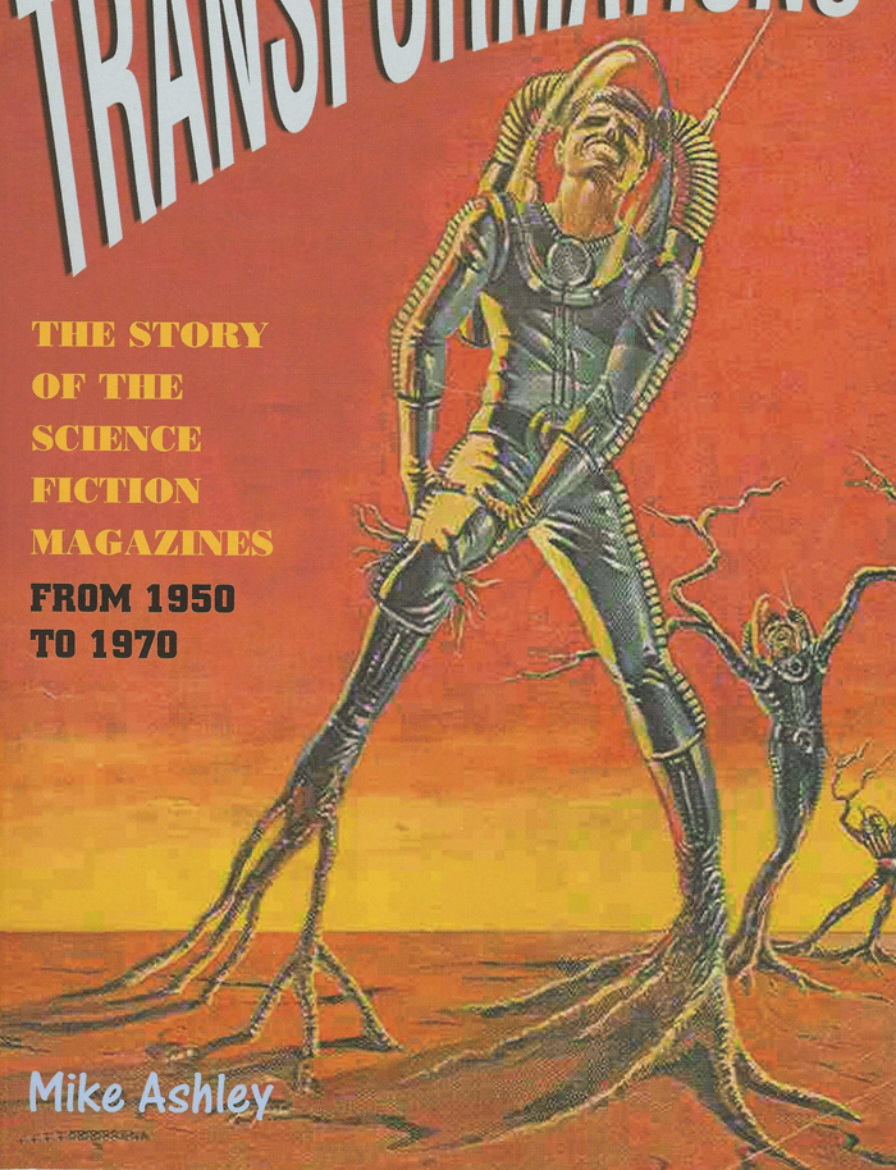


# TRANSFORMATIONS

**THE STORY  
OF THE  
SCIENCE  
FICTION  
MAGAZINES**

**FROM 1950  
TO 1970**

**Mike Ashley**



... T. TORREANA

# Transformations

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Transformations  
The Story of the Science-Fiction  
Magazines from 1950 to 1970

The History of the  
Science-Fiction Magazine  
Volume II

MIKE ASHLEY

LIVERPOOL UNIVERSITY PRESS

First published 2005 by  
Liverpool University Press  
4 Cambridge Street  
Liverpool L69 7ZU

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British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication data  
A British Library CIP record is available

ISBN 0-85323-769-7 *cased*  
0-85323-779-4 *limp*

Typeset by Northern Phototypesetting Co Ltd. Bolton  
Printed and bound in the European Union by Bell and Bain Ltd, Glasgow

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# Preface

This second volume of my three-volume history of the science-fiction magazine covers the years 1950 to 1970, and the title, *Transformations*, sums up in one word every possible change that happened to sf and the magazines during that period.

In the first volume I traced the development of the sf magazine from its earliest days and the creation of the first specialist magazine, *Amazing Stories*, by Hugo Gernsback in 1926, through the so-called Golden Age under John W. Campbell in the period 1938–42, to the dying of the pulps at the end of the 1940s. The period saw the first two great generations of sf writers and the start of a third, which would come into full fruition in the fifties. It also saw sf evolving from Gernsback's original gadget story, into the cosmic science story, space opera, and ultimately into the transcendent sf of the forties. During this process some writers fell by the wayside, while others helped create the super-hero pulps and comic-books. Others even created a religion. It was with the first breath of the new science, dianetics, that I closed Volume I. Dianetics, created by L. Ron Hubbard, was being championed in *Astounding* by John W. Campbell, but to many looked almost as much a sham as the Shaver Mystery had in *Amazing Stories* only a few years earlier. It was in this moment of weakness at *Astounding* that new magazines came along, especially *Galaxy* and *The Magazine of Fantasy and Science Fiction* (*F&SF*) to help transform science fiction and take it into the post-nuclear age.

That is what this volume covers. It sees the rise and fall and rise again of science fiction during a period of intense turbulence. At the start we find publishers switching from the old pulp magazines to the new digest size or into slick format, or even into pocketbook format. It was difficult to know which way to go. The public interest in science fiction spawned by the



nuclear age soon waned in the fifties and the sf boom of 1950–53 gave way to the bust years of 1954–60. Yet the fifties saw the greatest concentration of writers the magazine field had ever seen. If ever there was a real Golden Age of science fiction it was 1950–54, when *Galaxy*, *Astounding*, *F&SF*, *If*, *Thrilling Wonder Stories*, *Startling Stories*, *Amazing Stories*, *Fantastic* and a dozen or more magazines published some of the best work ever seen, from writers such as Theodore Sturgeon, Isaac Asimov, Philip K. Dick, Walter M. Miller, Frederik Pohl, Cyril Kornbluth, Judith Merril, Robert Sheckley, and plenty more. The rising talents of Robert Silverberg, Harlan Ellison, Frank Herbert, Roger Zelazny, Thomas M. Disch, Norman Spinrad and Ursula K. LeGuin were all mustering in the wings.

But around 1960 science fiction lost its way. It needed shaking up. Authors-turned-editors Judith Merril, Harlan Ellison and Damon Knight all did their bit, but it was the British new wave under Michael Moorcock and J. G. Ballard that really shook the field apart. Along with the rise of interest in fantasy fiction, encouraged by *Lord of the Rings* and the Conan books of Robert E. Howard, and the psychedelic era of the ‘swinging sixties’, by the end of the sixties, science fiction had transformed, mutated, reinvented itself.

The history of the science-fiction magazines, at least as far as 1970, is almost a history of science fiction itself. There was little that emerged in the field entirely independent of the magazines, though the growth of the original paperback novel, especially by the mid-sixties, was starting to change that.

When I first planned this volume I was originally going to take it right through to the present day, but I realized that there was just too much to cover in one volume. There were three different places I could have drawn the line. 1960 saw science fiction at its lowest ebb. All but six of the sf magazines had folded, the future looked bleak and sf did not know where it was going. But to stop there meant that the story was only half told. The re-creation of sf in the early sixties followed on so directly from the end of the fifties that it had to be followed through. I did consider stopping it at 1964, just before Michael Moorcock unleashed his new approach to sf, but again that cut a story in half. The field was just starting to bubble at that point, with the work that Frederik Pohl was doing at *Galaxy* and *If* and the changes taking place at *Analog* (the new name for *Astounding*), and that felt like pulling the plug at half-time. I had to see it through to a natural conclusion, and that came in 1970. By then the field was absorbing the new-wave revolution, adapting to the ‘fantastication’ of sf, in the wake of Tolkien and Howard, and facing the new interest generated by *Star Trek*, the film *2001: A Space Odyssey* and, above all, the first manned moon landing in

1969. That point coincided with changes in editors at almost all of the magazines, and a feeling that a new age was dawning.

From 1970 onwards the science-fiction scene started to change and the magazines took on ever more different forms. Indeed the whole concept of what constitutes a magazine changed. Volume III, *Gateways to Forever*, follows that final change.

# Acknowledgements

I have been reading and researching the science-fiction magazines for nearly forty years and in that time have consulted more books and been helped by more people than I can ever remember. For fear of omitting anyone and offending them, it is safer to be general in my thanks; somehow this seems weak, but I fear the list would otherwise be too long. I must thank all those writers and editors who, over the years, have responded to my enquiries. I must also thank Philip J. Harbottle and Stephen Holland, who have been generous with their time and knowledge in commenting on drafts of parts of this book, and to the many individuals on the 'Fiction-mags' discussion group, masterfully guided by David Pringle, who – knowingly or unknowingly – have helped unlock doors to the past.

# I

## A Galaxy of Stars

### The Launchpad

In 1950 science-fiction magazines were 24 years old. It had been with its April 1926 issue that *Amazing Stories*, the first all science-fiction magazine, had appeared, although as I noted in the first volume of this history, *The Time Machines*, science fiction had already existed in magazines for over a century.

It has been claimed by many, including Damon Knight, James Blish, Brian W. Aldiss and Harlan Ellison, that the publication of a specialist sf magazine harmed science fiction, and that had it been allowed to develop as part of mainstream fiction, sf would not have the tarnished reputation that it has today. But as we have seen, while there is some element of truth in that, it was through the sf magazine, most especially at *Astounding Science Fiction* in the capable hands of John W. Campbell, Jr, that science fiction began to develop and establish itself. There is no doubt that much of the earliest science fiction under Hugo Gernsback was of minimal value. He concentrated initially on gadget-sf, that is, fiction which was to inspire people to experiment and invent. The fiction was there on the one hand to educate people about the potential of science, and on the other hand to stimulate them into experimenting. It was not primarily intended to entertain. However, Gernsback soon discovered that his readers most enjoyed stories of scientific adventure – the kind that had previously appeared in the magazines published by Frank A. Munsey, especially *All-Story Weekly* and *The Argosy*, and which are typified by the Martian stories of Edgar Rice Burroughs and the lost-world adventures of Abraham Merritt. It was this type of fiction, in the hands of less able writers, which began to proliferate in the sf pulps, though not so much in the Gernsback magazines. The main

perpetrator was *Astounding Stories* in the days before Campbell took over. During 1930–32, when it was edited by Harry Bates, *Astounding* focused almost entirely on space adventure stories, stories which the critics equated to cowboy stories in space. Indeed, the plots of most stories could be simplified to the ‘hero-saves-girl-from-monster’ school which has remained as the basis of most puerile sf ever since.

Gernsback rebelled against this type of science fiction and through his editor David Lasser, in the early thirties, strove to bring realism back into science fiction. This began to happen in *Wonder Stories* during 1932 and 1933 until the Depression had its stringent effect upon publishing budgets, especially borderline publishers such as Gernsback. Although he continued to produce *Wonder Stories* until 1936, it ceased to be a significant magazine after 1933. It was then that *Astounding Stories*, under new management with the venerable publisher Street & Smith, began to take the lead in science fiction, first under editor F. Orlin Tremaine (1933–37) and then under John W. Campbell. It was with Campbell that most of science fiction’s major names first appeared: Isaac Asimov, Robert A. Heinlein, Theodore Sturgeon, A. E. van Vogt, Eric Frank Russell, L. Sprague de Camp, and many more. Of science fiction’s first league of writers, it was only Ray Bradbury and Arthur C. Clarke who established their names in other magazines. The most significant of these was *Thrilling Wonder Stories*, the continuation of Gernsback’s old *Wonder Stories*, which was also under new management with Standard Magazines. *Thrilling Wonder* had also pandered to the younger readers in the late thirties and early forties, but after the war, when it was edited by Samuel Merwin, it established itself as a significant magazine publishing much good-quality fiction, equal at times to that in *Astounding*.

The war had a tremendous effect upon science fiction. Firstly, it began to make it respectable. The general public became aware that many of the crazy ideas, such as rocket-powered flight and splitting the atom, weren’t so crazy but were all too devastatingly real. This meant that the field attracted growing numbers of readers, leading to a post-war boom which reached its height in the early fifties and is the starting point of this volume. But science fiction also changed internally. During the war years many of Campbell’s regular writers were involved in war work, and he sought to develop work by others, especially Fritz Leiber, Clifford Simak and Henry Kuttner, who were less technically orientated. Science fiction began to transform, and in their hands a new type of psychological sf appeared, in which the writers explored the powers of the mind rather than the powers of nature. This led ultimately to the development of dianetics by one of Campbell’s premier writers, L. Ron Hubbard. The dianetics hype damaged science fiction only marginally, but did dent Campbell’s reputation at

*Astounding*, so that after 1950, the year in which the first dianetics article appeared, *Astounding* found it harder to justify its claim to be the leading force in the field. It was beginning to have significant rivals.

Throughout the first 24 years of sf magazines, the field was the domain of the pulps, but their days were now numbered. Firstly, the hero pulps, such as *Doc Savage* and *The Shadow*, which had dominated the field in the thirties, and which had given rise to several sf hero magazines, such as *Captain Future*, found themselves supplanted by the comic-book. Both appealed to a similar young readership, and by the forties, the basic sf adventure story had been siphoned from the pulps into the comics. The popularity of the comic-book was immense and science fiction was high on the agenda of all young comic-book readers. Writing in the early 1950s, psychiatrist Frederic Wertham remarked: 'If I were asked to express in a single sentence what has happened mentally to many American children during the last decade I would know no better formula than to say they were conquered by Superman'.<sup>1</sup>

Secondly, war-time paper rationing had limited the availability of paper, and only the larger-circulation pulps had been able to survive. Some reformed themselves into the smaller digest size. This was based on the size made popular by *Reader's Digest* magazine in the years since it had first appeared in 1922. The popularity of that magazine led to many imitations, but few fiction magazines copied the format until 1941 when Frederic Dan-nay and Manfred Lee, working with Lawrence Spivak, issued *Ellery Queen's Mystery Magazine* in the digest size. The first leading sf magazine to follow suit was *Astounding* in 1943. A few years later, in 1949, Street & Smith folded all of their pulp magazines, including *Doc Savage* and *The Shadow*, to move into the slick magazine market. Their only surviving fiction magazine was *Astounding*. This was the real death-knell of the pulps, and although they would survive for another decade, it was a lingering death. The digest format now came to the fore as the main size for fiction-orientated magazines. Science fiction was also published in some of the leading slick magazines, such as *Saturday Evening Post* and *Collier's Weekly*. In fact for a period, under fiction editor Knox Burger, *Collier's* was a haven for science fiction. From 1950 to 1952 it published the early science-fiction stories of Kurt Vonnegut and Jack Finney; it ran several stories by Ray Bradbury including 'There Will Come Soft Rains' (6 May 1950) and 'A Sound of Thunder' (28 June 1952) – the most reprinted sf story from the 1950s; and it serialized 'The Revolt of the Triffids' by John Wyndham.

1 Frederic Wertham, *Seduction of the Innocent* (London: Museum Press, 1955), p. 265.

It is not surprising that at this stage publishers thought there might be a market for a slick sf magazine. Unfortunately, the only attempt to create the genuine article was thwarted by the outbreak of the Korean War. The magazine was, surprisingly, *Amazing Stories*, which had become the closest equivalent to hard-boiled sf in the hands of Raymond A. Palmer, who had edited the magazine from 1938 to 1949. New editor Howard Browne sought to upgrade the magazine, and although he secured financial backing from his publisher Ziff-Davis, the budgets were cut with the involvement of America in the Korean War, and the project was abandoned. All that appeared was a sample copy produced for copyright purposes. Dated August 1950, entitled simply *Amazing*, and consisting of just twelve large-format slick pages, it contained one story, 'Lullaby', written by Rog Phillips under the house name Peter Worth.

The other main rival to the pulps was the rise in the paperback book, or pocketbook. Paperbound books had been around for decades, but never as a significant force. Magazines, especially the pulps, had dominated. Increasingly, from 1937, paperbacks began to proliferate, with a tremendous boost in 1939. In that year the British company Penguin Books opened an American branch under the control of Ian Ballantine, and the first series of Pocket Books appeared. Imitation came in 1941 from Avon Books, and in 1942, Ned Pines and Leo Margulies, the management behind *Thrilling Wonder Stories* and *Startling Stories*, launched Popular Library.

The rivalry between pocketbooks, digests, pulps and comics, and the continued uncertainty of publishers, was nowhere more evident than at Avon Publishing. Publisher Joseph Meyers was an opportunist, ready to tap into any money-making enterprise, and just as quick to withdraw. During the forties he had considerable success reprinting the works of Abraham Merritt. A number of Merritt's novels first appeared in a digest-format series called *Murder Mystery Monthly*, starting with *Seven Footprints to Satan* in 1942. Originally Avon printed this series as a digest, giving the appearance of a magazine, though it was really a monthly novel. The novels were then reprinted in pocketbook format the following year, though not as part of the *Murder Mystery Monthly* series. By the early fifties the pocketbooks were out-selling the digests and became the dominant form. However, Meyers did not entirely neglect the pulps. For a period in the late forties, his managing editor was Donald A. Wollheim, who had joined the company in 1947 to edit *Avon Fantasy Reader*. Wollheim always regarded the *Fantasy Reader* as a regular anthology series. It was issued in digest format, not pocketbook, and is usually listed in bibliographies as a magazine, and is still regarded as such by many collectors. Wollheim also edited several pulp magazines for Meyers. One of these, *Out of This World Adventures*, also included a comic-book section

lifted directly from one of Avon's comics called, not surprisingly, *Out of This World*. Avon had a successful series of comics, and Meyers experimented to see whether the inclusion of a section in the pulp would draw readers from one to the other. It didn't. By 1950, when the two issues of *Out of This World Adventures* appeared, the pulp magazine readership and comic-book readership had sufficiently segregated. Shortly before this experiment, Meyers had secured another outlet for a new magazine, but no sooner had he requested Wollheim to compile a first issue than the deal fell through. Wollheim issued the stories he had acquired as a pocketbook, *The Girl with the Hungry Eyes* (1949), the first paperback anthology of all-new sf stories. By the end of the 1940s Meyers was getting the picture that comic-books had replaced pulps, that digests were the better form for magazines and that pocketbooks were the vehicle for novels.

Such was the scene emerging from the turbulence in 1950, a year that would prove to be a key one in the transition of science fiction, in terms of both its style and content, and its publishing format. Although the pulp magazine would be virtually extinct by the mid-fifties, it still had an important part to play in the further evolution of science fiction. Science fiction was still dominated by the magazines and, although the paperback would make inroads into the field during the fifties, it was not until the sixties that it became the primary publishing vehicle. The fifties, then, were a period of uncertainty and change, one reflected as much in the big world as in the micro-world of science fiction, where gradually small would become beautiful. To start our tour through this turbulence we need to take stock of our fellow travellers. Some of them we shall soon lose, but others will stay with us to the present day.

Among the science-fiction and fantasy pulps, the two oldest were still around in 1950. *Weird Tales* had started in March 1923, and had thus preceded *Amazing Stories* by three years. It had originally concentrated on ghost and horror stories, mostly in the style of Edgar Allan Poe, but science fiction was around from the start, though at that stage it was either of the lost-race or the monster-in-the-laboratory type. By 1926 it had become a significant market for new writer Edmond Hamilton, who developed his many space adventure stories on a cosmic scale which earned him the sobriquet of 'World-Wrecker' Hamilton. Although he later graduated to the sf magazines, he never forsook *Weird Tales* and remained a primary contributor throughout the forties. *Weird Tales* is probably best remembered as the magazine in which H. P. Lovecraft developed his Cthulhu series of stories, and in which Robert E. Howard created Conan. The magazine thereby had a much stronger influence on the fields of cosmic horror and sword-and-sorcery (a term yet to be coined) than on science fiction. Its heyday was



under the editorship of Farnsworth Wright, from 1924 to 1939. During the forties it was under new management as a companion to *Short Stories*, and was edited by that magazine's editor, Dorothy McIlwraith. It published much less science fiction but because it regularly featured the works of Ray Bradbury, Robert Bloch, Manly Wade Wellman and Edmond Hamilton, it was still of interest to readers of sf.

