

The
Road
to Total
Freedom
A Sociological
analysis of
Scientology

ROY WALLIS

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Freedom

This book is a sociological study of a new quasi-religious movement, Scientology. Its author, Roy Wallis, traces the emergence of this movement as a lay psychotherapy - "Dianetics" and its development into an authoritarian sect. Drawing on formulations in the sociology of religion, he analyses the processes involved and presents a theory to account for the transformation of cult into sect.

On the basis of over eighty interviews with members and former members, a typology of the motivations which led individuals to affiliate with the movements is derived, and the processes by which members become further committed to the movement are explored. The reasons which led a proportion of members to defect from the movement are also described.

Scientology has been notable for the extent to which it has come into conflict with the state, medical agencies, and individuals critical of its practices. The author turns to the sociology of deviance to provide a model to account for the development of a 'moral crusade' against Scientology and to explain the way in which the movement reacted and adapted to a hostile environment.

This study should find a place on courses in Religious Studies, the History of Religion, and the Sociology of Religion. It will be essential material for any attempt to understand the form and place of the new religions in advanced industrial societies. It is also likely to be appropriate material for courses on the Sociology of Social Movements.

The controversial nature of the topic of this work may, however, endow it with a market appeal beyond the confines of the academic community.

The Road to Total Freedom

A Sociological Analysis of Scientology

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Roy Wallis

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PREFACE

There is a sence in which sociology is inevitably a subversive enterprise. The very act of reflecting on the behaviour of people and organizations entails that these activities do not bear their meaning and explanation on their face. The sociologist's pursuit of further or different knowledge after he has already been informed of the 'truth' of the matter by the individuals or organizations concerned, displays the fact that he does not accept the 'self-evident', and perhaps even that motivated by malice, he is prepared to tell some entirely different story.

Hence, the sociologist poses a threat to the rhetorics and legitimations employed by social groups and a potential challenge to their definition of reality, and to the definitions of themselves which they present for public consumption. He therefore risks calling down upon himself the wrath and opprobrium of groups which he studies. Generally, the groups examined by sociologists are relatively powerless and their complaints may do little more than prick his own conscience or the consciences of his more radical colleagues. In other cases, however, the group examined may not be without power and in such instances, depending on the nature of the power and the society in which it is exercised, the sociologist may

risk more severe if not necessarily more serious, consequences,

I began my work on Scientology as a raw graduate student, fascinated by the relationship between beliefs, social organisation and society. While I had initially intended that Scientology be considered as one among a range of unorthodox system of belief to which I proposed to devote attention, I found myself increasingly interested by the rich body of material I was uncovering on this multifaceted movement. I have recounted at length elsewhere (in my contribution 'The moral career of a research project' to Colin Bell and Howard Newby, editors, *Doing Sociological Research*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1976) the history of my research on Scientology. It remains, however, to summarize a few points salient to the final production of this book.

As my opening remarks would suggest, the Church of Scientology was suspicious of my research. Having suffered at the hands of newspaper reporters, investigators for state and medical agencies, and government enquiries in many countries, my own work was readily placed by the leaders of the Church of Scientology into the category of hostile or critical commentary. My protestations that I had no axe to grind, and that I sought only to provide a coherent and

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as-nearly-objective account of Scientology as possible, were viewed with commendable scepticism by the church leadership.

The Church of Scientology is not known for its willingness to take what it construes as criticism without recourse. Indeed its record of litigation must surely be without parallel in the modern world. It therefore seemed almost inevitable that my own final work would be the subject of lengthy and expensive litigation. In such a situation, the writer faces a dilemma. Does he 'tell the truth, and damn the consequences'? Or does he, in the light of the extreme severity of the British law of libel, reflect that in over a hundred thousand words of text, anyone can make a mistake? There is a powerful tension between the threat of censorship and the possibility of enormous cost in time, effort and money for a single error.

But there is a further consideration. The sociologist has an *obligation* to the subjects of his research. Even if his relationship with them has sometimes approached open war, he owes them a duty not to misrepresent their activities and beliefs, the more so if they are in any respect a socially stigmatized or politically threatened collectivity. In my decision to make my manuscript available to the Church of Scientology, *both* of those considerations weighed heavily. Informing them in advance of what one intended to say had its dangers. Forewarned is, after all, forearmed for any legal battle. But the risk, in this case, paid off. It is my feeling that the church leadership appreciated the gesture, and while they remained adamant over a period of months that certain things should not be said, they were willing to compromise and to negotiate.

These negotiations, covering several reams of typescript were salutary. I came to appreciate that things which had initially sounded innocuous to me could be read as pejorative or even invective. In due course, I made various modifications to the text in this light. As an example, I amended my argument that Hubbard was 'obsessed' with communism, to read that he was 'preoccupied' by it. I also deleted a comparison with the Nazi party and the Ss which seemed on reflection *unnecessarily* offensive to members of the Church of Scientology. I further incorporated into the text from various commentaries sent to me by the Church of Scientology,

statements of their views on certain events on which we could not find common ground.

As a final gesture to the Church I offered to include in the work, as an appendix, a commentary commissioned by the Church, on my work as a whole. This seemed to provide what they claimed had been denied them in the past, i.e. an adequate right of reply, for which reason they had been forced to seek recourse in the courts. Dr Jerry Simmons was commissioned by the Church to write this reply. His interesting paper 'On maintaining deviant belief systems', has often been cited by sociologists working in the field of unorthodox collectivities of believers.¹

As a believer himself in this case, Dr Simmons inevitably rejects my study.

1 *Social Problems*, II, Winter (1964), pp. 250-6.

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His main argument is that my methods are not adequate in that they do not fulfil the criteria of traditional survey research, and that I therefore violate "the scientific method". Dr Simmons fails to recognise that methods are tools and tools must be adapted to circumstances. The 'scientific method' is no more than an injunction to examine evidence dispassionately and critically. My study does not intend to be a piece of survey research. Dr Simmons' strictures are, therefore, at best, misplaced. There are no 'sampling errors' since there is no 'sample'. My respondents are ethnographic informants not randomly sampled survey respondents. That many of them were not practising Scientologists and were openly hostile to Scientology only tells us that my information *may* be biased and not that it *is*. As it happens, information secured from informants, whether devoted adherents or active opponents, could be checked against other informants or against documentary sources. Dr Simmons suggests that I was offered permission to interview over 4,000 believers for my study. This offer was not, I'm afraid, ever as clear to me as it was to Dr Simmons. He accuses me again of bias in sampling statements from documents rather than performing a content analysis, but again his argument is misplaced. Had I wished for an analysis of the content of the documents, I would have conducted a content analysis. But something said only once in a body of documentation may have as much influence on organizational and individual behaviour as something said a thousand times. Hence I utilized documentation as any historian would, seeking to locate influential statements and to cite statements which information from other sources had indicated were important for behaviour, rather than to analyse as a whole the content of documents which, in the case of Scientology as of many other organizations and social movements, are often written for public relations purposes.

Ultimately, of course, which of us Dr Simmons or I is right on the question of the degree of bias in this book, is open to dispute. That is as it should be. I would be as foolish as Dr Simmons thinks me, if I believed I have said the last word on Scientology. It is right, and indeed exciting in its prospect, that debate about this movement will continue. I am hopeful that new information will continually come to light, and urge anyone with documentation on Scientology to send it to me, or to the Librarian of Stirling University, where an archive can be formed to preserve such material for future scholars. In the meantime, anyone hoping to resolve the matter can do no better than Dr Simmons suggests: begin your own investigation. Read Hubbard's *Dianetics: The Modern Science of Mental Health* and compare it, in terms of objectivity, the 'scientific method', etc., with my book.

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The Editors of the *News of the World*, *Mayfair*, the *Denver Post*, and of other newspapers and magazines too numerous to mention individually, and the management of Reuters, all made freely available copies of articles otherwise unobtainable, or provided me with facilities to examine their clipping files. I have benefited from discussions with Miss Mary Appleby, OBE, formerly secretary of the National Association for Mental Health (now the Mind Association); and with Mr David Gaiman, of the Guardian's Office of the Church of Scientology who also arranged for me to interview students and staff at Saint Hill Manor. Dr Christopher Evans and Mr C. H. Rolph kindly showed me their manuscripts prior to publication.

Earlier drafts of Chapter I appeared as part of an article 'Scientology:

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therapeutic cult to religious sect'in *Sociology*, 9, I (January 1975); and aspects of the theory were presented in 'The cult and its transformations'in *Sectarianism: Analyses of Religious and Non-Religious Sects* Roy Wallis, (Peter Owen, London, 1975). This latter work also contained an early formulation of sections of Chapter 7, under the title 'Societal reactions to Scientology: a study in the sociology of deviant religion'. For comments on earlier versions of Chapter 7, I am grateful to Professor Stanley Cohen, Dr David Downes, Dr Shelia Mitchell, and Dr Russell Dobash. The bulk of the manuscript has been read by Robert Kaufman and Richard Bland, and all of it by Professor David Martin and Dr Roderick Martin, whose comments and criticisms have been most helpful. Dr Bryan Wilson supervised my research for the doctoral thesis on which this book is based, and provided personal encouragement, sociological insight, and incisive editorial criticism. He has read many drafts of the manuscript and commented carefully and patiently upon each. I owe him a particular debt of gratitude. My wife and children have tolerated me throughout, a more difficult task than can easily be imagined.

Parts of the manuscript have been typed by Pam Drysdale and Marion Govan. To them and to Grace Smith who, with my wife, performed the bulk of the secretarial tasks connected with the preparation of this work, I wish to express my thanks.

Finally, I acknowledge a most profound debt to those who talked to me, completed my questionnaires, wrote letters, sent me information or otherwise assisted my research, but who must, for one reason or another, remain anonymous. None of those acknowledged here bear any responsibility for the final product.

This book is dedicated to the memory of my late father, John C. Wallis.

ABBREVIATIONS

SCIENTOLOGY ABBREVIATIONS

AD	After Dianetics
Anaten	Analytical Attenuation
AOLA	Advanced Organization Los Angeles
A-R-C	Affinity, Reality and Communication
BA	Book Auditor
BDA	British Dianetic Association
B. Scn.	Batchelor of Scientology
C.C.H.	Communication, Control and Havingness
Comm.	Communication
Dev T	Developed and Unnecessary Traffic
DFGB	Dianetic Federation of Great Britain
D of T	Director of Training
D Scn	Doctor of Scientology
E-meter	Electropsychometer
E/O	Ethics Office
ES	L. Ron Hubbard, *Dianetics: Evolution of a Science*
FSM	Field Staff Member
HAS	Hubbard Association of Scientologists (also, Hubbard Apprentice Scientologist)
HASI	Hubbard Association of Scientologists International
HCA	Hubbard Certified Auditor
HCO	Hubbard Communication Office
HDA	Hubbard Dianetic Auditor
HDRF	Hubbard Dianetic Research Foundation
HGC	Hubbard Guidance Centre
HPA	Hubbard Professional Auditor
MEST	Matter, Energy, Space and Time
MSMH	L. Ron Hubbard, *Dianetics: the Modern Science of Mental Health*
NAAP	National Academy of American Psychology
OEC	L. Ron Hubbard, *Organization Executive Course*
Org	Organisation

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ABBREVIATIONS

OT	Operating Thetan
OTC	Operations and Transport Corporation
(OTS)	(Operations and Transport Services Ltd)
PTS	Potential Trouble Source
Q & A	Question and Answer
Sec	Secretary
Sec Check	Security Check
S.P.	Suppressive Person
Stats	Statistics
T.R.	Training Routine
WW	World Wide

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

AJS	*American Journal of Sociology*
AMA	American Medical Association
ASR	*American Sociological Review*
BJS	*British Journal of Sociology*
FDA	Food and Drug Administration
JSSR	*Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*
NAMH	National Association for Mental Health

INTRODUCTION AND
METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

A number of notable nineteenth-century rationalists held the view that the development of mankind resembled the development of the human individual. In his early, primitive state man was childlike in his mode of thought. His power of reason suffered severe limitations. It was said to be 'prelogical' in character.¹ Men believed that things once associated with each other continued to influence each other when apart; that words had the power to alter the course of nature; and that objects similar in one major respect were similar in others.² Primitive man was said to possess a magical world-view. Magic was held to have been born of man's ignorance of natural causation and his desire to influence and control the dangerous and threatening natural environment in which he found himself.

On some accounts primitive man gradually learned that his magical methods were inefficacious. The law-like generalizations hitherto employed were discerned not to hold in all instances. Consequently, this account runs, he began to predicate the existence of supernatural beings, like himself except for their superhuman powers, which might be mobilized to the good or to the detriment of mankind. Where formerly he had commanded events through the incantation of a formula regarded as inevitable in its consequences (other things being equal), he now propitiated these superior beings, seeking to cozen and cajole them into interfering in the course of nature and human society.³ By this means the great world religions were said to have been born.

Although this religious world-view was to prevail for many centuries, the nineteenth-century rationalists believed that they could perceive a change overtaking the intellect of civilized western man. The prevailing view of the world was again being challenged. As religion replaced magic, so science was coming to replace religion. As Man 'came of age' in Victorian Britain, so he cast off less mature modes of thought. A cosmos inhabited by arbitrary and capricious spirits and deities was giving way to a cosmos governed by natural laws,

1 Lucien Levy-Bruhl, *Primitive Mentality* (Allen & Unwin, London, 1923).

2 James, G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (Macmillan, New York, 1922).

3 Ibid.

2 INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

mechanical in their functioning, operating upon objects rendered visible by an advanced scientific technology.

This view was enshrined in the work of Sigmund Freud. Freud maintained that religion was an infantile obsessional neurosis born of anxiety and wish fulfilment. Science marked, and provided the means to further, the maturation of man. Science broke through the illusion and infantile projection. Scientific thought was therefore not merely more mature than religious thought, it was on Freud's account, psychologically healthier.¹ Although both the logic and the empirical detail of these evolutionist accounts of the development of human thought have been challenged, a variant on this view remains incorporated in much contemporary thinking on the relationship between religion and social change. The spectacular advance of science in the nineteenth century is seen as one central feature of an account of the decline in the hold that religious beliefs have on man's actions, and the declining commitment

displayed to religious institutions in most western societies.² In short, a prevalent view holds that with the development of science and its increasingly evident ability both to explain the world in which we live, and to modify that world in the direction of human desire, secularization is an inevitable concomitant of the development of industrial societies.

This view has its critics, of course, and we can here neither debate the conceptual problems incorporated in the notion of secularization,³ nor the empirical case of persistent high levels of religious affiliation in the United States of America.⁴ What is more central to the enterprise recorded in the following chapters is the fact that despite the enormous progress of science and the evident decline in religious commitment in most western nations, new religious movements have continued to appear at an apparently undiminished rate. Indeed since the end of the Second World War there has, if anything, been an increase in both the rate of formation of such movements and the rate of growth of their membership. This phenomenon is not restricted to western industrial nations. Japan too has experienced a rapid increase in the number of new religious movements, and the size of their followings.⁵ The industrialization and rationalization of contemporary, technologically advanced societies appears to have

1 Sigmund Freud, **The Future of an Illusion** (Hogarth, London, 1962).

2 Brian R. Wilson, **Religion and Secular Society** (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 69), pp. 57-74

3 For discussions of these problems, see: Vernon Pratt, **Religion and Secularization** (St Martin's Press, London, 1970); David Martin, 'Secularisation' in Julius Gould, ed., **Penguin Survey of the Social Sciences 1965** (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1965); Idem, **The Religion and the Secular** (Routledge Kegan Paul, London, 1969); Idem, **The Sociology of English Religion** (SCM Press, London, 1967).

4 Wilson, op. cit., pp. 109-50.

5 H. Thomsen, **The New Religions of Japan** (Tuttle, Rutland, Vermont, 1963); H. N. McFarland, **The Rush Hour of the Gods** (Macmillan, New York, 1967); C.B. Offner and H. van Straelen, **Modern Japanese Religions** (Brill, Leiden, 1963).

produced problems for their members with which science has yet proven incompetent to cope.

Rationalist and humanist intellectuals have tended to be puzzled by this flourishing of exotic new religious and quasi-religious movements in relatively secular societies. Many, viewing contemporary industrial society through sometimes unacknowledged evolutionary eyes, conceive such phenomena as 'regressive' in character. Resort to the occult and the supernatural is seen as a withdrawal from the realities of modern life, a retreat from the anonymity, the tensions, and the individualism of the modern world. For those with Marxist inclinations, the new religions are seen as a particularly bizarre form of 'false consciousness'. They have in general been regarded as peripheral to the central features of modern society. Since they are viewed as a fringe phenomenon, ephemeral, and even frivolous, they have not motivated any extensive sociological description or analysis. Published monographic studies of such movements by social scientists are rare.¹ Only if they maintained clear links with the prevailing religious tradition² or had political implications³ have these movements been regarded as sufficiently important to merit any considerable sociological attention.⁴

While it may be the case, however, that some new religious movements in advanced industrial societies are more or less explicitly attempts to escape from the more unattractive features of modern life: its impersonality, atomization, materialism and bureaucratization or attempts to resist it in form, other

1 Leon Festinger, Henry W. Rieken and Stanley Schachter, *When Prophecy Fails* (Harper, New York, 1964); John Lofland, *Doomsday Cult* (Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1966); Adam W. Eisner, *Drawing Room conversion* (Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina, 1950); H. T. Dohrman, *California Cult: the Story of Mankind Undeceived* (Beacon, Boston, 1958); Geoffrey K. Nelson, *Spiritualism and Society* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1969).

Malcolm J. C. Calley, *God's People* (Oxford University Press, London, 1965); Richard Enroth, Edward Ericson and C. Breckinridge Peters, *The Story of the Jesus People Paternoster*, Exeter, 1972); Luther P. Gerlach and Virginia Hine, *People, Power, Change* (Bobbs-Merrill, New York, 1970). 3 Eric C. Lincoln, *The Black Muslims in America* (Beacon, Boston, 1961); E. V Essien-Udom, *Black Nationalism: a Search for Identity in America* (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1962); James A. Dator, *Soka Gakka: Budders of the Third Civilisation* (University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1969); James W. White, *The Sokagakkai and Mass Society* (Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1970). The new religious movements in less developed societies have been better served.

In part this must be due to the concern among anthropologists and sociologists to understand the mechanisms of social change in hitherto largely stable societies.

Moreover since such societies were less secularized, religious phenomena could be seen as playing some central part in social change and adaptation. In 'secular' industrial societies, religion and its social-scientific study have been relegated to a very inferior

5 Benjamin Zablocki, *The Joyful Community* (Penguin books, Baltimore, Maryland, : 1971); Thomas Robbins and Dick Anthony, *Getting straight with Meher Baba*, JSSR 2 (June 1972), pp. 122-40; Erancine J. Daner,

Conversion to Krishna than reject the values which prevail within it. They are bureaucratic and rationalistic in orientation, and sometimes thoroughly materialistic. They may be relatively impersonal and individualistic rather than communally based. They sometimes seek to incorporate science, or its rhetoric, into their legitimations.

Such movements, Bryan Wilson has termed 'manipulationist'1 Rather than a means of escape from the world, of attaining other-worldly salvation, or of achieving a radical transformation of the prevailing society, they offer the believer some superior, esoteric means of succeeding within the status quo. They offer knowledge and techniques to enable the individual to improve his 'life chances'; the means of achieving the valued goals of this world. The manipulationist movements appear, in terms of numbers of recruits and income, to be among the more successful of the new religions in industrial societies. Within this category fall Christian Science, the Japanese movement Soka Gakkai, Transcendental Meditation, and the subject of the present work, Scientology.

Scientology is a movement which straddles the boundary between psychology and religion. It offers a graded hierarchy of 'auditing' (the quasi-therapeutic practice of the movement) and training, which will ultimately release fully all the individual's inner potential. Correct application of the knowledge purveyed by the movement will, it is claimed, lead to the freeing of the individual's superhumanly powerful spiritual nature. In the progress towards this desirable state, current human limitations psychosomatic illness, psychological and physical disabilities, lack of confidence, or competence will fall away, enabling the individual to cope more successfully with his environment.

Training and 'auditing' are provided primarily by the central organizations of the movement which are administered on highly bureaucratic lines. The services provided by these organizations are expensive to purchase, and have been marketed with all the more aggressive techniques of modern salesmanship. The size of Scientology's following is almost impossible to estimate, but substantial groups of followers exist throughout the English-speaking world; and smaller groups in Germany, Scandinavia, and France. The movement is able to command sufficient resources to maintain a large permanent staff and a fleet of vessels known as the 'Sea Org'. Scientology has aroused widespread controversy and occasional public hostility. It has been the subject of government

1 Bryan R. Wilson, *Religious Sects* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London 1970), pp. 141-66. *Consciousness: the transformation from hippie to religious ascetic*, in Roy Wallis, ed., *Sectarianism: Analyses of Religious and Non-Religious Sects* (Peter Owen, London, 1975); Robert Lynn Adams and Robert Jon Fox, 'Mainlining Jesus: the new trip', *Society* 9 4 (1972), pp. 50-6; Donald W. Peterson and Armand L. Mauss, 'The Cross and the Commune: an interpretation of the Jesus People', in Charles G. Glock, ed., *Religion in a Pluralistic Society* (New York, 1972), pp. 115-30. (these are discussed in Chapter 7).

Scientology is of sociological interest for a number of reasons. Its recruits, as will be demonstrated in the following chapters, are not drawn from the categories of the traditionally dispossessed. They are not marginal individuals, but individuals who are members of groups and strata which are in many ways central to the character of industrial society. They are for the most part drawn from a relatively privileged, relatively comfortable, middle class. Analysis of this movement may therefore direct us to features of contemporary society which are a source of persistent alienation and anxiety, even to its most typical constituent groups.

Scientology is of theoretical interest also because although the nature of its doctrine and practice differs from them radically, Scientology shares a number of characteristics with movements such as Communism, the Nazi Party, and Jehovah's Witnesses. Scientology is a source of data and further insight into the statics and dynamics of totalitarian and sectarian movements. Moreover, in the course of its development Scientology has undergone a transformation from a loose, almost anarchic group of enthusiasts for a lay psychotherapy, Dianetics, to a tightly controlled and rigorously disciplined following for a quasi-religious movement, Scientology. It therefore provides an opportunity to explore a little understood transformation, that of a cult into a sect.

