, *Communication of Innovations: A Cross-Cultural Approach.*⁸⁵ In a subsequent edition, he wrote that mass media channels such as magazines are most effective in the first stage in the process by which individuals come to adopt a new technology, when the individual "wants to know what the innovation is, and how and why it works."⁸⁶ Coverage of LSD in *Time* and *Life* met that need.

That coverage also may have helped shape users' experience of the drug. Regarding marijuana, Rogers wrote that potential users must "learn" a favorable attitude toward drug-induced sensations in order to enjoy them.⁸⁷ The often-favorable attitude toward LSD in Luce's magazines may have helped create users' expectation that they would enjoy the LSD experience, an experience strange enough to have been studied as madness. Braden proposed a similar relationship between media coverage and drug users' experiences when he speculated that newspaper stories about "bad trips" in the late 1960s "might be partly responsible for creating a self-fulfilling prophesy" by making LSD users subliminally anxious. "One dimly recalls a halcyon time, in the beginning, when nobody spoke much about bad trips, and the psychedelic experience was almost always rewarding," he wrote in an article first published in 1970.⁸⁶

Henry was unembarrassed by his use of LSD, likely seeing himself as similar to the respectable, traditionally minded spiritual seekers depicted using the drug in his magazines. Through the mid-1960s, *Time* and *Life* spoke to their readers as potential LSD users, with non-judgmental and often enticing descriptions of the drug's effect. The promotional coverage started more than a decade before the drug was widely available and continued even after it was widely abused, contributing to an atmosphere in which millions, like Henry and Clare, turned on to LSD.

NOTES

¹ For an in-depth history of LSD use in the United States, see Martin A. Lee and Bruce Shlain, *Acid Dreams; The Complete Social History of LSD: The CIA, the Sixties, and Beyond* (New York: Grove Press, 1985). The pro-LSD Love Pageant Rally in 1966 was described on page 149.

² Historical drug use estimates are available from the Department of Health and Human Services, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, Office of Applied Studies, *National Survey on Drug Use and Health: National Findings* (2002), at http://www.oas.samhsa.gov/nhsda/2k2nsduh/Results/2k2results. htm#chap5 (accessed on Jan. 7, 2007).

³ See "Epidemic of 'Acid-Heads," *Time*, March 11, 1966, 44; and "LSD," *Time*, June 17, 1966, 30.

"The Hobbit Habit," Time, July 15, 1966, 48.

5 "Mysticism in the Lab," Time, Sept. 23, 1966, 62.

6"Turning It on with LSD," Time, Nov. 25, 1966, 58.

⁵See "LSD Gave Luces the Time of Their Life," *New York Post*, March 2, 1968; and John Kobler, *Luce: His Time, Life and Fortune* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1968), 102.

* Robert Herzstein, Henry R. Luce, Time, and the American Crusade in Asia (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 240.

⁶ W.A. Swanberg, *Luce and His Empire* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972), 463.

¹⁰ James L. Baughman, Henry R. Luce and the Rise of the American News Media (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1987), 193.

¹¹See Hertzstein, Henry R. Luce, Time, and the American Crusade in Asia, 240; and Ralph G. Martin, Henry & Clare: An Intimate Portrait of the Luces (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1991), 401.

¹² Clare downplayed her experimentation with LSD in a 1973 question and answer session, telling the interviewer, "We only took it once or twice," and allowing the question, "But it was part of a medical research project, wasn't it?" to stand uncorrected. See Martha Weinman Lear, "On Harry, and Henry and Ike and Mr.

n enticing descriptions of the

²¹ One teacher's guide that recommended Huxley's *Bneve New World* on a yearlong twelfth grade curriculum also contained thirteen other authors, including Jane Austin, Joseph Conrad, and Herman Melville. See Dwight L. Burton, *Literature Study in the High Schools* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1959), 135.

²² Time edited out even more explicit religious imagery from Huxley's quotation. In *The Doors of Perception*, the sentence containing "was in a world where everything shown with Inner Light," continued "and was infinite in its significance." And to get to the point from when Huxley popped his pill, the editors skipped several arguably more colorful passages, including, "I was seeing what Adam had seen on the morning of his creation—the miracle, moment by moment, of naked existence," and "Words like 'grace' and 'transfiguration' came to my mind." *Time's* reluctance to use explicit religious language in describing the hallucinogenic experience dissipated over time. See Aldous Huxley, *The Doors of Perception* (New York: Harper, 1954), 18, 22; and "Dream Stuff," *Time*, June 28, 1954, 66.