*Amazing Stories* we have already encountered. Howard Browne had only just taken over editorial control of both *Amazing* and its companion *Fantastic Adventures* in January 1950. He was anxious to rid *Amazing* of the crackpot reputation it had acquired under the editorship of Raymond A. Palmer, especially during the period of the Shaver Mystery, which was recounted in detail in *The Time Machines*. It was for this reason that Browne strove to convert *Amazing* into a slick magazine. Until the axe fell with the Korean War he had managed to acquire some superior stories from leading writers, including Theodore Sturgeon, Isaac Asimov, H. Beam Piper and Murray Leinster, and when he was no longer able to develop the new approach, these stories filtered into the old pulp-format *Amazing*. They sat rather incongruously alongside standard pulp fare by Don Wilcox and particularly Stuart J. Byrne. Byrne, writing under the alias John Bloodstone, developed a short series featuring the adventures of Michael Flanagan, which was pure Edgar Rice Burroughs. The stories, 'The Land Beyond the Lens', 'The Golden Gods' and 'The Return of Michael Flanagan' (March, April and August 1952) were immensely popular with *Amazing's* readers, and serve to show that it was going to take a lot of work to change the magazine's image. Yet it should not be overlooked that it was in the pages of *Amazing* and *Fantastic Adventures* at just this same period that new writers Charles Beaumont, John W. Jakes, Mack Reynolds and Walter M. Miller began to establish themselves. Jakes is best known today as the author of several successful novels set at the time of the American Civil War. His early magazine work was influenced by the hard-boiled writers in *Amazing*, especially William P. McGivern and Leroy Yerxa, and it would be over a decade before he developed his own identity. He first appeared in *Fantastic Adventures* with 'The Dreaming Trees' (November 1950), which in hindsight should be seen as a significant ecological story. It is about a colonist who seeks to save a rare species of tree from the planet's developers. Mack Reynolds, who would later establish himself as one of John W. Campbell's new stable of writers, also emerged through the hard-boiled school, starting with 'Isolationist' (*Fantastic Adventures*, April 1950). Some of the later political radicalism that would emerge in Reynolds' later sf was evident from the start. In 'Isolationist' an alien delegation seeks to help us avoid atomic war, but they receive such a hostile reception from the farmer whose cornfield they ruined upon arrival that they depart and leave us to our fate. In that same

issue Reynolds had 'He Took It With Him' (as by Clark Collins), one of the early stories to explore cryogenics. Walter M. Miller, Jr, would emerge as one of the leading writers of the fifties. His first appearance was with 'The Secret of the Death Dome' (*Amazing Stories*, January 1951). Although that story's title betrays its pulp origins, it hid the launch of a profound career, and a writer who would explore the complex relationships between characters and the world about them. By the end of the fifties Miller would have had a profound impact upon the field.

Browne was not a devotee of science fiction. His fascination was for detective fiction, again of the hard-boiled variety, and he was more at home editing the other Ziff-Davis pulps, *Mammoth Detective* and *Mammoth Mystery*, both of which had folded in 1947. Although he enjoyed editing *Fantastic Adventures*, once he lost the chance of developing *Amazing Stories* as a slick, he lost interest in the magazine, and left its editing in the hands of William Hamling and later Lila Shaffer. In December 1950, however, as part of their budget cuts, Ziff-Davis closed down their Chicago editorial offices, transferring the core of their operations to New York. Browne was happy to transfer as editor, along with Lila Shaffer, but Hamling, who had pretty much ghost-edited the magazines since 1948, remained in Chicago. Hamling had been a protégé of Raymond A. Palmer, the former maverick editor of *Amazing*, and his controlling hand had seen the continued presence of Palmer's style in the magazines. Once that break was made, Browne and Shaffer had an opportunity to develop the magazines along more mature lines. Despite the occasional lapse, during 1951 and 1952, both *Amazing* and *Fantastic Adventures* improved and presented stories of more lasting quality by Clifford D. Simak, Theodore Sturgeon, William Tenn, L. Sprague de Camp and William F. Temple. Browne's next opportunity to raise the level of the magazines came in 1952, with the creation of *Fantastic*, which we shall explore a little later.

When Hamling left Ziff-Davis, he established his own publishing company, Greenleaf, and launched a series of magazines. He would subsequently establish himself with a men's magazine, *Rogue*, which began in 1955 in imitation of *Playboy*. But at the outset Hamling concentrated on science fiction. He took over publication of *Imagination*, which first appeared in October 1950, from Raymond A. Palmer's own publishing outlet, Clark Publishing, of Evanston, Illinois. Palmer had established this company in late 1947 in readiness to leave Ziff-Davis. He had decided to issue his own magazine of strange phenomena, which he called *Fate*. It had become evident to him that readers of *Amazing* and *Fantastic Adventures* were fascinated by the unexplained, and the sudden sightings of flying saucers in 1947, which Palmer milked for all they were worth, fuelled this belief. The success of the Shaver Mystery had shown Palmer that there was a

substantial readership for the inexplicable – a readership whom some might call ‘the lunatic fringe’, but who were sincere in their beliefs. *Fate*, which first appeared in Spring 1948, proved an immediate success, and formed the basis of Palmer’s fortune for the next few years.

It was on the success of *Fate* that Palmer launched his new science-fiction magazine, *Other Worlds*. The first issue was dated November 1949, when Palmer was still employed by Ziff-Davis, so he edited it pseudonymously as Robert N. Webster, but he made no secret of his involvement, and boldly promoted the magazine at the 1949 World Science Fiction Convention held at Cincinnati in September, where it was officially launched. It was while at the convention that Palmer hired young fan Beatrice Mahaffey to be his assistant editor.

*Other Worlds* was an attractive magazine. For a start it was in digest format but it ran to 160 thick pulp pages, so that it looked substantial. The cover painting by Malcolm Smith, one of the mainstay artists at *Amazing Stories*, showed a serpentine bare-breasted female rising from a chasm and shooting an aged native with a ray-gun. It illustrated Richard S. Shaver’s ‘The Fall of Lemuria’, which was also boldly declared on the cover. The Shaver influence dominated, and despite Palmer’s editorial claims that the magazine was seeking to contain styles representative of a wide range of pulps, from *Astounding* to *Planet Stories*, the magazine was, on the surface, a straight continuation of his *Amazing*. Of the five authors listed in the contents, three were the by-lines of Roger P. Graham (who is best known as Rog Phillips), and one (G. H. Irwin) was Palmer’s own alias. Phillips and Shaver had, apparently donated their stories, though their quality was not as poor as that might suggest, because Phillips was a passably competent writer. It is indicative of the position which *Astounding* was then regarded as occupying that Phillips’ story, ‘The Miracle of Elmer Wilde’, which purported to represent the type of fiction *Astounding* published, was about the emergence of psychic powers as a result of conquering the atom.

Palmer stated at the World Convention that readers should wait until the third issue of *Other Worlds* before they judged it. The first two seem to have been fairly hastily assembled and based on existing manuscripts, most of which were probably originally written for *Amazing* or *Fantastic Adventures*. By the third issue, however, dated March 1950, Palmer felt that he had developed the magazine to a point at which it could be used ‘as a criterion of what sort of magazine we really intended to put out’.<sup>2</sup> Palmer still maintained that the magazine was a fusion of the styles of other magazines, but his main claim was that he was seeking to present adult fiction, and

2 Raymond A. Palmer, ‘Editorial’, *Other Worlds Science Stories* 1(3), March 1950, p. 4.

was not afraid to break taboos. The best example in this issue was 'Punishment Without Crime' by Ray Bradbury, one of his series about the company Marionettes, Incorporated, which began with 'Marionettes, Inc.' in *Startling Stories* (March 1949), and which looked at the prospect of robots employed to commit murder. Over the next few issues *Other Worlds* would publish a selection of very fine science-fiction stories which reflected Palmer's desire to shock and surprise. Whereas in the past he had done this to pander to the lunatic fringe, now Palmer was seeking to shock the newly enlightened science-fiction audience, and for once he was able to prove what a good editor he was.<sup>3</sup>

The May 1950 *Other Worlds* is a good case in point, and remains one of the magazine's best issues. An effective cover by Malcolm Smith, showing a boy asleep in the arms of a tentacled alien, depicts a scene from 'Dear Devil' by Eric Frank Russell. The story tells of a near lifeless Earth that is visited by aliens who are hideous in appearance. One of these, a Martian artist, stays behind and befriends a group of children who learn to accept him, and he helps them adapt to their new life. The story was one of a number that were emerging in science fiction in the aftermath of the war, depicting aspects of racial intolerance. Russell would repeat this even more effectively in 'The Witness' (*Other Worlds*, September 1951) about an alien that is put on trial as a danger to humanity, but who is portrayed as a sensitive female being.

In the same vein was 'Way in the Middle of the Air' by Ray Bradbury in the July 1950 issue. This tells of the blacks in the southern United States who set off for Mars to establish their own world. Then there was 'The Living Lies' (November 1950), a short novella by John Beynon (the alias of John Beynon Harris, soon to be better known as John Wyndham), which depicted the violence, hatred and bigotry shown by settlers on Venus towards the natives. This story had first been published in the second issue of the British magazine *New Worlds* in 1946, and it is perhaps significant that it should be Palmer who picked it for its American printing.

It was not only racial issues that *Other Worlds* was prepared to handle. 'If Ye Have Faith' by Lester del Rey, the lead story in the May 1951 issue, had apparently been rejected by other magazines because it featured God. It certainly features an alien visitation that is interpreted by witnesses as a visit from God, and considers its effects upon those witnesses, leading to their ultimate fate.

It would not be true to say that all of the stories in *Other Worlds* were this daring or original. Most of them were fairly standard space adventure

<sup>3</sup> In his editorial Palmer admits that it was Bea Mahaffey who selected this story 'and held a knife at our throat until we agreed weakly to buy it!'

stories overlaid by mysticism, as exemplified by the works of Richard Shaver, Rog Phillips, Stuart J. Byrne and Palmer himself. But Palmer had always been a renegade editor, and now being his own publisher and master enabled him to publish stories most other editors would avoid, not necessarily because of their own individual taboos but because of restrictions by their publishers. As a result, during 1950–52 Palmer published several challenging stories by Ray Bradbury, Theodore Sturgeon, A. E. van Vogt, Eric Frank Russell and Lester del Rey, which took science fiction another step into maturity.

It was against this background that *Imagination* appeared. Its first issue, dated October 1950, with a beautiful cover by Hannes Bok, was generally indistinguishable from *Other Worlds* in appearance, though its stories focused more on fantasy than sf. It was, in effect, the new Palmer equivalent of *Fantastic Adventures*. The first issue had appeared on the stalls on 1 August 1950. Two months earlier Palmer had fallen down his basement stairs and was temporarily paralysed. Although he endeavoured to edit both *Other Worlds* and *Imagination* from his hospital bed, the bulk of the work fell on Bea Mahaffey. It was difficult, and there was a strong possibility that *Imagination* would fold. Once it became known that Ziff-Davis's move to New York was definite, which was agreed in September 1950, Palmer rapidly arranged with William Hamling that he would take over *Imagination*. Hamling had also been doing the work to establish his own Greenleaf Publishing Company during the autumn of 1950, and formally left Ziff-Davis in November 1950. He took over *Imagination* from its third issue, dated February 1951, but released on 1 December 1950. He also wrote his last editorial for the February 1951 *Fantastic Adventures*, though that did not appear on the stands until 19 December 1950. Hamling therefore has the distinction of providing editorials for magazines from two totally separate companies in the same month.

Hamling was less provocative and daring than Palmer. He knew a good story when he saw one, but avoided the extremes of Palmer. The result was fewer abominations, but also less excitement, and under Hamling *Imagination* became more bland than it had started out under Palmer. This is not to say that it did not publish some good stories. It carried, for instance, 'In This Sign' by Ray Bradbury (April 1951), later retitled 'The Fire Balloons', in which Bradbury explores the concept of Martians who have no knowledge of original sin. It was also in *Imagination* that Robert Sheckley first appeared, with 'Final Examination' (May 1952), a rather weak tale about humankind being tested with the threat of Judgement Day and failing miserably. The magazine also carried stories by developing new writers Philip K. Dick, Kris Neville, Zenna Henderson and Gordon R. Dickson, but its

regulars remained those from *Amazing* and *Fantastic Adventures*, especially Dwight V. Swain, Rog Phillips, Geoff St Reynard and Charles F. Myers. Myers was the author of a series featuring Toffee, an imaginary girlfriend who helps her mortal boyfriend out of all kinds of scrapes. The series was reminiscent of Thorne Smith's Topper stories. It had started in *Fantastic Adventures* with 'I'll Dream of You' (January 1947), and after seven stories continued in *Imagination* with 'The Vengeance of Toffee' (February 1951), with many of the earlier stories being reprinted. The Toffee series was among the most popular published in *Imagination*.

These magazines formed part of the Edgar Rice Burroughs school of science fiction. Another that had sprung from that root-stock was *Planet Stories*, a surprising hangover from the pre-war years, yet one that was enduringly popular. Published by Fiction House, which also published *Jungle Stories*, it concentrated on planetary adventures – indeed the phrase 'space opera' was coined to describe them – and although it had matured after the war, especially with the work of Ray Bradbury, its premise had altered little. *Planet Stories'* primary writer was Leigh Brackett, the wife of Edmond Hamilton, and she continued to dominate the magazine in the early fifties. Other luminaries included Robert Moore Williams and Gardner F. Fox. It may seem surprising but it was *Planet Stories* that first published a story by Philip K. Dick, 'Beyond Lies the Wub' (July 1952). The magazine was undoubtedly popular, and it appealed to younger readers and those seeking little originality in their fiction. Its popularity was demonstrated by the fact that in the autumn of 1950, for the first time in its life, *Planet Stories* went from a quarterly to a bi-monthly schedule. At the same time it obtained a new companion magazine, *2 Complete Science Adventure Books*, which packed together two full-length novels, both new and reprint, into one issue for just 25 cents. Since the first issue (Winter 1950) led with Isaac Asimov's new novel 'Pebble in the Sky', it could not fail to attract an audience. This magazine is a typical example of how the pulps were seeking to combat the growing rivalry of the pocketbooks by demonstrating that for the same price they could offer a bigger package. *2 Complete Science Adventure Books* was clearly tempting and for a while attracted a viable readership. It was published three times a year.

From the Summer 1950 issue *Planet Stories* was edited by Jerome Bixby. Bixby had worked as an assistant at Fiction House for a few years, and though his main writing output was for Western magazines, his heart was in science fiction. He yearned to take over the helm at *Planet Stories*, and when he was given the chance he radically upgraded the magazine. He not only coaxed better stories out of the regulars, he brought new blood to the magazine, with more radical treatment of the space opera theme. Poul

Anderson's 'Duel on Syrtis' (March 1951), for instance, which follows the intriguing cat-and-mouse events as an Earthman tracks an alien on Mars, is as engaging a story as one would find in any of the contemporary magazines; while Theodore Sturgeon's 'The Incubi on Planet X' (September 1951), about aliens who capture Earth's womenfolk and translate them into another dimension, shows that even sex was allowed to rear its head in *Planet Stories*.

Influenced as much by the Merritt school of fiction as the Burroughs, but rapidly maturing, was *Startling Stories*, the companion to *Thrilling Wonder Stories*. Both these titles from the Standard Magazines stable had been shaken into respectability by editor Samuel Merwin, who took over in 1944 and continued at the helm until September 1951. *Startling* had been the more adventure-orientated of the magazines, featuring long lead novels, usually by Henry Kuttner or Manly Wade Wellman, mostly of the fantastic adventure type, but written with an excitement and pace that put them a notch above *Planet Stories*. Many of these would not have been out of place in Campbell's fantasy magazine *Unknown*, such as Norman A. Daniels' 'The Lady is a Witch' (March 1950) and Murray Leinster's Arabian Nights adventure 'Journey to Barkut' (January 1952). Others were *Startling's* own special mix of science and fantasy, such as Margaret St Clair's 'Vulcan's Dolls' (February 1952) and Henry Kuttner's 'The Well of the Worlds' (March 1952).

But *Startling* had not forgotten its space-opera origins. Starting in the January 1950 issue Samuel Merwin brought back Edmond Hamilton and Captain Future for a new series of adventures, though now at novelette length rather than as lead novels. In retrospect this seems something of a backward step. With the development of science fiction and with the hero pulps now superseded by comic-books, what could the new Captain Future stories offer? In fact this is a question one can answer quite simply by considering the success of *Star Trek* and the *Perry Rhodan* series, which we shall encounter later. Good space opera with well known and developed characters is always appreciated, and it was a more mature and able Edmond Hamilton turning his thoughts to Curt Newton's adventures. All of these stories are better written than the original novels and, had these been the only Captain Future adventures, the characters would have been remembered with more credit than they are normally accorded. These stories are also more cosmic in nature, with the last three, 'Moon of the Unforgotten' (January 1951), 'Earthmen No More' (March 1951) and 'Birthplace of Creation' (May 1951), building towards an understanding of the nature and origins of humankind, life and the universe.

Under Samuel Merwin *Startling* was one of the most exciting and varied magazines around, providing a good blend of fantastic and scientific

adventures. Merwin had tended to save the more experimental fiction for *Startling's* senior partner, *Thrilling Wonder*. It was here, for instance, that he chose to publish Ray Bradbury's 'The Man' (February 1949), which considered the first landing on Mars being upstaged by the appearance of Christ on the planet. The result was that while *Thrilling Wonder* might have been the more daring of the magazines, it was *Startling* that everyone enjoyed. It was a position that we shall see mirrored fifteen years hence between *Galaxy* and *If*.

As a result of its popularity, *Startling* switched to a monthly schedule from its January 1952 issue. This was soon after Samuel Merwin had stepped down as editor to pursue freelance writing, and had been replaced by Samuel Mines, who took over as editor from the November 1951 issue. Mines was not that well known in sf circles, though he had been a devotee of science fiction since the 1930s. He had joined Standard Magazines in 1942 and although he had assisted Merwin from time to time his main thrust was on the Western magazines. His impact on the sf magazines was not immediately apparent: he knew better than to meddle with a tried-and-trusted formula. But he was also keen to encourage bold new fiction. One such was 'Hellflower' (May 1952) a short novel by George O. Smith, wherein a disgraced space-pilot endeavours to track down the source of a drug that is infiltrating the solar system. It was not one of Smith's best works, but was a rare early example of considering the impact of drugs upon society.

The real change, though, came with 'The Lovers' by Philip José Farmer. It appeared as a complete novel in the August 1952 issue, and Mines used it as a launching pad from which to sound off about restrictions in science fiction. In his editorial Mines argued:

Editorially and otherwise, we have long contended that science fiction must be more than hopeful science; it must be *good* fiction as well. It must contain the basic requirements of drama, it must be well told, it must depict real people, it must be as sincere in its emotional values as in calculating the speed of a spaceship operating in ultra-galactic drive. Until this is achieved, *Time* book reviewers will continue to make disparaging comparisons with westerns.

It is our contention that anything can be done in science fiction – and should be done. It is actually the broadest of all mediums, because it is imagination unlimited. A lot of sf authors writing today are as good as can be in their own type of story, but the type has turned into a rut. They are writing the same basic story they wrote fifteen years ago . . .<sup>4</sup>

4 Samuel Mines, 'The Ether Vibrates', editorial, *Startling Stories* 27(1), August 1952, p. 6.



Mines challenged writers to experiment with daring themes and highlighted 'The Lovers' as the find of the decade. He hoped it would make writers sit up and say: 'My gosh, I didn't know we could do anything like that in science fiction!'.<sup>5</sup> It was the same type of crusading talk that we have seen before in science fiction: David Lasser gave it to his writers at *Wonder Stories* in 1931, William Crawford said it in his brochures promoting the new *Marvel Tales* in 1933, John W. Campbell used it for *Astounding* in 1938. It would be used again by Michael Moorcock when he took over *New Worlds* in 1964, and by Harlan Ellison in his taboo-breaking anthology *Dangerous Visions* in 1967 – in other words, each time someone becomes brave enough to jolt writers out of their complacency and remind them that there is always something different to explore. But Mines went on to say that he hoped 'The Lovers' would seem 'creaky and ancient' in ten years' time, because he hoped the field would continue to develop and not to stagnate. In this hope Mines was less successful. 'The Lovers' is such a powerful story that it remains strong and relevant, and while it no longer has the impact that it did in 1952, it is still a landmark in the field of sf.

In 'The Lovers' humans land on a planet where the humanoid inhabitants metamorphose from insects. The females, who grow into the image of human women, can only breed by mating with a real human male. After pregnancy, the mother dies and the young live off the flesh. The insects, called *lalitha*, learn that a certain drink prevents pregnancy. When one of the humans falls in love with a *lalitha* he assumes she is addicted to the drink. Not knowing its real purpose he dilutes it, with the result that the *lalitha* conceives and dies.