The chapters which follow analyse the history, the membership, the beliefs and practices, the structure and functioning, and the changing nature of the relationship of this movement to the wider society. In chapter one, a typology of ideological collectivities is presented, and a theory of the development of cults into sects. Cults are presented as highly individualistic collectivities prone to fission and disintegration. The transformation of a cult into a sect is viewed as a strategy by means of which leaders seek to perpetuate and to enhance their status by arrogating authority in an attempt to create a stable and cohesive following.

Chapter two describes and analyses the emergence of Dianetics, exploring the origins, the nature and the development of its beliefs and practices, the character of its followers, and its mode of organization. In chapter three the strains and tensions which threatened the disruption of the movement are considered, and the processes by which the movement's leaders sought to resolve these problems. Chapter four presents the beliefs and practices of the new gmosis, Scientology, on the basis of which organizational transformation was carried through. The progressive rationalization of the practise and teaching of Scientology was an important component of the process by which the leader was enabled to secure unchallenged control of the movement. In chapter five the manner in which this control was exercised through an increasingly bureaucratic administration is discussed. Chapter six analyses the motivations of recruits to Scientology, and the process through which, as individuals become increasingly committed to the tion in the pursuit of organizational ends. In chapter seven a model drawn from the sociology of deviance, the 'deviance-amplification' model, is employed to analyse the controversy and hostility in which this movement was involved during the 1960s, and the nature of the movement's response. In chapter eight Scientology is viewed as a deviant version of social reality, and a number of mechanisms are described by which this reality is sustained. In the concluding chapter Scientology is located within a view of secularization and its impact on the prevailing religious climate; and a number of the major themes explored in the work are summarized. Methodology The methodology of the study is eclectic. Since the aim of the research was primarily that of generating data concerning certain broad themes rather than testing a limited and defined set of hypotheses, various methods were employed in order to maximize the information available, and at the same time to provide a method of 'triangulation', whereby one data source could be checked against another.

The principal source of information has been documentary. L. Ron Hubbard was a prolific writer for some years before his creation of Dianetics, and the movement has, throughout the quarter of a century of its existence, been the source of many millions of words. Much of this material was of ephemeral interest, and much that was produced in the early years is no longer available. Fortunately, some individuals in England and America have retained collections of old documentation a dusty reminder of an earlier enthusiasm and these collections proved an invaluable source of historical information. Containing, as they often did, the works of schismatics and heretics, notebooks and letters, these documentary sources often fulfilled both methodological needs. Study was made of the now extensive, although by no means complete, collection of more recent material in the British Museum. In the United States, legal records and supporting documents were

examined. Individuals made other documents and tape-recordings available to me, as did the Church of Scientology on certain occasions.

The second important source of information was from interviews. 83 individuals were interviewed, of whom 35 had become involved in the movement during its Dianetics phase and 43 after the transition to Scientology. The remaining 5 individuals were never committed to the movement, but had

I Dianetics as a form of theory and practice is still employed by the movement. However, I use the term throughout, unless contextually indicated, to refer to the phase of the movement, prior to the development of Scientology. 'Dianeticist' usually refers to someone who joined the movement during this phase, or to someone who continued

Interviews were principally occasions for respondents to talk freely on certain themes to which I sought to direct them. Usually, the interviews were tape-recorded unless the informant objected on the grounds that some traceable record of our conversation might fall into hostile hands; or when the surroundings made recording difficult. The interviews varied greatly in length, from three-quarters of an hour to a total of over ten hours. The yield from these procedures was inevitably uneven in the quantity and quality of usable material produced.

Interview respondents were generated in a number of ways. Names of potential informants were originally supplied by a former member. These individuals in turn supplied further names, some former members, some still committed in various ways to the movement. Other interview respondents were generated as a result of a questionnaire which was circulated.

This questionnaire method was relatively unfruitful in terms of conventional survey criteria. Of some 150 questionnaires sent out over several months, only 46 completed schedules were returned. As well as sending questionnaires to individuals whose names were supplied by informants, questionnaire respondents also provided further names. A very dated mailing list of the Hubbard Association of Scientologists International was provided by one informant, and the names sampled. It was this which led to the low return-rate. The mailing list was some eight years out of date, and very few of the questionnaires sent to the sample from it were returned. Questionnaires were sent only to United Kingdom residents.

A very brief period was spent in participant observation. At an early stage in the research, the author went to the movement's headquarters, Saint Hill Manor, to take a Communications Course. Despite later claims by representatives of the movement that the author acted unethically by not revealing his sociological interest, the author was simply responding to widespread advertising inviting members of the public to take this course and at no point made any effort to conceal his identity. After two days, he found it impossible to continue with the course without having to lie directly about his acceptance of its content, and withdrew.

A number of other individuals and agencies have been contacted during the course of the research, and many sent long letters and other documents presenting aspects of their involvement with this movement.

While very little published material on Scientology was available when the study was begun, at the time of writing some seventeen systematic and lengthy accounts exist, ranging from the journalistic to the apologetic, including five lengthy government inquiries or sponsored studies.¹

I Paulette Cooper, *The Scandal of Scientology* (Tower, New York, 1971); Cynl Vosper *The Mind Beyond* (Neville Spearman, London, 1971); George Malko, *Scientology: The*

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGICAL NOTES Now religions (Dell, New York, 1970); Robert Kaufman, *Inside Scientology* (Olympia, New York, 1972); Maurice Burrell, *Scientology: What It Is and What It Does* (Lake-land, London, 1970); C. H. Rolph, *Believe What You Like* (Andre Deutsch, London, 1973); Christopher Evans, *Cults of Unreason* (Harrap, London, 1973); David R. Dalton, *Two Disparate Philosophies* (Regency, London 1973); Omar V. Garrison, *The History of Scientology* (Arlington Books, London, 1974); Harriet Whitehead, 'Reasonably fantastic: some perspectives on Scientology, science fiction and occultism', in Irving L. Zaretsky and Mark Leone (eds), *Religious Movements in Contemporary America* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1974); John A. Lee, *Sectarian Healers and Hypnotism* (Queen's Printer, Toronto, 1970); Walter Braddeson, *Scientology for the Millions* (Sherbourne, Los Angeles, 1969); Helen O'Brien, *Dianetics in London* (Whitmore, Philadelphia, 1966); Sir John G. Foster, *Enquiry into the Practical and Effects of Scientology* (HMSO, London, 1971); Kevin V. Anderson, *Report of the Board of Inquiry into Scientology* (Government Printer, Melbourne, 1965); Sir Guy Richardson Powles and E. V. Dumbleton, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Hubbard Scientology Organisation in New Zealand* (Government Printer, Wellington, New Zealand, 1969); G. P. C. Kotze, et al., *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Scientology for 1972* (Government Printer, Pretoria, South Africa, 1973). It should be noted that of these works, that by Burrell was withdrawn shortly after it appeared, and the publishers of the *A TYPOLOGY AND A THEORY*

entirely. Sects have been the focus of considerable research enterprise in the sociology of religion, and much of this endeavour has been directed to the issue of whether, or under what conditions, sects become transformed into denominations. This dominating area of concern has distracted attention from other types of ideological collectivity and other possible processes. An analogous but different process, to which little attention has been paid, is that of the transformation of cults into sects.

Until recently, cults have been regarded as rather trivial social phenomena, unworthy of systematic sociological attention. More important perhaps, the process of transformation of cults into sects has, on some accounts, been rendered not merely empirically unlikely, but a priori impossible.

Consider, for example, Glock and Stark's definition. Cults they argue are religious movements which draw their inspiration from other than the primary religion of the culture, and...are not schismatic movements in the same sense as

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religion of the culture, and...are not schismatic movements in the same sense as

sects whose concern is with preserving a purer form of the traditional faith. Glock and Stark define cult and sect in terms of the content of beliefs. Cults have theologically alien beliefs, sects have more rigorous or more fundamentalist variants of the prevailing theology, and are schismatic in origin. On this basis there could be individual conversion from one to another, but not organizational transformation.

While Glock and Stark draw an impenetrable theological boundary between cult and sect, others such as Lofland and Dohrman blur any boundary between

I. H. R. Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (Holt, Rinehart

Winston, New York, 1925); Bryan R. Wilson, 'An analysis of sect development', *ASR*, 24 (1959), pp. 3-15-

Charles R. Glock and Rodney Stark, *Religion and Society*. In *Conversion* (Rand McNally, Chicago, 1965), p. 245. Even at all Lofland, in his definition of cults, describes them as 'little groups' which break off from the conventional consensus and espouse very different views of the world, the possible and the moral while Dohrman suggests that the concept of 'cult' will refer to that group, secular, religious, or both, that has deviated from what our American Society considers normative forms of religion, economics, or politics, and has substituted a new and often unique view of the individual, his world, and how this world may be attained.

These forms of definition seem inadequate from a number of points of view. 1. If deviance is the identifying characteristic of cult beliefs as suggested by Lofland and Dohrman, Christian schismatic and heterodox forms of belief, such as those of Christian Science, the Mormons, Jehovah's Witnesses, and even the Salvation Army, become the ideologies of cults. The distinction between cult and sect disappears. 2. If, as Glock and Stark suggest, cults are to be identified by their alien 'inspiration', and sects by their concern to preserve the purity of the 'traditional faith' and their schismatic origins, cults and sects are types of ideological collectivity which bear no developmental relationship to each other. We cannot predict of a cult its possible transformation into a sect. More important, however, this definition ignores a crucial sociological feature, that is the social organization of the collectivities concerned. The theological criterion of classification employed by Glock and Stark provides us with no insight into the similarities in mode of organization and methods of control over adherents of such theologically diverse movements as Christian Science, Scientology, Jehovah's Witnesses, etc.

Deviance, it has been suggested, is a distinguishing feature of both cult and sect. Cult and sect are deviant in relation to the respectable, the normatively sanctioned, forms of belief prevailing at any time. Today they are deviant in comparison with prevailing indifference, agnosticism, or denominational Christian orthodoxy. A feature which distinguishes between them is that, like

John Lofland, *Doomsday Cult* (Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1966), p. 1.

H. T. Dohrman, *California Cult: the Story of Mankind United* (Beacon Press, Boston, 1958), p. x.

As it does in the work of some theologians for example, A. A. Hoekema, in *Our Major Cults* (Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 1969).

For a comparison of Christian Science and Scientology, see Roy Wallis, 'A comparative analysis of problems and processes of change in two manipulationist movements: Christian Science and Scientology' in 'The Contemporary metamorphosis of Religion? Acts of the 12th International Conference on the Sociology of Religion (The Hague, Netherlands, August, 1973, pp. 7-22).

5 On the prevailing religious climate in Britain and America, see Bryan R. Wilson, *Religion in Secular Society* (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1969); Will Herberg, *Protestant-Catholicism* (Doubleday Anchor, New York, 1960); Rodney Stark and the church, the sect is conceived by its adherents to be uniquely legitimate as a means of access to truth or salvation. The cult, like the denomination, is conceived by followers to be pluralistically legitimate, one of a variety of paths to the truth or salvation. This provides us with the following typology:

A typology of Ideological Collectivities

Respectable

Deviant

Uniquely legitimate Church

Sect

Pluralistically legitimate Denomination

Cult A theory of cultural development Although not all new religious movements go through any simple unidirectional sequence of stages,³ it is worth emphasizing that some do undergo transformation from one type of collectivity to another. The best known case, although less typical than was once believed, is the development of sects into denominations. It is argued here that some new religious movements emerge as cults, and of these, some develop into sects.

Colin Campbell has proposed the notion of the cultic milieu to refer to the cultural underground from which cults arise. This cultic milieu he describes as much broader, deeper and historically based [sic] than the contemporary movement known as the underground, it includes all deviant belief-systems and their associated practices. Unorthodox science, alien and heretical religion, deviant medicine, all comprise elements of such an underground. In addition, it includes the collectivities, institutions, individuals and media of communication associated with these beliefs. Substantively it includes the worlds of the occult and the magical, of spiritualism and psychic phenomena, of mysticism and new thought, of faith

The notions of unique and pluralistic legitimacy were first employed by Roland Robertson, in *The Sociological Interpretation of*

religion (Blackwell, Oxford, 1970), p. 123, in slightly different fashion. David Martin has also drawn attention to the pluralistic legitimacy of the cult and the denomination, See the appendix, 'The denomination' in Dand Marhn, Paaesm (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1965).

'In the context of some ideological collectivities the label 'church' would be inappropriate, as indeed might some of the others. In the case of political movements, for example, what one has in mind here is the Nazi party in Germany after 1933, or the Bolshevik party in Russia after 1922. In terms of churches, Catholicism would typically fit this category, as would the Calvinism of Calvin's Geneva. Catholicism in contemporary America, however, is clearly denominational.

The Quakers, for example, appear to have fluctuated between sectarianism and denominationalism, see Elizabeth Isichei, 'From sect to denomination among English Quakers' in Bryan Wilson, ed., Patterns of Sectarianism (Heinemann, London, 1967), pp. 161-81. Charles Glock, American Pidy: the Nature of Religious Commitment (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1968).

healing and nature cure. This heterogeneous assortment of cultural items can be

regarded despite its apparent diversity, as constituting a single entity the entity of

the cultic milieu.

This idea seems a helpful one in broadly characterizing the background from which cults emerge. Cults differentiate themselves from this background as more or less temporary associations of 'seekers' organized around some common interest, the researches or the revelations of an individual. The belief systems around which they are organized are typically broadly based syntheses of ideas and practices available within the cultic milieu and sometimes beyond, adapted, supplemented, and organized through the insights of their founders.'

Cults are generally described as exhibiting a number of typical features. They are depicted as oriented towards the problems of individuals, loosely structured, tolerant, non-exclusive, they make few demands on members, possess no clear distinction between members and non-members, have a rapid turnover of membership, and are transient collectives. Their boundaries are vague and undefined, and their belief systems are said to be 'fluctuating'.³ These features of the cult can be accounted for in terms of a central characteristic of cult organization, which I shall refer to as 'epistemological individualism'.⁵ By epistemological individualism I mean to suggest that the cult has no clear locus of final authority beyond the individual member. Unlike the sect, the ideal typical cult lacks any source of legitimate attributions of heresy. Hence in movements such as spiritulism,⁴ New Thought,⁵ and much of the flying saucer movement,⁷ so vague is the range of accepted teaching that 'heresy' is a concept

I Colin Campbell, 'The cult, the cultic milieu and secularization' in Michael Hill ed. A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain, No. 5 (SCM Press London, 1972) p. 12.

For some of the pseudo-scientific cults to have developed, see Martin Gardner *Ways and Means in the Name of Science* (Dover Publications, New York, 1957).

5 See Geoffrey K. Nelson, 'The concept of cult', *Sociological Review*, 16, 3 (1968), pp. 351-61, for a review of the characteristics of the cults.

5 David Martin has stressed that 'The fundamental criterion of the cult is...individualism', David Martin, *Pacifism* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1965), p. 194. However, in contrast to my own formulation, Martin regards the sect as exhibiting either 'authoritarianism or...almost total lack of authority' (Ibid, p. 185). He also employs an implicitly theological distinction. Cults are conceived to be theologically alien, while sects fall within the Christian tradition and are marked by the extremism with which they reject contemporary society.

5 Geoffrey K. Nelson, *Spiritualism and Society* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London)

5 Charles S. Braden, *Spirits in Rebellion: the Rise and Development of New Thought* (Southern Methodist University Press, Dallas, Texas, 1963); J. Stillson Judah, *The History and Philosophy of the Metaphysical Movements in America* (Westminster Press Philadelphia, 1967).

H. Taylor Buckner, 'The flying saucerians: a lingering cult cult society', 9 September 1965. An exception is the Aetherius Society, which has moved very much closer than Buckner's groups towards sectarianism. See Roy Willis, 'The Aetherius Society without clear application, The determination of what constitutes acceptable doctrine is a matter to be decided by the individual member.

Lacking any authoritative source of attributions of heresy there can be no clear boundaries between (1) cult ideology and the surrounding cultic milieu, nor, in the absence of authoritative tests of doctrine or membership, between (2) members and non-members. There are, therefore, few barriers to doctrinal adaptation and change. Since the determination of doctrine lies with the members, cults cannot command the loyalty of their membership which remains only partially committed. Commitment being slight, resources for the control of members are lacking. Members typically move between groups, and between belief systems adopting components to fit into the body of truth already gleaned. The loyalties of members are thus often shared between ideological collectivities, and this leads to tolerance. Membership changes rapidly as members move on from one group to another, and the collectivities themselves tend to be transient as charismatic leaders emerge and attempt to control the activities of the following and this, in turn, leads to alienation; or as dissension arises due to the relatively limited basis of shared belief. Since any particular cult is only one among many possible paths to the truth or salvation, membership may decline through sheer indifference. In order to retain or bolster membership, appeal may be made to an ever wider range of interests, leading to ideological diffuseness and the reduced relevance of the cult beliefs for the individuals' salvation. Power lies in the hands of the consumer, and for the individual's salvation. Power lies in the hands of the consumer, and leaders may often be forced to cater for consumer interests rather than directing them, or risk membership decline.

Cults then, are fragile institutions. They typically face a problem of doctrinal precariousness, that is, the ideological distance between the cult doctrine and the cultic milieu from which it was derived is typically slight. Ideologically the cult is, therefore, poorly differentiated from its background. A membership primarily recruited from other cultic groups is liable to be selective in its acceptance of the doctrine and disposed to create a new synthesis of the cult's teachings with other belief-systems, thus threatening the reabsorption of the cult into the cultic milieu.

I Buckner suggests 'A typical occult seeker will probably have been a Rosicrucian, a member of Mankind United, a Theosophist, and also a member of four or five smaller specific cults. The pattern of membership is one of continuous movement from one idea to another. Seekers stay with a cult until they are satisfied that they can learn no more from it or that it has nothing further to offer, and then move on'. H. Taylor Buckner, 'The flying saucers: an open door cult' in Marcello Truzzi, ed., *Sociology and Everyday Life* (Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New-Jersey, 1968), pp. 225-6.

Buckner, op. cit. (1968), suggests such a process occurred in the flying saucer group, which he observed. *Society: a case study in the formation of a mystagogic congregation*, *Sociological Review*, 22, 1 (1974), pp. 27-44. Reprinted in Roy Wallis, ed., *Secularism: an analysis of religious and non-religious sects* (Peter Owen, London, 1975). 111

THE SOCIOLOGY OF CULT AND SECT

Cults similarly face a problem of authority, deriving from two features of cultic movements. First, their membership is predominantly composed of seekers who see a variety of paths to the truth or salvation and who regard it as their right to select those ideas and practices which will lead towards this goal. Second, cults are typically service-oriented, purveying an experience, knowledge or technique through teachers and practitioners. Hence charisma tends to be dispersed towards the lower echelons. Membership (or clientele) loyalties are often centred on the local teacher or practitioner rather than on the movement as a whole. There is therefore a perennial threat of schism and secession as local teachers or practitioners assert their autonomy. Third, cults tend to face a problem of commitment. They are viewed as one among a range of paths to truth or salvation rather than a unique path. They typically dispense commodities of a limited and specific kind. The involvement of the membership tends, therefore, to be occasional, temporary and segmentary. Retaining, institutionalizing and enhancing membership commitment therefore presents a problem to cults which, if unresolved, may lead to passive and limited involvement, apathy, and declining adherence. Sectarianism as strategy In the face of these problems of organizational fragility, the possibility of developing a cohesive sectarian collectivity has had considerable appeal to some cult leaders.

Sects may emerge in a variety of ways, as schismatic movements from existing denominations, as a result of interdenominational crusades, or through a process of development from cults. The dimensions of the sect have been much debated. Among those that

have been advanced, characteristics, such as the eschatological nature of the sect stressed by Troeltsch, but also such characteristics as asceticism, the achieved basis of membership, an ethical orientation, and egalitarianism, seem in retrospect to have been features of the sect in particular socio-historical circumstances rather than timeless, or universal dimensions of sectarianism.² Those features advanced as central to the concept of sect which have stood the test of time, therefore, seem to centre on the right to exclusion, a self-conception as an elect or elite, totalitarianism, and hostility towards, or separation from, the state or society.

The suggestion advanced here is that these dimensions of sectarianism are

I mention Johnson, 'A critical appraisal of the church-sect typology', ASR, 2 (1957), pp. 88-92; idem, 'On church and sect', ASR, 28 (1963), pp. 539-49; idem 'Church and sect revisited', JSSR, 2 (1971), pp. 124-37; J. Milton Yinger, *The Scientific Study of Religion* (Collier-Macmillan, New York, 1970); Bryan R. Wilson, *Sects and Society* (Heinemann, London, 1961).

I have argued this point in Roy Wallis, 'The sectarianism of Scientology' in Michael Hill, ed., *A Sociological Reappraisal of Religion in Britain*, No. 6 (SCM Press, London, 1973), pp 36-55 - related to the characteristic which underlies sect organization - 'epistemological authoritarianism. Sects possess some authoritative locus for the legitimate attribution of heresy.¹ Sects lay a claim to possess unique and privileged access to the truth or salvation. Their committed adherents typically regard all those outside the confines of the collectivity as 'in error'. The truth must be protected from defilement or misuse and therefore extensive control is necessary over those to whom access is permitted, and the exclusion of the unworthy. Those who remain, therefore, believe themselves to have proven their superior status. Hostility to state or society readily follows. The state demands acceptance of its own version of the truth in some particulars. In those areas it defines as its legitimate concern it can brook no rivals taxes must be paid, births registered, children educated, wars fought whatever the revelation. Thus state and society may threaten, and even directly conflict with, the sectarian's notion of what constitutes the truth, sometimes forcing the sect to defend its vision by isolation and withdrawal.

The transition from cult to sect, therefore, involves the arrogation of authority. In order for a cohesive sectarian group to emerge from the diffuse, individualistic origins of a cult, a prior process of expropriation of authority must transpire. This centralization of authority is typically legitimized by a claim to a unique revelation which locates some source or sources of authority concerning doctrinal innovation and interpretation beyond the individual member or practitioner, usually in the person of the revelator himself.