²³ "Dream Stuff," 66.

²¹ "Artificial Psychosis," *Time*, Dec. 19, 1955, 60.

²⁵ "Mushroom Magic," Time, June 16, 1958, 44.

²⁶ See Albert Hofmann, *LSD, My Problem Child*, trans. Jonathan Ott (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1980),110-1; and Wasson, "Seeking the Magic Mushroom," 100

^{2°} Wasson, "Seeking the Magic Mushroom," 102.

²⁹ Ibid., 109.

29 Ibid., 110, 118.

³⁰ R. Gordon Wasson, Albert Hofmann, and Carl A.P. Ruck, *The Road to Eleu*sis: Unveiling the Secret of the Mysteries (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1978).

¹¹ See Erika Dyck, "Flashback: Psychiatric Experimentation with LSD in Historical Perspective," *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry* 50 (June 2005): 383; and Paul Gahlinger, *Illegal Drugs: A Complete Guide to Their History, Chemistry, Use and Abuse* (New York: Penguin, 2004), 49.

³² Edward M. Brecher and the editors of *Consumer Reports*, Licit and Illicit Drugs: The Consumers Union Report on Narcotics, Stimulants, Depressants, Inhalants, Hallucinogens and Marijuana—Including Caffeine, Nicotine and Alcohol (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1972), 366.

³³ Clare Boothe Luce noted Heard's presence in her journals of six LSD trips and discussed obtaining and using the drug in numerous correspondences. He was a remarkable figure. Born in London ir. 1889, he published the first of his thirtyone philosophical books in 1924. In 1937, he immigrated to the United States for a

Shaw; Clare Boothe Luce, She Who Is Behind 'The Women' Backstage," New York Times Magazine, April 22, 1973, 220.

¹³ Time's positive coverage of LSD was noted by the Church of Scientology in a full-page advertisement in USA Today responding to a 1991 Time story about the church. The advertisement accused the magazine of writing favorably about LSD in stories published in 1954, 1955, and 1963. See the advertisement "What Magazine Got It Wrong in 1991," USA Today, May 30, 1991; and Scott Donaton and Steven W. Colford, "Scientology Fires Ad Barrage at 'Time," Advertising Age, June 3, 1991, 50.

¹⁴ Mark I., Levine, George C. McNamee, and Daniel Greenberg, eds., *The Tales of Hoffman* (New York: Bantam, 1970), 146, 283.

¹³ Abbie Hoffman, Soon to Be a Major Motion Picture (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1980), 73.

¹⁶ Jay Stevens, *Storming Heaven* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1987), 4, 23-30, 74-87.

¹⁷ See Steven J. Novak, "LSD Before Leary: Sidney Cohen's Critique of 1950s Psychedelic Drug Research," *Isis* 88 (March 1997): 107-09; "Penalties for LSD," *Time*, March 8, 1968, 53; Lee and Shlain, *Acid Dreams*, 92; "New York State Controls LSD Use Under '65 Law," *New York Times*, June 1, 1966; and "2 States in West Ban Sale of LSD," *New York Times*, May 31, 1966.

¹⁸ William Braden, "LSD and the Press" in Stanley Cohen and Jock Young, eds., *The Manufacture of News: Social Problems, Deviance, & the Mass Media* (London: Constable, 1973), 199, 205-07.

¹⁹ A pre-publication draft of the article initialed by Henry Luce and addressed to Clare is in her papers. See Clare Boothe Luce collection, box 715, container 14, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Also see Robert Coughlan, "The Chemical Mind Changers," *Life*, March 15, 1963, 31.

²⁰ See Lee and Shlain, Acid Dreams, 73; and R. Gordon Wasson, "Seeking the

brief stint as the head of Duke University's historical anthropology department, and then in 1939, he encountered Swarmi Prabhavananda in Hollywood and became a student of Vendanta, the Swami's sect of Hinduism. See *Contemporary Authors Online*, Gale, 2006, which is reproduced in *Biography Resource Center* (Farmington Hills, Mich.: Thomson Gale, 2006), at http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/BioRC (accessed on Aug. 29, 2008).