It is a beautiful story, effectively told, and showed how sex could be an integral part of a story without being obscene. Mines expected there to be a reaction to the story, and he was right. In the hundreds of letters he received all but three were enthusiastic, most hailing it as the best science-fiction story of the decade. One of the more balanced reactions came from John Brunner, then a newly published author. He said in part:

I don't think anyone, at this stage of the development of science fiction, could properly estimate the ultimate value of 'The Lovers'. Farmer is one of the most pleasing new writers I have ever met, though like many authors his style is derivative [. . .] but Bradbury was writing a hash of fan-slang and ill-digested Poe when he first put pen to paper, and for my money, in consequence, ten years from now Farmer's stuff will be sounder than Bradbury's today.

5 Mines, 'The Ether Vibrates'.

But Brunner went on to say:

But [. . .] I do not personally regard it as a classic, or even very good. But it is literally speaking as far above the average mutton-headed attempts at handling the human/non-human relationships of tomorrow as [T. S.] Eliot is above the would-be intellectual who has obscurantist verse published in a black magazine in white ink. Perhaps I could put it this way. The other day I made my first sale to America – a long novelet. Not to you but to *aSF* [*Astounding*]. It paid me six hundred thirty dollars. I would gladly have traded not only that, but my entire literary output to date, for the privilege of having written 'The Lovers'.<sup>6</sup>

The praise for 'The Lovers' was all but universal, and included an acknowledgement by many that it was unlikely that the story would have appeared in many other magazines because of editorial taboos. Probably only Raymond A. Palmer would have taken it. Certainly it was known to have been rejected by Campbell at *Astounding* and Horace Gold at *Galaxy*.

Alongside his promotion of 'The Lovers', Mines also urged readers to check out the December 1952 *Thrilling Wonder Stories*, which featured 'What's it Like Out There?' by Edmond Hamilton (December 1952). Mines mentions the story in the same editorial which introduced 'The Lovers', where he added: 'it is so far removed from his Captain Future stories as to convince anyone that it is the work of a different writer'.<sup>7</sup> The irony is that this story had originally been rejected by the same magazine nearly twenty years earlier, when editor Charles Hornig believed it lacked originality. It had also been rejected by *Amazing Stories* and *Astounding Stories* as too grim. When it finally appeared it was heralded as a story of honest realism, depicting the true horrors of space. It was seen as representing a new development for Edmond Hamilton, a writer of immense versatility who had nevertheless responded to and remained in the pulp mould for over 25 years.

Writers found it increasingly possible to experiment. Julian May, for instance, who would make her name thirty years later with her Pliocene Exile series, produced 'Star of Wonder' (*Thrilling Wonder*, February 1953), which depicted the virgin birth on a distant planet. But probably none was more controversial than Sherwood Springer, who faced the issue of incest in 'No Land of Nod' (*Thrilling Wonder*, December 1952) wherein the last survivors on earth are father and daughter. Again there was universal praise

<sup>6</sup> John Brunner, letter headed 'We're Glad To', in *Startling Stories* 29(1), February 1953, p. 130.

<sup>7</sup> Samuel Mines, 'The Ether Vibrates' editorial, *Startling Stories* 27 (1) August 1952, p. 6.

for the story among the readers, although Theodore Sturgeon took Springer to task for holding back on some of the real issues in the story. In particular Sturgeon questioned the way in which Springer approached the denouement, especially why the father still waited for his daughter's eighteenth birthday before taking the fateful step.

Why? It makes me mad, because this is too important a story to bungle. Taboos need to be broken, either because they are bad in themselves or because of this odd quirk in human beings that makes it necessary to prove they *can* be broken. But when you break 'em, break 'em clean.<sup>8</sup>

Sturgeon's point remains valid. Once you've decided to stick your head above the parapet to be shot at, then do it in style. Taboos were now ripe to be broken and writers were more prepared to tackle the issues, but it would be another decade before the barriers in science fiction really began to fall, and all of that battle took place in the magazines.

We should not leave *Startling Stories* without also recognizing that it was attracting new talent as well as revitalizing the old. In addition to Philip José Farmer, certainly the most remarkable new writer to emerge in its pages, *Startling* published the first works of Frank Herbert and Robert F. Young. Herbert first appeared with 'Looking for Something?' (April 1952), a typical story for the period about a hypnotist who unfolds layers of indoctrination in the mind and begins to reveal the universe as it really is. This approach, which followed on from the writings of Henry Kuttner and L. Ron Hubbard in *Astounding* was ideally suited to the growing paranoia of the Cold War era, and would become more evident in the writings of Philip K. Dick. Robert F. Young debuted with 'The Black Deep Thou Wingest' (June 1953). This story was overshadowed by appearing in the same issue as 'Moth and Rust', Farmer's sequel to 'The Lovers', but it was a beautiful story of the unknowing rediscovery of Earth by a space explorer and an appreciation of the planet's uniqueness in the universe – the only planet with a blue sky.

So far we have seen how the existing magazines and editors were tackling the changes required of science fiction at the start of the 1950s. They were following to some extent in the footsteps of *Astounding*, which had set these trends in the immediate post-war period, but *Astounding* was no longer the only, or even the primary, driver of change. If anything, because of the dianetics uproar, *Astounding* was no longer in a position to dictate trends, and Campbell's own prejudices – particularly on issues of sex and

<sup>8</sup> Theodore Sturgeon in letter headed 'Taboos Need Breaking', *Thrilling Wonder Stories* 42(1), April 1953, p. 139.

race<sup>9</sup> – meant that *Astounding* was unlikely to carry too many taboo-breaking stories. Instead, Campbell preferred to see science fiction advancing in its exploration of social and political issues, and in developing the thinking on new sciences, especially powers of the mind. Thus, in this same period of 1950 to early 1953, where we have been seeing significant developments in other magazines, *Astounding* featured far fewer major stories than it had in any equivalent three-year period since 1933.

An example of the difference between Campbell's science fiction and that emerging in the other magazines can be evidenced by the Okie series by James Blish. Blish had been writing spasmodically for a decade, mostly for the magazines edited by fellow Futurians Frederik Pohl and Robert W. Lowndes, but the Okie series was a major step forward. This began in the April 1950 *Astounding* with 'Okie' and was followed by 'Bindlestiff' in December. Thanks to the invention of the directional anti-gravity device, the spindizzy, along with the development of anti-ageing drugs, humankind is able to take to the stars in self-contained cities. This allowed Blish to explore a vast tapestry of issues. At the basic level was the scientific development of the spindizzy and flight systems and how they could be used in space. At the next level he explored the effects of this upon the city-societies in space and the relationship between the primary cities and those rogue cities, or bindlestiffs, that operated outside the accepted cosmic laws. And at the highest level it allowed the exploration of space and time as previously earth-bound societies suddenly had the freedom of infinity. This concept struck home with Campbell. He loved imagination on the cosmic scale but developed in such a way that it allowed the exploration of the integral issues. Okie was thus a natural development from the Lensman series by E. E. Smith and the Weapon Shop stories of A. E. van Vogt, and would in turn lead to others, most notably the Dune series by Frank Herbert.

One of the early Okie stories, 'At Death's End' (*Astounding*, May 1954), which follows the research into anti-ageing drugs, was used as a vehicle to comment upon the savage witchhunt by Senator Joseph McCarthy against communists and others suspected of 'un-American activities'. Not only is

9 John W. Campbell, Jr, was proud as a representative of Anglo-Scottish inheritance, and thus his views of white supremacy were dominant. This was not from a racist perspective but a deduction based on his perception that all major scientific advances had come from either Caucasian or Oriental cultures. (See his letter to Philip José Farmer dated 3 April 1963, included in Perry A. Chapdelaine, Sr, Tony Chapdelaine and George Hay [eds.], *The John W. Campbell Letters, Volume 1*, Franklin, TN: AC Projects, 1985, pp. 406–408.) He also maintained that the lack of any significant sexual descriptions or plots in his magazine was because these were already censored by his assistant editor, Kay Tarrant, before those manuscripts ever reached him.

McCarthy mentioned in the story but he is also lampooned (along with J. Edgar Hoover) as MacHinery, hereditary head of the FBI. At one point, spaceman Colonel Paige Russell is summoned before MacHinery to explain his actions. Russell remarks, 'It would hardly matter what he said once MacHinery developed an interest in him; an accusation from the FBI had nearly the force of law. Everything depended upon so conducting oneself as to be of no interest to MacHinery to begin with'.<sup>10</sup> Blish would have no truck with any cause that repressed human or scientific advance, and he was only too happy to use *Astounding* to get his view across, under cover of science fiction.

It is worth an aside here about the role of science fiction during the McCarthy era. Despite the repression that went on in other forms of popular media, especially the cinema and mainstream fiction, science fiction was generally untouched by the long arm of McCarthy. Most commentators have believed that this was because politicians had little more than contempt for these wide-eyed dreamers with their mad ideas of space travel. Frederik Pohl later remarked that when everyone else was running for cover, 'about the only people speaking up openly to tell it like it was were Edward R. Murrow, one or two Senators, and just about every science fiction writer alive'.<sup>11</sup> One sf writer, Chandler Davis, was even imprisoned because of his left-wing views, though this was not specifically because of his science fiction, but because of his outspokenness against McCarthyism and his refusal to respond to a Congressional committee. Poul Anderson commented that '[at] the height of the so-called McCarthy period, I wrote and sold stories which explicitly opposed everything he stood for'.<sup>12</sup> Both Davis and Anderson had stories in the August 1953 *Astounding* ('Share Our World' and 'Sam Hall' respectively), both of which explore the need for individuality and freedom within organized (or regimented) or repressive societies. Similar messages abounded in the sf magazines of the early-mid fifties, and we shall encounter them many times during this history. Science fiction became a refuge against repression.

Blish's fellow Futurian Cyril Kornbluth also began to emerge under his own name in *Astounding*. 'The Little Black Bag' (July 1950) is a Kuttneresque story about an old alcoholic doctor who discovers a doctor's bag from the future. Kornbluth was a writer Campbell should have retained and developed, but his main contribution to science fiction before his tragic

10 James Blish, 'At Death's End', *Astounding SF* 53(3), May 1954, p. 29.

11 Frederik Pohl, *Extrapolation*, May 1969.

12 Poul Anderson, letter in *PITFCS* #141, November 1961. See Theodore R. Cogswell (ed.), *PITFCS: Proceedings of the Institute for Twenty-First Century Studies* (Chicago: Advent, 1992), p. 247.

early death in 1958 was in other magazines. His only other significant contribution to *Astounding* was a collaboration with Judith Merrill under the alias Cyril Judd: 'Gunner Cade' (March–May 1952), depicting a regimented militaristic future and how an indoctrinated mercenary soldier is forced to use his own wits. This fitted again with Campbell's desire to show the strength of the individual over the mass of society. A story with a similar message was 'Day of the Moron' by H. Beam Piper (September 1951), in which the growth of unions and adherence to rules means that a disaster at a nuclear power plant is only just averted when someone begins to think logically for himself.

Logic, the power of the individual, the power of the mind, and the power of humankind throughout the universe: this was Campbell's world, and one that he pursued rigorously with his authors through *Astounding*. Whereas in other magazines editors did the best with what manuscripts they received, and the more active editors encouraged writers to produce good material, Campbell directed them. His long letters and proposals to authors meant that, in effect, *Astounding* was filled with Campbell's own ideas and theories as developed by other writers. This is taking the view to an extreme, because Campbell only sowed the seed in minds sufficiently creative and inventive to develop the ideas with great originality, but it is nonetheless true that Campbell was very possessive and personal about his magazine in a way that other editors were not. Once when someone asked Campbell why he didn't write any more fiction he responded that he didn't need to because his authors did it for him.

In the forties this was necessary and exciting. Campbell had a vision that was not shared by the other magazines and editors, and Campbell's own youth and drive enabled him to take a tight grip on a core of able science-fiction writers and develop a new approach to science fiction that revolutionized the medium. But you can only do that for so long. By the late forties Campbell had exhausted his main creative force, which was now focused on his contributions to Hubbard's development of dianetics. As a consequence other magazines, especially *Thrilling Wonder* and *Startling Stories*, had caught up with him. Campbell could add little more that was new to sf. Instead, throughout the fifties, he merely chose to consolidate it, with the result that although *Astounding* still remained a good-quality sf magazine, its content became predictable. There were few surprises, and the excitement that had made *Astounding* bubble in the forties was missing. Alva Rogers, in his excellent study of *Astounding* during its heyday, *A Requiem for Astounding*, observed that 'there was a static quality to the magazine throughout the fifties that it had never had before. [. . . In] moving closer to the mainstream, in presenting science fiction that was more

acceptable to a broader mass of readers, *Astounding* seemed to many of its fans to be lacking in much of the “gutsy” quality it had had in earlier years.<sup>13</sup> One of the main reasons for this was that not only had Campbell, to a large extent, reached his creative peak, but also he had, for the first time, serious competition, from like-minded editors who were prepared to take science fiction in their own direction. This was not necessarily the same direction as Campbell, but they were able to attract not only many of the newer writers but also many of Campbell’s school who also found it fresh and challenging to deal with a new mind. We have already seen two of these editors, in Samuel Merwin and Samuel Mines at *Standard Magazines*, but we have not yet studied the two most important magazines of the fifties and their editors. It is time to do so and to consider the impact upon the field of both *The Magazine of Fantasy & Science Fiction* and *Galaxy*.

### The New Masters

We will turn first to *The Magazine of Fantasy & Science Fiction* (hereinafter *F&SF*) because it was the first to appear, although its impact on the field was more diffuse and less immediate than *Galaxy*’s.

The first issue, under the title *The Magazine of Fantasy*, was dated Fall 1949, and was launched on 6 October at a luncheon to mark the hundredth anniversary of the death of Edgar Allan Poe. A banner at the base of the cover declared the magazine to be ‘an anthology of the best fantasy stories, new and old’. That, and a cover portraying an attractive female menaced by a rather immaturely drawn monster, suggested that the publishers had been influenced to a degree by the format, approach and success of the *Avon Fantasy Reader* under Donald A. Wollheim. It was also evident of the continued uncertainty between pocketbook and digest format. It was this uncertainty that had delayed publication of the magazine for over three years. The first story, Stuart Palmer’s ‘A Bride for the Devil’, had been purchased in June 1946, and the concept had been raised by the two editors, Anthony Boucher and J. Francis McComas, with publisher Lawrence Spivak as far back as January 1946.

Spivak had been approached because Boucher and McComas were exploring the possibility of a fantasy companion to *Ellery Queen’s Mystery Magazine*, which had established itself from its first issue, in Fall 1941, as a good-quality magazine in the field of crime and detective fiction. *EQMM*, as it is usually known, began in the digest format with a mixture of new

13 Alva Rogers, *A Requiem for Astounding* (Chicago: Advent, 1964), p. 194.

stories and old classics, and sought not to pander to the more sensationalist approach of most of the pulps. It was this same philosophy that Boucher and McComas wanted for their magazine. Boucher was already a highly regarded writer and critic in a multitude of fields, including fantasy, science fiction and mystery fiction. His real name was William Anthony Parker White and it was under that name that he made his first professional sale to *Weird Tales* with 'Ye Goode Olde Ghoste Storie' (January 1927). He was only fifteen at the time. He developed two aliases: 'Anthony Boucher' was used mostly on his fantasy and science fiction, while 'H. H. Holmes' was retained for mysteries. He contributed a number of good fantasies to *Unknown* and was well respected for his science fiction in *Astounding*, especially the time-travel story 'The Barrier' (September 1942). 'Mick' McComas, as he was better known, had entered publishing in 1941 at the age of 31. He became associated with Raymond J. Healy in 1946 when they jointly edited the 997-page sf anthology *Adventures in Time and Space*, long considered one of the milestones of sf publishing. Between them they had a good working knowledge of the full range of fantasy and science fiction, and more importantly neither was restricted to the pulps.

Nevertheless, their proposed magazine was intended to focus purely on fantasy and the supernatural, and it was not until February 1949 that general manager Joseph Ferman tentatively enquired whether the inclusion of one science-fiction story 'would be diluting the spirit and quality of the magazine too much'.<sup>14</sup> It is interesting that Ferman clearly regarded science fiction as being of a lower quality and tinged too much with the excesses of pulp fiction. The editors had no such hang-ups and indicated that they had always planned to include borderline science fiction, and they wanted to attract stories by writers appearing in *Astounding*.

Nevertheless, the first issue was predominantly fantasy, with Spivak in his introduction referring only to 'stories of the supernatural'. The closest to science fiction came with 'The Hurkle is a Happy Beast' by Theodore Sturgeon, about a pet from another dimension that can make itself invisible. It was a humorous story written with the aplomb of a writer producing work for the slick magazines. Indeed, *The Magazine of Fantasy* was to all intents and purposes a slick in digest format, and its cover price of 35 cents, at a time when almost all other fiction magazines were priced at 25 cents, was indicative of this upper-class approach. The magazine contained a mixture of new and reprint stories, and the editors frequently reprinted stories from the slick magazines by major-name authors such as Richard Sale, Guy

<sup>14</sup> Joseph W. Ferman, letter dated 9 February 1949, reprinted in Annette Peltz McComas (ed.), *The Eureka Years* (New York: Bantam Books, 1982), p. 12.



Endore and Robert Myron Coates. Only the cover on the first issue betrayed any pulp influence, and this was radically amended from the second issue onwards as the covers became more stylized and surreal. They were the work of Mercury Press's art director George Salter, who was also responsible for the distinctive style of *F&SF*'s logo. His basic design and format for the magazine has changed little over the years – one of the major selling points of the magazine has been its consistency in appearance. Salter had been born in Germany and emigrated to the United States in 1934. His career developed rapidly, and it was wholly in book design: initially in hard-covers and then in the developing paperback field. His background was not in pulps and this was very evident from his work at Mercury Press. From the start *F&SF* had a more sophisticated book aura.

This was made all the more evident by the complete lack of interior artwork. This followed *F&SF*'s sister magazine *EQMM*, and was the most obvious difference from all of the other fantasy and sf magazines. Indeed, for many years *F&SF* avoided most obvious magazine trappings. The stories were presented in a single column, not in two columns as in most magazines, and there were no editorials or letter columns. The only nod to conformity was a book review column. All of this set *F&SF* apart, giving it the air and authority of a superior magazine. Unlike some pulp magazines which later tried to masquerade in slick format and failed miserably, *F&SF* was a slick in book format.

At the outset the magazine was placed on a quarterly schedule. It was a few months before the full sales of the first issue were certain, and the final assessment of just under 60,000 copies was sufficiently satisfactory for Spivak and Ferman to put the magazine on a regular basis with a view to shifting to a bi-monthly and then monthly schedule. The second issue, dated Winter–Spring 1950, saw the title change to *The Magazine of Fantasy and Science Fiction*. There was no special announcement: it just happened. The increase in science fiction in the second issue was slight but noticeable. Most memorable is Damon Knight's 'Not With a Bang', a last-man-and-woman story with the future of humankind foiled by a toilet door. The issue also included Ray Bradbury's Martian Chronicles story 'The Exiles', a clever mixture of fantasy and science fiction in resurrecting authors on Mars whose survival is dependent upon the sustainability of belief.

It was the third issue, dated Summer 1950, that really made readers sit up and take notice. For the most part it was a continuation of the same: a pleasing blend of high-quality stories. It even included another ingenious hybrid of science fiction and fantasy in A. Bertram Chandler's 'Haunt', with the concept of a ghost from the future and the frightening discovery that it is the ghost of a machine. But the real punch came from one short story,

scarcely over a thousand words: 'Born of Man and Woman' by Richard Matheson. It is a story told from the viewpoint of a mutant that is chained in a cellar and struck and abused by the parents, until the mutant, which only wanted love, considers revenge. Its power remains to this day. Thirty years after its publication, editor Edward L. Ferman did an informal poll of some of the magazine's leading contributors and lifetime subscribers, and this story topped the poll by a long way as the story most deserving of reprinting. This was Matheson's first story. At the time he did not consider it science fiction – in fact he was not especially aware of that field, but had written an emotive horror story. He did the same with his second sale, 'Through Channels' (*F&SF*, April 1951), which used the format of a taped police interview to gain a child's reaction to a family that seems to have been attacked and eaten by aliens via the television.