Propounding a new gnosis and centralizing authority permits the exercise of greater control over the collectivity through the elimination or undermining of alternative loci of power and the transmutation of independent practitioners and teachers into organizational functionaries. It facilitates the establishment of clearer cognitive boundaries around the belief-system; the abandonment of elements which most closely link it to the cultic

milieu; and the introduction of new doctrinal elements which effectively distinguish it from competitors. Doctrine may be expanded to incorporate a systematic metaphysics increasing its scope beyond the mere provision of a rationale for a specific and limited form of practice. Thus a wider and deeper commitment is encouraged. Since the new doctrine is endowed with unique salvational efficacy it provides a focus for more than segmentary and occasional involvement, and a rationale for insulating the believer, for example, by the denigration of alternative sources of ideology and involvement, and by endowing the world and competing belief-systems with formerly unsuspected danger. The emergence of a charismatic leader provides a

'Where such authority lies may not always be obvious, even to members. It may sometimes be shared between two or more loci, a situation liable to lead to conflict, and a power-struggle, as, for example, in the struggle between the prophets and the apostles in the Catholic Apostolic Church. See Kenneth Jones, 'The Catholic Apostolic Church: a study in diffused commitment' in Michael Hill, ed., A Sociological Handbook of Religion in Britain, No. 5 SCM Press, London, 1972), pp. 37-60. 18

The SOCIOLOGY or CULTIC focus of loyalty of a supra-local kind. Together these factors assist in the transmutation of a clientele into a following. A successfully implemented strategy of sectarianization, therefore, provides one viable and attractive solution to the cultic problem of institutional fragility.1

Aspects of his theoretical structure have been developed in Roy Wallis, 'Ideology, authority and the development of cultic movements', Sociological Research, 41, 2 (1972),

DIANETICS Background to the cult The founder of Dianetics and Scientology, L. Ron Hubbard, is reported to have been born in Iola, Nebraska. His father was an officer in the US navy and appears to have seen service in the East, on which occasions his son may have spent vacations with him. He was raised for some years by his maternal grandfather who owned a ranch in Montana, and spent his early teens in Washington DC, where he graduated to George Washington University. According to the testimony of the Registrar of George Washington University, Hubbard attended the summer session in 1931, and the fall and spring sessions 1931-32. He was placed on probation in September 1931 and failed to return for the fall 1932 session.1

His early adulthood is somewhat difficult to trace. He appears to have led a mobile life, acquiring a number of skills and working in various jobs. Among the occupations in which he is reported to have been engaged during this period, are pilot, US Marine, radio entertainer, scriptwriter and explorer. Hubbard was also a prolific writer of pulp magazine adventure, fantasy, and science fiction stories and novels in the same genres.

Hubbard was commissioned into the navy before the outbreak of the Second World War and is reported to have spent some time in Oak Knoll, a military hospital. There he is reported and his own statements lend some credibility to this account to have interested himself particularly in the patients suffering from mental or emotional disorders to whom he talked, and to have sought out books dealing with the subject.2

Following the war, Hubbard parted from his first wife and two children to go

'In the light of Hubbard's later claims to competence in physics it is worthy of note that in a course on dynamics sound and light he achieved a grade E, in a course on electricity and magnetism a grade D, and in a course on modern physical phenomena molecular and atomic physics he was awarded a grade F. Stenographic transcript, Pounding Church of Scientology U.S.A, in US Court of Claims, No. 226-61, Washington

For example, in a story reported in the Wichita Eagle, 24 April 1954 p. 22

THE CULT AND ITS TRANSFORMATION to Hollywood as a scriptwriter. What success he may have had at this vocation is uncertain, but during the following three years Hubbard became a major writer for Astounding Science Fiction, acquired an expert knowledge of the practice of hypnosis, and became briefly involved with Jack Parsons, a follower of Aleister Crowley in Pasadena. During his period in Hollywood, Hubbard claims I got a nurse, wrapped a towel around my head and became a swami, and by 1947 achieved 'clearing'.

Probably some time during 1948 Hubbard wrote a book outlining his ideas for a new form of psychotherapy, later published in revised form as The Original / Thesis, for which he was unable to find a publisher at the time. By 1949, Hubbard was living in Bay Head, New Jersey, where he appears to have interested John W. Campbell Jr, editor of Astounding Science Fiction, in his therapeutic ideas, and indeed to have relieved him, at least temporarily, of chronic sinusitis.^{3 4}

Gaining John W. Campbell as a disciple was indeed fortunate. Campbell was an established editor of a respected science fiction magazine with a considerable following. He was acquainted with doctors, scientists, publishers and others who could lend their support to Dianetics, Hubbard's new psychotherapy, and commanded access to an important medium of communication within and beyond the cultic milieu.

Campbell succeeded in interesting a Michigan general practitioner who occasionally contributed to Astounding, Dr J. A. Winter. After some correspondence with Hubbard, 'Winter visited Hubbard's house in Bay Head, New Jersey, where the latter had a small clientele on whom he was practising and developing his technique. Winter relates:

I arrived in Bay Head, N.J. on October 19, 1949, and immediately became immersed in a life of dianetics and very little else. I observed two of the patients whom

Hubbard had under treatment at this time, and spent hours each day watching him

send these men 'down the time-track'. After some observation of the reaction of

I Alexander Mitchell', 'The odd beginnings of Ron Hubbard's career', Sunday Times, 5 October 1969, p. 9; correspondence with

members and former members of the Ordo Templi Orientis; and interviews with acquaintances of Hubbard at this time. See also Chapter 4. It should be noted that the Sunday Times article contained errors for which its publishers rendered an apology and paid an out of court settlement.

2 L. Ron Hubbard, 'The story of dianetics and scientology', Lectures on Clearing recorded at the London Congress 1968 (Hubbard Communications Office, London 1968).

5 Martin Gardner, *Fads and Fallacies in the Name of Science* (Dover Publications, New York, 1957), p. 64.

Much of this account of Hubbard's life is based on George Malkin, *Scientology: the New Religion* (Dell, New York, 1970), pp. 27-41, and Gardner, *op. cit.*, modified in the light of interviews with early colleagues and acquaintances of Hubbard. See also Christopher Evans, *Cults of Unreason* (Harrap, London, 1973). While the account offered here is not too generally inaccurate, it should be noted that Malkin's book has been withdrawn by its publishers who also paid a legal settlement. Others, I concluded that my learning of this technique would be enhanced by submitting myself to therapy. I took my place on the couch, spending an average of three hours a day trying to follow the directions for recalling 'impediments'. The experience was intriguing; I found that I could remember much more than I had thought I could, and I frequently experienced the discomfort which is known as 'restimulation'. While listening to Hubbard 'running' one of his patients, or while being 'run myself, I could find myself developing unaccountable pains in various portions of my anatomy, or becoming extremely fatigued and somnolent. I had nightmares of being choked, of having my genitalia cut off, and I was convinced that dianetics as a method could produce effects.'

Having experienced these effects in therapy and discovering that he could produce them in others, Winter moved to New Jersey to work with Hubbard. There with Campbell and Hubbard he worked on a systematic formulation of the theory and practice, modifying nomenclature. A paper giving a 'resume of the principles and methodology of dianetic therapy' was submitted by Winter to the Journal of the American Medical Association, but was rejected. A revised version including case histories supplied by Hubbard was submitted to the American Journal of Psychiatry, but again rejected. Winter was also unsuccessful in his attempts to persuade other medical practitioners to try out the therapy.

Hubbard therefore decided to write a book directed to the laity rather than the medical profession, and Campbell commissioned an article from him on Dianetics for *Astounding*. This article was previewed by Campbell in his editorials in extremely enthusiastic terms: in longer range view...the item that most interests me at the moment is an article on the most important subject conceivable. This is not a hoax article. It is an article on the science of the mind, of human thought. It is not an article on psychology that isn't a science. It's not General Semantics. It is a totally new science called dianetics, and it does precisely what a science of thought should do. Its power is almost unbelievable; it proves the mind not only can but does rule the body completely; following the sharply defined basic laws dianetics sets forth, physical ills such as ulcers, asthma and arthritis can be cured, as can all other psychosomatic ills....It is, quite

simply, impossible to exaggerate the importance of a true science of human thought. 'I assure you of two things: you will find the article fascinating, and it is of more importance than you can readily realise.⁴ And finally: Next month's issue will, I believe, cause one full-scale explosion across the country. We are carrying a sixteen thousand word article entitled 'Dianetics...An

Joseph A. Winter, A Doctor's Report on Dianetics: theory and therapy (Julian Press, New York, 1951)

p. m.

2 Ibid., p. 18.

'John W. Campbell, 'In times to come', Astounding Science Fiction, 44, 4 (December '949), p. 80.

'John W. Campbell, Astounding Science Fiction 4j, 1 (March 1950), p. 4. Introduction to a New Science', by L. Ron Hubbard. It will, I believe, be the first publication of the material. It is, I assure you in full and absolute sincerity, one of the most important articles ever published. In this article, reporting on Hubbard's own research into the engineering question of how the human mind operates, immensely important basic discoveries are related. Among them:

A technique of psychotherapy has been developed which will cure any insanity not due to organic destruction of the brain.

A technique which gives a man a perfect, indelible, total memory, and perfect, errorless ability to compute human problems.

A basic answer, and a technique for curing not alleviating - ulcers, arthritis, asthma, and many other non-germ diseases.

A totally new conception of the truly incredible ability and power of the human mind.

Evidence that insanity is contagious, and is not hereditary.

This is no wild theory. It is not mysticism. It is a coldly precise engineering description of how the human mind operates, and how to go about restoring correct operation tested and used on some two hundred and fifty cases. And it makes only one overall claim: the methods logically developed from that description work. The memory stimulation technique is so powerful that, within thirty minutes of entering therapy, most people will recall in full detail their own birth. I have observed it in action, and used the techniques myself.

I leave it to your judgement: Will such an article be of interest to you? It is not only a fact article of the highest importance; it is the story of the ultimate adventure and exploration in the strangest of all terra incognita; the human mind. No stranger adventure appeared in the Arabian Nights than Hubbard's experience, using his new technique, in plowing through the strange jungle of distorted thoughts within a human mind. To find, beyond that zone of madness, a computing mechanism of ultimate and incredible efficiency and perfection! To find that a formerly enormous, able and altruistic personality is trapped deep in every human mind however insane or criminal it may appear on the outside! These

editorial previews attracted inquiries from individuals seeking therapy and training, and in April 1950, the Hubbard Dianetic Research Foundation was established to provide the services for which a demand was appearing. The theory and practice of Dianetics. The eagerly awaited article appeared in the May issue of Astounding. There

John W. Campbell, 'In time to come', *astounding Science Fiction*, 45, 2 (April 1950),

5 L Ron Hubbard, 'Dianetics: the evolution of a science', *Astounding Science Fiction*, 45, 3 (May 1950), pp. 45-87. Reprinted with some minor modifications as *Dianetics: the Evolution of a Science* (Publications Organisation World Wide, 1968), hereafter referred to as ES. An earlier article on Dianetics had appeared in a publication of the New York Explorers Club, L. Ron Hubbard, 'Terra incognita: the mind', *The Explorer's Journal*, 28, 1 (winter 1950), pp. 1-4, 52. This article presents Hubbard presented a model of the mind as a computer. The 'optimum' mind, Hubbard argued, would have perfect recall of all sense-impressions which had ever impinged upon it, and vastly improved mental agility beyond that of the normal brain. Since this level of optimum functioning is potentially available to every mind, Hubbard called this the 'basic personality': the basic personalities contacted were invariably strong, hardy, and constructively good! They were the same personalities as the patients had in a normal state minus certain mental powers, plus electronic demons and plus general unhappiness. The basic personality was also called a 'clear'. This term was derived from the operation of a calculating machine, in which depressed numbers are released. If left unreleased, the depressed numbers will result in a systematic inaccuracy in future computations. Since the 'normal' mind fell far short of the heights postulated by Hubbard for the basic personality, he argued that like the computer with a 'held down seven', the normal mind was operating under the constraints of severe 'aberrations' which limited its capacities and caused mis-computation.

These aberrations resulted from pain. Pain was a threat to survival (which Hubbard argues is the basic principle of existence). Therefore the mind the sane, analytical mind sought to avoid it. Evolution had provided a mechanism which made this possible. The 'Reactive Mind' had evolved as a means of protecting the sensitive computing machinery of the 'Analytical Mind' from damage in the face of threats to survival.

The reactive mind thinks in identities. It is a stimulus-response mind. Its actions The reactive mind thinks in identities. It is a stimulus-response mind. Its actions are exteriorly determined. It has no power of choice. It puts physical pain off during moments of physical pain in an effort to save the organism. So long as its mandates and commands are obeyed it withholds the physical pain. As soon as the organism starts to go against its commands, it induces the pain. In moments of pain, unconsciousness or emotional trauma, the analytical mind shuts off and the reactive mind comes into operation. The reactive mind operates on the basis of information stored in the reactive memory banks. The contents of these reactive banks are 'engrams' and 'locks'.

An engram is a recording of the full perceptual content of a moment of pain, unconsciousness, or emotional loss. Hence, Hubbard argued that while it was

'Ibid., p. 62.

Ibid., p. 63. In part of the original Asounding article, the term 'norn' was used instead of 'engram'. Dianetics as an aid to expedition commanders with unbalanced personnel. It had little or no impact. Dianeticists and Scientologists do not in general know of its existence, and it is of interest solely because it employs the term 'comanome' rather than the earlier term 'impediment', or the later term engram-. This lends some support to Winter's version of the derivation of Dianehc terminology, and hence to his claim that the work of Richard Semon was unknown to Hubbard at this time. See below, page 36. 20

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believed by orthodox psychology that during periods of unconsciousness, nothing was perceived, he had discovered that there was no period when the organism did not perceive. Perception, however, was performed by different components of the mind the analytical mind during periods of normal consciousness, the reactive mind during periods of 'analytical attenuation' ('anaten'), that is what were otherwise believed to be periods of unconsciousness. At some future date should the individual enter an environment which contained any of this perceptic content, the analytical mind would begin to shut off, the reactive mind would come into operation and the individual would experience some of the pain originally contained in the engram, as a warning to leave the situation of danger. For example: Here's how an engram can be established: Mary age 2, knocked out by a dog, dog bites. Content of engram: anaten; age 2 (physical structure); smell of environment and dog; sight of dog jaws gaping and white teeth; organic sensation of pain in back of head (hit pavement); pain in posterior; dog bite in cheek; tactile of dog fur, concrete (elbows on pavement), hot dog breath; emotion; physical pain plus endocrine response; audio of dog growl and passing car. What Mary does with the engram: she does not 'remember' the incident but sometimes plays she is a dog jumping on people and biting them. Otherwise no reaction. Then at age 10 similar circumstances, no great anaten, the engram is restimulated. After this she has headaches when dogs bark or when cars pass that sound like that car, but only responds to the engram when she is tired or harassed otherwise. The engram was first dormant data waiting just in case. Next it was keyed-in stuff we have to watch out for. Then at age 15 similar circumstances, no great anaten, the engram is reshmulated. After this she has headaches when dogs bark or when cars pass that sound like that car, but only responds to the engram when she is tired or harassed otherwise. The engram was first dormant data waiting just in case. Next it was keyed-in stuff we have to watch out for. Then it was thereafter restimulated whenever any combination of its perceptics appeared while Mary was in slight anaten (weary). When forty years of age she responded in exactly the same way, and still had not the slightest conscious understanding of the real reason !1 If in the formation of the engram words are spoken, these words may have a later effect similar to that of a post-hypnotic suggestion. If the words are subsequently repeated, the engram is 'keyed-in' or partially restimulated, and if 'the individual is slightly anaten weary, ill, sleepy' the engram will be fully restimulated, leading him to behave in aberrated ways.

The purpose of Dianetic therapy, therefore, was to gain access to and locate engrams, and 'erase' them from the reactive mind, thus eradicating their effects in the form of psychosomatic illness, emotional tension, or lowered capability, by permitting the analytical mind to operate unimpeded.

Hubbard claimed to have a technique which would remove an engramic 'memory' from the reactive mind, refiling it in the memory of the analytical mind where it no longer had engramic effects.² Exhausting the reactive mind of engrams hence has a number of highly desirable consequences. The individual becomes 'self-determined' rather than having his actions determined by his IES, pp. 65-6. Ibid., p. 70. engrams. The analytical mind being a perfect computer would always supply the correct answer from the information fed in, when relieved of the engrams which lead to error.¹ The individual's IQ would rise dramatically. He would be free of all psychological or psychosomatic illness, his resistance to physical illness would be vastly improved, and he would be able to cure himself of other illnesses or injuries much more rapidly. His memory would vastly improve. He would, in short be a 'clear'. As Hubbard describes it: The experience of his entire life is available to the retractor and he has all his inherent mental ability and imagination free to use it. His physical vitality and health are markedly improved and all psycho-somatic illnesses have vanished and will not return. He has greater resistance to actual disease. And he is adaptable to and able to change his environment. He is not 'adjusted'; he is dynamic. His ethical and moral standards are high, his ability to seek and experience pleasure is great. His personality is heightened and he is creative and constructive. It is not yet known how much longevity is added to a life in the process of clearing, but in view of the automatic rebalancing of the endocrine system, the lowered incidence of accident and the improvement of general physical tone, it is most certainly raised. As a standard of comparison, a clear is to the contemporary norm as the contemporary norm is to a contemporary institutional case.... A clear, for instance, has complete recall of everything which has ever happened to him or anything he has ever studied. He does mental computations, such as those of chess, for example, which a normal would do in half an hour, in ten or fifteen seconds.... He is entirely self-determined. And his creative imagination is high. He can do a swift study of anything within his intellectual capacity, which is inherent, and the study would be the equivalent to him of a year or two of training when he was 'normal'. His vigor, persistence and tenacity are very much higher than anyone has thought possible.

The only obstacle to this desirable state was that while 'locks'-severe restimulations of engrams could be released by 'returning' the individual to the restimulating situation, releasing engrams and hence clearing the reactive mind required that the earliest engram (the 'basic-basic') be located and cleared. Then the therapy could move on to later engrams. Hubbard, claimed in his Astounding article that his 'pre-clears' (patients) had first been found to have engrams resulting from birth, but even these did not turn out to be the earliest. The earliest engrams turned out to occur in the period shortly after conception.⁵ Hubbard's radical claim therefore was that the source of much human illness and incapacity lay in 'pre-natal' engrams. The commonest source of pre-natal engrams Hubbard claimed was attempted abortions.

IES, p. 76. L. Ron Hubbard, *Dianetics: The Modern Science of Mental Health* (Hubbard College of Scientology, East Grinstead, 1968; first published by Hermitage House, New York, 1950), pp 170-1. This book will be referred to hereafter as MSMH.

In the Astounding article (p. 81) Hubbard states that the earliest engram he had found occurred twenty-four hours after conception. In the version of this article printed subsequently as ES p. 86, this had been amended to read Shortly before conception..

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Therapy proceeded in the following

manner: The pre-clear lay on a bed or couch in a quiet room. The auditor tells him to look at the ceiling. The auditor says: 'When I count from one to seven your eyes will close'. The auditor counts from one to seven and the pre-clear counts quietly and pleasantly until the patient closes his eyes. A tremble of the lashes will be noticed in optimum reverie. Hubbard insisted that this process of inducing 'Dianetic reverie' was quite different from hypnosis. To ensure against hypnotic suggestion, however, a canceller is installed. That is, the pre-clear is told: In the future, when I utter the word cancelled, everything which I have said to you while you are in a therapy session will be cancelled and will have no force with you. Any suggestion I have made to you will be without force when I say the word cancelled. Do you understand? The pre-clear is assured he will be aware of everything that happens. When the pre-clear has entered the state of reverie he is requested to return to childhood, to an incident involving a pleasant experience and to go through it from the beginning recounting all the perceptual detail involved in the incident. This is to give the pre-clear the idea of what is expected. If he cannot recall (or 'relive' in Hubbard's view) such an early incident, he is returned to a more recent incident. After further preliminaries the auditor directs the pre-clear to return to 'basic-basic'. He does this by directing the 'file-clerk' (a hypothetical entity which 'monitors' the memory banks and selects appropriate material on request by the auditor) to return to the incident necessary to resolve the case. Generally, the basic-basic is not located so simply, however, and other engramic material will be brought up. This has to be 'reduced', that is the pre-clear is asked to return to the beginning of the incident and recount all the perceptual detail involved in the incident. The pre-clear is directed to recount this incident until all the emotion involved in it is discharged. MSMH, p. 159. 'MSMH, p. 200. S Ibid., p. 198.

The criteria for what counts as the reduction or erasure of an engram are given by Hubbard as follows: 'To reduce means to take all the charge or pain out of an incident. This means to have the pre-clear recount the incident from beginning to end (while returned to it in reverie) over and over again, piecing up all the somatics and perceptions present just as though the incident were happening at that moment. To reduce means, technically, to render free of aberrative material as far as possible to make the case progress. 'To "erase" an engram means to recount it until it has vanished entirely....If the engram is early, if it has no material earlier which will suspend it, that engram will "erase'. The patient, trying to find it again for a second or sixth recounting will suddenly find out he has no faintest idea what was in it. SI'vlf1, p. 287.

The 'file-clerk' is then asked for 'the next incident required to resolve this case', and the process is repeated. Ideally, basic-basic would be located and erased and the pre-clear then progressively cleared of all subsequent engrams and locks. Often, however, this would not occur and it would therefore be necessary to end the session at some convenient point, usually after the reduction of an engram. (The modal length of a Dianetics session was generally around two hours, but when the pre-clear was 'stuck in an incident', that is, an engram, it might occasionally last several hours,)

The pre-clear would be told to 'come up to present time'. The auditor might then question him as to the time, location, etc., to ensure that he was 'in present time'. He would then say 'Cancelled' and end the session.

...(work continues until the auditor has worked the patient enough for the period)

...Come to present time. Are you in present time? (Yes) (Use canceller word).

When I count from five to one and snap my fingers you will feel alert. Five, four,

three, two, one. (snap) 'The thrust of the auditing activity was to get the pre-clear to return to the 'basic area', that is, the area of pre-natal experience, contact the basic-basic engram and erase it, and then move along the 'time-track' erasing later life engrams until the individual was cleared. In order to reach the basic-basic, however, it was generally believed necessary to reduce, or discharge the painful emotion from later life trauma which blocked access to it.