³⁴ Gerald Heard, "Can This Drug Enlarge Man's Mind?" *Psychedelic Review* 1 (June 1963): 9.

³⁵ Albin Krebs, "Clare Boothe Luce Dies at 84: Playwright, Politician, Envoy," *New York Times*, Oct. 10, 1987.

³⁶ Clare Boothe Luce kept a transcript of a conversation that she had with her husband concerning this episode in their marriage and discussed her reaction in personal writings. See "Conference between HRL and CBL," and "Imaginary interview," Clare Boothe Luce collection, box 796, container 4, Library of Congress.

³⁷ Swanberg, Luce and His Empire, 403.

³⁸ She discussed her psychological state in a letter addressed to Heard with instructions for him to pass it along to Cohen. See Clare Booth Luce to Gerald Heard, Nov. 20, 1959, Clare Boothe Luce collection, box 796, container 12, Library of Congress.

³⁹ Ibid. During the March 11, 1959, trip, Clare turned down a phone call from "Nixon," telling her aide that she would return the call later. She was active in the Republican Party and served as national co-chair for Barry Goldwater's 1964 presidential run. See "Experiment with LSD 11 March 1959, Phoenix, Arizona," Clare Boothe Luce collection, box 793, container 4, Library of Congress.

⁴⁰ In her LSD journals, Luce typically listed those present with only initials. However, correspondence with Murray and Heard confirms that they took LSD together. See Gerald Heard to Clare Boothe Luce, Feb. 13, 1960, box 766, container 3; John Murray to Clare Boothe Luce, March 12, 1960, box 766, container 9; and John Murray to Clare Boothe Luce, Aug. 1, 1962, box 795, container 8. All are in the Clare Boothe Luce collection, Library of Congress.

⁴¹ "Conference between HRL and CBL," Clare Boothe Luce collection, box 796, container 4, Library of Congress.

⁴² Journal dated Dec. 8, 1959, Clare Boothe Luce collection, box 793, container 4, Library of Congress.

⁴³ Journal dated Aug. 6, 1960, Clare Boothe Luce collection, box 793, container 4, Library of Congress.

⁴⁴ Journal dated Feb. 14, 1961, Clare Boothe Luce collection, box 793, container 4, Library of Congress.

⁴⁵ "a.m. 11:45 HRL took 100 gamma of lsd . . . ,"Clare Boothe Luce collection, box 793, container 4, Library of Congress.

⁴⁶ See Wilfred Sheed, *Clare Boothe Luce* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1982), 124; Swanberg, *Luce and His Empire*, 463; Herzstein, *Henry R. Luce*, Time, *and the American Crusade in Asia*, 240; and Stevens, *Storming Heaven*, 72.

⁴⁷ Jay Stevens described Luce as having both experiences on the same drug trip in Phoenix in 1958. While plausible, this could not be confirmed from archival records. See Stevens, *Storming Heaven*, 72.

⁴⁸ Gerald Heard referred to an acid trip with Henry and Clare in a letter. See Gerald Heard to Clare Boothe Luce, Feb. 13, 1960, Clare Boothe Luce collection, box 766, container 3, Library of Congress.

49 "The Psyche in 3-D," Time, March 28, 1960, 83.

50 Ibid., 84.

⁵¹ Ibid., 83.

⁵² See Sidney Cohen to Clare Boothe Luce, n.d., Clare Boothe Luce collection, box 795, container 3, Library of Congress; and an undated journal, "11:30 a.m. Took 75 micrograms LSD 25 at Waldorf . . . ," Clare Boothe Luce collection, box 973, container 4, Library of Congress.

53 Novak, "LSD before Leary," 108.

⁵⁴ Andrew T. Weil, "The Strange Case of the Harvard Drug Scandal," *Look*, Nov. 8, 1963, 42.

⁵⁵ Martin Mayer, "Getting Alienated from the Right Crowd at Harvard," *Esquire*, September 1963, 73.

56 "LSD," Time, March 29, 1963, 30.

57 "Instant Mysticism," Time, Oct. 25, 1963, 86.

58 Ibid., 86-87.

⁵⁹ Robert Coughlan, "Control of the Brain," *Life*, March 8, 1963, 92-95. The typed rough draft of the article is in the Clare Boothe Luce collection, box 715, container 14, Library of Congress.