*F&SF* rapidly attracted work from a wide range of writers. It began to develop its own stable of regulars, such as Margaret St Clair (often writing as Idris Seabright), Arthur Porges, Reginald Bretnor, Miriam Allen deFord and Zenna Henderson (who debuted in *F&SF* with 'Come on, Wagon!', December 1951) in addition to Richard Matheson, as well as attracting some of the bigger names from elsewhere, including Arthur C. Clarke, Ray Bradbury, John Wyndham, L. Sprague de Camp (who, with Fletcher Pratt, began his long series of Gavagan's Bar tall tales starting in the first issue), Fritz Leiber, Manly Wade Wellman (who began his haunting regional series about John the Balladeer with 'O Ugly Bird!', December 1951), and Alfred Bester. Bester's 'Of Time and Third Avenue' (October 1951) has become another of those early classics in its simple telling of a man from the future who returns to retrieve a mislaid almanac. In 'Love' (June 1952), Richard Wilson demonstrated that he could also explore the thorny problem of love between aliens and humans.

In these often subtle but occasionally blatant ways, *F&SF* infiltrated itself into the culture of science fiction until it became an undeniable presence. It had attacked the old pulp form of science fiction and fantasy on several levels at once, and in one direction changed the approach to the writing and attitude of the field, while from the other direction it opened the public's eyes to the possibilities and perceptions of sf. Within the space of just two years, not only had *F&SF* established a wide readership not previously attuned to science fiction, it had brought the authors and writers up to a different level of thinking, and thus admirably bridged the attitude gap between the slick magazines and the pulps. In doing so it did not simply carve out a niche for itself, which it has sustained remarkably ever since, but it also gave science fiction added respectability. It also meant that it was able to become a more overt science-fiction magazine, with a series of

superb planetary landscapes by Chesley Bonestell, and still maintain its respectability. 'Grenville's Planet' by Michael Shaara, for instance, which led the October 1952 issue, is a straightforward space adventure story that could have been at home in any sf magazine, yet its presence in *F&SF* gave the story a feeling of quality. *F&SF* was making the whole field of science fiction look good and feel good.

*F&SF* went monthly in September 1952. With its November 1952 issue it published its first full-length novel, 'Bring the Jubilee' by Ward Moore, an alternative history perspective on the American Civil War. Generally, though, the magazine kept to shorter works, and occasionally, though cautiously, resorted to serials. By early 1953 the emphasis of the magazine had shifted primarily to science fiction, although it always retained a healthy proportion of supernatural fantasies. Its covers were now almost all science-fiction scenes, demonstrating the selling-power of that field – which, by 1953, had exploded.

The main reason for the explosion in science-fiction magazines was because of the success of the other major magazine that appeared at this time: *Galaxy*. Whereas *F&SF* had gone for the subtle, softly-softly approach, and by degrees had uplifted the field, *Galaxy* struck deep and fast and revolutionized the field over night.

*Galaxy* first appeared in early September 1950, bearing an October cover date. It was in digest format, though its 160 pages were on better quality book-paper stock rather than the pulp used by *Other Worlds* and *Imagination*, so it looked slimmer. The cover itself was fairly bland. Depicting an asteroid scene from Clifford D. Simak's serial 'Time Quarry', there was no action, only stilted characters, and muted colours for the rocks. This was deliberate on the part of artist David Stone, who had gone for a non-sensational cover. The idea was to have a magazine that you were not embarrassed to hold but with a cover sufficient to identify it as science fiction. What was distinctive about the cover was the design. The painting was inset to the bottom right, leaving a white border along the top and left side. Most magazines either had a full-page cover painting with the logo and story references overlaid, or a single banner along the top. This format had been used ten years before on *Comet*, but that magazine was short-lived with minimal circulation and did not become a field leader. *Galaxy's* cover format soon became a statement about quality and style, even though in itself it was nothing special. It would spawn a host of imitations.

*Galaxy* was edited by Horace L. Gold. Aged 36, Gold was already a veteran of the pulps. He had sold stories to F. Orlin Tremaine's *Astounding* since 'Inflexure' as Clyde Crane Campbell (October 1934), though his best known story remains 'Trouble with Water' in the first issue of Campbell's *Unknown*

(March 1939). Gold had also worked as an assistant editor at Standard Magazines in the early forties, reading manuscripts for *Startling Stories*, *Thrilling Wonder* and *Captain Future*, as well as their other pulps, before he set up his own small company in partnership with Kendall Foster Crossen to publish pulps and comics. The war, however, intervened, and Gold found himself in the US Army serving in the Pacific. After the war, Gold was approached by Vera Cerutti, who had previously worked for Gold. She now worked for the Italian company Edizione Mondiale, who had opened offices in New York to expand into the US market. Their focus was on romance and women's magazines, but their initial efforts had failed. Cerutti, knowing Gold's experience, asked him for advice on what field they should enter. Somewhat against his own better judgement, Gold suggested that there was a gap in the science-fiction field. At the time he was asked, in 1949, the growth in magazines we have already started to explore had not begun. Gold had dismissed *Amazing Stories* as no contest, and at that time would not have known of Browne's plans for a slick edition. He reckoned that between *Astounding*, *Thrilling Wonder* and the newly-born *Magazine of Fantasy* there was a place for a serious, high-quality science-fiction magazine. These were the points that he emphasized. He wanted a package that would attract top-line authors, so insisted on paying three cents a word on acceptance (*Astounding* only paid that rate as a bonus, and most other magazines still paid only one cent a word). He also argued that they should only buy world *serial* rights, meaning that authors retained rights for resale to anthologies, thus recognizing the growing secondary rights market, but Gold believed that through World Editions' European base they could make money out of selling stories abroad. This arrangement resulted in a growing number of foreign editions of *Galaxy* which, as we shall see, spurred on the international sf scene.

The back cover of the first issue declared 'YOU'LL NEVER SEE IT IN *GALAXY*', which became something of a slogan for the magazine. Gold showed how too much science fiction was simply Wild West stories transplanted into space, but emphasized that 'you'll never find it in *Galaxy*. What you will find in *Galaxy* is the finest science fiction [. . .] authentic, plausible, thoughtful [. . .] written by authors who do not automatically switch over from crime waves to Earth invasions.' This was the reader hook, but it was down to the stories to deliver. Gold's initial line-up was impressive, with several big names well known to sf devotees – Clifford Simak, Theodore Sturgeon, Fritz Leiber, Isaac Asimov and Fredric Brown, plus Katherine Maclean, who had made her first sale to *Astounding* a year earlier ('Defence Mechanism', October 1949), and Richard Matheson, fresh from his impressive debut in *F<sup>e</sup>SF*. Three of the stories – Matheson's 'Third from the Sun', Leiber's 'Later

'Than You Think' and Asimov's 'Darwinian Pool Room' – are typical of the growing number of reflective post-war warning stories dealing with repressive societies and the aftermath of atomic war. Sturgeon's 'The Stars are the Styx' is on a rather more galactic scale than is usual for him. It deals with the potential for networking matter transmitters across space, although, more typically for Sturgeon, he concentrates on the personal effects of these upon the people involved. Simak's serial, 'Time Quarry', is typical Simak, involving real people and robots who want to be people, set against a complex scenario of time travel and cosmic beings. Katherine MacLean's 'Contagion' is a first-class story of planetary exploration and disease.

None of these stories would have been out of place in *Astounding*. In fact the issue reads just like *Astounding*, though with perhaps one distinct difference. Both Campbell and Gold were hard taskmasters upon their authors, but whereas Campbell directed his writers to develop ideas and concepts, Gold worked with his to ensure that the characters and social settings were realistic. What starts to come through, even from the first issue, and increasingly over the next couple of years, is that *Galaxy's* science fiction was people-orientated rather than ideas-orientated. This may seem a strange contrast to *Astounding*, because when Campbell first took over *Astounding* in 1937, this was exactly the same approach that he took. He wanted stories that would read like contemporary stories to people of the future. The difference, though, was that Campbell was at heart a scientist and, from his earliest days as a writer, had been seduced by the cosmic. Gold was not a scientist, but was someone highly aware of society. Because of the problems he had faced in the war in the Pacific, Gold had become agoraphobic, and increasingly found himself house-bound. He became highly conscious of his isolation and his reliance upon people and society, and this channelled his view of future society.

The first issue of *Galaxy* was rounded out by two departments: a book review column by Groff Conklin, and a contest article on flying saucers by Willy Ley. This was not the start of Ley's regular science column in *Galaxy*, which did not begin until March 1952. Rather Ley had been brought in to develop a competition that the publisher had foisted upon Gold, which was to seek readers' views and theories about the origin and nature of UFOs. This was the one feature in *Galaxy* that did not ring true to Gold's aspirations, and he didn't like it, but recognized it as circulation-bait.

Gold was keen to consult the readers over what they wanted in the magazine and fed back the results in the third issue. It seems he had made most of the right guesses. The surprises were that readers did not want a letter column, but they did want editorials. Letter columns had been a major feature of the sf magazines since Gernsback started 'Discussions' in *Amazing*

*Stories* in 1926, and had been the primary stimulus in the development of organized sf fandom. Maybe that was now their problem. They had become the home of a vocal minority, and clearly many readers did not see their value. They were also a cheap way of filling space, but the readers wanted more stories, not letters. Also, they wanted a book review column that served as a shopping guide, not one that was full of clever criticism and analysis. Both of these approaches had also been adopted by Boucher and McComas at *F&SF*, and would seem to echo the views of the new readers of sf who were not active fans, but had discovered science fiction through books, wanted a good read, and wanted to know what else they could buy. Science fiction was at last emerging from the fan ghetto.

Gold's relationship with his writers has become almost as legendary as Campbell's. Whereas Campbell did most of his cajoling and directing by long letters, Gold did his by telephone and discussion in his apartment. He proved to be a Spartan taskmaster, ruthless in his determination to extract the best. He recognized that this did not always win friends: 'I worked hard with writers, and they didn't always enjoy it,' he later wrote.<sup>15</sup> Isaac Asimov records several such circumstances in *In Memory Yet Green*, remarking in general that 'Horace was becoming crankier as time went on', and adding that '[he] was becoming increasingly personal and vilifying in his rejections'.<sup>16</sup> One of the consequences of this was that the more demanding Gold became the more resistant Asimov grew. This type of relationship was to lead in due course to a degree of alienation from writers. Gold recalled that some years later Simak told him that 'he had learned more about writing from working with me than from any other editor – and he wasn't a damn bit grateful for it'.<sup>17</sup> L. Sprague de Camp summarized the situation in 1953: 'Gold is a zealously hardworking perfectionist. He sets an extremely high standard of literary excellence for his writers, who often complain of the amount of rewriting and revision required of them.'<sup>18</sup> This did not concern Gold. He was desirous of achieving the ideal science-fiction magazine, with trenchant, meaningful fiction that rose above the mediocrity of much of the field. The closest he ever got to apologizing in public was just over a year after the magazine's launch, when he said: '*Galaxy*, of course, is my own dream come true. I know I sometimes push too hard, but that's because everyone wants his dream to be perfect.'<sup>19</sup>

15 Horace L. Gold, 'Gold on *Galaxy*', in Frederik Pohl, Martin H. Greenberg and Joseph D. Olander (eds.), *Galaxy: Volume 1* (New York: Playboy Paperbacks, 1981), p. 17.

16 Isaac Asimov, *In Memory Yet Green* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1979), p. 651.

17 Gold, 'Gold on *Galaxy*'.

18 L. Sprague de Camp, *Science-Fiction Handbook* (New York: Hermitage House, 1953), p. 115.

19 Horace L. Gold, 'In This Corner', *Galaxy SF* 3(6), March 1952, p. 3.

Gold spelled out his approach in his editorial to the second issue, where he stated: 'We have challenged writers to present themes that could not be sold elsewhere [. . .] themes that are too adult, too profound or revolutionary in concept for other magazines to risk publishing'.<sup>20</sup> This was a bold statement and, to be honest, not one that Gold was able to demonstrate quite so dramatically as Raymond Palmer at *Other Worlds* or Samuel Mines at *Thrilling Wonder*. There is something of the chicken and the egg about *Galaxy's* role in the development of science fiction. There can be no denying that it broadened the market for a more adult approach to fiction; along with *F&SF* and *Astounding* it made science fiction more mature and sophisticated. But there is also no doubt that this was what the new generation of writers and readers wanted, and to some extent Gold was able to respond to a demand. The extent to which he led that development is difficult to say. There are far fewer taboo-breaking stories in *Galaxy* than in *Other Worlds*, *F&SF*, *Thrilling Wonder* or *Startling Stories*, and that was mostly because of Gold's own prejudices. He would later admit that he rejected Walter M. Miller's 'A Canticle for Leibowitz' because he 'didn't know whether it was blasphemous or not'.<sup>21</sup> We also know that he rejected Farmer's 'The Lovers'. It was not really taboo-breaking material that he was after. It was solid, mature, well written science fiction that considered the effects of the future upon society and people. And that was what readers got, in concentrated form. The first few years of *Galaxy* saw issues filled with much of the best science fiction around, much of it still being anthologized today. In the period from 1950 to around 1955 *Galaxy* developed its own Golden Age that reflected the height of the field in Campbell's *Astounding* a decade earlier.

It is difficult to convey this without giving a catalogue of stories, but this period is important enough to do that.

The Cold War and the nuclear threat would dominate fiction throughout the fifties and were apparent again in the second issue. In 'Honeymoon in Hell' by Fredric Brown, a computer devises a scheme to stop the opposing factions by fabricating a common threat, which starts with a mystery virus and ends with an alien invasion. In 'Coming Attraction', Fritz Leiber depicts the horrors of a sickly, mutated New York in the years immediately after a Third World War. Perhaps the most memorable story in the issue is 'To Serve Man' by Damon Knight, for even though it is based on a weak pun in the misunderstanding of English by aliens, it is nevertheless delivered in such a way as to come as a surprise.

20 Horace L. Gold, 'It's All Yours', *Galaxy SF* 1(2), November 1950, p. 3.

21 Gold, 'Gold on *Galaxy*'.

'A Stone and a Spear' by Raymond F. Jones, in the December 1950 issue, was another grim reminder of the nuclear threat, although at least with a hint of promise in its concept of changing the future. A particular tonic in this issue was James H. Schmitz's 'Second Night of Summer', an upbeat story about a threatened alien invasion on another world and how it was thwarted by an odd cast of characters. This was a pure *Astounding* story and, one assumes, must have been rejected by Campbell, unless Schmitz had written it to order. Either way it emphasizes the closeness between Campbell and Gold at this early stage.

The January 1951 issue brought what may be regarded as one of Gold's risk-taking stories, 'Dark Interlude' by Mack Reynolds and Fredric Brown. It deals with modern-day racial prejudice and the shocking revelation to Americans in the southern United States that a man from the future who has married into their family has mixed blood. 'Rule of Three' was a thought-provoking story by Theodore Sturgeon which conjectured that war might be the result of a virus that infects humankind. Pacifist aliens seek to help us conquer it. The story demonstrated Sturgeon's grasp of human psychology, which would become crucial to his later stories in *Galaxy*.

*Galaxy's* first major story was 'The Fireman' by Ray Bradbury, a 25-thousand-word novella that formed the basis of his book *Fahrenheit 451* and ran complete in the February 1951 issue. This was Bradbury's response to the growth in McCarthyism and the fear of communism, a period of paranoia that would be frequently reflected in science fiction. Like Orwell's *1984*, 'The Fireman' was a warning against totalitarianism. The story of a future in which firemen come not to put out a fire but to burn your books and your house is too well known to need recounting in detail. The message was far more significant. You may destroy the mechanics of conveying information but not the human spirit. In Bradbury's future, people memorize books, so each person becomes a book, passing it on by word of mouth. Here was a book that Campbell might have published – it did, after all, have a positive ending – but it was ideal Gold. It was a future that people solved, not machines.

The March 1951 issue contained 'Good Night, Mr James', one of Clifford Simak's most suspenseful stories about a duplicated man tracking down an alien capable of killing by thought. April 1951 introduced Cyril Kornbluth to *Galaxy* with one of his most famous stories, 'The Marching Morons', depicting a future run predominantly by humans of low intelligence, with a limited intelligentsia struggling for control.

The June 1951 issue is significant not only because it sported the first sf magazine cover by Ed Emshwiller, whose work would dominate the covers of the fifties and come to represent an era, but also because it featured



'Angel's Egg' by Edgar Pangborn, one of the most popular stories from the magazine's early years. It tells of a tiny alien, hatched from an egg, who has come to Earth to understand human psychology and thus aid humankind in overcoming warfare.

In the August 1951 issue Gold revealed something of his relationship with writers. He wrote glowingly about 'Beyond Bedlam' by Wyman Guin, which depicted a future, centuries hence, in which drug control has allowed two personalities to occupy one body, a kind of controlled schizophrenia. The personalities are balanced to eradicate extreme tendencies, especially paranoia, so that conflict has been annulled. The only problem is that alongside the destructive elements of the human psyche, the creative side has also gone, leaving a balanced but dull society. In his editorial Gold explained the various ways in which Guin could have developed the story, highlighting the good and the bad. There is no doubt that the editorial is a reflection of the discussions that went on between Gold and Guin in completing the story. Gold states that the final version of the story was 'the result of two drafts before submission, and two end-to-end rewrites afterward! A total of better than 80,000 words was thus needed to produce 20,000 words that satisfied Guin's literary conscience and mine.'<sup>22</sup> Author and reader may differ over whether this type of editorial assistance is seen as helpful or destructive. In this case everyone benefited. The story was soon regarded as a classic and remains Guin's best known. Guin, of course, was a new writer and doubtless learned from the experience. This was not the case with Robert A. Heinlein, who was furious at Gold's editorial meddling with his novel 'The Puppet Masters', which was serialized starting in the September 1951 issue. Heinlein's novel, which is among his most popular, is another influenced by the Cold War, using the soon to be overworked theme of aliens who infiltrate and take over the human body. When Heinlein first sold the novel to Doubleday, the editor requested a few revisions. Heinlein did not agree with them all but made them. When Gold accepted the story for magazine serialization he demanded many more changes, which Heinlein regarded as 'outlandish'. He did not make them. When the serial appeared Heinlein was horrified to find that Gold had 'monkeyed with every page', to the extent of changing style and content. Gold later apologized to Heinlein for his 'heavy-handedness', but the damage was done. Apart from one story and an article already in the works, Heinlein never again sold anything to Gold.<sup>23</sup>

22 Horace L. Gold, 'Ask a Foolish Question', *Galaxy* 2(5), August 1951, p. 159.

23 For details see Virginia Heinlein (ed.), *Robert A. Heinlein: Grumbles from the Grave* (New York: Del Rey Books, 1990), pp. 161–65.

On the one hand, Gold can be seen here as meddling with the work of an accomplished writer. On the other hand, he can also be seen as having provided constructive advice and direction to new writers, or writers who perhaps did not realize their potential. Perhaps the best example of the latter, and certainly the high point of *Galaxy's* early years, was Alfred Bester with his novel 'The Demolished Man' (January–March 1952). 'The Demolished Man' is essentially a murder investigation in a world where telepathy has become controlled and is in regular use by the police force to direct their research. The fascination of the novel and the reason it has remained a perennial favourite lie in its exploration of character and psychology. It is the quintessential *Galaxy* novel: a given future with marginal acknowledgement of hard-science developments, but considerable emphasis on human and social sciences. The novel may be seen as almost as much the work, or certainly the energy, of Gold as of Bester. 'For a year and a half Alfie and I spent four hours a week on the telephone, talking about "The Demolished Man". Then he finally sat down and wrote it in less than three months.'<sup>24</sup> Bester may have written the novel, but Gold clearly influenced and directed its development.

The same issue that saw the conclusion of 'The Demolished Man' saw the formal inauguration of Willy Ley's science column 'For Your Information'. Now, after 18 issues, *Galaxy* had firmly established its format, style, approach, content and purpose. The latter was crystal clear, and was often emphasized and restated in Gold's editorials. In a sweep *Galaxy* had taken over control and direction of the science-fiction field.