In the course of therapy the pre-clear was often unable to contact an earlier engramic incident and would verbalize this inability with a phrase such as 'I can't go back at this point'.⁸ Such a phrase is an engramic command, which must be overcome by means of 'repeater' technique. This technique simply involves getting the pre-clear to repeat the phrase over and over again, similar phrases, and anything else the pre-clear might add. For example: Woman: All I get is 'Take her away'. Auditor: Go over that again. Woman: Take her away [repeated three times]. Auditor: Go over it again. Woman: Take her away. Auditor: Go over it again. Woman: No no, I won't. Auditor: Go over it again. Woman: I won't I won't, I won't, I won't. Auditor: Go over it again take her away. Go over the phrase again. Take her away. Woman: Take her away [crying]. No, no. I MSMH, p. 202. : MSLqH, p. 124.

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THE CULT AND ITS TRANSFORMATION Auditor: Go over the phrase, take her away. Woman: Take...take [crying], no, no. Auditor: Go over the words 'no, no'. Woman: No, no, no. Auditor: Go over it again. Woman: No. Auditor: Go over it again. Woman: [Moaning... don't... Auditor: Go over it again, go over 'don't'. Woman: [Crying].

Auditor: Go over the word 'don't'.

Woman: Don't, don't, don't, don't, [Etc.]

Repetition of such phrases, Hubbard argues 'sucks the patient back down the track and into contact with an engram which contains it',² sometimes facilitating the reduction of that engram, or otherwise releasing emotional charge from the reactive bank.

Another important technique was that of securing a 'dash answer'. This technique was typically employed to discover where on the track the pre-clear was stuck, that is when an engram had occurred which had since been a major source of aberration, and to discover the nature of the incident.³

In the first case, the auditor would tell the pre-clear, 'When I count to five...a phrase will flash into your mind to describe where you are on the track. One, two, three, four, five!' 'Late pre-natal', says the pre-clear, or 'yesterday' or whatever occurs to him. 'UICUI Was SUMI, IllamS ynen an engram naCt OCCUI... Willml nac smce ueen a major source of aberration, and to discover the nature of the incident.³ Counting was later replaced by snapping the fingers, in order to discover the nature of an incident about which the pre-clear, unaided, was not forthcoming: The auditor asks a series of questions which will identify the incident and receives flash answers on a yes-no basis. The auditor says, 'When I snap my fingers you will answer yes or no to me following question': 'Hospital?' (snap!), and the pre-clear answers yes or no. Such a series of questions and answers might run as follows: 'Accident?' 'Yes' 'X3spital?' 'No' 'Mother?' 'Yes' 'Outdoors?' 'No' 'Fall down?'

'This example is taken from an actual auditing situation, a recording of a public demonstration of Dianetic auditing, given by L. Ron Hubbard on 28 September 1951. For further illustrations of repeater technique in Dianetics sessions, see Walter Braddeson, *Sciencologyft the Millions* (Sherbourne Press, Los Angeles, 1966), pp. 83-5 87-9, 91. : MSMH, p. V15. t MSMH, p. 296; L Ron Hubbard *Science of Survival* (Hubbard Dianetic Foundation Inc., Wichita, Kansas, 1951), I, pp. 4-5; 11, pp. 57-8. All references are to the Tenth Printing, published by Hubbard College of Scientology, East Grinstead Sussex, 1967 Hereafter referred to simply as *Science of Survival*.

'MSMH, p. 296.

THE CULT PHASr: DIARTICS

3 'No' 'Cut?' 'Yes' 'Kitchen? Yes'. And suddenly the pre-clear may remember the

incident or get a vision of the scene or remember or get a sonic recall of what his

mother said to him,, 1 'the background to the theory and practice of Dianetics was a form of abreaction therapy, with strong similarities to a variety of techniques then in use. Since Hubbard himself has asserted the originality of the entire theory and practice and acknowledges having been influenced only in a most general way by other writers, it is difficult to be certain of the sources of his synthesis. Ideas which approximate to many aspects of the theory and practice of Dianetics were currently available in orthodox and fringe psychology, although it is not certain how much Hubbard may have derived from them, and it is clear that he added

many entirely original elements of his own.

The theory that aspects of human behaviour might be explained as responses to traumatically (and, of course, other) conditioned stimuli was prominent in psychology following the work of Pavlov and Watson. Pavlov's work on the induction of 'experimental neuroses' in dogs was taken up by psychiatrists impressed by the correspondence between his clinical descriptions of these neuroses and the acute war neuroses they observed in evacuated soldiers.² The therapy developed to treat these neuroses was an abreaction therapy, described as follows by Sargant:

A drilla would be admitted, red to a...labent...and as it started to take effect, A drug would be administered to a... patient...and as it started to take effect, an endeavour would be made to make him re-live the episodes that had caused his breakdown. Sometimes the episode, or episodes, had been mentally suppressed, and the memory would have to be brought to me surface again. At other times it was fully remembered, but the strong emotions originally attached to it had since been suppressed. The marked improvement in the patients nervous condition was attributed to the releasing of these original emotions.'The technique of suggesting quite imaginary situations to a patient under drugs, leading to abreaction of fear or anger was found to be as equally effective in the restoration of mental health, as getting him to re-live actual traumatic experiences.⁴

The therapeutic role of abreaction had been systematically explored first by Breuer and Freud,⁵ whose investigations revealed that the root of many hysterical symptoms lay in the experience of psychological trauma:

Science of Survival, H, pp 57-8. 'William Sargant, Battle for the Mind (Pan Books, London, 1 959).

Ibid., Pr7

Ibid., pp. 17-18.

⁶Joseph Breuer and Sigmund Freud, Studies in Hysteria, Vol 11 of the Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud (Hogarth Press, London, 1959).

I H CULT AND ITS TRANSFORMATION Any experience which calls up distressing affects such as those of fright, anxiety, shame or physical pain may operate as a trauma of this kind. The affect associated with the traumatic situation is repressed rather than discharged when the individual is unable to react due to social circumstances or because it involved something he wished to forget, or when the experience occurred while the patient was in a 'dissociated' or 'hypnotic' state of mind, that is, when under conditions of: severely paralysing affects, such as fright, or during positively abnormal psychical states, such as the semi-hypnotic twilight state of day-dreaming, auto-hypnosis, and so on.'The memory of the traumatic experience is either partially or completely out of normal consciousness but can be aroused 'in accordance with the laws of association...by a new experience which sets it going owing to a similarity with the pathogenic experience'.⁵

The aim of therapy was therefore to bring the original experience

with its associated affect into consciousness, and get the patient to describe the event in detail, thereby arousing and discharging the accompanying affect: We found...that each individual hysterical symptom immediately and permanently disappeared when we had succeeded in bringing clearly to light the memory of the event by which it was provoked and in arousing its accompanying affect, and when the patient had described that event in the greatest possible detail and had put the affect into words...' Although Freud first employed hypnosis as a means of locating traumatic material and bringing it to consciousness, he shortly found that some patients could not be effectively hypnotized. This led him to the creation of a new technique for extending the patient's memory. He would ask his patients if they recalled what occasioned the symptoms. He assured them they did know:

. After this I became still more insistent; I told the patients to lie down and deliberately close their eyes in order to 'concentrate'...I then found that without any hypnosis new recollections emerged which went further back and which probably related to our topic.' Should the patient still prove recalcitrant, Freud would then apply manual pressure to the patient's head, assuring him that when he did this a recollection would come to mind.

The parallels with early Dianetic practice are quite striking. With only minor modifications in practice and terminology Dianetic theory and practice might 'Ibid., p.6. 'Ibid., p. m. 'Ibid., p. 6. i Ibid., p. 6, emphasis omitted. Ibid., p. 268. Ibid., p. 270.

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aa have been adapted from that of early Freud. That this is more than merely a possibility is suggested by John W. Campbell's letter to Dr Joseph Winter in July 1949 telling of Hubbard's discoveries, 'His approach is, actually, based on some very early work of Freud's, some work of other men, and a lot of original research'.1

The process of engram formation resembles the mechanism of repression elaborated by Freud, and Hubbard's distinction between the analytical and the reactive mind loosely fits Freud's distinction of the conscious and unconscious. There are even hints in Freud's discussion of the analysis of hysteria which strongly suggest an origin for Hubbard's notion of the 'file-clerk', for example: consequences of the manual pressure give one a deceptive impression of there being a superior intelligence outside the patient's consciousness which keeps a large amount of psychical material arranged for particular purposes and has fixed a planned order for its return to consciousness. or yet more directly,

it was as though we were examining a dossier that had been kept in good order. The

analysis of my patient Emmy von N. contained similar files of memories..These

files form a quite general feature of every analysis and their contents always emerge

in a chronological order...'although the order was the reverse of the actual experiential order. Hubbard's 'file-clerk' did not always deal with matters in such a systematic fashion. In one published comment, Hubbard admitted a considerable psychoana-

In one published comment, Hubbard admitted a considerable psychoanalytic influence on early Dianetics: lytic influence on early Dianetics: In the earliest beginning of Dianetics it is possible to trace a considerable psychoanalytic influence. There was the matter of ransacking the past; the matter of believing with Freud that if one could talk over his difficulties they would alleviate and there was the matter of concentrating on early childhood. Our first improvement on psycho-analysis itself consisted of the abandonment of talk alone and the direct address to the incident in its own area of time as a mental image picture susceptible to erasure. But many of the things which Freud thought might exist, such as 'life in the womb', 'birth trauma', were in Dianetics and Scientology confirmed and for them provided an adequate alleviation. The discovery of the engram is entirely the property of Dianetics. Methods of its erasure are also owned entirely by Dianetics, but both of these were pointed to by early Freudian analysis and Hypnosis. 'Despite the fact that Freud had abandoned the practice, hypnotic abreactive therapy was widely developed during the 1930s and 1940s. The phenomena of Cited in Winter, op. cit., p. 3. Reuer and Freud, op. cit., p. 272.

Ibid., p. 288. 4 L Ron Hubbard, 'A critique of psycho-analysis 3', Cerhinly, 9, 7 (1962, p. 5 See the discussion of

and reference to, earlier work in Jacob H Conn, 'Hypnosynthesis: III Hypnotherapy of chronic war neuroses with a discussion of the value of 34

THE CULT AND ITS TRANSFORMATION spontaneous and induced regression had also been explored under hypnosis,¹ and it was known that age regression could be induced by suggestion in a non-hypnotic state.³ Moreover, the phenomenon of hypnotically age-regressed patients reporting details of intra-uterine life, on being told they were at an appropriate age, had been observed.³

In the practice of hypnosis a distinction was sometimes drawn between regression, described as a 'half-conscious dramatisation of the present understanding of that previous time', and reidentification, described as 'the type of time regression in which the hypnotic situation itself ceases and the subject is plunged directly into the chronological past'.

The term regression was generally used for both kinds of phenomena, and some doubt was thrown on the status of such a process of returning to early periods of childhood, when Young in a controlled experimental study showed that a sample of controls requested to simulate the performances of three-year-olds as measured by a series of tests were able to approximate such performances more accurately than hypnotized subjects ordered to regress to their third birthday. Young felt the results of his experiment better supported an explanation in terms of which the hypnotized subjects 'were unwittingly playing a role, and playing it less skilfully than the controls by virtue of having voluntarily surrendered their critical attitudes during the trance...' than an explanation in terms of any actual return, or recovery of actual

memories of the time in question.5

Hubbard was clearly familiar with some of this work. He was an experienced practitioner of hypnosis, and in MSMH carefully distinguished returning and reliving in Dianetics from regression and revivification in hypnosis.C

Although the 'recalling'of the experience of birth and prenatal life had been

'Milton H. Erickson, 'Hypnotic treatment of acute hysterical depression: report of a case' *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry* 46 (1941) p.176; Merton M. Cill, 'Spontaneous regression on the induction of hypnosis', *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic*, 12, 2 (1948), pp. 41-8.

Leonard T. Maholick, 'The infant in the adult', *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 11 (1949), pp. 295-337-

J. H. Masserman, 'The dynamics of hypnosis and brief psychotherapy' *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry*, 46 (1941), pp. 76-9.

'Milton H. Erickson and Lawrence S. Kubler, 'Successful treatment of a case of acute hysterical depression by return under hypnosis to a critical phase of childhood', *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 4 (1941), pp. 585-609.

5 Paul Campbell Young, 'Hypnotic regression: fact or artifact?' *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 35 (1940), pp. 273-8.

6 MSMH p. 12. The reason given for the terminological substitution is that regression had pejorative connotations, and 'revivification' was something that happened under hypnosis. As Dianetics did not employ hypnosis, 'reliving' was more appropriate. 'abreaction, regression, and revivification', *Journal of Clinical and Experimental Hypnosis* (1953), pp. 29-43; Lewis R. Wolberg, *Hypnosis* (Grune & Stratton, New York 1945).

THE CULT PHASE: DIANETICS

35 noted in hypnotized subjects, it was little explored in the main streams of psychology. Experimental work had been conducted on the possibility of conditioning the unborn child with considerable success during late pregnancy, but the influence of the experience of birth and pre-natal life on later psychological development was most actively explored by Otto Rank and his followers. Rank held that the origins of neurosis lay not in the Oedipus complex, but in the trauma of birth. Phyllis Greenacre developed this theory further, suggesting that events in intra-uterine life, particularly after the seventh month of pregnancy when responsiveness to sound begins to appear, might have a traumatic effect on the foetus leading to reactions akin to anxiety and influencing later psychological development. Finally, Nandor Fodor, in a book published by the publishers of MSMH only the year before Hubbard's book, also argued that pre-natal traumata were the cause of later life neuroses, and, curiously presaging Hubbard's thought, argued that...nature left the unborn child unprotected against the violence of parental intercourse in the advanced stage of gestation, and thus exposed it to an ordeal the traumatic nature of which is clearly traceable in dreamst through-out our lives. : and that accidents suffered by the mother may expose the unborn

to physical shocks through the protective amniotic cushion....'
The need to relive the repressed memory of birth and pre-natal
trauma

The need to 'relive' the repressed memory of birth and pre-natal
trauma stressed by Fodor,⁷ also appears in a book by an English
healer. E. Eeman discusses pre-natal memory and the successful
treatment of a number of cases of apparently organic disability by
a non-hypnotic abreactive therapy based on re-living traumatic
experiences.

1 David K. Spelt, 'The conditioning of the human foetus in utero',
Journal of Experimental Psychology, 38 (1948), pp. 338-46.

2 Otto Rank, The Trauma of Birth (Harcourt Brace & Co, New York,
1929).

J Phyllis Greenacre, 'The predisposition to anxiety, Psychoanalytic
Quarterly, 11 (1941) pp. 66-94-

Nandor Fodor, The Search for the Beloved: a Clinical Investigation
of the Trauma of Birth and Pre-natal Conditioning (Hermitage
Press, New York, 1949), p. 309

For a resume of Rank, Greenacre and Fodor, see J. A. C. Brown,
Freud and the Post-Freudians (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth,
1964), pp. 32-5. The publisher of MSMH, a member of the Bay Head circle,
assured me that Hubbard did not know of Fodor's work published in
that first year before the public appearance of Dianetics. This
may, of course, have been the case. However, Fodor suggests that
the unborn child may have knowledge of what is going on outside the
womb by means of telepathy. Hubbard takes pains to rebut the thesis
of telepathically derived knowledge, without mentioning Fodor,
MSMH, pp. 320-1.

'Fodor, op. Cit., p. 193.

L. E. Eeman, G-operative Healing (Frederick Muller, London, 1947).
pp. 102-24

The practice of securing 'flash answers', known as a technique of
induced association also existed in the practice of hypnotherapy.
Brenman and Gill refer to such a technique, which was employed if a
patient was unable to answer a question in therapy, or if the
answer was unenlightening:

the general formula applied was: 'I will count to a certain number
and when I

reach that number you will tell me the first thing that occurs to
you in connection

with so-and-so.'

The notion of 'reverie' is referred to in the work of Baudouins but
not as a state to be induced for therapeutic purposes. The notion
of the 'engram' also need not have been sought for. It was a
commonly current term used to designate a memory trace, or an
altered condition in tissue or neural structure as a result of
excitation or stimulus and was employed by a number of
psychologists.⁴

Hubbard's theories regarding the operation of the reactive mind, which 'computes in identities' may owe something to Count Alfred Korzybski, whose General Semantics located the source of many of Man's ills in misguided tendency to think in terms of identification, or to his follower Hayakawa.

How much Hubbard's theories derived from Richard Semon's work is now

1 Margaret Srenman and Merton M. Gill, *ypnotherapy: a Surre of I hc Literaturc* (Internahonal Umversihes Press, New Yor, 1947), p. a4.

2 Charlrs saudouin Suggestwn and Autosuggeston (Allen

Unwin, London, Igzo),

1 Margaret Brenman and Merton M. Gill, *ypnothrrapy: a Surrey of t hc Literatwe* (Internadonal Universities Press, New York, 1947), p. 84.

Charles Baudouin, *Suggestion and Autoruggcston* (Allen & Unwin, London, 1920), p. 130.

Wmter claims the search went no farther than Dorland's Medical Dictionary (W. B. Saunders & Co, Philadelphia, 1936). See Winter, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

Richard Semon, *rhc Mn6m6* (Allen & Unwin, London, 1921); K. Koffka, *Principles of Gcstait Psychalogy* (Harcourt & Brace, New York, 1935); Charles K. Ogden and I. A. Richards, *'rhe Meaning of Meaning* (Kegam Paul, London, 1946); and Karl S. Lashley, 'In search of the engram', *Society of xp6rim6nlal Biolog)l Symposium JVo. st - Physiioi6gical Mechanisms in Animal P6haviour* (Cambndge University Press, Cambridge, 950), pp. 454-82.

6 5, I. Hayakawa, 'From science-fiction to fiction-science', *I'rc*, 8 (1951), p. 285; Paul Kecskemeti, 'A review of General Semantics', *JVew Lead6r*, 38, 17 (25 April 1955), pp. 24-5; Alfred Korzybski, *Scieru andSanity* (International Non-Anitotelian Library Publishing Co, New York, 1933); Gardner, *op. cit.*, Chapter 23 Some Dianetieists saw clear parallels: 'Korzybskd's...work is implicit in Hubbard's', '...Hubbard [is obviously an old and expert student of general semantirs...' *Dianotes*, 1, 5 (December 1951), p. 1 m In some of his later works, Hubbard does credit Korzybski along with Aristotle, Isaac Newton, Confucius, etc. a 'source material', e.g. the 'Foreword'to L. Ron Hubbard, *Scitntolog o goaad, sm edn* (Hubbard College of Scientology, East Grinstead, Susser. 1967).

'S. I. Hayakawa, *Laneuagc in rhought and Action* (Allen & Unwin, London, 1965). The first US edition appeared in 1949. This book is also notable in this context for its emphasis on the role of surDiuai as a motivating principle, an idea prominent in Hubbard's writing. diffic-llt to determine. Semon's 'mnemic psychology' certainly appears to have anticipated some Hubbardian ideas. Semon proposed the existence of a mnemic property, that is, a tendency for organic tissue to be modified as a result of stimulation. This modification produced by the stimulus, Semon called an engram. This stimulus impression could be reactivated, or in Semon's terminology, 'ecphorised by the complete or partial recurrence of 'the energetic conditions which ruled at the

generation of the engram'.² Under conditions of the strongest 'ecphoric effect', the mnemonic state of excitation reproduces the original excitation in all its proper proportions, inclusive of time values. Semon describes such an engram and its ecphory from his own experience: We were once standing by the Bay of Naples and saw Capri lying before us; near by an organ-grinder played on a large barrel organ; a peculiar smell of oil reached us from a neighbouring trattoria; the sun was beating pitilessly on our backs and our boots in which we had been tramping for hours, pinched us. Many years after, a similar smell of oil ecphorised most vividly the optic engram of Capri, and even now this smell has invariably the same effect. In his later *Intuitive Psychology*, Semon stresses the vividness of 'mnemonic sensations': When associated with... there is ecphorised the mnemonic image of some old teacher whose stupid grammatical contentiousness and general pedantry made him the chief object of our boyhood hatred thirty years ago we do not merely 'remember' this person, dead for fifteen years past, but we see him in the flesh.

Thus the whole simultaneous stratum of the engram-complex to which he belongs in our dream, and which has 'ecphorised' him as its central figure, gains reality, appearing not as the ecphory of an old stratum but as that of a present one... We are ourselves thirty years younger; we are again going to school and having to pass our final examinations.⁵ This is, of course, all highly reminiscent of Hubbard's theory. The engram is substantially the same in each case, and indeed in his early work Hubbard suggested that the engram was retained as a cellular recording. Ecphory and restimulation are exact parallels and both are evoked through association. Hubbard goes very much further than Semon, however. Hubbard's engram is created during periods of unconsciousness, pain, or emotional loss, while Semon's is created during normal consciousness. When restimulated, it takes Richard Semon, *The Mneme* (Allen & Unwin, London, 1921).² *Ibid.*, p. 145. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

Richard Semon, *Mnemonic Psychology* (Allen & Unwin, London, 1923), p. 221. Semon planned a further work *Psychology of Mneme* which would treat the subject of the disappearance of engrams. However, as far as I can discover, this work was never written.