60 Coughlan, "The Chemical Mind Changers," 89.

61 "The Pros & Cons of LSD," Time, Dec. 18, 1964, 63.

62 Swanberg, Luce and His Empire, 463.

⁶³ The inscription read, "Clare, if 'What is received is received according to the nature of the recipient'—l am both the finest and the worst of men—the finest for having known you—the worst for having lost that greatest of opportunities. It is to you—of course—to whom the book was written—a poor enough offering but with it goes my love to the end." See Clare Boothe Luce collection, box 715, container 14, Library of Congress.

61 "The Pros & Cons of LSD," 63-64.

⁶⁵ Heiskell, who died in 2003, described a similar incident to Luce biographer Ralph G. Martin, but he placed it at the Waldorf Hotel. The incident is also mentioned in Loudon Wainwright's history of *Life* magazine, but no date or details were provided. See Loudon Wainwright, *The Great American Magazine* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), 285; Martin, *Henry & Clare*, 401; and "Oral History of Andrew Heiskell (1987)," Columbia University Libraries Oral History Research Office, Interview 1, Session 5, 264-65, at http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/digital/collections/nny/heiskella/transcripts/heiskella_1_5_264.html (accessed on Jan. 7, 2007).

66 Swanberg, Luce and His Empire, 442-43.

67 Curtis Prendergast and Geoffrey Colvin, Time Inc.; The Intimate History of a Changing Enterprise, vol. 3 (New York: Atheneum, 1986), 195.

⁶⁸ See "The Nibbling Kingdom," *Time*, June 25, 1965, 106; "Time Listings," *Time*, Feb. 19, 1965, 2; and "The Womb-Clingers," *Time*, June 25, 1965, 53;

⁶⁹ Lee and Shlain, Acid Dreams, 146.

⁷⁰ Department of Health and Human Services, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, Office of Applied Studies, *National Survey on Drug* Use and Health: National Findings (2002).

⁷¹ John Hersey, quoted in Swanberg, Luce and His Empire, 476.

72 "Epidemic of 'Acid-Heads,'" 44.

⁷³ "Mysticism in the Lab," 62.

⁷⁴Albert Rosenfeld, "The Vital Facts about the Drug and Its Effects," in "LSD: The Exploding Threat of the Mind Drug that Got Out of Control," *Life*, March 25, 1966, 30A.

⁷⁵ "A Hard-Headed Businessman's Vivid Memory," in "LSD: The Exploding Threat of the Mind Drug that Got Out of Control," 30D.

76 "LSD: Control, Not Prohibition," Life, April 29, 1966, 4.

77 Swanberg, Luce and His Empire, 482.

⁷⁸ N.I. Dishotsky, W.D Loughman, R.E. Mogar, and W.R. Lipscomb, "LSD and Genetic Damage: Is LSD Chromosome Damaging, Carcinogenic, Mutagenic, or Teratogenic?" *Science*, April 31, 1971, 431-40.

⁷⁹ See "Drugs and Chromosomes," *Time*, Sept. 15, 1967, 84-85; "Cell Damage from LSD," *Time*, March 24, 1967, 46; "LSD & the Unborn," *Time*, Aug. 11, 1967, 60; and "Beyond LSD," *Time*, Feb. 10, 1967, 84-85.

80 "More Bad Trips on LSD," Time, May 26, 1967, 64.

81 "Another LSD Hallucination," Time, Jan. 26, 1968, 66.

82 "Penalties for LSD," Time, March 8, 1968, 53.

⁸³ See David Healy, *The Creation of Psychopharmacology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002), 180; Brecher, *Legal and Illegal Drugs*, 366; and Gahlinger, *Illegal Drugs*, 49.

⁸⁴ Luman H. Long, ed., *The World Almanac and Book of Facts, 1966* (New York: New York World Telegram and The Sun, 1966), 734-35.

⁸⁵ Everett M. Rogers with Floyd F. Shoemaker, *Communication of Innovations:* A Cross-Cultural Approach (New York: Free Press, 1971), 19.

⁸⁶ Everett M. Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovation*, 3rd ed. (New York: Free Press, 1983), 20-21.

** Rogers, Communication of Innovations, 127.

88 Braden, "I.SD and the Press," 202.