On the night of 6 September 1953, at the World Science Fiction Convention in Philadelphia, the first science-fiction achievement awards were presented. These awards came to be known as Hugos, after Hugo Gernsback, and were the first formal fan-orientated awards in the field. Although presented late in 1953 the votes had been cast in respect of 1952. The total number of votes cast was not declared, but even though the number is believed to have been small, the votes were probably still representative of wider views. There was a tie for best magazine between *Galaxy* and *Astounding*, but *Galaxy* won on several other counts. The best novel award went to Alfred Bester's 'The Demolished Man'; the award for excellence in factual articles went to Willy Ley; and the award for best cover artist was a tie between Ed Emshwiller and Hannes Bok. Emsh was closely associated with *Galaxy*. (Bok had had no new magazine cover art published in 1952, though in 1951 he had some laudable work with *Other Worlds* and *Imagination*.) The award for best new author went to Philip José Farmer,

24 Gold, 'Gold on *Galaxy*'.

clearly for his work in *Startling Stories*, while the best interior illustrator was Virgil Finlay. Finlay's work was not present in either *Galaxy* or *Astounding* but had been prevalent in 1952 in *Amazing Stories*, *Fantastic Adventures*, *Famous Fantastic Mysteries*, *Startling Stories* and *Thrilling Wonder Stories*. If anything is to be read into these votes, then it is a clear vindication for the work of *Galaxy* and to some extent *Startling Stories*. The votes for *Astounding* (as for Hannes Bok) were more likely to be nostalgia votes for past achievement than for 1952.

All of this success could have been nipped in the bud. During the summer of 1951 internal strife broke out within various factions of *Galaxy's* publisher, resulting in attempts to sabotage sales of *Galaxy* by distribution to less responsive areas. The Italian head of operations found out in time and managed to engineer a successful sale of the magazine to his printer, Robert M. Guinn. This established the Galaxy Publishing Corporation with Guinn as its president, operating from August and effective with the October 1951 issue. Gold no longer had the assistance of staff at World Editions. From the outset he had had unofficial editorial assistance from Jerome Bixby, Theodore Sturgeon and his wife Evelyn Paige, as well as an informal relationship with Frederik Pohl, who, as a literary agent, used his own knowledge of the field in aiding and directing writers to meet Gold's requirements. This assistance, still uncredited, now became a more necessary support to Gold. Although Evelyn Paige was credited on the contents page, the work of Jerome Bixby and Algis Budrys in particular went unsung at the time but was crucial in the management of the magazine, allowing Gold the time to work with the writers in the way he preferred.

The influence of *Galaxy* upon the field is incalculable. The most obvious factor was that *Galaxy* proved how successful a science-fiction magazine could be. By its second year sales were well in excess of 100,000, outselling *Astounding*. Secondly, it demonstrated that a magazine could consistently publish mature, adult science fiction without recourse to monsters and ray-guns. This had already been recognized within the field, but it took some time for the field to shake off the shackles of this old stigma. Campbell had done it in isolation, but Gold did it with vigour and in such style that not just the sf field but other publishers took notice. The result was the third main factor, and that was that *Galaxy* now made the digest format synonymous with respectability. Although many of the existing pulp magazines were carrying material of equal quality, they had the wrong image. Where pulp publishers did not wish to change to digest, or their printers were unable to do so, it was noticeable how many began to adopt the *Galaxy* cover style of an off-set illustration with an inverted-L border. *Astounding* adopted the format from its November 1951 issue. When *Startling Stories* had a face-lift in July 1952, it also

used that design. Many new magazines launched in the growing profusion of sf magazines blatantly imitated *Galaxy: Space Science Fiction* from its second issue in September 1952, *Science Fiction Adventures* from its first in November 1952, and *Orbit Science Fiction* from its first in Fall 1953. In Britain, it had a significant impact upon *Authentic SF* from its earliest days in 1951.

Most significant of all, the success of *Galaxy* meant that science fiction was profitable. Its success was the primary factor that led to the science-fiction boom years of 1952–54, a period that we must now address.

## 2

# Saturation and Suffocation

### The Pocketbook Factor

Before considering the boom years there is another factor that has to be considered to assess its impact upon the growth of science fiction, and it was a factor in which Horace Gold also had a hand.

We have seen that during the 1940s the pulp magazine had been challenged not only by the comic-books, which eventually took over the hero-pulp formula, but by the growth in the paperback pocketbook. Since these have become universally called paperbacks, I shall continue to use that word in its general sense, but I shall retain the term 'pocketbook' to distinguish the standard  $6.5 \times 4$  inch paperback from its digest ( $7.5 \times 5$  inch) counterpart.

The pocketbook had been around in various forms for several decades, but had not been seen as a significant part of publishing until the success of Penguin Books in Britain (and its later American outlet), and Pocket Books in the States. As we have already mentioned, Pocket Books were soon joined by Avon Books and others. Few of these published science fiction as a recognized genre, although it must be said that the very first Pocket Books volume was James Hilton's *Lost Horizon* in 1939. The significant sales of this helped establish paperbacks. However, apart from *The Pocket Book of Science Fiction* from Pocket Books in 1943, little in the way of genre science fiction was published. It was clearly the domain of the pulps. Significantly, that anthology had been edited by Donald A. Wollheim, and he would play a crucial role in the emergence of science-fiction paperbacks.

F. Orlin Tremaine, the former editor of *Astounding Stories* and *Comet*, became editorial director of the small New York publisher Bart House in 1944. The company specialized in film novelizations, but Tremaine's sci-

ence-fiction connections caused him to release four sf paperbacks. Two of these were by H. P. Lovecraft, *The Weird Shadow Over Insmouth* (1944) and *The Dunwich Horror* (1945), and in hindsight are less surprising volumes. What is surprising are the other two: *Rebirth* by Thomas Calvert McClary, originally serialized in *Astounding Stories* in 1934 (when it was purchased by Tremaine), and *The Waltz of Death* by P. B. Maxon, serialized in *Wonder Stories* in 1935. Had Bart House survived it might have developed an interesting science-fiction line, but the company had limited financial backing, and perhaps the eclectic choice of books led to an early demise.

Of the major paperback publishers, only Avon Books had promoted science fiction in any significant way, and this was solely with the works of Abraham Merritt. Starting in 1942 a series of Merritt's novels were issued jointly as digests in the *Murder Mystery Monthly* series and as pocketbooks. When Wollheim joined Avon Books in 1947 to edit *Avon Fantasy Reader* (as a digest paperback, not as a magazine) he soon found himself in editorial control of all Avon publications and used this opportunity to publish a number of specialist books. In addition to Merritt's work these included H. P. Lovecraft's *The Lurking Fear* (1947) and C. S. Lewis's *Out of the Silent Planet* (1949) and *Perelandra* (1950).

In 1950, partly in the wake of hardback publishers securing more science-fiction deals, the paperback imprints began to follow suit. One of the prime movers in this was Ian Ballantine. It was Ballantine who had established the New York office of Penguin Books in 1939 and developed paperback publishing in America. Ballantine left Penguin in 1945 to set up his own publishing company, Bantam Books, which he did in conjunction with hardcover publisher Grosset & Dunlap. The first of Bantam's science-fiction titles appeared in the autumn of 1950. The initial choice was Judith Merrill's anthology *Shot in the Dark*, a paperback original. It may seem a little surprising for a paperback house to start with an anthology, but Judith Merrill was at the time Bantam's sf and mystery editor. She had also selected two novels, *Donovan's Brain* by Curt Siodmak (a science-fiction classic, though curiously originally serialized in *Black Mask*, not in an sf magazine), and Fredric Brown's *What Mad Universe* (previously published in *Startling Stories*). Bantam's real blockbuster, and the one that began to establish high-quality science fiction as part of the paperback scene, came in mid-1951: *The Martian Chronicles* by Ray Bradbury. Bradbury, Brown and later Richard Matheson were the first regulars of Bantam's line.

When Ian Ballantine left Penguin Books, the company was acquired by New American Library, who retitled the Penguin paperback imprint Signet Books in 1948. Signet's success came with publishing the detective thrillers by Mickey Spillane. Science fiction began to emerge in 1950 with George

Orwell's *1984* and, more surprisingly, Edmond Hamilton's *Beyond the Moon*, the paperback title for Hamilton's 'The Star Kings', which had run complete in *Amazing Stories* in September 1947. Early in 1951, Signet's sf line began to establish itself with two books by Robert A. Heinlein: *The Man Who Sold the Moon* and *The Day After Tomorrow* (the paperback title for *Sixth Column*). Interestingly, both of these had been published in hardback by specialist presses – Shasta and Gnome Press respectively. Over the next couple of years Signet released more books by Heinlein and added A. E. van Vogt, Isaac Asimov and Alfred Bester to their roster.

Avon Books now began to get its science-fiction books into some kind of sequence, although the mercurial decisions of publisher Joseph Meyers usually thwarted Wollheim's plans. Nevertheless, in the summer of 1950 Wollheim not only issued *Into Plutonian Depths* by Stanton Coblenz, and *An Earthman on Venus* by Ralph Milne Farley, two classics from the early days of the pulp magazines, he also launched Avon Fantasy Novels. In the end this series saw only two titles: *The Princess of the Atom* by Ray Cummings and *The Green Girl* by Jack Williamson. All of these were early pulp titles, and though of interest to devotees of the field, they were not representative of post-war science fiction.

At the same time Horace Gold launched the *Galaxy Science-Fiction Novel*. This was a digest companion to *Galaxy SF* and not in pocketbook format. It was a recognition that the full-length novel in a handy size was something that the reading public were increasingly demanding. The public wanted expendable, cheap, easily digestible books. The *Galaxy* magazine and novel combination was able to provide both. The first *Galaxy Novel* was released in October 1950. It was Eric Frank Russell's *Sinister Barrier*, which had been the lead novel in the first issue of *Unknown*. It was followed in December by Jack Williamson's great space opera from *Astounding* in 1934, *The Legion of Space*.

Whether it had been Gold's premise from the start to publish only reprint novels or whether he had considered original material is not clear. His readers' response that they did not want too many serials in *Galaxy* would have given him the lead that the public preferred their novels complete and in a single book. A useful test came with the third *Galaxy Novel*, *Prelude to Space* by Arthur C. Clarke. Although this novel had been written in 1947 Clarke had not been able to find a publisher, either book or magazine. It seemed ideal to Horace Gold, and although he was only paying a flat fee of \$500 per novel, to Clarke, and his agent Scott Meredith, it was better than nothing after three years. The book was the first *Galaxy Novel* of 1951 and sold well. Thereafter Gold experimented with a mixture of reprint and new material. In the remainder of 1951 he reprinted two classics by S. Fowler Wright, *The*

*Amphibians* and *The World Below*, and two new novels, *The Alien* by Raymond F. Jones and *Empire* by Clifford D. Simak, his least-known novel.

The nature of the Galaxy Novel is an interesting one to explore as it helps clarify what may otherwise seem an arbitrary distinction between a digest-format serial publication (that is one published as part of a regular series), and a paperback novel. In acquiring rights for the Galaxy Novels, Gold purchased 'second serial rights'. This means the rights to reprint an author's work in a serial publication, which hitherto had always implied a magazine. Traditionally all pulp magazines had acquired all serial rights. Sometimes they would acquire all rights, especially in the early days when authors did not expect their stories to be reprinted. Increasingly, as Gold himself emphasized, magazines did not acquire book rights, thus enabling the author to sell those to anthologies or include them in a collection of his own stories. A magazine's retention of second serial rights, however, meant that the magazine could reprint any story it had already published at no extra cost – the author would receive nothing. This also applied to selling stories on to English-language magazines abroad.

As magazine science fiction came of age it at last had a sufficient history to enable it to reprint stories from its own archives. *Weird Tales* had been doing this since 1929 when it began to reprint stories from its archives in a regular reprint section. *Famous Fantastic Mysteries (FFM)* and *Fantastic Novels* were the best examples of entire magazines reprinting stories from the Munsey archives, though in later years *FFM* switched to reprinting from books and started to include new material. *Startling Stories* had run a Hall of Fame classic from its first issue in 1939, reprinting stories from the Gernsback *Wonder Stories* and companions, to which Standard Magazines had acquired the rights in 1936. This feature ran until the September 1950 issue. By then Standard Magazines had issued their own all-reprint magazine, *Fantastic Story Quarterly*, which ran from Spring 1950 to Spring 1955. In its early days it proved to be the most popular of Standard's sf magazines because the new generation of readers was keen to acquire examples of the early science fiction that was so often referred to but not easy to obtain. Because of its popularity, Standard Magazines issued a companion *Wonder Story Annual* in the summer of 1950 that focused on long novels, supported by a few short stories. This too sold well, and saw three more issues. An interesting point about *Wonder Story Annual* in the growing battle between the pulps and books was that it promoted itself as 'America's Best Science Fiction Anthology'. It certainly offered more wordage for its 25 cents than other paperback or most hardback anthologies.

These magazines were cheap to produce, as no story rights had to be paid for, and there was a flurry of them at the start of the 1950s. It was the same



demand for these magazines that was fuelling the popularity of paperback books and packages such as *Galaxy Novels*.

This was fine until Horace Gold became a little indelicate in one of his editorials. Gold had been seeking to reprint *Needle* by Hal Clement as one of the *Galaxy Novels*. However, he found that it was not easy to acquire the second serial rights, which were owned by Street & Smith who had purchased them, quite legally, when it was serialized in *Astounding* in 1949. Because Gold was unable to reprint *Needle* he raised the issue of authors' rights in his February 1951 editorial. Since *Galaxy* did not acquire reprint rights, he emphasized how virtuous the magazine was, compared to another publisher (not named, but obvious to those in the know). Gold even went as far as suggesting that it was unethical for a publisher to retain these rights and claimed that Hal Clement, as a consequence, had suffered financially. He concluded by saying 'It is dubious protection that can cancel a sale for an author and yet often involve a demand for a substantial part of the payment'.<sup>1</sup>

If this had been calculated to annoy Campbell, it succeeded. Campbell did not fight back in public, but made it known that he was not happy with Gold's conduct. Campbell made the point that Gold was being even more underhand. By purchasing second serial rights and issuing the books in digest format he was cheating the author out of royalties for the number of copies sold. Payment of royalties is normal practice on books, and tends to follow if pocketbook rights are being acquired. Gold, therefore, was using contractual loopholes rather more subversively than Street & Smith, who were only applying what had been standard practice.<sup>2</sup>

All of this serves as a background to help understand the transition that publishing was going through and which was affecting all genres, not just science fiction. However, hitherto early science fiction had not been readily available in book form, and the sf reader thus had a greater demand for reprints. As a result the matter of reprint rights suddenly became an issue in 1950, and would remain so for the next two decades, coming to a climax

1 Horace L. Gold, 'Yardstick for Science Fiction', *Galaxy SF* 1(5), February 1951, p. 3.

2 It can readily be demonstrated what was happening. Most paperback contracts at that stage would offer a 4 per cent royalty on all sales of the book. The *Galaxy Novels* were priced at 25 cents. A 10,000-copy sale, therefore, would yield a writer, on a royalty basis,  $10,000 \times 0.25 \times 4$  per cent, or \$100. To exceed the \$500 fee, therefore, a book would have to sell in excess of 50,000 copies. The sales of the *Galaxy Novels* are not known, but as the magazine sold in excess of 100,000 copies it is likely that Gold was anticipating novel sales of at least 75,000, but as *Needle* had already been issued in hardback by Doubleday in 1950 it is likely that sales would have been less. The \$500 fee, therefore, does not seem unreasonable. For an example of Campbell's response see his letter to L. Sprague de Camp in Chapdelaine et al. (eds.), *The John W. Campbell Letters, Volume 1*, pp. 62–63.

in the relationship between the Science Fiction Writers of America and Sol Cohen in 1965.

In 1952 Donald Wollheim grew tired of the publishing antics of Joseph Meyers and left Avon Books to return to Aaron Wyn, whom he had worked for in the mid-forties. Wollheim was well aware of the burgeoning paperback market and with Wyn devised a new idea of a double paperback: that is, two novels bound together in one book, but each separate from the other, with its own cover. This meant one book was upside down relative to the other. The first Ace Doubles, launched in September 1952, were not science fiction, but sf was not far away.<sup>3</sup> The first Ace SF Double combined *The World of Null-A* with *The Universe Maker*, both by A. E. van Vogt, and was issued in October 1953 as the thirty-first Ace Double. Thereafter roughly every fourth or fifth Ace Book was science fiction, released on a bi-monthly schedule, moving to monthly in 1955. The Ace Doubles sold for 35 cents, the same price as *Galaxy* and *F&SF*, though still more expensive than the standard 25-cent paperback, but they sold extensively, and revolutionized the field in the mid-fifties. Interestingly, Wollheim believed that their success was because people looked forward to the next 'issue'. 'They rapidly acquired the characteristics of magazines,' Wollheim later wrote, 'their readership returned each month for the next "double", regardless of the content.'<sup>4</sup> Clearly the pleasure in being able to look forward to the next issue of a magazine was now being grafted onto the paperback.

In the meantime Ian Ballantine had left Bantam Books in 1952, and set up Ballantine Books, with the first books being issued in November that year. Ballantine's approach was to issue paperbacks simultaneously with their hardcover publication. The first science-fiction title was an original anthology, *Star Science Fiction Stories*, edited by Frederik Pohl and issued in February 1953 as Ballantine's sixteenth title. Science fiction rapidly became a key part of Ballantine's output, averaging a book a month, and including work by Henry Kuttner, Arthur C. Clarke, Ray Bradbury, Theodore Sturgeon, John Wyndham and Robert Sheckley, as well as the Frederik Pohl/Cyril Kornbluth collaborations.

Between them, Ballantine Books and Ace Books put science-fiction paperbacks firmly on the map at a time when the magazine world was itself rushing headlong into a boom publishing period. The boom applied almost wholly to digest magazines and paperbacks, but we should not forget that

3 For the record the first Ace Double was *The Grinning Gismo* by Samuel W. Taylor combined with *Too Hot for Hell* by Keith Vining.

4 Donald A. Wollheim, 'Introduction', in James A. Corrick, *Double Your Pleasure* (New York: Gryphon Publications, 1989), p. 5.

publishers of hardcover books had also recognized the sales of science-fiction books. It is relevant to note here that at the start of 1953 Doubleday began their Science Fiction Book Club with a special sf volume each month.

Things were not so rosy for the pulps. As I explored at the end of *The Time Machines*, they were in their final days. A few were able to shine briefly in the early fifties, but their days were numbered.

### The Last New Pulps

At the start of the fifties the growth of interest in science fiction saw not only the emergence of the paperback book and the digest magazine but a brief revival of the pulp magazine. Three pulps are worth mentioning because they were revivals of earlier pulps and showed both the renewal of interest in the field and the transience and uncertainty of the pulp format.

The first of these was *Super Science Stories*. This was the main science-fiction magazine of Popular Publications, the leading pulp publisher in the early fifties, who not only published their own magazines but had acquired backlog titles from Frank Munsey, Street & Smith and Butterick. Thus in the forties and fifties Popular was the publisher of *Argosy*, *Adventure*, *Black Mask* and *Romance*, four of the biggest pulps around. Popular also published the reprint magazines *Famous Fantastic Mysteries*, *Fantastic Novels* and *A. Merritt's Fantasy Magazine*. *Super Science Stories* had originally started in 1939 and although its American edition had folded in 1943, a Canadian edition continued, primarily as a reprint, but including some new material. When *Super Science Stories* was revived at the end of 1948, its first new issue (January 1949) reassembled those stories for a US audience, but thereafter it featured mostly new material. Alden H. Norton, the editorial director of Popular Publications, placed *Super Science Stories* under the wing of Ejler Jakobssen. Jakobssen was a Finn, born in 1911, who came to the United States in 1926. He and his wife Edith had contributed regularly to the pulps during the 1930s, especially Popular Publications' weird-menace pulps such as *Horror Stories* and *Terror Tales*. When these markets ceased Jakobssen joined Popular as an editor in 1943 and oversaw the release of the final issue of *Super Science Stories*, dated May 1943.

The revived *Super Science Stories* lasted only eleven bi-monthly issues, folding in November 1950. Together with *A. Merritt's Fantasy Magazine*, it was among the first casualties of the boom as Popular Publications began to face the inevitable. It was a better magazine than is normally acknowledged, and featured some good stories by Arthur C. Clarke, Ray Bradbury, Chad Oliver and John D. MacDonald, but it retained an increasingly incongruous

pulp image. Whereas *Startling Stories* and *Thrilling Wonder* had creative editors prepared to take the magazines forward, Jakobssen was simply doing a pulp editor's job. He had been assisted for a while by Damon Knight, but Knight left to edit *Worlds Beyond*, and upon his departure, *Super Science Stories* crumbled.

*Worlds Beyond* was a very good digest-size magazine that was a victim of its publisher's fickleness. Ten days after the first issue went on sale in November 1950 (dated December), Hillman Periodicals decided to scrap the magazine. Knight had three issues assembled, which were released, but received hardly any backing or distribution. Although the issues were a mixture of new and reprint material, most of the reprinted stories were unusual. A surprising proportion of new stories from *Worlds Beyond* have in turn been reprinted, such as Cyril Kornbluth's 'The Mindworm', William Tenn's 'Null-P', and Poul Anderson's 'The Acolytes'. The final issue, dated February 1951, carried Harry Harrison's first professional story, 'Rock Diver'. There is no doubt that had Knight been allowed to continue he would have had much to contribute to the development of science fiction in the early fifties. The saving grace is that he became one of the best writers and critics of sf during the fifties and returned to editing, with considerable effect, in the sixties.