For example, *SMH*, p. 7 in complete command of the individual, rather than being a further, albeit sometimes powerful, stimulus. There is no suggestion in Semon's work that engrams are a cause of psychosomatic illness, nor practices for the elimination of engrams. If Hubbard was influenced by Semon's work, little more was derived from this source than the notions of the engram and its restimulation, ideas which were available elsewhere, as I have indicated.¹

Unfortunately, the fact that 'engram' was not the first choice of terminology for Hubbard's published work does not altogether settle the matter. Hubbard first used the term 'impediment', then 'norm' and 'comanone' (the latter at Winter's suggestion²), and not until then was 'engram' publicly used. Hubbard may have begun with the notion of engram derived from Semon (or elsewhere) and sought an alternative terminology to distinguish his own ideas from those other conceptualizations which employed the term. Winter is, however, emphatic that during the Bayhead period, '...Semon's work was unknown to our group'.³ In the absence of any stronger evidence, Winter's word must be accepted. Developments in theory

and, though Dianetics theory and practice developed rapidly. By the end of 1950 in a series of lectures in California, Hubbard introduced a distinction that formed the basis of further theoretical change, between 'MEST' and 'theta'. MEST (Matter, Energy, Space, Time) was Hubbard's acronym for the material or physical Energy, Space, Time) was Hubbard's acronym for the material or physical universe, while theta stood for the universe of thought. Hubbard also introduced the notion of the A-R-C (Amnity, Reality, Communication) triangle. This involved the idea that these three components were mutually related so that 'when reality is low affinity and communication will be low. When communication is high, amnity and reality will be high'.⁵ Moreover, Hubbard established a fundamental principle of the movement's epistemology: Reality is that upon which we agree. If I say there are twelve black cats on the stage and you don't agree someone is insane. The prime insanity is not to agree with another's reality. Agreement and reality are synonymous. We agree upon something: it becomes reality. We don't agree. There isn't reality.⁷ See Koftka, op. cit., Ogden and Richards, op. cit., and Lashley, op. cit. Winter, op. cit., p. 17-18.

'Winter, op. cit., p. 18,

L. Ron Hubbard's lectures on the Lectures of L. Ron Hubbard, Edited by the Staff of the California Foundation (Hubbard Communications Office Ltd, Saint Hill Manor, East Grinstead, 1962). From lectures delivered late 1950. First published 195. Hubbard's predilections for acronyms and contractions to form new words probably dates from his naval days. The practice is particularly prominent among U.S. military personnel,

See ibid., p. 9. Ibid., pp 17-18. ⁷ Ibid., p. 57. The dynamic principle of existence SURVIVAL ! Survival, considered as the single and sole Purpose, subdivides into four dynamics. By symbiote is meant all entities and energies which aid survival. DYNAMIC ONE is the urge of the individual toward survival for the individual and his symbiotes. DYNAMIC TWO is the urge of the individual toward survival through procreation; it includes both the sex act and the raising of progeny, the care of children and their symbiotes. DYNAMIC THREE is the urge of the individual toward survival for the group or the group for the group and includes the symbiotes of that group. DYNAMIC FOUR is the urge of the individual toward survival for Mankind or the urge toward survival of Mankind for Mankind as well as the group for Mankind, etc., and includes the symbiotes of mankind.¹ By the end of 1950 these had increased to seven: Fifth Dynamic Life Sixth Dynamic MEST Seventh Dynamic Theta By August 1951 a further dynamic had been added and some of the others modified DYNAMIC FIVE is the urge to survive as a life organism and embraces all living organisms. DYNAMIC SIX is the urge to survive as part of the physical universe and includes the survival of the physical universe. DYNAMIC FIVE is the urge to survive as a life organism and embraces all living organisms.

DYNAMIC SEVEN is the urge toward survival in a spiritual sense. DYNAMIC EIGHT is the urge toward survival as a part of or ward of a Supreme Being.³ The optimum solution to any problem, Hubbard argued was the 'solution which brings the greatest benefit to the greatest number of dynamics'.⁴

At this point Hubbard had not developed the theory of Dianetics beyond a concern with the current lifetime. However, the period in

which engrams could occur had been pushed back so that 'now, they have found an aberrative sperm and ovum series. Normally, however, the earliest engram is one day after conception. '5

I MSM, pp37-83 Hubbard, Notes on the Lectres, pp. 95-6. 3
Science of Survival, I, p. xi.

4 Hubbard, Notes on the Lectres, p. 96.

6 Ibid., p. 131. Winter also comments on this period:
'Investigation of the "past death" or the "last death" in less imaginative patients had only a brief popularity. It was replaced by the 'sperm-ovum sequence, which was defined as the 'recollection of occurrences at the moment of a person's conception ' Winter op. cit., p. 189.

A definite public commitment by Hubbard to 'past lives' did not occur until after Hubbard's break with Don Purcell and the Wichita Foundation,¹ in 195 although he made reference to past lives and deaths in Science of Survival published in August 1951.'

The concept of 'theta' was expanded to incorporate not only thought, but 'life-force, elan vital, the spirit, the soul...³ Theta, Hubbard argued, was constantly becoming entangled with MEST. When they came together 'forcefully' and 'intermingled "permanently" an engram was formed.⁹ Theta and MEST became 'enturbulated' in the reactive mind Processing therefore involved releasing the theta held in the reactive mind as 'entheta' (enturbulated theta) and restoring it to the analytical mind.

Science of Survival was organized around the 'Tone Scale'. This scale purported to indicate a range of characteristics associated with the amount of 'free theta' available to the analytic mind. Locating a pre-clear in terms of key criteria on the scale permitted the prediction of other characteristics possessed by that individual (or group). Hence, being at 1.1 on the tone scale meant one was in a state of 'covert hostility' and therefore psychotic.⁹ Among the other features of such an individual are that he is 'incapable, capricious, irresponsible'. Point 4.0 on the tone scale meant that the individual was a MEST clear, he would be 'Near accident proof. No psveho-somatic ills. Nearly immune to bacteria' and he would have a 'high courage level'. The tone scale also provided the basis for political observations by Hubbard. In Science of Survival, for example, liberalism is identified as 'higher-toned' than fascism, which is 'higher-toned' than communism.⁵

One major innovation in technique was that of 'straight-wire' processing, or 'straight memory':

1 The history of Hubbard's relationship with and secession from Don Purcell and the Wichita Foundation is detailed below (pp. 77-95).

Science of Survival, I, p. 61, Hubbard states: 'The subject of past deaths and past lives is so full of tension that as early as last July [1950-Ed.] the board of trustees of the Foundation sought to pass a resolution banning the entire subject.' He would only commit himself to the view that some past life and past death experiences 'seem to be valid and real'. He also insisted these experiences should be run as normal engrams, and not invalidated or

neglected. Science of Survival, 11, p. 95.

3 Ibid., 1, p. 4.

'Ibid., 1, p. 8.

S Hubbard was wont to describe those who disagreed with him as 'I
1'In the light of the later campaign in Scientology for civil
rights for the institutionalized mental patient, it is interesting
to observe that in Saente of Survival individuals below 2.0 on the
tone scale are identified as 'psychotic' and Hubbard argues 'any
person from 2.0 kmd. Science of Survival, 1, p 131

r 'Hubbard Chart of Human Evaluation and Dianetic Processing'
supplied as a loose sheet with Science of Survival.

7 Ibid.

Science of Survival, 1, p. 124. Straight memory consists of the
pre-clear's staying in present time with his eyes wide open and
being asked to remember certain things which have been said to him
and done to him during his life time. He is not asked to return to
these incidents. He is asked only to recognize their existence. It
was specifically directed at the pre-clear who 'has difficulty
remembering' but seems to have been used as a tacit coaching device
to instruct pre-clears who had difficulty contacting incidents in
auditing. If the pre-clear says bluntly that he cannot remember
things, it is up to the auditor to encourage and validate this
pre-clear's memory. If the pre-clear says 'I can't remember names',
the auditor says, 'Well, what is the name of your business
associate? The pre-clear says,
Oh, his name is Jones!' The auditor has proved to the pre-clear that the
pre-clear can remember at least one name. 'Coaching the pre-clear
may have had an important part in the effective running of Dianetic
auditing. For example: There is a trick of reaching conception in a
case... The auditor asks the pre-clear to run a moment of sexual
pleasure, and then when his pre-clear, who does not have to recount
this moment aloud appears to be settled into that moment, the auditor
denies that the pre-clear goes into meditation. The
pre-clear will normally do 50, ,s In this case, Hubbard is
auditing a woman and has returned her to infancy: Woman: I'm
imagining being a baby. Hubbard: All right. What do you see there.
What's your vision as you're lying there being a baby? Woman: I
guess there was a crib. Hubbard: Let's take a look at it. Woman :
All I can see. Just holding on to the side of the crib. Hubbard:
You're holding on. How do you feel lying there in the crib? Woman: I'm sitting.
Hubbard: You're sitting in the crib. And who comes into the room?
Woman: [unclear, possibly a name]. Hubbard: What does he look like
?

[Mother enters] Hubbard: t..l All right, now what's her voice
sound like ? Woman: I don't understand it. Hubbard: What's she
saying. What language? Is it a different language? Woman: Yes.
Hubbard: Well what language is it? All right, pick up the first word
she says, how's Ibid., II, p. 68. Science of Survival, 11, p. 69.
Ibid., 11, pp. 17g-4. (My emphasis.)

THE CULT AND ITS TRANSFORMATION it sound? Go to the moment of the
first word she says. How does it sound ?

Woman: [Laughs]

Hubbard: What is it? Woman: Maboushsa.1

A further major technical change was the introduction of 'lock scanning'. Locks and engrams were held to form chains of similar kinds of incident for example, all occasions when the pre-clear suffered a break in affinity, or an enforced agreement. It was claimed that to run each of these incidents in early Dianetic fashion would be far too lengthy a process, but that an equally effective and far speedier procedure was simply to get the pre-clear to 'scan' in his mind similar types of incidents from the earliest to the latest. The auditor asks the file clerk if there is a type of incident which can be scanned in the ease. The file clerk, at a snap of the auditor's fingers, answers yes or no. The auditor requests the name of the type of incident. The file clerk gives the name of the type of incident. The auditor then tells the pre-clear to go to the earliest available moment on this chair of locks...the auditor tells the pre-clear to scan from this earliest moment to present time through all incidents of the type named. Scanning such chains several times, Hubbard argued, was an effective way of converting entheta into theta (that is freeing theta).

Hubbard's next major work after Science of Sunitel marked a turning point in the development of the theory and practice of the movement. While Dianetics converted entheta into theta (that is freeing theta).

Hubbard's next major work after Science of Survival marked a turning point in the development of the theory and practice of the movement. While Dianetics had hitherto maintained that engrams were a result of what had been done to the pre-clear, Advanced Procedure and Asions presented the idea that the individual was responsible for his engrams:

Everything which is wrong with [the pre-clear] he has selectively and particularly

chosen to be wrong with him.³

'L. Ron Hubbard, Record of a public demonstration of Dianetic auditing, September 1950. For a clear case of coaching see the auditing session reported by Joseph Winter, reprinted in Gardner, op. cit., pp. 76-8. The following account of a reporter's unsuccessful auditing session reported in a magazine also seems apposite: 'The experiment by one of the foremost practitioners in the new science was not a success. My "engrams" were playing hard-to-get, or my pre-natal recording device was faulty. After two hours of attempting to recall the phrases heard in childhood or before, Schofield switched on the lights and said: "You should read The Book [MSMH] more carefully".'

Roland Wild, 'Everyman his own psychoanalyst', Illinois (September 1950), p. 18. It is not my intention to suggest that 'coaching' was consciously carried out by auditors rather, as many investigations into psychotherapy and psychological experiment show, the therapist or experimenter may give many unconscious cues as to what he wants or expects from his patient or subject. r Science of Survival, vol. 1, pp. 4-5.

L. Ron Hubbard, Advanced Procedure and Axioms (hereafter APA) (Central Press, Wichita, Kansas, 1951), p. 7. Quotations are from

the fourth edition, 1962, published by Hubbard Communicationz Omce Ltd, East Gnnzthead, Sussex. Each individual at some time in the past chose some means of securing sympathy or 'co-operation on the part of the environment'¹ which seemed at the time necessary for his survival. This was called the 'service facsimile'.^a Thereafter, the individual became subject to the service facsimile, believing it essential to his continued survival. Restoring the individual's self-determinism therefore required the release of the service facsimile.^a

This volume also contained the 'Definitions, Logics and Axioms', a set of numbered assertions described as 'logics', 'corollaries', 'axioms' and 'definitions', for example:

Axiom 68 The single arbitrary in any organism is time. Axiom 69 - Physical universe perceptions and efforts are received by an organism as force waves, convert by facsimile into thought and are thus stored. Definition: anomy is the misalignment through the internal or external efforts by other forms of life or the material universe of the efforts of an organism, and is imposed on the physical organism by counter efforts in the environment.^t

Hubbard's next significant book, although first issued at the Wichita Foundation made a clear commitment to immortality and employed the term 'scientology', providing the vehicle for his secession from the Wichita Dianeticists on the basis of a new 'science'. Social organization and development With the publication of MS11FH and the article in Astounding, Dianetics emerged organizationally in two forms. Organized around L. Ron Hubbard was the Hubbard Dianetic Research Foundation [hereafter referred to as the Foundation the Elizabeth Foundation, or HDRF], incorporated in April 1950 in Elizabeth, New Jersey. The Foundation had a board of directors, presided over by Hubbard. Branches of the Foundation had also been established in other major American cities, so that by November 1950 there were branches in Los Angeles, New York, Washington, Chicago and Honolulu. The Foundations in Elizabeth and Los Angeles were offering an 'intensive, full-time course, lasting four weeks for professional auditors',^s as well as courses of therapy, while the other Foundations mainly provided therapy.

The board of directors was composed of five others apart from Hubbard and his second wife Sara, including John W. Campbell, Joseph Winter, the publisher of 11, IS1H, Arthur Ceppos, and a lawyer, C. Parker Morgan. Each Foundation had a staff of professional auditors and instructors, and those in New Jersey and Los Angeles had a small research staff employing Dianeticists and trained

¹ Ibid., p. 7. ^s It is the means he uses to excuse his failures.

the term engram was largely replaced by 'facsimile' from this point

L Ron Hubbard, 'Definitions, logics and axioms, APA, p. 35. ^s Advertisement in Astounding, 46, 3 (November 1950), back cover. psychologists. The Elizabeth Foundation employed some thirty people on its staff. Numbers at the other Foundations fluctuated.

While an organizational structure was emerging within the Foundations, however, 'grass-roots' organizations of a rudimentary kind had emerged spontaneously. With the appearance of Hubbard's article and book, individuals all over America and in Great Britain

began practising the technique. Many began with members of their own family or with friends, co-auditing each other, and enthusiastically proselytizing among their acquaintances. Some publicised their activities through advertisements in newspapers and magazines,¹ or through newspaper stories.² Some wrote to booksellers, or the Foundations to locate others in their area interested in the practice.

In this fashion, numerous small groups rapidly appeared with names such as: The Bristol Dianetic Group, The Connecticut Valley Dianetic Association, The Central London Group of Dianeticists, etc. With one or more enthusiasts organizing group activities, arranging meetings and contacting members, these groups had a fluctuating membership, and little formal structure. They generally met one or two evenings a week. The 'senior' Dianeticist present (senior in the sense that he had been practising longest or, less frequently, because he had taken some official training), would normally give a lecture, a demonstration, or conduct group-auditing. After a break, members would then team up in pairs for co-auditing.³

Communication between the groups, between isolated individual followers, and between followers and the Foundations was initially largely by letter. The early

Communication between the groups, between isolated individual followers, and between followers and the Foundations was initially largely by letter. The early followers were prolific correspondents. The more enthusiastic among them kept up correspondence with as many as a dozen others, detailing in their letters the cases they were running (or auditing) at the time; the activities of their group; new developments in theory and practice (whether retailed from official Dianetic sources or their own innovations) and rumours of administrative or political developments at the Foundations; as well as social and personal news. As some of these groups became established, however, mimeographed news-sheets were produced, along the lines of the 'fanzines' which link together science-fiction enthusiasts. Cheaply produced, they provided a means for the leading independent figures and groups practising Dianetics to remain in contact with a dispersed and growing list of correspondents. These mimeographed bulletins were an important feature of Dianetics, providing the sense of a Dianetic community⁴ for the

¹ See for example, *Life Preserver*, 1, 1 (June 1952, pp. 5-6; 1, 2 (July 1953), n.p.

² See for example, *The People*, 24 February 1952, p. 6.

³ The organisational model for these groups was, I think fairly evidently, the clubs of science fiction enthusiasts. Kingsley Amis refers to these clubs and their 'fanzines': 'groups in a score of major cities and dozens of others.... Many clubs will meet weekly, have a hierarchy of officials, hold organised discussions, and mimeograph or even print a magazine.' Kingsley Amis, *Seven Years of Hell* (New English Library, London, 1963), p. 49. Among the distinctive symbols of the Dianetic community was the practice of amateur following, as well as a later focus for, and a medium through which to express, discontent at the redirection of the movement by Hubbard.

The usual amateur bulletin would contain one or more articles on the theory or practice of Dianetics; discussions of cases audited; details of group meetings; information on innovations in theory and practice by recent graduates of Foundation courses or members of other groups; social information concerning figures in the Dianetic world; letters of encouragement or complaint; notices of recent publications; etc. The Foundation also issued a publication,³ in a slightly more sober style, containing articles by Hubbard and Foundation staff, and details of courses, tape-recordings and books available.

Individuals within the Dianetic community rapidly became well-known through letters, articles and personal stories in the group bulletins, and enthusiasts would make a point of visiting each other while in the neighbourhood of other Dianetists on holiday or on business, often stopping off a while to try out each other's auditing techniques.³

As the Foundations began training and certifying 'professional' auditors, other elements were added to the structure of the Dianetic community. Some trained auditors gravitated to leadership positions in the local amateur groups, virtually transforming the membership into a private clientele. In the Dianetics period this was, however, quite exceptional. Some set up entirely new private practices. Others were absorbed into the staff of the Foundations themselves. Some adopted a peripatetic form of practice, travelling around and engaging in a period of practice in one area before moving on to another.

A picture of how the professional practice of Dianetics was ideally envisaged

A picture of how the professional practice of Dianetics was ideally envisaged is presented in one of the American newsletters:

A Dianeticist has his shingle out and a lady enters the waiting room. She has been troubled with her problems for some time now and feels that she may not be operating as optimum as she would like. Still she does not feel that a 'Nut Doctor, [psychiatrist is the answer. She has heard that Dianetics has helped cases like hers, and after much mental hash and re-hash, she has decided to investigate. What's there to lose? A pleasant girl, in a simple street dress has received her, has asked the usual

questions, and then instructed her to have a seat after telling her that the counselor

would see her shortly. I here is a buzzing and the receptionist rises and motions her

I During late 1951 to early 1952 there were at least seventeen of these bulletins or newsletters in America. There were probably never more than five in Britain.

That of the Elizabeth Foundation was called the Dianetic, but this was ephemeral and the Dianetic Auditor's Bulletin became the established Foundation periodical.

See, for example, Life Preserver, 1, 3 (September 1953), p. 8; Interviews. signing letters to other members 'In ARC' instead of 'Best wishes' (ARC standing for Amity, Reality and Communication,

the Communicahon Triangle', all the element of which must be present for adequate communicahon to occur, according to Hub bard.) See, for example, correspondence in Dianoes, 1, 5 (I)ecember 1951). 46

THE CULT AND ITS TRANSFORMATION to the door, politely shows her into the counselor's omce and then leaves. Th Auditor addresses the case in such a manner as to ascertain the problem and at th same tlme relax the patient as much as possible. There is no sales talk on Dianetic no appeal at this time to assimilate its concepts. This would ha e nothing to do with the womans problems. She has come to the A.uditor for help as if he were a doctor, and in a sense that is exactly what he is. If he can help her he does, if not he lets her know and she goes her way. There is no converting, sales talk, or education. Treatment is what she wanted and treatment she should have, nothing more.l

Practitioners trained by the Foundation were eligible for Associate Membership in the HDRF, as were others interested in the practice of Dianetics, for a \$15 annual fee. In return for this fee they were entitled to receive he Dianetic Auditor's Bulletin, the Foundation periodical publication, in which they learnt of advances in theory and technique, and notification of new books, and lecturt or demonstrahon tapes by Hubbard. There was, however, little or no control over those who graduated from the Foundation courses. They received a certificate as an HDA (Hubbard Dianehc Auditor) and were henceforth entitled to practice their new-found profession wherever they chose. This was a source of concern to some board members of the Foundation 2 I he er ergence of Dianetics in Britain In Britain, the problem of adequate contact with the central organization was further compounded by the relative expense of Foundation courres and the cost of travel, which considerably restricted the number of British Dianeticists who took professional training at this period. Foundation and other publications were difficult to secure due to currency exchange control restrictions. Copies of amateur group newsletters were sometimes obtained on an exchange basis between editors, and many of the American newsletters had a policy of supplying their publications in exchange for a written contribution of some kind either technical, theoretical or merely social. Hence there was some transatlantic contact between amateur gTOUpS, but relatively little between British amateur groups and the Foundation. This became particularly the case as the Foundations were beset by immediate and local problems which drew attention away from the outlying Dianetic groups.

Dianetics in Britain developed spontaneously as the result of interest aroused in readers of Astounding and their acquaintances, by Campbell's editorials and Hubbard's article. Imported copies of .ISM became available in mid-lgso and several Dianetic groups were started, five in London, others in Bristol, Chorley, Hull, Glasgow and elsewhere. A correspondence network emerged as individuals contacted each other through booksellers. Early Foundation materials were retyped by hand and circulated, and enthusiasts made personal

I l)ianotes, 1, 2 (June-July 1952), p. 2.

Winter, op. Qt, p. 3o.

THr CULT PHAsr: DIANLTICS visits to other Dianeticists to learn

more of auditing.¹ Later one or two were to visit the American Foundations for training, but by the end of 1950 there were only three Associate Members of the Foundation in Britain.^a These three individuals organized a 'postal group' called the British Dianetic Association (BDA) to reproduce and distribute Foundation materials. Some eighty to ninety people joined the BDA for a small subscription but it went into voluntary liquidation in June 1951.

Access to Foundation materials and their distribution was the prime problem facing the British Dianetic groups. In January 1951 a Central London Group of Dianeticists was formed and joined by some forty members of the BDA living in or near London 'to give people a chance to get together and exchange views and to find potential co-auditors',³ and to encourage the formation of further local groups.^d

The liquidation of the BDA led to attempts to establish a national Dianetic association on a sounder legal and financial footing. In November 1951 the Dianetic Association Ltd was incorporated to facilitate the distribution of material and establish a Dianetic library. A British edition of MSMH was produced. Many gTOUpS and local leaders felt that communication nevertheless remained a problem, hampering the development of the movement and one of the larger London groups, the Dianetics Study Group, sought to bring about a federation of Dianetic gTOUpS throughout the country:

With a view to creating an organization which would be consonant with Hubbard's With a view to creating an organization which would be consonant with Hubbard's democratic and humanist principles [sic], in which the voice of every minority would be given full, fair and balanced representation, and would steadily work up to professional standards.^r A meeting was held in June 1952, with representatives of a number of local amateur gTOUpS, at which a Dianetic Federation of Great Britain was formed.⁷ Subsequently the DFGB absorbed the Dianetic Association Ltd.^s Thus the only organization for the movement as a whole in Britain was a loose federation of amateur gTOUpS, the role of the central organization being primarily the distribution of material from America. The American Foundations similarly provided a weak central organization for the amateur gTOUpS in the USA, with little or no control over the membership and practitioners at large. ^t Interviews. ^t *17th Dianeticist*, uncertain date and issue no. probably 1952, p. 4; *Dianetics* 1, 7 (Jan-Feb 1952), p. 8. ^u *18th Dianeticist*, uncertain date and issue no. probably 1952, p. 4. *Dianetics*, 1, 7 (Jan-Feb. 1952), p. 9. ^v This was a somewhat edited version.

Letter from Secretary Dianetic Study Group, N.W.3, to other Dianeticists, n.d. probably early 1952. ^w Anon 'Dianetic Federation of Great Britain (Preliminary Report)', n.d., typescript. ^x

^y *Presrter*, 1, 1 (June 1953), p 2-

In its origins and form of organization, based primarily around local groups of amateur enthusiasts, with professional or semi-professional practitioners sometimes at their head, Dianetics closely resembled spiritualism. The spiritualist movement which emerged after the publicity given to the Fox family and the Rochester Rappings in 1848 rapidly spread throughout the United States and beyond. Mediumship was believed to be a gift which many or most people possessed, and local circles of enthusiasts grew up

around those in whom this gift was manifested. Emergence of organizational forms Since local groups varied in composition or orientation, some leaders were unprepared to co-operate to any great extent with others whose methods, promotion, or personality were a source of friction. The democratic basis of the movement was manifested in the suspicion with which local groups viewed any loss of autonomy or any attempt to vest a central organization with more than a minimum of authority.

In this respect there is a strong resemblance between Dianetics and such cultic movements as spiritualism and New Thought. These two movements were, like Dianetics, composed of a variety of groups which shared a number of ideological themes but were otherwise heterogeneous. The 'epistemological individualism' of these movements is manifested in their democratic ideologies:

..the special characteristic of the Spiritualist movement from the beginning has ideological themes but were otherwise heterogeneous. The 'epistemological individualism' of these movements is manifested in their democratic ideologies:..the special characteristic of the Spiritualist movement from the beginning has been its democratic character. There has been neither recognised leader nor authoritative statement of creed. This characteristic ...gave breadth, tolerance, and expansiveness to the movement. ..and rendered it possible for the new belief to combine with almost any pre-existing system of doctrine.'The individualistic and democratic nature of New Thought was founded on a belief that knowledge of God is ultimately a highly personal, intuitive, experiential matter, how [then] can it submit to any limitation upon its freedom of expression? Both spiritualism and New Thought emerged around multiple leaders who shared only a limited basis of belief and practice. Leaders of the spiritualist movement synthesized its beliefs with socialism, free love, and oriental philosophy, while New Thought leaders differentially emphasized the strands of

I Geoffrey K. Nelson, *Spiritualism and Society* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1969); Francis Podmore, *Modern Spiritualism: a History and Criticism* (Methuen, London, 1902); Roy Wallis, 'Ideology, authority and the development of cultic movements', *Social Research*, 41, 2 (1974), pp. 299-327. Podmore, op. cit., p. 199. Charles Braden, *Spirits in Rebellion: the Rise and Development of New Thought* (Southern Methodist University Press, Dallas, Texas, 1963), p. 2m Phineas Quimby, Warren Felt Evans, Transcendentalism, Swedenborgianism, and traditional Christianity, from which the movement's beliefs had developed, or introduced new strands from Theosophy or Rosicrucianism. Many spiritualists had an aversion to formal organization: Many local societies failed to survive as a result of the individualistic attitude of Spiritualists and the casual and ineffective type of organisation these societies were forced to adopt in order to appease the libertarian and anarchistic views of their members.'Many New Thought leaders had taken up their vocation after alienation from the authoritarianism of Christian Science and refused to establish more than minimal, formal organization or to attempt to exercise any far-reaching control over their following. After more than half a century only a very loose International New Thought Alliance, commanding little loyalty, has been established.

Dianetics, spiritualism and New Thought emerged as 'spontaneous' cults which came into existence in many places more or less

simultaneously. From the very beginnings of these movements there had been many local autonomous leaders, and they were almost invariably opposed to the attempts of any individual to arrogate authority.

The central organizations of Dianetics were poorly administered. Hubbard was lecturing in various parts of the country and commuting between Los Angeles and New York during late 1950 and early 1951, giving little direction to either of these Foundations in day-to-day administration, and progressively alienating other board members by his practice of initiating developments without consulting them, and by what some of them viewed as his increasingly evident authoritarianism.

Large numbers of staff were recruited in the early months, without adequate supervision. Foundation income was expended on the assumption that the Dianetics boom would long continue. However, by the beginning of 1951 applications for training and therapy began to drop off and income correspondingly fell. In part, the decline in new recruits to Foundation services was precipitated by attacks on Dianetics by doctors and psychiatrists in the press and scathing reviews of Hubbard's book. Recruitment may, to some extent, have been affected by the publicity given to Hubbard's second wife, Sara Northrup Hubbard, who in her suit for divorce claimed to have psychiatric evidence that Hubbard was a severe paranoid. (She lost her suit, Hubbard winning a counter suit. Sara Northrup Hubbard later signed a statement to the effect that the 'things I have said about L. Ron Hubbard in the courts and the

I Geoffrey K. Nelson, 'The analysis of a cult: Spiritualism', Social Compass, 15, 6 (1968), p. 475.

Geoffrey K. Nelson, 'The Spiritualist movement and the need for a redefinition of cult', 755R, 8 (1969), p. 156. public prints have been grossly exaggerated or entirely false'.)1 In particular, however, the decline in numbers was due to the failure of Dianetics to live up to its early promise in the eyes of the public.

The 'clear' who would emerge after only twenty hours of auditing had not made his appearance. The clears proclaimed by Hubbard did not seem to live up to expectations. One of these indeed was Sara Northrup Hubbard. Another was a Miss Sonya Bianca whom Hubbard exhibited before a large audience in Los Angeles, but who failed the simplest tests of memory.³ Many individuals who had been working at the technique found their cases had improved little or not at all, and gave up.

The Elizabeth Foundation moved towards a financial crisis. Hubbard saw the need to take some action to cope with this situation,³ but Joseph Winter and Hubbard's publisher resigned from the board of directors in October 1950. Winter set up a private Dianetic practice in New York. C. Parker Morgan resigned in January 1951 and John W. Campbell in March 1951. Creditors began to demand payment of their bills and Hubbard, faced with financial disaster and threats of commitment by his wife Sara, resigned in April 1951 and departed to Cuba.⁴ 3

Don Purcell, a Wichita businessman, offered to assist the Foundation out of its difficulties⁵. The Foundation was centralized and its assets moved to Wichita, Kansas in April-May 1951, where Purcell made funds and a building available. Purcell became

President of the Foundation and Hubbard its Vice-president and Chairman of the board of directors on his return from Cuba. The other branches were closed down and the number of staff drastically reduced. The New Jersey creditors, however, pressed for settlement of the Elizabeth Foundation's debts, and a court decision declared the Kansas operation its successor.

I Statement by Sara Northrup Hubbard, 11 June 1951, copy made available by the Church of Scientology.

'Interviews.

a 'Various memoranda from L. Ron Hubbard were read and discussed which indicated extreme urgency in...forwarding and executing plans for centralisation in a favourable place...d HDRF, New Jersey, Executive Management Committee of the Board of Trustees, Minutes of 22 January 1951

'John W. Maloney, a member of the board of directors of both the Elizabeth, N.J. and the later Wichita Foundations, asserted in a letter to Dianetics titled, 'A factual report on the Hubbard Dianetic Foundation, 23 February 1952: 'In November of 1950 the combined income of the Hubbard Dianetic Research Foundations did not quite total one-tenth of its payroll. It is clear that a number of staff members had not been paid for some time since many were listed as creditors in the ensuing bankruptcy.

Christopher Evans asserts that Hubbard went to Puerto Rico. Since Purcell arranged for Hubbard's return from Cuba, and Sara Northrup Hubbard produced a letter in court from Hubbard in Cuba, I believe Evans to be mistaken. The point is, however, not of any importance. See Christopher Evans, Calk of Unreason (Harrap, London, 1973). and liable for its debts. A receiver was appointed. A compromise settlement of the claims was negotiated, but new claims were filed by other creditors.

In February 1952 Hubbard resigned as Chairman and Vice-president and sold his stock in the corporation for a consideration of \$1 and an agreement to the effect that he would be allowed to set up an independent school, Hubbard College, in Wichita, and receive assistance in establishing it. Don Purcell then entered the Foundation into voluntary bankruptcy.

Shortly after Hubbard's resignation, it was alleged that:... certain articles mysteriously disappeared from the Foundation's offices. Those things which vanished were the mailing list, the addressograph plates, tapes bearing the recorded lectures of L. Ron Hubbard, typewriters, sound recorders, sound transcribers and other equipment. At a preliminary hearing held in March, 1952, Arthur [J] Elliott [a personal associate of Hubbard] testified that he inadvertently removed these articles from the premises. The tapes were in three boxes, each of which weighed more than twenty-five pounds.

A restraining order was issued against Hubbard and Elliott, and the tapes and mailing lists were eventually returned to the Foundation, although it was alleged that the tapes had been mutilated. (Officials of the Scientology organization dispute this account of what transpired. They argue that Don Purcell had permitted all the items concerned to be removed to the new school, Hubbard College. They allege that Don Purcell then went back on this agreement that

Hubbard could establish Hubbard College.)

Late in 1952 a warrant was issued ordering Hubbard to appear before a Federal Court for failing to return \$9000 wrongfully withdrawn from the Wichita Foundation. A compromise was again negotiated, Hubbard agreeing to pay \$1000 and return the car originally supplied by the Foundation.⁶

In April 1952 assets of the Wichita Foundation were auctioned under the auspices of the Bankruptcy Court. Purcell entered a bid of \$6124 and, as the highest bidder, was granted possession of these assets including the publishing rights on L. I. S. / I. H., the copyrights outstanding in the Foundation's name, and the sole right to the title 'Hubbard Dianetic Foundation'. Hubbard, had meanwhile moved to Phoenix, where he established Scientology. Membership and motivation

The circle around Ron Hubbard at Bay Head, New Jersey, contained in microcosm the characteristics that typified much of the following of Dianetics after its

In Hubbard Dianetic Foundation /no. In Bankruptcy 'o. 37g-B-z, District Court of the United States for the District of Kansas.

a Including Joseph Winter's sister, who had subsequently married John W. Campbell. She and Winter had each put up \$500 to finance the Elizabeth Foundation.

Letter from Owens, Moore and Beck, attorneys acting for Purcell, to Dianeticists, 20 May 1952. 'Hubbard Dianetic Foundation Inc. In Bankruptcy, op. cit.

Ibid. 52

THE CULT AND ITS TRANSFORMATION public presentation. Campbell suffered from chronic sinusitis. He had a wide, if sporadic, knowledge of modern natural-scientific developments and an acute ignorance of the social sciences and psychology. His model of science was pragmatist and technological. He was prone to sudden enthusiasms for new ideas which led to a profound suspension of his critical faculties.¹

Winter was a doctor of medicine with little knowledge of psychiatry and psychology. He was unhappy with the trend in medicine towards greater specialization and compartmentalization, with the consequent absence of a vision of the patient as a whole. He had earlier sought this holism in General Semantics, 'and while I agree with Korzybski that "the word is not the object", I found no satisfactory explanation for how such a confusion between levels of abstraction had arisen in the first place.'⁵

He sought answers to questions that medical science was unable to provide: I became aware again of the perplexity which plagues all doctors the 'why' of human behaviour. I thought of all the questions which had gone unanswered or which had been answered in a tentative or equivocal manner of questions which were frequently unasked because of their presumed unanswerability. Why did Mr M attempt to commit suicide? Why was it that Mrs

began to hear voices telling her to kill her new-born baby? Why did an intelligent man like Mr P find it necessary to drink a

quart of whiskey every day? Why did Mrs T have coronary occlusion? The list of questions beginning with 'why' could be extended indefinitely. They all had one element in common

T

Why did Mrs T have coronary occlusion?

Why did Mrs T have coronary occlusion? Why did Mrs T have coronary occlusion?

The list of questions beginning with 'why' could be extended indefinitely. They all had one element in common: I knew of no satisfactory answer for any of them. The 'answers' and explanations which I had learned in medical school and which I passed on to my patients were superficial, taking into account only the preceding link in the chain of causality. A patient would ask me, 'Why does a person get coronary occlusion?' and I would answer glibly, 'Because there is a narrowing of the lumen of the coronary arteries'. And with that answer he would appear to be satisfied. Dr Winter, however, was not. He wanted to know why it had happened in this particular case, and how it could be treated or prevented. Others in that

Gardner, op. cit., pp. 346-7 Brian Aldiss observes of him: 'Even the hardheaded Campbell, who saw in science and applied science "the salvation, the raising of mankind", even Campbell believed that the impossibility of getting something for nothing might be transcended by a formula of incantation hence his extraordinary notion that seventy-five per cent of the brain (and the most powerful part) lay unused, his belief in psionics, and his pursuit of cults such as Dianetics... [etel ']. Brian W. Aldiss, Billion Year Sprtt (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1973. p. 38.

Dr Winter, op. cit., pp. 7-8.

Dr Winter, op. cit., p. 6.

It has, of course, not escaped us that this was a question of some importance to the Azande. E. E. Evans-Pritchard, Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1937). Early circles led to Hubbard by Campbell, were conscious of the possibility of improvement in their lives. One had suffered trauma in childhood and had long experienced a sense of social isolation, and social inadequacy, for which he had sought a cure in the literature of hypnosis and suggestion, and in psychotherapy: So before Dianetics arrived, I was looking for something that would get the anguish out of me and speed up the therapeutic process so I could be comfortable... I had learned to chart my path very cautiously and carefully through a lot of shoals, through things that were like this there were certain people... I couldn't approach, or certain people on certain subjects, because I would burst into tears now I'm talking about me as an adult... 40 years old. There were things I couldn't go and ask my boss for or about because I would burst into tears. That's not acceptable behaviour, so I learned how to stay off of subjects so that wouldn't happen. And I was a very the modern word is 'uptight'- kind of person just from being unable to do so many things like that for various reasons. I had very little freedom in relating to other people. So I was ready for Hubbard when he came along [...]

Well I think the reason that it seemed so important is basically that I wasn't happy, and there was happiness here. There was a promise...that I could bypass all my troubles and come out in the clear without having to face them. And there was an absolution...the engram is something that has been done to you which determines your behaviour. Others had been involved in a variety of psychotherapeutic practices.

The early circle at Bay Head was white, and primarily engaged in professional or semi-professional occupations. Although as the movement gained a mass following it was to spread both up and down the social scale, it remained pre-eminently middle class.

Information on the following of the Dianetic movement is, of course, very limited, but a number of clues are available. Early in 1952, for example the editors of one prominent Dianetic newsletter organized a survey of their readership (mainly, but not exclusively in the United States). It is uncertain how many questionnaires were distributed, but 198 replies were received.⁵

The age distribution of their respondents was as follows: Age

Number 21-26

20 27-40

100 44-51 [sic]

37 51 +

17

74 Interview early Dianeticist and member of the Bay Head circle (see Di2nuls 1, 23 (June 1952)) The average age, they estimated, was about 38.

The sex distribution of the respondents showed a marked male over-repre-

sentation 140 men, 59 women.¹ As would be expected from the age distribution,

most were or had been married. Marital status

Number Single

42 Married

126 Widowed

3 Separated

8 Divorced

5

184 Of those who were married

Number of children Number

38

2

44 3

27 4

6 most had children. It is not clear how many of the remaining 27 had more than 4 children, and how many had none. The religious affiliations of the respondents showed the largest proportions to

The religious affiliations of the respondents showed the largest proportions to be Protestant and 'agnostic'. Religious affiliation

Number Agnostic

69 Protestant

68 Christian [sic]

12 Catholic

8 Quaker

4 Jewish

g Other'

16

160 An attempt was also made to determine the occupations of subscribers.

I Clearly either the number of replies received or that of the number of men or women among the respondents is an error. Since it is not clear which, I simply report the figures given,

'Those in the category 'other' belonged to diverse cults, occult groups or marginal sects Mormon, Baha'i, Religious Science, Rosicrucian, etc. 'Psychological' 'Technical'

Occupation

Dianetic Auditors

Psychologists

Related work

Engineers

Physicists

Chemists

Research scientists

Other technical 'Medical and

MDs Health'

Nurses

2

Other1

10 'Professional'

Teachers

Professor

Lawyers

2

Clergy

2

Armed Forces

3

Artists

9

Writers

4

Others

5

'Business's

go 'Miscellaneous'

Homemakers [sic]

21

Students

Children The education level of respondents was claimed to be well above average. Educational attainment

Number Ended with grammar school Ended with high school Had one or more years of college Held one or more degrees Bachelors of Science Bachelors of Arts Masters of Science Masters of Arts Ph.Ds. MDs DD DSe vlisceilaneous Doctors [sic]

those listed in the other category belonged to various limited, marginal or quasitherapeutic professions: pharmacist, osteopath, chiropractor, dietician, naturopath, etc. 2 In such occupations as 'newspaper work', manufacturer, manager, mechanic, truck driver, clerical, salesman, etc. 'That is, elementary. The editors found that 35 of their respondents were readers of science fiction. They also found that 91 had read the speculative philosophical work of

Count Alfred Korzybski and 102 that of his popularizer, S. I. Hayakawa.

The general picture that emerges is of a following of white, young to early middle-aged, adults, mainly married with families, from predominantly Protestant backgrounds and with Protestant or no religious affiliation, white-collar occupations and a high school or college education. They were predominantly consumers of science-fiction literature, and many had already ventured into the 'cultic milieu', having acquainted themselves with at least one quasi-philosophical-psychological system. Despite the obvious limitations of these figures, they remain the only ones available from the period. The broad conclusions to which they lead can, moreover, be supplemented by further observations.

A similar picture emerges from the nine respondents to my questionnaire who had been associated with Dianetics during its first two years in Britain. Among these, the average age at which they took up Dianetics was 38 years with a range of between 28 and 55 years of age. Six were married, two separated or divorced and one was single. Parents were overwhelmingly Anglican. Seven were employed in white-collar occupations, self-employed or of independent means, and only two were employed in manual occupations. Educational level was above average for Britain with only three having left school before 15 years of age, three having attended university. At least six had first heard of Dianetics through the article in *Living Science*. Of the thirty-one Dianeticists

Although there may have been one or two others, the only non-white individual I have ever heard of in the context of Dianetics practice was the chauffeur of a pre-clear, who received a brief course of auditing.

In many respects they are close to the characteristics of science-fiction fans as described by Kingsley Amis: 'Males greatly predominate over females...As regards age, the average would come somewhere in the later twenties, with a sprinkling of school children and a number of veteran fans...As for occupation, not unnaturally there is a pronounced technological or scientific bias, with engineers, chemists, research workers, and those accounting for perhaps forty per cent of readers...Other groups mentioned numerically important are the non-scientific professions, college students, and the armed forces.' Kingsley Amis, *New Maps of Hell* (New English Library, London, 1963), p. so. Unfortunately Amis cites no sources for these views. The average age of Dianeticists is probably higher due to the appeal of a therapeutic cult to the older and more illness-prone, otherwise these observations reflect the characteristics of Dianeticists, as we would expect.

The twenty-four individuals in Colbert's study had an average age of 36 years. The educational achievement of this group was distributed as follows: below high school, 1; high school, 5; high school graduate, 6; beyond high school, 5; college degree and higher education, 4. John Colbert, *An Evaluation of Dianetic Therapy*, Thesis for the degree of Master of Science in Education, School of Education, The City College, New York, 1961, p. 2. interviewed in Britain and America, from whom this information was secured only two had manual occupations at the time of their entry into Dianetics, and most when queried commented on the

predominantly middle-class composition of the movement. Over half of them had prior involvement in marginal religious, philosophical or therapeutic practices, Rosicrucianism, Theosophy, Christian Science, Baha'i, General Semantics, Krishnamurti, hypnosis, or Jungian analysis.¹ A number of others had experience of more orthodox psychotherapies.

It is possible to gain a fuller picture of the backgrounds and motivations of those who entered Dianetics from the interview material, and biographical sketches or other details in Dianetic newsletters and other publications.

One mode of entry into Dianetics seems to have been through a process of 'drift', in which individuals in search of answers to the problem of meaning passed through a variety of metaphysical groups or marginal healing movements before locating an answer, at least temporarily, in Dianetics. An example of this pattern is provided in a biographical sketch by a New Zealand Dianeticist. Presenting his concern as a question of 'what made people tick?', he read widely in religion and psychology for the answer. Religion and medicine seemed too limited in what they could offer, or insufficiently practical. Even psychology...while having exciting possibilities, seemed very narrow in viewpoint with a lot of varying theory but very little to offer which had practical application. There was

little here which one could use confidently, knowing that it would lead to improve-

ment for the other individual or oneself. He at first planned to be a minister, until the Depression forced him into other work, little here which one could use confidently, knowing that it would lead to improvement for the other individual or oneself. But my interest in healing, religion and psychology continued unabated. There were not many orthodox or unorthodox methods of healing which did not attract my attention, nor indeed, were there many religions which I did not investigate. At the age of seventeen I became very interested in mysticism. Aldous Huxley and Evelyn Underhill became my mentors and the Hindu, Buddhist and Taoist Scriptures, along with the Christian Mystics, my text books.

Reluctantly I dropped all idea of psychology delivering an answer. ..Psychology was no longer concerned with the psyche or soul of man, it was dealing with trivialities.

Shortly after this period I became interested in Ouspensky and Gurdjieff, men who had much to contribute, much to offer by way of original thought and knowledge.