Two other pulps were revived in 1950. Of special interest was *Future*, which, keeping all its options open, retained the title of its former companion magazine and appeared in May 1950 under the full title of *Future combined with Science Fiction Stories*. This magazine came from Columbia Publications under Louis Silberkleit, whose editor throughout the forties on all of his pulps had been Robert W. Lowndes. Lowndes was a fan's editor. Although he had had his disagreements with fandom in the forties, his heart remained in science fiction, and editing a science-fiction magazine brought the best out in him. The other magazines he had edited during the forties, mostly detective and Western titles, had been devoid of any editorial persona, but once *Future* was revived, Lowndes' imprint re-emerged.

Lowndes' magazines were always personal, and that was their strength. He knew that his small budget (one cent a word if you were lucky) did not allow him to compete for high-quality material, and he had to rely on rejects, but he could infuse his magazine with an atmosphere as no other editor could. Bearing in mind that neither *Galaxy* nor *F&SF* had letter columns, and that *Astounding's* was very controlled, that left only the columns in *Planet Stories*, *Thrilling Wonder* and *Startling* as the heart of fandom. Lowndes was able to develop that over the years, bringing a personal touch to his titles, which made the readers remain loyal. This loyalty also meant that Lowndes could rely to some extent on his writer friends, such as James Blish, Frederik Pohl,

Damon Knight and Lester del Rey, to bring some significant names to his magazine. Few of the stories from these early revived issues are of special merit, though it is worth mentioning 'Ultrasonic God' by L. Sprague de Camp (July 1951), 'If I Forget Thee, Oh Earth' by Arthur C. Clarke (September 1951), 'Testament of Andros' by James Blish (January 1953) and '. . . And the Truth Shall Make You Free' by Clifford D. Simak (March 1953) as examples of stories that were a cut above the norm, and challenged some of the accepted thinking of the time. *Future* must have shown sufficient profit for Silberkleit to consider relaunching *Science Fiction Quarterly*, again in pulp format, in May 1951. As before, *SF Quarterly* concentrated on long lead novels, but it published very little that was memorable. Perhaps its best story from these early years was 'Rogue Princess' by L. Sprague de Camp (February 1952), an entertaining time-travel romp.

The final revived pulp was *Marvel Science Stories*. Marvel had been the first sign of the pre-war boom when it appeared in 1938, though it rapidly sullied its reputation by the over-exploitation of sex. During the war Marvel's publisher, Martin Goodman, had forsaken many of his pulps (except for a few Western and sports titles) for the more lucrative comic-book field, so the return of *Marvel* with the November 1950 issue was something of a surprise and an anachronism. *Marvel* did not know what format to take. It returned as a pulp, then converted to a digest with the third issue, and three issues later reverted to pulp format before folding altogether with the May 1952 issue. None of these revived issues are worthy of consideration despite including such names as Isaac Asimov, Arthur C. Clarke, Lester del Rey, Jack Vance, William Tenn and Richard Matheson among its contributors. All of these stories are slight. The editorial director of *Marvel* was Robert O. Erisman, who had been at the helm since the thirties, though to edit *Marvel* Erisman employed Daniel Keyes, who would later write one of the most stunning stories of the fifties, 'Flowers for Algernon'. This was Keyes' first experience as an editor, and he did reasonably well considering the circumstances. The standard did improve with each issue, but not enough to make *Marvel's* revival worthy of more than a passing reference.

Clearly reviving old issues in pulp format was not the answer. But then neither was leaping in with new digest-sized issues without thinking them through. Curtis Mitchell released a slim, digest-format magazine called *Fantasy Fiction* in May 1950. It didn't quite know what it wanted to be. It contained both new and old stories, with titles changed to give the impression of a true-confessions magazine. There was probably a market somewhere for this if Mitchell could reach it but his distribution was poor and his financial backing even poorer. A second issue, retitled *Fantasy Stories*, eventually appeared in November but it showed no marked improvement.

Perhaps the word 'fantasy' did not help. *F&SF* had increased its circulation by adding 'Science Fiction' to its title, and the stories needed to be thoughtful and provocative, not reconditioned in a confessions mode. *Fantasy Stories* passed to an early grave.

The real battle began in 1952. In that year seven new science-fiction and fantasy magazines appeared in the United States. Four of them were in digest format and three were in pulp. When I report that between them the four digest magazines would eventually notch up a total of 400 issues, while the three pulp titles managed only 13 issues in total, the result of the war becomes only too obvious.

The pulp titles can be dealt with rapidly. The first, *Fantastic Science Fiction*, was a disaster that was probably necessary in order to prove a point. This must be distinguished from the Ziff-Davis fantasy magazine *Fantastic*, which we shall come to shortly. *Fantastic SF* was a large-format pulp issued by Charlton Publications with the first issue dated August 1952. It was issued as a pulp format companion to Charlton's new sf comic-book *Space Adventures* which had appeared the month before. Charlton were evidently exploring the market potential, though they misjudged it entirely. As editor on *Fantastic SF* they brought in Walter Gibson, the venerable author of the *Shadow* adventures. Now that *The Shadow* magazine had folded, Gibson was undertaking a variety of writing projects. Unfortunately, although he had past experience of magazine editing, he was no judge of science fiction. A mixed brief of appealing on the one hand to a young audience (which is evidenced by the immature illustrations and puerile story plots) and a slightly more adult pulp readership (as the magazine's promotional adverts suggest) meant that *Fantastic SF* was an embarrassing mess. Most of the stories were written by Gibson himself, and though he was good at developing super-detective plots, he was way out of date on modern science fiction, and this magazine served only to demonstrate that in some quarters science fiction still had not progressed beyond the hero-saves-maiden-from-monster-with-raygun school. It is only the more depressing to know that there was already worse material appearing in some British sf magazines, as we shall see later. *Fantastic SF* mercifully saw only one more issue, dated December 1952, before it went the way of all dinosaurs, although the comic-book companion, *Space Adventures*, survived until 1963.

The next pulp was *Space Stories*, whose first issue was dated October 1952. This was rather better. It was a companion to *Startling* and *Thrilling Wonder*, from Standard Magazines, and, being in the hands of editor Samuel Mines, had to be regarded with some respect. Mines, though, was clearly trying to appeal to the readers he felt he might otherwise be losing because of the development of the other two magazines, namely those who enjoyed space

opera. The magazine featured a lead novel supported by shorter stories. All of the fiction was competent but unremarkable, produced, probably by order, by Standard's second string of writers, although some emergent names such as Jack Vance and Gordon R. Dickson also contributed. None of the stories showed much flair, with most of the action predictable and confined to within the solar system. *Space Stories* was fun, but Mines could have done better. It ran for five issues and folded in June 1953.

The last pulp to appear in 1952 was *Dynamic Science Fiction*, with the first issue dated December. This was a further companion to Columbia Magazines' *Future SF* and *Science Fiction Quarterly*, edited by Robert W. Lowndes. Always a resourceful editor, Lowndes managed to acquire some good material, which is remarkable considering that he was trying to fill the other magazines as well at basic rates. As we shall see throughout the fifties, while good rates should always attract good writers, the opposite is not always true. A good editor will always prevail, and Lowndes was one of the most consistent and reliable of magazine editors. Lowndes probably benefited from those writers who became irritated with Gold meddling with their manuscripts. The Lowndes magazines were a safer haven, and though he paid lower rates he usually bought material without demanding extensive revisions, so that the income per written wordage was probably the same.

Among the better stories in *Dynamic* were 'I Am Tomorrow' by Lester del Rey (December 1952), who was at the top of his writing form at this stage, able to put over incisive questions about society within fast-paced action stories; 'The Possessed' by Arthur C. Clarke (March 1953), a poignant tale about one-time visitors to Earth; and ' "If the Court Pleases"' by Noel Loomis (June 1953), an early example of an under-used sub-genre of science-fiction, that centring on court cases – a sub-genre that was arising because writers began to focus on the impact of science upon people. Lowndes himself (writing as Michael Sherman, in collaboration with James Blish) contributed 'The Duplicated Man' (August 1953), showing how a clone has to be produced to resolve a battle between immortals.

One remarkable aspect of *Dynamic* is that it was the first (and only) pulp magazine ever to publish a Master of Arts thesis when it ran James Gunn's study of the philosophy and plot-forms of science fiction in four instalments (March 1953–January 1954). Gunn was himself one of the first to explore the issues arising from science fiction and would subsequently become one of the most respected critics of the field. In fact Lowndes had always been interested in the serious analysis and discussion of science fiction, something normally saved for the inner sancta of the fan magazines. In addition to Gunn he published the earliest piece by future professor of

English Thomas D. Clareson, 'The Evolution of Science Fiction' (*Science Fiction Quarterly*, August 1953), and ran a regular column, 'Inside Science Fiction' (*Dynamic SF*, June 1953–January 1954), by fan and collector Robert A. Madle. Had *Dynamic* been a digest magazine with better distribution and more financial backing it would almost certainly have made a bigger name for itself, but when, after the first three issues, sales began to dip, Silberkleit brought down the axe. The magazine eked out six issues in total, folding with that dated January 1954.

To all intents and purposes *Dynamic SF* was the last new sf pulp magazine to appear in the United States. The only remaining titles we shall encounter are either reprint magazines, such as *Tops in Science Fiction*, or digest magazines that converted back to pulp, for reasons we shall consider in due course. *Tops in SF* only half-counts, in any case. The first issue was dated Spring 1953. It was a short-lived companion to *Planet Stories*, reprinting stories from its venerable sister. The idea had come too late. Malcolm Reiss, the editorial director of *Planet Stories*, must have felt he could cash in on the same profitable arrangement that Standard Magazines had with *Fantastic Story Magazine*, but perhaps he didn't know that by 1953 that magazine was starting to fail. Despite the loyal following that *Planet Stories* had, readers did not want *Tops*. After the first issue met with only minor success, Reiss converted *Tops* to a digest for its second issue, dated Fall 1953, but it was all too late. This issue was scarcely distributed and Reiss dropped it.

It was the day of the digest. Its future was now assured by the success of *Galaxy* and in very rapid succession, publisher after publisher began to follow suit.

### The Science-Fiction Boom

The science-fiction boom of the early fifties (there were others, but this was *the* boom so far as the magazines were concerned) really began in 1952. Early in that year, three new digest magazines appeared within three months of each other.

The first was *If: Worlds of Science Fiction*. It was released on 7 January 1952, with a March cover date. At first glance one could be excused for thinking this was another magazine from the Ray Palmer stable, since the cover boasted such names as Howard Browne, Ray Palmer, Richard Shaver and Rog Phillips, all ahead of Theodore Sturgeon! In fact *If* did have close affiliations with Palmer.

One of Howard Browne's discoveries at *Amazing Stories* while it was still based in Chicago was Paul W. Fairman. Fairman was a good, though not an



overly creative, writer. Like many of the other members of the Palmer stable at Ziff-Davis, Fairman was capable of writing to order. Browne began to utilize Fairman's abilities by contracting him to fill issues of *Amazing* when there was a shortage of good stories. Within five years, by 1952, Fairman had written and sold over 270 stories to a wide range of markets. In the process he created one of the more prominent pseudonyms at Ziff-Davis, Ivar Jorgensen, under which much of his work appeared.

When Ziff-Davis relocated to New York, Fairman went with them, and he became involved with a wide circle of editors and magazines. Through the help of Theodore Sturgeon, Fairman was put in touch with James L. Quinn, an enterprising publisher who had set up the Handi-Books paperback publishing company in 1941, concentrating on mystery and Western fiction, and now wanted to expand into science fiction. Aware of the success of Ray Palmer with *Fate* and *Other Worlds*, Quinn employed Fairman to help him develop a similar combination. The result was two presentable magazines: *Strange*, subtitled 'The Magazine of True Mystery', and *If*, subtitled 'Worlds of Science Fiction'. The first was wholly non-fiction and concentrated on weird mysteries and the bizarre. *If*, on the other hand, was all science fiction, but it was not what Quinn might have hoped.

Quinn was ill-advised by Fairman. Fairman's knowledge of the sf field did not go much beyond his old circle of friends, Browne, Palmer and Hamling, and though he would have been aware of *Galaxy*, *Astounding* and *F&SF* it is unlikely that he understood what those magazines were doing. His editorial gave a token nod to wanting good-quality science fiction, not something restricted by convention, but that was not what he delivered. Claiming a lead story by Howard Browne as 'the scoop of the century', when Fairman would know that Browne was not a fan of science fiction, gives an indication of his perspective. He had taken Browne's presence as critical because he was the editor of the magazine with the largest circulation! Fairman's guidelines would always be focused on quantity rather than quality, and that was how it seemed with *If*. Names such as Browne, Shaver and Palmer would certainly not attract a significant number of readers, and though the inclusion of Theodore Sturgeon and Walter M. Miller may have been enough to make the first issue worthwhile (though their stories are only average) it would not have been enough to enamour readers.

Fairman never really learned this lesson. His first three issues looked very similar to *Amazing Stories*, and presented the same writers. By the time the third issue appeared in May (dated July), Quinn had the sales returns on the first issue and found that both *If* and *Strange* were making a loss. *If*, though, was making some headway, so Quinn stopped *Strange*, released

Fairman, who went to become an assistant editor at Ziff-Davis, and took over editing *If* himself.

Quinn may not have known much about science fiction but he had more publishing acumen. He brought in Ed Valigursky as art editor. Working with Anton Kurka and Kenneth Fagg, Valigursky produced some stunning covers for *If* which immediately began to raise its circulation. This included a series of wrap-around covers that remain eye-catching to this day. The interior artwork also improved, with an excellent selection of illustrations by Ed Emshwiller, Kelly Freas and Virgil Finlay. Quinn relied heavily on specialist sf agents for his material, so received a fairly mixed bunch of material, but some gems shine through. There was Richard Matheson's striking robot story 'Brother to the Machine' (November 1952), Walter M. Miller's future-war story 'Check and Checkmate' (January 1953), and in particular Arthur C. Clarke's fascinating mystery of the Jovian moon, 'Jupiter Five' (May 1953)

Quinn had been scouting around for a new editor. Lester del Rey had declined because of other editorial commitments (something he later regretted) and Quinn finally settled on Lawrence Shaw – Larry Shaw as he was known in fandom. Shaw had been increasingly active as a fan since he discovered science fiction in 1939. He became a belated member of the Futurians and published four issues of his fanzine *Leprechaun*, which he began in 1942, and *Destiny's Child* in 1945, a fanzine that became infamous for featuring a scathing review by Damon Knight of A. E. van Vogt's 'The World of Null-A'. His letters to magazines had been legendary, especially those to *Planet Stories*, where he shared his aspirations to become an editor. Although Quinn remained the executive editor, Shaw began to play his part, taking over the editorials from the September 1953 issue. It is noticeable how soon after Shaw's arrival the quality of material in *If* began to rise. Among a number of entertaining and thought-provoking stories, such as 'Brink of Madness' by Walt Sheldon (July 1953) and 'The Custodian' by William Tenn, two scoops stand out: 'A Case of Conscience' by James Blish (September 1953) and 'Malice in Wonderland' by Evan Hunter (January 1954).

'A Case of Conscience' was a further development of the theme already explored by several writers about the nature of religion on other worlds, in this case the planet Lithia where the intelligent race has developed without original sin and has none of the neuroses of humans. This story was later expanded into a novel and published by Ballantine Books in 1958. It won the Hugo award as the year's best novel.

Evan Hunter later became the legal name of writer S. A. Lombino, who is best known as Ed McBain, author of the 87th Precinct novels. Hunter was one of the early writers to explore the rise of juvenile delinquency, making a

name for himself with *The Blackboard Jungle* in 1954. 'Malice in Wonderland' was almost a dry run for this. It projected a future of drug pedlars and addicts. The 'pop' culture that would change the course of science fiction in the sixties was starting to set down its roots.

This type of fiction appealed to Shaw. He related to the gradually emerging juvenile culture in the mid-fifties, particularly to hot-rod cars. While this approach did not appeal to Quinn he was aware of the growing market potential of students and, in late 1953, he sanctioned a science-fiction contest open only to college students who had never written professionally. The first prize was \$1000, with a second prize of \$500 and five runners-up prizes of \$100. The competition caused quite a stir around the campuses. Here was the first post-war generation growing up with the threat of nuclear war but one that also began to acquire more personal freedom than previous generations. There can be little doubt that this competition sparked off much interest in *If*, and Quinn even risked shifting to a monthly schedule from the March 1954 issue.

The competition attracted entries from such future alumni as Harlan Ellison and Roger Zelazny, but the winner was Andrew J. Offutt, whose story 'And Gone Tomorrow' appeared in the December 1954 issue. Offutt lived up to his potential and in later years became a prolific writer, especially of heroic fantasy and pseudonymous science-fiction erotica, though he had no significant influence on the development of science fiction. Of the seven announced prizewinners only one other went on to contribute regularly to science fiction and that was Leo P. Kelley.

There can be little doubt that Quinn did himself a favour in running this competition, and with Shaw's more dynamic development of the magazine it shifted *If* into the middle league of sf magazines, behind *Astounding*, *Galaxy* and *F&SF*. Nevertheless, Quinn remained uncomfortable with the type of fiction Shaw was encouraging. Quinn preferred more traditional science fiction, especially of the space opera type. After a year together Shaw left, and Quinn took over the main editorial duties. He had attracted sufficient interest from good writers to sustain the quality of fiction in *If* for at least the next year or two. We shall return to it later, in the aftermath of the boom.

The second new digest magazine of 1952, appearing on 21 March but dated Summer, was *Fantastic*. This was a new digest companion to *Amazing Stories*. Browne was still smarting from losing his budget in 1950 to develop *Amazing* as a slick. As a result *Amazing* had gone a little downhill. Rather than ridding himself of the Palmer sensationalistic approach Browne began to copy it. 'Master of the Universe', a so-called history of the future from 1975 to 2575 revealed in a manuscript found off the coast of Spain, was serialized in *Amazing* from April to November 1952, but was tedious.

However, Browne was persistent in his budgetary demands, and a year after his initial disappointment, he received the go-ahead to try a new approach with a high-quality digest magazine. Instead of repeating the *Amazing* episode Browne, with his preference for fantasy, turned to *Fantastic*. The front cover of the first issue of *Fantastic* remains one of the most captivating of all first issues. Subtle shades of green and yellow depicting a bewitching woman, drawn by Barrye Phillips, with gorgon-like hair composed of humans rather than snakes, added by Leo Summers, made the magazine instantly eye-catching. Although uncaptioned it effectively illustrated Kris Neville's story of a beguiling witch, 'The Opal Necklace'. The names of Ray Bradbury, Isaac Asimov and especially Raymond Chandler also helped capture readers' attention. The magazine was classy. It led with a highly enjoyable story of perilous planetary exploration, 'Six and Ten are Johnny' by Walter M. Miller, illustrated by Virgil Finlay. 'The Smile' is typical Ray Bradbury, about post-cataclysmic survivors discovering the art of the past. 'Professor Bingo's Snuff' was a rare fantasy by Raymond Chandler, a locked-room mystery resolved by the use of a snuff that turns people invisible. It was a reprint from *Park East Magazine* the previous year, but many fantasy fans were unlikely to have read it. Some of Browne's ideas of quality were a little bizarre. The magazine's back cover included a reprint of a painting from the Museum of Modern Art, *Danger on the Stairs* by Pierre Roy, depicting a snake on a staircase. Some of the later back covers were more fantasy-orientated, but it showed that Browne was keen to move upmarket into the territory of the slick magazines.

*Fantastic* remained an impressive-looking product for about a year before some of the glitter began to fade. Its first seven issues are among the most enjoyable of all fantasy magazines. Almost all of the stories are of good quality. The emphasis was on horror and fantasy, including 'The Sex Opposite' by Theodore Sturgeon (Fall 1952), 'The Moon of Montezuma' by Cornell Woolrich (November/December 1952), 'Close Behind Him' by John Wyndham (January/February 1953) and 'The Third Guest' by B. Traven (March/April 1953). But it also published some good sf stories, such as 'Final Exam' by Chad Oliver (November/December 1952), 'Wonder Child' by Joseph Shallit, 'Time Bum' by Cyril M. Kornbluth (both (January/February 1953) and 'Sally' by Isaac Asimov (May/June 1953). All of these stories have a timeless quality, making them as enjoyable today as fifty years ago. Browne also played clever and ghost-wrote a fantasy story by Mickey Spillane, then at the height of his popularity. Apparently Spillane had once written a very poor story called 'The Woman with Green Skin' that no one would buy. Browne agreed to buy it provided he had a free hand at editorial revision. Spillane's agent agreed and Browne promptly discarded the

original story and wrote a new one from scratch – ‘The Veiled Woman’ (November/December 1952). Spillane was furious, but Browne rode the storm because that issue of *Fantastic* sold out and was reprinted, selling over 300,000 copies.

Sales were so good that Ziff-Davis decided there and then to convert *Amazing Stories* to the same digest format and shift *Fantastic* from a quarterly to a bi-monthly schedule. As a reward for his achievements, Browne was given his own detective magazine, *Conflict*, and two adventure magazines, *The Seven Seas* and *Tales of the Sea*. Surprisingly, these three lasted for only a single issue each during 1953.

The success of *Fantastic* left a question mark hanging over the future of *Fantastic Adventures*. That magazine had continued in pulp format during *Fantastic*'s infancy, but with the general switch to digest format there was no point in continuing *Fantastic Adventures*. It merged with *Fantastic* with effect from the May/June 1953 issue, the only time that both titles appeared in the magazine's indicia. At that stage there was no real continuity of *Fantastic Adventures* in *Fantastic* – the difference between the pulp's more extravagant fiction and *Fantastic*'s sophisticated approach was too wide. However, once budgets began to tighten again, *Fantastic*'s quality began to slip and the stuffing began to show.

It was the success of *Fantastic* that allowed *Amazing* to make the switch from pulp to digest. If it had not, there is every possibility that the magazine would have died in the devastation of pulps that was to come, but instead the conversion gave *Amazing* a new lease of life.

The first new digest *Amazing*, dated April/May 1953, was aimed again at a slick audience. The lead story was ‘Mars Confidential’, a so-called exposé by reporters Jack Lait and Lee Mortimer, but this gimmick was the least significant item in the magazine. Far more important was the high-quality fiction from Ray Bradbury, Robert Heinlein, Theodore Sturgeon, Murray Leinster, and the impressively shocking ‘The Last Day’ by Richard Matheson. Browne demonstrated what he had wanted to achieve two years earlier. The new *Amazing* had completely lost the old Shaver/Palmer image. It was a high-quality magazine attracting top-line authors. While Browne published no taboo-breaking stories, he did attract some good, solid work. ‘Encounter in the Dawn’ by Arthur C. Clarke (June/July 1953), ‘Or Else’ by Henry Kuttner (August/September 1953) and ‘Death of a Spaceman’ by Walter M. Miller (February/March 1954) are particularly worth mentioning.

Unfortunately Browne became a victim of circumstances. The old fans who enjoyed *Amazing*'s banal space adventures were not attracted to the new magazine, while the sophisticated audience that Browne had attracted

to *Fantastic* were less attracted to *Amazing* because there was less interest in science fiction among the slick readership than there was in good-quality fantasy. The works of Stephen Vincent Benet, Lord Dunsany, Thorne Smith and other fantasists had always worked well in the slicks, and had a long history. Despite the incursion of sf into the slicks, it was still treated with a degree of suspicion. Certainly readers of the slicks had no time for a magazine with the image and reputation of *Amazing Stories*, which only a few years before had been held up to ridicule with its Shaver Mystery. It was a problem Browne had envisaged, and he would have preferred to change the name, but considering that *Amazing* was the first of all sf magazines, it was not a change a publisher would make lightly. The result, though, was that circulation dropped. Budgets were immediately cut, and with that *Fantastic's* quality also dropped. Browne found he now had to pander to the readers of the Palmer *Amazing*. Instead of running fantasy, *Fantastic* now ran science fiction and the name was altered to *Fantastic Science Fiction* with the April 1955 issue. *Fantastic's* circulation rose, apparently by 17 per cent over two issues.<sup>5</sup> Here was the evidence that science fiction sold and fantasy didn't. Ziff-Davis were happy, but Browne less so. He always preferred fantasy to sf and here was his pet baby becoming yet another sf magazine. Browne soon lost interest. At this stage we see the re-emergence of house names masking a core of writers producing fiction by the yard. The fiction factory that had churned out the pulp *Amazing* was returning, only this time with a new generation. I shall return to this later.

The third new digest of 1952 appeared just ten days after *Fantastic* and ushered in a new stable of magazines. The premier title was *Space Science Fiction*, dated May 1952, and the editor was Lester del Rey.

Del Rey had learned through his agent that a new sf magazine was in the works and the publisher needed new novelettes but had no idea about the field. The publisher was John Raymond, then better known for his 'girlie' magazines. The growing boom in sf had prompted Raymond's distributor to suggest entering the scene. Del Rey visited Raymond, who proceeded to pick his brains about science fiction. The result was that del Rey was invited to edit the magazine, and though he was not keen on the idea, his wife and friends talked him into it. Del Rey put the first issue together in haste, drawing on what material was readily to hand, most of it provided by Frederik Pohl's agency. Over the years del Rey earned a reputation as a good editor, and although this was his first stint in the role, he would not tolerate inferior material. The result was that despite a restrictive budget, del Rey made sure the material was acceptable. For a first issue *Space SF* was very

5 Howard Browne, editorial to *Fantastic* 4(5), October 1955, p. 4.

good. Del Rey's editorial also made the point that the magazine would have no taboos, a claim that had appeared everywhere at once, to the extent of proving that the period 1950–53 was as much a 'new-wave' change as had hit the field ten years earlier and would again ten years later. The lead 'novel' was 'Pursuit' by del Rey himself, an exciting chase story involving a host of psi powers. Henry Kuttner was present with the amusing 'The Ego Machine', one of his enchanting robot stories that would have run in the fourth issue of *Worlds Beyond* the previous year had that magazine survived. Also present was 'Youth', a rather too gimmicky story by Isaac Asimov, 'Ult-room Error' by Jerry Sohl, an enjoyable piece of time-travel hokum, and 'To Each His Star', a poignant tale of a seasoned space traveller by Bryce Walton.

From the start *Space SF* had distribution problems outside New York, but where it sold, it sold well and was well received. The second issue maintained the promise of the first. A colourful space-scene by Earle Bergey adorned a cover that had now shifted to the *Galaxy* inverted-L design. The line-up included 'The God in the Bowl' by Robert E. Howard, the first of the previously unpublished Conan stories to be revised for publication by L. Sprague de Camp. There was good fiction by Fletcher Pratt, Clifford D. Simak and Murray Leinster, while 'The Revisitor' marked the debut of Theodore L. Thomas. Del Rey also bought the first story from Algis Budrys, 'Walk to the World' (November 1952).

Raymond learned that another distributor wanted an sf magazine, so he suggested that del Rey edit a second title with the emphasis on action. Thus was born *Science Fiction Adventures*, the first of four sf magazines to bear that name. The first issue, imitating the *Galaxy* cover design, was dated November 1952. Del Rey disguised his editorial persona under not just one but two pseudonyms: Philip St John as editor, and R. Alvarez as publisher. This suggests that del Rey had negotiated a special arrangement with Raymond in order to produce the package of magazines. Del Rey used the services of Michael Shaara as an associate editor. Shaara, then fresh from college, was developing as a name to watch in the magazines. He would go on to win a Pulitzer Prize for his Civil War novel *The Killer Angels* (1974).

Although this magazine was aimed at younger readers than *Space SF* the fiction was far from written down. On the contrary, some harsh, mature pieces appeared, such as Chad Oliver's 'The Fires of Forever', which led the first issue, and involves a search to save Earth from extinction. Del Rey was able to attract good fiction by high-quality names, among them Cyril Kornbluth, Ross Rocklynne, L. Sprague de Camp and Wilmar H. Shiras, all in the first issue.

Somehow *Science Fiction Adventures* developed an identity of its own even more rapidly than *Space SF*, and, when assessed forty years on, reads as one

of the better magazines of its period, and one that deserved better success. In fact the magazine did sell at a profit – probably not difficult given Raymond's parsimony. Considering that it survived for only nine issues, it published an above average share of good material. Among the fiction were two fast-paced serials. 'Police Your Planet' (March–September 1953), by del Rey himself (under another alias, Erik van Lhin), is another reaction to the McCarthy era and reads rather like *1984* on Mars, although this tale of exiled colonists versus Security ends successfully for the colonists. Even better was 'The Syndic' by Cyril Kornbluth (December 1953–February 1954), set in a future in which gangsters have taken over the government. Also of interest was a series by Irving E. Cox, Jr, tracing the development of civilization on Venus, starting with 'On Streets of Gold' (May 1953) and concluding with 'The Venusian' (September 1953). Del Rey published several stories by new writers, most of them one-off, but included the first appearance by Thomas N. Scortia, 'The Prodigy' (March 1954). He also further encouraged writers Algis Budrys and Theodore Cogswell, and became an additional market for Robert Sheckley and Philip K. Dick.

A small but important role played by *Science Fiction Adventures* was in the development of science-fiction criticism. It was a sign of the development of the field that writers were now seriously considering the genre and commenting upon its values and shortcomings. This was partly an outgrowth from fandom where fans had been very vocal in fanzines since the thirties, but there had not been much space for analysing science fiction in the professional magazines until now. Damon Knight was one such critic. He had strong and unswervable views about what made good science fiction and pulled no punches in ridiculing and holding up to public scrutiny anything that did not meet his high standards. He had started his column 'The Dissecting Table' in *Worlds Beyond* in 1950, but his real emergence as a critic began in *Science Fiction Adventures* when his column reappeared in the first issue. He began by being unapologetic for the 'pugnacious tone' of his reviews, and emphasized that 'science fiction is a field of literature worth taking seriously' and that 'ordinary critical standards can be meaningfully applied to it'.<sup>6</sup> There is little doubt that Knight's reviews annoyed some writers, but the more professional among them also took note of his comments and many adjusted their writing as a result. It would be stretching a point to say that his column in *Science Fiction Adventures* changed the quality of science fiction overnight, but what it did do was to drive a wedge into the sf world and begin to separate what was good from what was bad, which in

<sup>6</sup> Damon Knight, 'The Dissecting Table', *Science Fiction Adventures* 1(1), November 1952, p. 122.



itself began to affect the field. Knight continued his criticism after the magazine folded in Robert Lowndes' magazines, mostly in *Future SF*. A collection of his reviews, *In Search of Wonder*, won Knight a Hugo award in 1956 as best critic.

A further example of the serious treatment of science fiction was William Tenn's article 'The Fiction in Science Fiction' (February 1954), which emphasized the need to recognise the human element in sf over and above the scientific element. This approach had been emerging in science fiction over the previous few years, especially in *Galaxy*, and Tenn's article was a useful measure of recognition of the field's growth.

With *Space SF* and *Science Fiction Adventures* successfully on the road, Raymond gave del Rey leave to produce two more titles: *Fantasy Magazine* in March 1953 and *Rocket Stories* in April. With four magazines sharing overheads and appearing bi-monthly (as close as possible), Raymond had a good opportunity to make a healthy profit. *Fantasy Magazine* is another high-quality product, and is today highly collectible. This is partly because of its covers by Hannes Bok, but also because it published another new Conan story by Robert E. Howard (edited by L. Sprague de Camp), and contained material by Philip K. Dick, Clark Ashton Smith and Robert Sheekley. Along with *Fantastic* and *Beyond* (the companion to *Galaxy*), this magazine marked the last fling with fantasy fiction before darkness settled over that field for a decade. *Fantasy Magazine* was retitled *Fantasy Fiction* with the second issue following threatened legal action by Ziff-Davis over the similarity between its title and that of *Fantastic*. Yet despite the fact that the last three issues were all called *Fantasy Fiction* the magazine is always remembered by its original title.

*Rocket Stories*, as its title suggests, was slanted more towards juvenile readers, and took that mantle over from *Science Fiction Adventures* when that title started to become serious. Even then del Rey would not publish second-rate material and he endeavoured to ensure that this magazine was acceptable to his critics. Somewhat tongue-in-cheek, del Rey faced the fact that space opera had been likened to the Wild West in space and declared that both magazines were about pioneers, implying that spacemen would react similarly to frontiersmen. To demonstrate this he encouraged Algis Budrys to produce 'Blood on My Jets' (July 1953), a full-blown Wild West story set in space. Not all of the stories were space stories, and none of them pandered to the market. 'Jackrogue Second' by John Jakes (April 1953) is a hard-hitting story about a man brought back to life, who faces bitter opposition from everyone he meets.

In producing these magazines, del Rey operated under considerable handicaps imposed by John Raymond, who put out issues on an erratic

schedule based on his own whim. Frequently del Rey would learn that the copy for the next issue would be due on the following day. Consequently del Rey would assemble issues from whatever material was to hand, which was why the original stratification of the magazines never really materialized. *Fantasy Magazine* was apparently the top seller – del Rey informed me that it sold about 70,000 copies an issue, with *Science Fiction Adventures* selling slightly less. Since the magazines went into profit after 45,000 sales Raymond was clearly benefiting from del Rey's work. Unfortunately, rather than investing these profits back into the magazines, Raymond creamed them off for other projects.

Del Rey believed that the money should be used to enhance the magazines:

I made a proposal to him [Raymond] for upgrading the magazines, paying better and more quickly, and for a decent return for myself. I proved how few extra copies must be sold to justify that, and I told him I'd be forced to resign otherwise. He agreed. And nothing came of it. Then one day I walked into the office intending to raise hell (and maybe resign) because I'd discovered some authors had not been paid. He wasn't there, but his art director told me Raymond had new plans – maximum payment on all magazines to be one-cent a word, no more illustrations except those by the art director, and pages cut to 144. I left word that I had quit and went home. I stayed quit. Raymond informed everyone that I'd been fired, and his lawyer threatened to sue me for slander and libel because I'd returned the manuscripts to authors, stating that the new rate was in effect. My reply convinced the lawyer to tell Raymond to lay off and stop spreading stories about me.<sup>7</sup>

Because the magazines were profitable, Raymond did not want to drop them following del Rey's departure, so he hired a new editor, Harry Harrison. Harrison claimed that he did not know the field of fantasy fiction, so declined to edit *Fantasy Fiction*, but took on the others. Raymond hired Fletcher Pratt to edit *Fantasy Fiction*, and a fifth issue was compiled, but Pratt refused to deliver it until Raymond paid the authors, and when he didn't the magazine was dropped. Harrison put some final touches to the last issue of *Space SF* and edited the third and final issue of *Rocket Stories*, but these magazines were soon dropped under Raymond's whims, and only *Science Fiction Adventures* continued. Harrison demonstrated his editorial abilities. He was every bit as keen as del Rey to acquire good-quality fiction, though his emphasis was more on action sf than the social aspects. Nevertheless, it was

7 Lester del Rey, personal correspondence with the author, 21 November 1975.

Harrison who acquired 'The Syndic' from Kornbluth, and he also purchased 'Rule Golden' by Damon Knight (May 1954) after it had been rejected by the leading magazines. It was a first-contact story set against the restrictions of the McCarthy era, and remains an excellent example of the socio-political sf of its day.

The May 1954 issue was the last of *Science Fiction Adventures*. By then Raymond had tired of the aggravation of dealing with responsible and principled editors and retreated to the softer world of his erotic magazines.

1953 saw the peak of the science-fiction boom. In that year 176 individual issues of 37 different sf magazines were published in the United States, as well as an additional 38 pocketbooks from the growing number of publishers. Most of the magazines were short-lived, and we have already encountered most of them. The growth continued in digest magazines, while more of the pulps fell by the wayside. 1953 would see the last of *Famous Fantastic Mysteries*, one of the most attractive of the pulps, highly treasured now for its covers and interior artwork by Virgil Finlay and Lawrence Stevens. The last few issues had floundered, with the publisher seeking to make them look more like the digest magazines, though here was a title that needed the pulp format. By now, though, after 81 issues, *FFM* was looking tired and had exhausted the best of the reprint material. It went with a bang in June 1953 with a highly colourful last issue in glorious pulp. Also folding that year were *Wonder Story Annual*, *Space Stories* and *Fantastic Adventures*, which merged with *Fantastic*, while the end of the year saw the last *Dynamic SF* (dated January 1954). Several digest magazines also folded: *Space SF*, *Fantasy Fiction*, *Rocket Stories*, as well as two other new ones in 1953 that we have not yet encountered.

*Avon SF & Fantasy Reader* was Joseph Meyers' last fling at the sf magazines. After Donald Wollheim left his employ to help set up Ace Books, Meyers asked Sol Cohen, his comic-books editor, to assemble a single magazine that combined the former *Avon Fantasy Reader* and *Avon Science-Fiction Reader*. Whereas these former volumes had been predominantly reprint, the new magazine contained all original fiction (bar one reprint). It had high-quality content and presentation, with good artwork, much of it verging on the erotic. The magazine was a good blend of science fiction, fantasy and horror. The sf focused on a range of topics, with both the nuclear threat and racial prejudice being well represented and giving the magazine a fairly dystopian tone. Authors included Jack Vance, Theodore Cogswell, John Christopher and Arthur C. Clarke.

Chester Whitehorse, who had briefly edited *Planet Stories* in 1945, reappeared in 1953 with a thick digest magazine called *Vortex Science Fiction*. The idea was for a magazine crammed full of ultra-short stories with 20 in the

first issue. The response was encouraging, but finances must have been tight because a second issue did not appear until six months later, this time with 25 stories. The trouble with such short stories is that en masse they fail to capture the readers, who prefer to immerse themselves in the more detailed world that novels provide. The magazine is enjoyable enough for its gimmicks, but most of the stories are rather ephemeral. The magazine is really only remembered for ushering in the professional career of Marion Zimmer Bradley.

Whitehorne would try again in 1954, this time with *Science Fiction Digest*. Just as with *Reader's Digest*, Whitehorne's idea was to select the best fiction from other magazines, in effect providing a year's best selection in digest form. The idea might have worked had Whitehorne's selection of material been better. It was also probable that at that time most readers likely to be interested already had the stories in the original magazines. Possibly had *Science Fiction Digest* been issued as a paperback anthology it would have sold, but despite such telling features as 'My Experience with the Supernatural' by Eartha Kitt, the magazine disappeared after just two issues, dated February and May 1954.

The real significance of 1953 is not so much in the proliferation of digest magazines, but in two other experiments: one in pocketbook form, and one as a so-called slick magazine.

In February 1953 Ian Ballantine began his science-fiction programme at his newly formed Ballantine Books, and as his first book he issued *Star Science Fiction Stories*. This was an anthology consisting of all original stories, and intended as both a showcase of Ballantine's authors and a lure to new writers. Frederik Pohl, who as an agent had provided Ballantine with several new novels, first suggested the idea and became the editor. He was able to pay better rates than the magazines, and thus not only used stories by his own clients but began to attract others. The line-up for the first volume looks good even today, with Ray Bradbury, Isaac Asimov, Lester del Rey, Fritz Leiber, Clifford Simak, John Wyndham, Murray Leinster, Henry Kuttner, C. L. Moore, Robert Sheckley and H. L. Gold.<sup>8</sup> Pohl's own favourite story was the opener, 'Country Doctor' by William Morrison, about a vet who has to cure a sick alien on a spaceship. The anthology was both a critical and a financial success. Since it was published simultaneously in hardback and paperback, it ranks as the first hardback all-original anthology.

8 Frederik Pohl tells an amusing anecdote of how he and Cyril Kornbluth played a trick on Gold, in revenge for all his editorial intrusions, by pretending to rewrite his submission to the anthology. See Frederik Pohl, *The Way the Future Was* (New York: Del Rey Books, 1978), pp. 188–90.

Groff Conklin was more accurate than he realized when he hailed the anthology as 'science fiction's World of Tomorrow in publishing'.<sup>9</sup> It would be another decade before the sf anthology series came to seriously challenge the magazine, but this was where it started. *Star SF Stories* would become a regular series, though its annual schedule only lasted for the first three volumes, and there was an unorthodox hiccup in the middle that we shall come to later.

The so-called slick magazine was *Science-Fiction Plus*, which heralded the return of Hugo Gernsback to the science-fiction scene. Gernsback had departed in 1936 when he handed *Wonder Stories* over to Standard Magazines, and though he had continued to publish several profitable magazines, he had only marginally flirted with sf in the intervening seventeen years. Once was with the comic-book *Superworld Comics* in 1940, and the rest was with a series of humorous annuals that he issued as gifts at Christmas. These annuals, which are a little like professional fanzines, were fascinating for the scientific prognostications that Gernsback offered, especially his concept of virtual reality, which he envisaged as early as 1950.