I was excited too by an Australian, F. M. Alexander. Here, at last, was someone who had derived knowledge from direct observation of man. Here was someone who had very practical advice backed up by solid theory and practice....³

I Possibly by asking the wrong question, the Danes readership survey may have underestimated the degree of prior marginal religious, healing or occult involvement of the sample.

¹Marcus Tooley, People of Humen (Graham Ltd, Auckland, N Z., 1955). This and the following quotations are taken from pages 1-7.

'Ibid He later came into contact with a healer expelled from the BMA for his unorthodox methods, at that time practising dietary and faith healing in New Zealand, and another man who proved adept at hand reading: I was amazed at the accurate character analysis and physical diagnosis which he gave. I had not imagined that anyone could be so accurate in depicting my various idiosyncracies, emotional traits and medical history ! Furthermore he was able to tell me of various things which had happened to affect my life and the age when these had occurred. Here was knowledge which had wide possibilities and it was not long before I was reading books by . . . psychologists and medical authorities . . . and others who were experts in this study. He began practising a form of therapy based on hand-reading, getting his clients to talk about painful incidents which he located in their hands. He found that after talking them out, and often re-experiencing much of them, their condition generally improved. In 1952 he read 1-SM and found there a statement of all his earlier beliefs and suspicions about the mind, and workable techniques for therapeutic success.

This typical seeker pattern is also apparent in the origins of one Dianetics/Scientology newsletter: The Ghost was started as a personal letter from Clem and Lois Johnson to their friend in Dianetics, Scientology, Huna, Spiritualism and other occult fields including herbs and medicine.

The editor has taken yoga, Spiritualism and Huna in his stride toward the TRUTH, accepting them all as so much data, and rejecting them as more data was received.: This seeker pattern is exhibited in the descriptions of their development given by two other Dianeticists, later to achieve prominence as heretics of Scientology: In high school my primary interest lay in the sciences. I followed through with this interest in college and then worked for a time in physics. During this time and after, I searched fervently through many religions, not only all the major ones, but a goodly number of esoteric cults that are so numerous in Southern California. In addition to that, I practised various forms of exercises, and invested numerous hours in the meditations of sundry groups. Though I could demonstrate ability in music and art, I ultimately abandoned the serious pursuit of these fields, for I found no final answers to Life in them.

I Ibid.

2 The Ghost of Scientology, (1 March 1953), p. 7. Clem Johnson elsewhere indicated that he also belonged to, or had passed through: the British Society of Dowseers, the Borderland Science Research Association (all borderland sciences including spiritualism and the riddle of the dying discs), Institute of Mentalphysics (Edwin C. Dingle 's school of metaphysics or Yoga), and the Brotherhood of the White Temple. Ghost of Scientology 11 (15 June 1953), p. 4.

3 Charles Berner, Preface: a self-introduction and some acknowledgements in H. Charles Berner and Richard Williams, . . . : a New Religion (Adams Press, Chicago, 1970), p. 3. Throughout [sic] these many years, I had merely gone thru [sic] the motions of being an engineer. It was with difficulty that I was able to keep my attention from the constant gnawing feeling within me, that I should be doing something other than what I was doing. Just what I 'should' be doing, I did not know. This became acute, in 1958. For six weeks I suffered a nervous breakdown. Now, I know - I simply was not

'doing my own thing'.

I constantly investigated, sampled every different religion, cult, ism I could find. They all seemed to, in their own flavour, try to explain Spirituality in terms of agreements upon solids. They took a partial truth, centred upon it, created a limited, local frame of reference, represented it to be total and ultimate truth. [1 It is an understatement to say that I was merely lonely. I beheld the specter of other so-called 'truth-seekers', who so ardently sought some solid, infinite system of truths which would overwhelm them - and would precisely fit the present hangups which owned them. wondered if I were such.

Psychology was of no interest to me, as it posited that man was nothing more than a complex meat mechanism. It seemed to me that most psychiatrists should be in the patient's chair, rather than acting as therapist. [1 In July, I, as a dentist, usually remarked that at the end of his, another dentist, was experimenting with a new fad, called Dianetics. As I left the chair, I felt the imperative urge to get the book. I drove seven miles out of my way, to the nearest 'shortly after, he began co-auditing with a colleague at work.

book store, bought it. I read it through [sic]. Shortly after, he began co-auditing with a colleague at work.

Others came into the orbit of Dianetics as some member of an amateur psychology or philosophy discussion group with which they were associated drew their attention to this development:

Well, we work away here on Dianetics....Dianetics seems quite the best thing

yet...although Jung's Analytical Psychology did give us more vivid inspiration. The original Houston Dianetics Society grew directly out of the local General Semantics Society..t;

The search for therapeutic efficacy was a prominent source of motivation for many Dianeticists. Although none of my interviewees claimed any physical illness at the time of their entry, at least six were suffering from severe illnesses which they recognized to have a primarily mental or emotional origin. A number sought a means of curing others, usually other members of their own family, of conditions as diverse as cancer, schizophrenia or agoraphobia. For example: my attention was called to a newspaper ad. in San Francisco, I think it was around 1951. There was a big ad. in the paper about Dianetics and about L. Ron Hubbard,

I Frank S. Sullivan, Adventures in Reincarnation (CSA Press, Clayton, Georgia, 1971), pp. 17-19

5 Letter from the Australian Psychology Center, Dinnotes, 1, 9 10 (March-April 1952), p. 8. Correspondent, 'the Aberree, 2, 4 (July-August, 1955). who was going to lecture in Oakland. I happened to have at the time a big problem with my son who had been hospitalised...He was out of the army several years and he was not getting any better. So when I saw this ad. I got very interested and I thought, well this might be helpful...I decided to go in for it, and I went to hear L. Ron Hubbard lecture.1

The case of Don Purcell who financed the transition to Wichita is typical of many who were experiencing diffuse psychosomatic illness or a sense of lowered efficiency: In 1948 I was in pretty sad shape, My energy level was so low that I was unable to do more than half a day's work and the work I did do was pretty ineffective. My condition became so serious that I finally went to a Doctor friend of mine, a Fellow of the Mayo Clinic. He gave me a thorough examination and suggested that I see a psychiatrist. This I did. The final prescription of the psychiatrist was a long rest at the hospital with insulin shock treatment. This may give you some idea of my general condition at that time. However, for some obscure reason, I decided to decline the prescription of the psychiatrist and to go on a good fishing vacation instead. When I returned I felt quite a bit improved. About this time my father and I, who had been in partnership for many years, decided to dissolve our partnership. As soon as the partnership was dissolved I began to improve remarkably. Within a couple of months I was putting in a full day, although I still experienced quite a bit of nervous and physical upsetment. In May 1950 I read about dianetics and immediately went to Elizabeth to learn although I still experienced quite a bit of nervous and physical upsetment. In May 1950 I read about diaretics and immediately went to Elizabeth to learn more about it. I had high hopes of becoming a 'clear' in a couple of months or so. I knew, somehow, that within the framework of dianetics was the thing I wanted. , , , a similar story is told by a correspondent to a Dianetics magazine: Having been always very emotional and nervous, there were so many 'buttons' in my environment that I was constantly bothered by strange feelings in my stomach, my heart action was irregular and my throat was irritated or there was a choking sensation. Even after years of metaphysical studies and various courses in psychology, mental healing, etc. those conditions persisted. After my first session with her [a Dianetic auditor] I began to feel happier, and more free of all those disturbing things. During April and May I had read Dianetics: The Modern Science of Mental Health and Science of Survival, and had gone over the handbook twice, just reading it and doing a few locks on my own. The auditor took me through birth and even through my 'Service Facsimile'. Many crises in my life were recognized for what they were worth and I have not had any of the old emotional reactions since. A large number of Dianeticists, although it is impossible to say what proportion they comprised, had a strong sense of capacities latent within them. Interview: American Dianeticist. e Don G. Purcell, 'Starting Point', Dianetics Today, 3, 9 (September 1954), n.p. e Dianetic Auditor's Bulletin, 3, 9 (September 1952), p. 50. which could be brought to the surface if only a method could be found. John W. Campbell, for example, had argued in 1937 that we are only using a quarter of our brain capacity. The total capacity of the mind, even at present is to all intents and purposes, infinite. Could the full equipment be hooked into a functioning unit, the resulting intelligence should be able to conquer a world without much difficulty. It was not for a further twelve years that he was to be offered by Hubbard a convincing means of achieving this end. From my interviews, it is clear, however, that this was a goal widely, if vaguely, aspired to: It had always been, for many years, a feeling of mine that one specifically myself and by inference other human beings don't perform with 100% efficiency, either mentally or physically, but mentally particularly. Hubbard's thesis of the 'held down seven' and so on seemed to be a rational and satisfying explanation, and from that, the immediate urge was to try and do something about it. 'We were basically a group of musicians, one was a writer,

another a painter....[What was it that attracted you to something of this kind? I had been looking for something that gave a step by step...a methodology that was workable, that you could use to help yourself or somebody else...I used to put it in terms of: Why is one person more creative than another...what was the creative drive, what was the difference and how could you bring it out in each one? How could you increase it? I guess all of us had pretty well read the Kansas City Library dry, and found nothing the difference and how could you bring it out in each one? How could you increase it? I guess all of us had pretty well read the Kansas City Library dry, and found nothing in the scientific, psychological, the mystical, or the religious. Nothing seemed to 'click'. There's a lot of methodologies, and 'we've got the answers', but nothing 'clicked' and this sort of clicked with all of us. It was something we could all do to each other.' Or, as in this case, a sense of faculties not fully utilized combined with a general sense of purposelessness and meaninglessness: In 1947 I was really at very loose ends. You see, I have a very high IQ and I knew it. I'd had my IQ tested by the Veterans Administration when I came back from overseas. My first question to the psychometrist was: What the hell good is it? I'm miserable, I don't know what to do with it. What do you do with a gift like this, it's never done any good for me? I was very near suicide at the time, because I couldn't make head or tail out of what's the use...what's life all about? I didn't have any particular mental problem which even today I recognize. It was just: why am I here, where am I going, what's it all about, and why am I singled out for a high IQ and what the hell good is it? But that was incidental really, because I said, well, if you have a high IQ you ought to be able to figure this out in nothing flat. All the answers ought to come to you, but they don't....I was seriously considering John W. Campbell, 'The story behind the story', thrilling WtndeT Storits (August) as cited in Aldiss, op. cit., p. 241.

Interview: British Dianeticist.

Interview: American Dianeticist. suicide. So along came Dianeticr, verything fell into place, smack ! I knew then he is a possibility of gettin all these answers I

An English questionnaire respondent indicated that he had hoped Dianeti would prove to be the solution to his sense of frustration at not being able to use talents I possess. Others admitted to a deep sense of inferiority or i security before they heard of Dianetics, which they hoped that it would enab them to overcome.

Colbert s sample of American Dianeticists indicated the following range o personal problem5: interpersonal relationships, 15; disturbing subjective states (nervousness, anxiety, irritability, self-consciousness, lack of concentration) 15; intellectual and memory disturbances, 7; vocational adjustment, 3; fami relationships, 3; alcoholism, z; psychosomatic symptoms, 14; lack of driveenergy, I; sexual adjustment and male-female relationship problems, 5 miscellaneous problems, 4 5

These accounts permit a typification of the motivation of Dianetics recruits The three categories of motivation which can be distinguished are: (1) tht problem-solver; (z) the truth-seeker; and (3) the career-oriented. Since th last two types seem to involve fewer Dianetics recruits, than the first, we shal begin

with these. The career-oriented Dr Joseph Winter is close to being a paradigm case of this type of motivation. As a medical practitioner he was dissatisfied with the inability of medicine to provide solutions to all the problems which his patients presented. He was growing aware of the role of psychological factors in physical illness and hoped to find in Dianetics a set of tools which would enable him more adequately to carry out his therapeutic role. A former clinical psychologist whom I interviewed displayed predominantly the same motivation. He had been employing a method of group psychotherapy on a Freudian basis in his hospital work and was profoundly dissatisfied with its efficacy. At a period when psychopharmacological treatment was only just beginning on any scale, and when the only alternatives to lengthy and only sporadically successful psychotherapy were custodial care and psychosurgery which he regarded as misconceived, Dianetics offered a revolutionary new therapeutic tool. The truth-seeker many individuals were attracted to Dianetics when they came upon it at some point during a life-long search for meaning and truth. During the course of this search they had often examined the literature of popular philosophy and psychology, of religion, metaphysics and occultism. Science fiction, with its panoramic vision of man, time, and the cosmos, also provided many with an insight into the meaning of life and human behaviour. Dianetics, with its Interview: American Dianeticist. Albert, op. cit., p. 10. Subjects indicated more than one problem each. assertive claims to infallibility offered to answer many of the questions which puzzled such individuals, albeit in a rather mechanistic manner; and moreover offered a practical and easily operationalized technique to put into effect the truths which it had uncovered.

The motivation of many was, it should be stressed, multi-determined. Although the previous two types of motivation appear to have been important for a number of recruits, many, perhaps most, also sought solutions to concrete problems. The problem-solver The problem-solver was an individual with a concern for self-improvement based upon an acute awareness of his failure to attain the standards of achievement normatively approved and culturally reinforced in the society around him. While rendered significant by their social meaning, his failures might be either physically, mentally or socially based. His concern might be for physical improvement and oriented towards recovery from ill health, overcoming physical disability, or eradicating a stigmatizing physical characteristic. His concern might be for psychological improvement of a more or less extensive character. At its most severe the problem would be an acute or chronic mental illness of a disabling psychotic or neurotic kind. Less drastically, it would be an awareness that certain mental attributes were inadequately controlled or ineffective poor memory, persistent minor guilt or anxiety, unwanted behaviour patterns or habits. His concern might be for social improvement, based on failure to achieve personal ambitions or social expectations, or on difficulties in interpersonal relations

These three classes of disability and hence sources of concern for improvement are likely to coincide in the same individual. A highly typical case was the combination of physical and psychological disability in the form of psychosomatic illness, ineffectiveness which had, or was believed by its sufferer to have, an emotional basis. All three types of disability bear the sociological feature of a recognized failure to achieve expected and normatively valued standards of role performance or status attainment. They involve a

disparity between the level of status and competent role-performance to which the individual aspired and that which he had actually achieved, a disparity generally conceptualized in terms of 'relative deprivation'. The appeal of Dianetics in modern society Thomas Luckmann and Peter Berger have pointed to general features of advanced industrial societies which would account for this sense of failure and 'relative deprivation'. They have argued that personal identity becomes particularly precarious in urban industrial society.¹ Increased social and

'Thomas Luckmann and Peter Berger Social mobility and personal identity', *European Journal of Sociology* 5 (1964), pp. 331-43. geographical mobility produce a blurring of the class structure and of criteria for locating the social status of others in interaction, and relative uncertainty concerning one's own status location. The existence of multiple criteria for status ranking gives rise to the possibility of status inconsistency. As Luckmann and Berger suggest, If status is relatively uncertain and relatively inconsistent, conditions are created

that are unfavourable for the consistency and stability of the self.¹

Rationalization of production shifts emphasis from ascribed to achieved bases of status placement. Individual achievement becomes a major means of status placement, increasing social mobility. Increased mobility in turn creates an expectation of mobility, and the inculcation of general mobility aspirations which cannot, however, be realized by all. Standards of adequate achievement are no longer defined by traditional status groups in which most people live out their lives and which establish an horizon of expectations of achievement. Standards are established rather by the status groups in which membership is sought, and since achievement is valued intrinsically, there can be no clear horizon of expectations. There can, therefore, also be no clear criterion of adequate achievement, resulting for many in a persisting sense of failure.³

Moreover, increased mobility, the breakdown of established status groups, and the disappearance of cohesive communities in which relationships are personal rather than role-articulated, results in a precariousness of social interaction.^a In the absence of clear means of identifying others and traditionally established means of conducting social intercourse, social interaction has a fragility and unpredictability which makes any social interaction a potential source of embarrassment and threat to the identity which actors proffer for recognition. Social interaction in anonymous urban industrial societies has to be negotiated without the aid of elaborate formulae of civility and identity markers typical of pre-industrial societies. The skills required for such negotiations are inadequately acquired by a proportion of the population.

In societies with a democratic ethos, stressing the equality of members and a mobility ethos in which:

Mobility is no longer a means to an end, but becomes an end in itself and thereby a

yardstick for other values in the life of the individual

Ibid., p. 335

'Jacob Tuckman and Robert J. Kleiner, 'Discrepancy between aspiration and achievement as a predictor of schizophrenia', *Behavioural Sciences*, 7 (1962), 443-7 suggest that frustration, caused by a discrepancy between actual and desired group membership, may be a cause of schizophrenia.

For a graphic account of this 'interpersonal precariousness' see the works of Erving Goffman, particularly his *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Doubleday Anchor, New York, 1959), and *Stigma* (Free Press, New York, 1963). See Erving Goffman, 'Symbols of class status', *BS*, 2 (1951), p. 295. Tuckman and Berger, *op. cit.*, p. 340. Failure to achieve the levels of mobility, wealth, or even sexual access aspired to, are defined as failures of the individual rather than a consequence of socially structured constraints on opportunity, or of an unrealistic ideology in the light of opportunities available.

Luckmann and Berger suggest two broad patterns of adaptation to such failure: withdrawal and mobility. Machiavellianism. At their most extreme, these patterns may be represented by withdrawal into psychosis and isolation, and Machiavellianism of a kind in which any means to mobility are construed as appropriate, for example, crime. Less extreme forms of adaptation would be, for example, legitimating failure through movement into the sick-role, or seeking additional or superior means of securing mobility. The latter might include securing further educational qualifications which lacked any intrinsic interest to the individual, simply as a means of 'getting ahead'; seeking training in the presentation of self through Dale Carnegie courses or books on 'how to win friends and influence people', or seeking esoteric means of securing mobility through the acquisition of hidden knowledge.

Dianetics was presented as a means of improving the individual's chances of status mobility, a means of achieving normatively established levels of aspiration. It offered a rationale for failure in social mobility and in social interaction. It provided an explanation in terms of traumatic incidents in which the individual had been unwittingly involved, and thereby relieved him of responsibility for his failure. All the past mistakes, failures and sources of guilt could be wiped out.² Most important, it offered a means of eradicating the persisting causes of his failure, and thus of attaining the level of achievement to which he aspired. The theory of Dianetics assured its follower that his 'true self', his conception of what he believed he was really capable of achieving, was indeed what he conceived it. It reaffirmed this idealization of self and promised a means of eliminating the barriers to its fulfilment, of eradicating the gap between his 'true self' and the identity that was typically confirmed in social interaction. Moreover, Dianetics provided a means of understanding not only oneself, but also others, a way of categorizing and accounting for their behaviour, and a guide to appropriate responses. ^{t r}

After a while, however, the further question remains, however, of why Dianetics was seen as an

Ibid., p. 31

'Helen O'Brien, a prominent early Dianeticist suggests: 'The tremendous appeal of dianetics came from Hubbard's apparent certainty that you could easily clear yourself in present time of

the heritage of woe from past misadventures.' Helen O'Brien, Dianetics in Limbo (Whitmore Publishing Co, Philadelphia, 1966), p. 72-

Dianetics literature and the letters and recollections of Dianehcists are full of commentary on others in terms of Hubbards tone scale. Locahng them on the tone seale provided a way to account for their behaviour, eplaining ib occurrence and provid-ing prescriptions for reaction to it. acceptable and legibmate solution to the problems with which recruits were faced. The answer to this question would seem to be that they had either tried alternative systems of belief and practice and found them unsuccessful, or they had rejected such alternative systems as inappropriate to their situation.

Many of those interyiewed claimed an acquaintance with the literature of psychology, and expressed dissatisfaction with it. Psychology as far as they could see in the 19405 was split between behaviouism and psychoanalysis. Behaviourist psychology seemed to have little or no relevance to man in general and no solution to their problems in particular. Psychoanalysis, while addressing many of the problems which they faced and offering solutions to them, had two major drawbacks. Firstly, analysis seemed an inordinately lengthy process, often lasting several years, Secondly, it was too expensive for most to consider it as a practical proposition.

Those who were suffering physical illls or disabilities had generally tried medical means of overcoming them, but found little satisfaction from medical professionals, few of whom recognized the essentially psychological or social basis of many of the complaints presented to them. Ill-equipped through lack ol training to cope with the needs of such patients, they resorted to pharmacological or surgical treatments which, while successful in some cases, left other feeling the need for a treatment practice which took greater account of man as a whole. Others, suffering chronic illnesses for which medical treatment had proved unsuccessful or from illnesses for which effective therapeutic interventions had not yet been discovered, had exhausted all he resources that orthodox medicine could offer. In the case of those suffering both physical and mental problems, the individuals concerned had generally sought solutions in a variety of other therapeutic practices before they came in contact with Dianetics.

Bureaucratization and the scale of modern urban society produce a context in which many individuals experience a lack of control over their destiny and environment, a sense of being moved and constrained by forces beyond their control. any of those who did not conceptualize their situation in medical or psychological terms experienced the world in which they lived as more or le5s unpredictable, chaotic, or meaningless. They sought some means of greater control over their environments and their reactions to it. Related to this, a small proportion were engaged in therapeutic work of a limited or marginal kind, and saw considerable limitations in the tools they had available. A further small proportion claimed a simple intellectual curiosity, which had earlier led them to other systems of self-improvement, metaphysics or occult knowledge.

While science held great promise, having delivered technological 'cargo', and having proved a powerful tool in the improvement of matenal conditions, it had done little to solve perennial and

increasing problems of psychological well-being, to provide cures for certain forms of illness, or to equip man better to cope with his social environment. Dianetics followers tended to conceptualize appropriate solutions to such problems as being 'scientific' in form. Their conception of science was, however, a lay conception (albeit a lay conception which has from time to time been offered as an academic account in the form of Pragmatism). It was technological and instrumental in form. What constituted a science was a body of knowledge which appeared to explain some set of phenomena in a rational and consistent way and which provided a means of intervening in the processes involved so as to achieve successful or desired outcomes. Their test of standing of any body of knowledge was: does it work? That is, do interventions of the prescribed form issue in desired outcomes? When, after a Dianetic session, they felt better than before, they concluded that it worked I

They tended to expect that new and important scientific developments would appear through media or institutions marginal to the scientific community. Their conception of this community was one of an elitist group with vested interests in the promotion of particular theories and practices, unwilling to accommodate the new ideas or even to give them a fair hearing. Hence the innovator would generally need to find a more marginal institutional base in order to get his revolutionary new thoughts heard.

Dianeticists appear to have held a belief in the immanence of knowledge that it was freely available and anyone who applied himself might expect to secure radically new or deeper insights into the nature of the world. They also held a belief in the elitism of science³ that scientists had arrived at their own views to which they were unwilling to permit any radical challenge. Since orthodox science was so conservative on this account, the intellectually curious might seek truth in less orthodox realms - metaphysical or occult groups, marginal healing, philosophical or psychological movements, or science fiction. Science fiction provided all that science lacked, filling in the lacunae of scientific knowledge or competence with fictional or speculative detail, and blurring the distinction between the empirical and the desirable.³ Converts to Dianetics were mobilized to accept an unorthodox system of belief and practice by the urgency of their need, which orthodox systems had been unable to meet, or by a conviction that radical developments in knowledge were to be anticipated outside the domain of the institutions of orthodoxy, which lacked the vision to generate them.

John W. Campbell was an influential figure in the science-fiction world and neighbouring regions of the cultic milieu. His readership saw him as a man of vision, willing to give any idea a hearing. When Campbell gave his support to

'For a fuller treatment of this condition of science and technology in popular culture, see Oscar Handlin, 'Science and technology in popular culture' in Gerald Holton, ed., Science and Culture (Beacon, Boston, 1967), pp. 184-93.

D On this point, one of the clear attractions of Dianetics was that anyone could do it. Although esoteric, it did not require lengthy and rigorous training. 'Ordinary' people could do it for each other. See for example, Life Pleaser, 1, 1 (June 1953).

3 And of course, the undesirable and horrific. See Kingsley Amis, *Viewlas of Hell* (New English Library, London, 1963). Dianetics, interest was aroused on the basis of his prestige and his enthusiastic acclaim of this new science of the mind. On the publication of Hubbard's Dianetic writings, the idea of 'clear' like that of 'flying saucer' became a kind of Rorschach blot, a vague and amorphous image upon which any individual could impose his aspirations. Being clear, however Hubbard might define it, meant being able to do all those things which one currently could not do, and to which one aspired so desperately. The self-improvement and healing cults Dianetics has a place in a continuing tradition of self-improvement movements in the recent history of the United States. Enormously accelerated social mobility and an ideology of individual achievement led to the emergence of a concern for infallible techniques that would ensure success for the mobility-oriented. This was a particularly pressing concern for those who had failed in, or failed to gain access to, the major channels of mobility in modern industrial societies, the institutions of higher education. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw the appearance of various movements and organizations which offered access to advanced, occult, metaphysical, or otherwise esoteric knowledge, and some which, more cynically, merely offered certification that access to such knowledge or training had been obtained. The 'diploma-mill' became an established, if derogated, institution. Movements such as New Thought suggested that prosperity and success were available to everyone. The use of a few simple techniques would enable anyone to overcome the limitations which he believed held him back.³

Dianetics also found a place in the continuing tradition of healing movements in the United States. Indeed, the two traditions overlapped to a very high degree, movements within this domain offering both healing and self-improvement, and certifying 'professional' competence in the practices purveyed. The development of science, particularly medical science, during the nineteenth century, led, it has been argued, to increased expectations regarding physical health and comfort. These expectations were in excess of what medicine could actually achieve.

See H. Taylor Buckner, 'The flying saucerians a lingering cult', *New Society* (9 September 1965).

For a sensitive and illuminating appraisal of the relationship between Dianetics and Scientology and occultism, psychoanalysis, science, pseudo-science, etc., see Harnet Whitehead, 'Reasonably fantastic: some perspectives on Scientology, science fiction and occultism' in Irving L. Zaretsky and Mark Leone, *Religious Movements in Contemporary America*: (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1974).

s A. W. Gnswoold, 'New Thought: a conflict of success', *A* 75, 40, 3 (1934), pp 308-18.

For an account of a number of such diploma-mills', healing and 'psychological' practices, see Lee R Steiner, *Where do People make Their troubles?* (Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1945). The great breakthroughs in medical research by Lister, Pasteur and many others had created a new level of expectation that medicine could defeat man's age-old enemies of pain and disease. Few accomplishments in engineering, agriculture and public sanitation brought the hope of a healthier, more comfortable life to the

lowest citizen. But it was a long time after many of these advances became theoretically possible that they were actually realised for the average person...1 From about 1860 to at least 1930, in the experience of all but the wealthiest classes, there was a very real gap between the ultimate promise and the actual performance in medicine and public health measures. The medieval resignation to disease and pain was gone, but the modern means of accomplishing general health and wellbeing for the whole population were not yet fully mobilized.r

The new healing movements such as Christian Science and New Thought offered means of overcoming this gap between expectation and performance in the realm of physical healing while medicine became increasingly specialized and compartmentalized and allopathic medicine directed attention to the disease rather than the individual, leading to a depersonalization of the practitioner-client relationship, the new healing movements retained a personal orientation, a concern for the whole man.³ Hence it has been argued that the role of the practitioner in such movements is closer to that of the psychotherapist than of the medical practitioner. The therapeutic success claimed by such movements is generally attributed to mistaken diagnosis,^t the placebo effect⁵ spontaneous remission, and the mobilization of the patient's expectation of healing.⁷ This expectation can be heightened and directed by the therapist in subtle, and often unconscious ways, particularly if his own belief in the efficacy of the practice is strongly held. The non-directive or evocative therapies employed afford a strong temptation to the therapist to induce the patient to express material that confirms his theories, because he can regard it as independent evidence for them; and the patient is induced to accept the therapist's formulations because he believes them to be his own. The therapist's very determination not to direct his patients may itself create an ambiguous situation that may increase the patient's suggestibility, and also arouse his anxiety and resentment, which...may act as an incentive to change.⁹

John A. Lee, *Sectarian Healers and Hypnotherapy* (Queen's Printer, Toronto, 1970), p. 7-

n Ibid.

3 Ibid., p. 5.

R. W. England, *Some aspects of Christian Science as reflected in letters of testimony*, *A 7S*, 59, 5 (1954), pp. 448-53

Ibid.

E. Th. Cassee, *Deviant illness behaviour: patients of mesmerists*, *Social Science and Medicine*, 3 (1970), pp. 389-96. 7 Jerome D. Frank *Persuasion and Healing* (Johns Hopkins Press Baltimore 196).

bid., p. 68.

id. 70

THE CULT AND ITS TRANSFORMATION

Even in the absence of conscious or unconscious 'coaching', the patient generally arrives for therapy with a fairly clear idea of

the performance that he will be expected to produce. From material he has read, stories he has heard, or from generally available cultural stereotypes, he will construct an anticipatory image of the appropriate performance. In the case of Dianetics, reports of the practice were so widely published in newspapers and magazines that few preclears can have presented themselves for auditing without some knowledge of what experiences, were the session successful, they would undergo.

As, through the early twentieth century, medical practice became more competent to deal with physical illness, expectations of health and well-being became increasingly centred on the psychological domain and the difficulties of interpersonal relations. Movements like Christian Science and New Thought which had claimed efficacy in handling physical illness lost ground, while others arose offering psychological well-being; release of mental and emotional tensions; cures for psychosomatic and neurotic illness; techniques for releasing hidden inner abilities; and means of 'making friends and influencing people'. In such areas science has yet achieved little concrete progress, and the market remains open to cultic groups offering knowledge and techniques produced by more mystical, occult, or pseudo-scientific means. Whatever the source of such knowledge the prestige of science has become such as to require that almost every new movement entering this field claim scientific legitimacy and authority, not by any other means than that of incorporating 'science' in its title. Social reaction and social movements. While the response of the book-buying public rapidly placed ISM in the best-seller lists, it was not everywhere received with enthusiasm. Reviews by psychologists and psychiatrists were almost uniformly unfavourable. Rollo May objected to Hubbard's oversimplified monocausal determinism and regarded his grandiose promises as potentially harmful to mentally and emotionally troubled people. Others objected to his repeated claims 'of exactitude and of scientific experimental approach, for which every trace of evidence is lacking', among others, Pelanianism, Transcendental Meditation, and Encounter Groups.

As Robert Merton has observed, 'Partly as a result of scientific achievements...the population at large becomes susceptible to new mysticisms expressed in apparently scientific terms. The borrowed authority of science bestows prestige on the unscientific doctrine.' Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Free Press, New York, 1957), p. 560.

5 Science of Mind, Christian Science, the Science of Creative Intelligence, Dianetics: the Modern Science of Mental Health. According to its publisher and others: interviews.

Rollo May, 'How to back-track and set ahead New York Times Book Review, 2 July 1950. [http://www.rollo.org/rollo/rollo.htm](#) "'

the doctor, time that might in severe cases prove fatal.

More sympathetic reviewers suggested that Dianetics was harmless enough and might possibly even be of help to socially isolated individuals: The close relationship between the two people who 'audit' each other can become a bridge from the isolated person to the outside world. The person gets encouragement from another, no matter what kind, and thus achieves a feeling of connectedness with other people, and consequently succeeds where he has previously failed. The benefits of a sympathetic listener while the

pre-clear ventilated his problems were recognized by some reviewers who nevertheless remained concerned at the effects this might have, in untrained hands, in the case of severe mental disorder.^a Although some of these reviews may have attracted people to Dianetics, it was the view of some Dianeticists that the reviews in the larger circulation periodicals and newspapers were generally so unfavourable that they had led many to fall away.

Apart from numerous marginal, limited and quasi-medical converts, Dianetics was received coldly by the medical, psychiatric and psychological professions. Dr Gregory Ilboorg publicly attacked Dianetics before a forum at the New York Academy of Medicine,^s and the American Psychological Association was widely reported for its resolution calling on psychologists not to employ Dianetic techniques in therapy: While suspending judgement concerning the eventual validity of the claims made by the author of 'Dianetics', the association calls attention to the fact that these claims are not supported by the empirical evidence of the sort required for the establishment of scientific generalisations. In the public interest, the association, in the absence of such evidence, recommends to its members that the use of the techniques peculiar to Dianetics be limited to scientific investigations to test the validity of its claims.

Attempts were subsequently made to carry out such scientific investigations. In a laboratory test, a Dianetic pre-clear was rendered unconscious by the administration of sodium pentathol, and a passage read to the pre-clear from a physics text, during which pain was inflicted, at the suggestion of the representative of the Dianetic Research Foundation, Los Angeles. Six months of auditing by a trained auditor failed to recover any part of the passage read.'

I Martin Gumpert, 'The dianetics craze', New Republic, 132 (1, August 1950), pp. 20-4.

a Willard Beecher and Galder Willingbam, 'Boiled engrams' American Family Physician 73 (August 1951), p. 80. 'Anonymous, 'Dianetics', Consumer Reports (August 1951), pp. 378-80.

Denotes, 1, 5 (December 1951).

5 'Dr Ilboorg attacks dianetics', New York Times, 10 March 1951, p. 15.

'Psychologists act against Dianetics' New York Times, 9 September 1950, p. 7. 'Jack Eox, Alvin E. Davis and B. Lebovits, An experimental investigation of

An earlier study by Harvey Jay Fischer had attempted to test the claims made for Dianetic therapy in terms of improved mental functioning and mathematical ability, and lessened personality conflict

Securing a sample of applicants to a Dianetic centre in an American city, divided them into three groups, controlling for educational status and a standardized psychological tests were administered before and after a six-week period, alternate forms of the tests being used. The first group received 12 sessions of auditing each week for one hour each session. The second group received two sessions of auditing each week for two hours each session. The third

group received no auditing. The three groups therefore received respectively eight, thirty-six and zero hours of auditing during the experimental period at the Dianetic centre.

From an analysis of the test results, Fischer concluded:

For the population of disturbed persons who applied for dianetic therapy, and were between the ages of 22 and 47 years, and who had at least some high school

education, regardless of the sex of these persons, it was concluded that: 1. dianetic therapy does not exert a systematic influence either favourably

adversely upon intellectual functioning; 2. dianetic therapy does not exert a systematic influence either favourably or

adversely upon the degree of personality conflicts. 3. dianetic therapy does not exert a systematic influence either favourably or

adversely upon the degree of personality conflicts. John Colbert conducted a study which attempted to determine the effect of Dianetic therapy on the basis of tests administered before and after a course of auditing, although he did not utilize a control group.⁵

In a pilot study, Colbert claims that 'the people who applied for dianetic therapy were found to be above average in intelligence, education and income'.⁴ To an 'unselected' sample of 24 applicants for Dianetic auditing at the New York City and Elizabeth, New Jersey Hubbard Dianetic Research Foundations, Colbert administered Rorschach, IQ and other tests, and a questionnaire. Colbert found no significant changes in IQ before and after auditing.⁵ Clinically, on the basis of the Rorschach data, Colbert's findings were that 'fifteen individuals were believed to have undergone changes that tended in the

direction of Fischer's hypothesis that Dianetic therapy reduced personality conflict, is obscure.

¹ Harvey Jay Fisher, 'Dianetic Therapy: an Experimental Evaluation', Unpublished PhD dissertation, School of Education, New York University, 1963, p. 4r.

² John Colbert, 'An Evaluation of Dianetic Therapy', Thesis for the degree of Master of Science in Education, School of Education, The City College, New York,

⁴ Ibid., p. 10. Unfortunately no adequate details of this pilot study are supplied.

⁵ Ibid., p. 104. Hubbard's engram hypothesis (dianetics)', Psychological Journal, 1969, pp. 131-4. 'negative direction, but these changes were in all but one case not unequivocally negative'. Six individuals were believed to have undergone no change, while the overall pattern of change in the remainder was in doubt. The Rorschach pattern displayed by the group lent itself in his view 'to a description of the group in terms of its prominent hysteroid and infantile-suggestible features'. (Various tests produced under the auspices of Dianetic and Scientology organi-

zations, however, show considerable improvements as a result of Dianetic auditing. See, for example, the test results included in *Suence of Survival*.)

Winter, as medical director of the first Foundation, attempted to interest his colleagues in Dianetics, but with little success. A meeting was arranged in Washington DC, at which Hubbard lectured to a group of 'psychmatrists, educators and lay people'. Winter comments on this meeting: I did not feel that the Washington venture was a successful one at least, not from the medical point of view. It was noteworthy that most of the people whose interest in dianetics had been augmented by this presentation were members of the laity, rather than the profession, and I thought that I could detect in their attitudes the fervor of the convert, rather than the cool, objective interest of the scientist. The professional people evidenced an interest in the philosophy of dianetics; their interest was repelled, however, by the manner of presentation of the subject, especially the unarranged implication that it was necessary to repudiate one's previous beliefs before accepting dianetics. Dr Morris Fishbein, a spokesman for the American Medical Association, was widely reported for his castigation of Dianetics as yet another 'mind-healing cult'

Some sectors of the medical profession clearly took the view that there was a need for more active steps to be taken to deal with what was seen by some doctors as a form of quackery. In January 1951, it was reported in a Bulletin of the Elizabeth Foundation that: Because no teaching license was ever procured for New Jersey despite reports that it

had been in June, Elizabeth is under suit from the State for teaching without a

license.⁵ The New Jersey Board of Medical Examiners had initiated an injunction against the Elizabeth Foundation, later vacated, for conducting a school of medicine without a license. It was almost certainly as a result of the publicity given to this action that creditors of the Foundation began to demand settlement, leading to reorganization and centralization of the Foundation at Wichita. *Ibid.*, p. 96. *Ibid.*, p. 56. Winter, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30. 'See *'Poor Man's Psychoanalysis'*, *Nswswee* (16 October 1950) pp. 58-9.

GBulktn 21 January 1951). See also *rhe Dienrmic, HDRF, Elizabeth NJ, 13* (8 February 1951), p 3

Interviews; George Malko, *Scientolog*): the owlition (Dell, N.Y. 1970), p. 58; Morris Fishbein, 'Editorial', *efedinc/ lorlc ws* (7 January 1972), p. 68.

Possibly as a result of this response from the established therapeutic professions, Hubbard has since demonstrated a marked antagonism to medical practitioners, and to psychiatrists in particular. Hubbard brushed aside a criticism, attributing it to the ignorance of the critic and his vested interests in the income from and the prestige of practices threatened by Dianetics; his engramic condition; and to professional incompetence: There is a direct ratio between the brilliance of a mind and its ability to understand and work dianetics we have proven that continually; a person highly successful, for instance, in the field of psychoanalysis can be counted upon to grasp dianetics quickly the second rater, whose practice is unsuccessful, whose security is

already small, may have difficulty in understanding dianetics and even be savage about it. The social involvement of Dianetics was severely limited by its individualistic character and its monocausal theory. Dianetics was oriented to the alleviation of social and economic ills by individual improvement rather than social or political change. The root of man's social, economic and political misfortunes was held to lie in the formation of engrams which led individuals politicians in particular to acts that were detrimental to the survival of the individual and society. Erase the engrams, and social and political ills and injustices would disappear.

However, until everyone was able to experience the benefits of Dianetic processing, it might be necessary for an elite of clears to guide the destiny of the world Hubbard foresaw the emergence of 'an aristocracy of the mind' from those who had the understanding required to accept Dianetics and undergo clearing: thus who had the

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There will be many of these. But they will have to carry, on their own energy, so to speak, those they wish to benefit. Below this will be the persons whose insanity or criminality has made them a menace to society and who will be given a release in dianetics at state cost and those persons who have money enough to buy a release.... On a lower strata [sic] there will be those who, for various reasons, do not undertake clearing and for whom no clearing is done. A wide gulf is thereby established. On the adage that them as has gets sicl, one sees with some sadness that more than three quarter of the world's population will become subject to the remaining quarter as a natural consequence and about which we can do exactly nothing. The saving part of this is that the good will of the upper quarter will inhibit their exploitation of the less fortunate.

One area of social concern was of immediate importance to Hubbard. Like many others in post-war America, Hubbard was exercised by the threat of

'L. Ron Hubbard, 'Homo Superior, here we come!'. Science Stories, 3, (May 1951), p. 22 L. Ron Hubbard, letter in Grass Tacks, Assembling Science Fiction 45, 6 (August 1950), p. 55.

J Ibid. communism and, as its concomitant, the threat of nuclear war. While his Allied Scientists of the World scheme was in some measure a fund-raising device, like many later, similar schemes, it was consistent with, and probably partly motivated by, other principles which guided his behaviour.

Allied Scientists of the World was based on a plan to establish an atom-bombproof archive for scientific information, collected from all over the world, in Arizona. Hubbard established an office in Denver which he staffed with personnel associated with the Wichita Foundation. Letters were sent to scientists and technicians whose names were secured from mailing lists. The letters informed the recipients that they had been awarded fellowships in the organization in recognition of their scientific achievements, and asked for \$25 annual dues. Accompanying literature described the plan to establish a bomb-proof archive, and to band scientists together to protest against the use of atomic energy in future war. Hubbard had planned to approach scientists of little repute first, and then,

when he had secured their support, to move on to the more prestigious. Had any considerable support been generated, he planned to set up an anonymous committee to issue books sponsored by the organization, but in fact written by Hubbard.¹ (In a comment upon the manuscript provided by officials of the Church of Scientology, an American Dianeticist, who is said to have been privy to these events, is reported to have indicated that there was no plan to issue books sponsored by the organization, but written by Hubbard.)

In the event, however, the scheme led to investigation by postal authorities and other State and private agencies; the response from those who received the mailings was negligible; and Allied Scientists of the World was abandoned. The cultic characteristics of Dianetics in terms of the types outlined in Chapter I, Dianetics can be unambiguously located as a cult. It was defined as deviant by the mass media and by most established professional bodies and their spokesmen. The movement's following in general conceived it as providing one of many possible paths to the truth or salvation. Dianetics emerged from the 'cultic milieu' of self-improvement and healing cults, science-fiction, and popular psychology. Its beliefs and practices appear to be a synthesis of strands drawn from this milieu and from more orthodox psychological research and psychotherapeutic practice, supplemented and adapted by the researches and insights of its founder.

The movement was loosely organized. Dianetic groups were linked to each other and to the Foundations by largely informal means. Little loyalty was owed to the central organizations, which had few means of enforcing commands. Practitioners and followers were tolerant of other practices or beliefs. Dianetics was seen as one contribution to the sum of esoteric knowledge leading

¹ Interview; see also Denret Pst 60, 1 78 (27 January 1952); Letter from Don Purell, refile Dinews, r, zz (31 May 1952), p. 76

The CULT AND ITS TRANSFORMATION to salvation, but by no means the only available path, nor a completed or closed revelation. Followers eagerly sought to improve and extend the beliefs and practices of Dianetics, drawing eclectically on other traditions and belief systems within the cultic milieu.

The movement's 'epistemological individualism' is displayed in the following statements by the editor of a Dianetic newsletter, and a prominent Dianetic practitioner:

There is no reason to take what I say as the 'truth', as the 'right way'. Your way is the best for you. There are many, many roads to a higher state of existence. No man can say 'This is the road for all to follow'.

The movement's non-exclusive membership was loose and delicate as was the belief-system. An enthusiasm for, or interest in, Dianetics was the only important criterion of membership for most of the following. While the more sectarian sections of the movement's leadership made efforts to elude some practitioners and practices, these attempts were resisted by the following, which was prepared to listen to any innovation from no matter what source. Membership changed rapidly as followers lost interest, solved their problems, or found a new enthusiasm.

Finally, Dianetics lacked any clear and unambiguous locus of authority. While Hubbard was recognized and acclaimed as the founder of this science of the mind, the following in general did not agree that this gave him any exclusive right to determine what should or should not constitute acceptable doctrine and practice, or who should or should not be accepted as a member of the Dianetic community. Except for a small minority who were prepared to submit to Hubbard's authority, the Dianetics following recognized no authoritative source of attributions of heresy within the movement. They alone, as individuals, had the right to determine who or what should be accepted.

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'Jack Horner, 'Jack Horner Speaks', Transcription of a lecture at the New York Dianetic Association, November 1952, The Eidetic Foundation, Alabama, 1952

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