Then in the first week in February 1953 came the first issue of *Science-Fiction Plus* (dated March). It was neither a digest magazine nor a pulp, but was large-format on high-quality glossy stock, similar to that used in Gernsback's technical magazines. In appearance, therefore, it was arguably a slick magazine and, selling at the same price as the leading digests – 35 cents – it should have had the edge on other magazines. Although Gernsback was in overall charge, the man who did the work in assembling the issues was Sam Moskowitz. Moskowitz was a leading science-fiction fan, responsible for helping to organize the First World Science Fiction Convention in 1939, and was also in the process of organizing the first course in science fiction at the City College of New York, which ran during the autumn of 1953. Moskowitz was already laying down his credentials as science fiction's premier historian with his history of organized fandom, *The Immortal Storm* (1951). For *Science-Fiction Plus* he acquired fiction from many of the leading names in sf, including Philip José Farmer, Clifford D. Simak, Robert Bloch, Murray Leinster, Chad Oliver and James H. Schmitz, as well as publishing the first professional story by Anne McCaffrey, 'Freedom of the Race' (October 1953). However, the emphasis was on the bigger names from science fiction's early years – Eando Binder, John Scott Campbell, Richard Tooker, Raymond Z. Gallun and Harry Bates, most of whom had not contributed much to recent science fiction. This gave the magazine a feeling of archaism despite the glossy appearance. For a magazine to be 'slick',

9 Groff Conklin, 'Galaxy's 5 Star Shelf', *Galaxy SF* 6(3), June 1953, p. 120.

it didn't just have to look slick, it had to feel it, but in the case of *Science-Fiction Plus* all that glittered clearly was not gold.

It soon became evident that Gernsback's attitude towards science fiction had not changed since he had launched the first sf magazine nearly 30 years before. In one of his editorials he derided much of the 'pseudo-science fiction' being published, claiming that writers should be more factual in the science they used. To this end he concocted a symbol of the letters SF inset in a black ball surmounted by a star – it looked rather like a cartoon bomb – and this was placed next to a story that contained new scientific ideas certain to be realized in the future. It wasn't next to many, besides Gernsback's own. Gernsback continued to lecture in his editorials and articles about strict adherence to science. This attitude was clearly opposed to most of the arguments then prevailing in science fiction that the science should take second place to the human angle.

In addition to the anachronistic stories the magazine featured many of Gernsback's old familiar departments such as 'Science Questions and Answers' and 'Science Quiz', and there was even a novel translated from the French. The glossy format allowed for some good artwork potential, although most of Frank R. Paul's illustrations had scarcely advanced from his early days. The best covers were the work of Alex Schomburg.

*Science-Fiction Plus* was little more than *Wonder Stories* slicked up with a pseudo-modern veneer, but would the public accept it? Early reports were favourable, and *Science-Fiction Plus* appeared with four monthly issues. But then sales began to drop, the schedule was staggered, and by the last issue, dated December 1953, the glossy paper had given way to book pulp. Its failure was a salutary lesson. Although the cost of the paper would have been expensive, that would not have hit the magazine had sales equalled those of Gernsback's technical magazines with which it was distributed. The fact was that the magazine did not appeal to the new generation of readers, and even the older generation found the stories pale against the material in the other magazines. There were three worthy stories in *Science-Fiction Plus*. 'Nightmare Planet' by Murray Leinster (June 1953) is an exciting conclusion to his early *Argosy* series, originally set in the future but transferred to portraying survival on a hostile planet. 'Spacebred Generations' by Clifford D. Simak (August 1953) is a cleverly thought through generation starship story. 'Strange Compulsion' by Philip José Farmer (October 1953) is another daring story exploring compulsive incest caused by a parasite. Other stories were variable in quality and some were embarrassingly dated.

Of the other new magazines to appear in 1953, some reflected a consolidation by existing publishers, feeling they could risk additional titles, while others were from new publishers seeking to cash in on what was

becoming a profitable field. Neither approach was an indication of quality or success.

Take the existing publishers. Louis Silberkleit at Columbia Publications was reasonably satisfied with the sales of *Future Science Fiction*, *Science Fiction Quarterly* and *Dynamic Science Fiction*, all of which were pulp-sized, but he recognized the growing success of the digest format. He decided to test the waters in the summer of 1953 and issued a trial number of *Science Fiction Stories*. It was unnumbered and undated, and the lack of a cover date (which is always the return or *off-sale* date, not the *on-sale* date) meant that it could stay on the stalls for longer than the usual period. As a result, after four months this issue had sold sufficient to warrant a follow-up, and a second issue appeared in the spring of 1954. There was nothing especially outstanding about these two issues. By mid-1953 a certain sameness had settled over the field. With the exception of *Astounding*, *Galaxy* and *F&SF* most magazines consisted of stories from the same writers and there was little to tell them apart. The quality varied only so far as the magazines happened to catch the writers on a good or a bad day. These two issues of *Science Fiction Stories* were no more distinguished than its companion titles, though the stockier digest format with attractive covers by Alex Schomburg gave a feeling that they ought to be good. The stories by such as Algis Budrys, Poul Anderson, Noel Loomis and Philip K. Dick were competent but unexceptional.

The sales showed that the longer the on-sale time, the better the potential for readers to buy an issue. This was actually an argument for shifting to book publication, because books have no specific off-sale dates. Silberkleit would later experiment with a science-fiction paperback, issuing Noel Loomis's *City of Glass* in book form in 1955. But Silberkleit was a magazine publisher at heart, and his instincts told him that digests would now sell better than pulps. So he dropped *Dynamic SF* and from the June 1954 issue converted *Future SF* from a pulp to a digest. Interestingly, he kept *Science Fiction Quarterly* as a pulp. This was the last official quarterly pulp magazine still being published (there were those that appeared quarterly although they were scheduled as bi-monthly or even monthly!) and harked back to the early days of *Amazing Stories Quarterly* and *Science Wonder Quarterly*. Though not the size of those magazines, there was still something about the aura of a quarterly that, in Silberkleit's view, required the pulp format, so *Science Fiction Quarterly* plodded on, increasingly becoming an anachronism.

Silberkleit's one last trick was to retitle *Future*. After its third digest-size issue, dated October 1954, it was retitled *Science Fiction Stories* with the issue for January 1955. A trial one-shot *Future SF* was issued in the summer of 1955, and so as to avoid (but more likely adding to) any confusion, *Science*

*Fiction Stories* became prefixed with the blurb 'The Original . . . *Science Fiction Stories*' from September 1955. This title was intended to show that this magazine (which was really *Future*) was the same as *Science Fiction*, which had first appeared in 1939! However, the blurb became so closely associated with the magazine that most people started to call it *Original Science Fiction Stories*, and you will even find it indexed under O in some reference works. *Future SF* itself returned with another trial issue in early 1956 and, as sales were sufficient, it returned on a quarterly basis from Winter 1956.

Raymond A. Palmer, now back in circulation following his serious accident, also decided it was time for a change. He decided to create his own opposition. A Chicago businessman was keen to invest in the science-fiction boom, and asked Palmer for his help. Palmer established the new publishing imprint Bell Publications, and masquerading under the alias George Bell, issued *Universe Science Fiction* with the first issue dated June 1953, released on 5 April. *Universe* showed yet again that Palmer could edit a good magazine if only he controlled his exuberance. This was probably due to the influence of Bea Mahaffey, who had excellent taste in fiction. The first issue of *Universe* was certainly better than *Other Worlds*, as it lacked the Shaverism. All of the stories were good, by the likes of Robert Bloch, Murray Leinster, Mark Clifton, Nelson Bond and Mack Reynolds, with the usual emphasis on post-atomic gloom. The best story was 'The World Well Lost' by Theodore Sturgeon, about an alien couple who are able to bring love and beauty to a future Earth dominated by inventions that pander to the senses.

Palmer had problems getting good stories for the second issue, which was delayed a month, and the contents are not as enjoyable as the first. By that time the businessman realized that the sf boom was passing and Palmer bought him out. With the third issue Palmer's name appears as publisher and editor. Critics of Palmer are keen to state that the magazine's quality dropped from that issue onwards, but in fact the opposite is true. Palmer took the time to acquire good manuscripts and the third issue showed an upswing in quality. Not only does the issue feature some superb artwork by Edd Cartier, Virgil Finlay and Lawrence Stevens, but it contains some fine fiction including 'The Hungry Hercynian', a Conan-like fantasy by L. Sprague de Camp, 'Seasoned Traveller' by F. L. Wallace, a clever story about the problems of a robot doctor on another world, and 'Everest' by Isaac Asimov, which declared that Martians lived at the top of Mount Everest. Asimov enjoyed relating that this story was written before Everest was climbed, though by the time it appeared Hillary and Tensing had made the story redundant. The high spot of the issue, though, was 'The Adventure of the Misplaced Hound' by Poul Anderson and Gordon R. Dickson, one of their series of stories about the Hokas of the planet Toka, who were



influenced by any new development that came their way, in this case the publication of the Sherlock Holmes stories.

The relationship with the anonymous businessman had allowed Ray Palmer to provide another twist in the history of his magazines. *Other Worlds* was becoming financially challenged! Palmer was in debt to his printer. This was mostly because he had let *Other Worlds* slip back into his old Shaver ways, with fiction that was more mystical and occult than representing the science fiction of the day. When the offer from the businessman came along, Palmer cut his losses and sold his share in Clark Publishing to his partner, Curtis Fuller. This meant that Fuller took over the more profitable *Fate* and Palmer lost the title to *Other Worlds*. This way he also passed on the magazine's debt with the sale. Under the Bell Publications imprint, Palmer now launched two new magazines. *Science Stories* was, to all intents and purposes, a continuation of *Other Worlds* (the full title had been *Other Worlds Science Stories*), while as a replacement for *Fate*, he launched *Mystic*. The first issue of *Science Stories* appeared on 1 August (dated October), and its Hannes Bok cover made it immediately attractive to many fans. The contents were less attractive, though Jack Williamson's 'Hocus-Pocus Universe' was marginally interesting. *Science Stories* continued in the same vogue as *Other Worlds* with extravagant fiction completely out of touch with developments elsewhere. The main advantage in buying the magazine was the artwork by Finlay, Stevens and Bok. After four issues it was clear that *Science Stories* was not selling and it was effectively (though not nominally) combined with *Universe*.

Initially *Mystic* did contain some fiction, and some of the early issues, with work by Randall Garrett, Joseph Payne Brennan and Robert Barbour Johnson, are worth reading. It first appeared in September 1953 (dated November) and continued on a bi-monthly schedule, its issues increasingly pandering to the devotees of flying saucers, astrology and Forteanism. The fiction (or at least the intentional fiction) more or less vanished after the seventh issue, dated December 1954, and *Mystic* became the equivalent of *Fate*. During 1955 it featured Shaver material heavily. With the October 1956 issue it was retitled *Search*.

Meanwhile, at *Universe*, Palmer continued to have problems finding good material. There is no doubt that from the viewpoint of writers and agents, Palmer was at the end of the manuscript chain. His magazines were tainted because of the Shaver material, and few were prepared to write for him. He was able to eke out some good material acquired when agents thought the new *Universe* was a non-Palmer magazine, or material acquired from writers who were strong Forteans in their own beliefs, such as Eric Frank Russell, who produced a rather fanciful story in 'The Door' (March 1954). One

particular novelty was a new series by Edward E. Smith. Smith had moved to Chicago in 1945 as the manager of a cereal-mix plant and this had left him with little time to write. As a consequence the grand space epics of the past were beyond his current capabilities, but he had started a series set in an alternative time track which was facing doom. This world was more one of Burroughsian sword-and-sorcery, or at least science that seemed like sorcery, and required the hero, Tedric, to battle villains and rescue maidens in the time-honoured tradition while endeavouring to save this alternative world from its doom. The stories had been rejected by every other magazine, but they suited Palmer down to the ground. The first story, 'Tedric', had appeared in the March 1953 *Other Worlds*, and its sequel, 'Lord Tedric', featured in the March 1954 *Universe*. This was not the E. E. Smith fans had come to know and love, and indeed science fiction had been moving away from Smith's former glories. The series was not welcomed.

The format, illustrations and colour washes of the early issues of *Universe* suggested that Palmer was being influenced by the developments at Ziff-Davis with *Fantastic* and *Amazing Stories*, and there is every likelihood that Palmer intended to outdo his former magazines. However, to do that Palmer needed the financial backing of somewhere like Ziff-Davis, and once he had bought out his anonymous partner, he found himself short of funds again. At that stage *Universe* began to go downhill, and Palmer resorted to his regular stable of writers, most notably Rog Phillips, who now revived his old 'Club House' fan column from *Amazing* in the hope of attracting a core of readers. But it wasn't working.

After the March 1955 *Universe* Palmer decided to retitle the magazine *Other Worlds*, confusingly continuing the numberings of both the old series and *Universe*. He acquired several bottom-drawer stories from Theodore Sturgeon and Robert Bloch and then filled the issues with either his own material, or those of close colleagues or new writers. By the end of 1955 *Other Worlds* had sunk back into a slough of decrepitude from which it would never recover. I shall return to its fate later.

We need to return to the boom year of 1953 and check out the remaining new magazines.

In 1952 Leo Margulies left Standard Magazines after twenty years with Ned Pines, during which time he had helped establish one of the biggest pulp publishing empires. Margulies created his own King-Size Publications in New York with the aim of publishing comic-books and digest magazines. On the magazine front Margulies had acquired licence to the serial rights of the stories about the crime-fighter Simon Templar, known as the Saint, that fearless Robin Hood of crime who had been created by Leslie Charteris in the late twenties. Margulies issued *The Saint Detective Magazine* in January

1953 (dated Spring). It was accompanied a few months later by *Fantastic Universe* as the science-fiction companion. As editor on both magazines Margulies employed Sam Merwin. Since leaving Standard Magazines in 1951 Merwin had been active as a freelance writer and in all probability he only agreed to help Margulies launch and establish the magazines and did not intend to remain in harness as editor for any length of time. Merwin was both a good writer and a good editor, and he contributed to the first issue his own story, 'Nightmare Tower', under the alias Jacques Jean Ferrat, which considered seriously the colonization of Mars.

Margulies took a gamble by pricing *Fantastic Universe* at 50 cents, when all other magazines were either 35 or 25 cents. He felt justified in doing this because the magazine had more pages (192 compared to the usual 160 or 144, or even 128). After the first three issues both the price and page numbers were reduced. *Fantastic Universe* offered a blend of fantasy and science fiction, and the early offerings of both were good. It is interesting to see the venerable English writer of ghost stories, H. Russell Wakefield, whose work was now all but neglected in England, surfacing in American magazines (thanks primarily to August Derleth who acted as an unofficial agent). Wakefield's 'The Sepulchre of Jasper Sarasen' appeared in the second bi-monthly issue.

At the outset *Fantastic Universe* published little that was exceptional, but a lot that was readable. This made it neither better nor worse than most other magazines that were being published. The magazine's strength lay in Margulies himself, who knew the business and knew how to get the best out of distribution deals. *Fantastic Universe* survived, as a consequence, when other equally good (or better) magazines failed. The magazine did notch up a couple of scoops in its first couple of years. One was the publication of 'Rastignac the Devil' by Philip José Farmer (May 1954), a story that is less well known today, but which is set in the same world as 'The Lovers', and explores the possibility of wearing special 'skins' which help transmit and communicate the wearer's emotions. The other was 'Who?' by Algis Budrys (April 1955), the original short story that was substantially revised as the novel *Who?* (Pyramid Books, 1958). Although treated as science fiction at the time, this story is no different from the many espionage novels that would mushroom in the early sixties with the success of the James Bond books and films. The story is a further example of how the Cold War paranoia and the reaction to McCarthyism were influencing science fiction. It poses the problem of whether an American agent returned to America by the Russians, who has been 'rebuilt' by prosthetics after a severe accident, is really who he claims to be. The same aspects of the Cold War influenced 'The Life Watch' by Lester del Rey (September 1954), which tracked the spread of a remorseless alien culture across the galaxy.

*Fantastic Universe* also benefited from the discovery of many unpublished stories by Robert E. Howard, which it began to print starting with 'Hawks Over Shem' (October 1955), and included several Conan stories revised by L. Sprague de Camp. The Conan allure remained strong, even twenty years after Howard's death, and would resurface with considerable success in the mid-sixties when the Lancer paperback editions were published.

Overall, despite these moments, *Fantastic Universe* was an average magazine that benefited from good financial backing and distribution. After the first three issues Sam Merwin left and Leo Margulies took over the editorship, assisted briefly by Beatrice Jones. Merwin, however, did not return to the privacy of writing, because Horace Gold sought his assistance at *Galaxy*. Gold was in the process of establishing a companion to *Galaxy*, called *Beyond Fantasy Fiction*, and an extra pair of editorial hands were needed. Gold clearly respected Merwin for the work he had done at *Thrilling Wonder*, and the pair would be a good team.

*Beyond* was not an opportunist project. Gold had always intended that *Galaxy* would have a fantasy companion, but he needed to get *Galaxy* established first. This he had done with remarkable success, for by 1953 *Galaxy* was regarded as the premier sf magazine, leading the new direction of science fiction. Gold hoped that he could also equal in *Beyond* what *Unknown* had achieved for fantasy fiction.

*Beyond's* first issue appeared in May 1953, dated July. From the outset it was clear that the magazine was not going to pander to convention. The only matter for concern was that the surrealist covers by Richard Powers and, with the third issue, René Vidmer, begged comparison with Howard Browne's *Fantastic*. Here, in fact, were two magazines both seeking to achieve the same thing: high-quality fantasy fiction acceptable to all readers. In the final analysis *Beyond* did this better than *Fantastic* because Gold had a clearer vision and was more determined dedication to achieve it. With Browne, once the Ziff-Davis budgets were cut, *Fantastic* lapsed into a second-rate sf magazine. But at *Beyond*, despite sales problems, Gold persisted in publishing fiction that sought to stretch the boundaries of imagination.

He had the best writers to do it, three of them (Sturgeon, Knight and Matheson) in the first issue. Sturgeon led with '. . . And My Fear is Great', a story of possession in downtown New York. However, Damon Knight's story of communications breakdown, 'Babel II', is probably better remembered from that first issue. This story would have worked as well in *Galaxy*, and was probably first written for that magazine, because it is basically a science-fiction story but taken to a fantastic extreme. This was the basis upon which *Beyond* was established, and was the same as that upon which

Campbell had established *Unknown*, using Eric Frank Russell's semi-sf story, 'Sinister Barrier' (which you'll remember was also the first Galaxy SF Novel!).

If *Beyond* had its own classic then it has to be 'The Wall Around the World' by Theodore Cogswell, which led the second issue (September 1953). This compelling story of a boy's attempt to escape from a fantasy culture enclosed by a wall can be read on a multitude of levels and has an enduring fascination. Cogswell was never able to repeat its allure despite his many stories in the fifties, though he came close with 'Wolfie' (January 1954). Other successful stories in *Beyond* include 'Can Such Beauty Be?' by Jerome Bixby (September 1953), 'The King of the Elves' by Philip K. Dick (September 1953), 'The Real People' by Algis Budrys (November 1953), 'Sorry, Right Number' by Richard Matheson (November 1953), 'The God Business' by Philip José Farmer (March 1954) and 'Sine of the Magus' by James E. Gunn (May 1954), a diversity that shows that the magazine was prepared to publish a range of stories of fantasy, horror and the supernatural. It never ventured into heroic fantasy, the closest being the Harold Shea story 'The Green Magician' by L. Sprague de Camp and Fletcher Pratt (#9, November 1954).

Perhaps the most challenging and original story *Beyond* published was 'Stream of Consciousness' by Roy Hutchins (#10, January 1955) which concerned the life of a young and sentient river. It was one of several unusual stories that *Beyond* published which may have seemed excessive at the time but which now appear refreshingly different, demonstrating that *Beyond* was a haven for variety. Its pages have not been mined as substantially as *Unknown's* for fantasy, and it remains to be properly rediscovered.

The folding of *Beyond* with its tenth issue, which appeared in December 1954, was not because of financial problems – although it did not achieve the circulation or success of *Galaxy* – but because fantasy and horror fiction were going out of vogue. One of the reasons for this was a development in the comic-book field, which resulted in a series of circumstances that had a far wider effect on the science-fiction magazines. It was so significant that we need to consider it as part of the blight that settled over the magazines in the mid-fifties. I shall return to it shortly.

We have three other magazines to cover that appeared in 1953 before we crest the peak of the science-fiction boom. The next to appear was *Orbit Science Fiction*. Undated, the first issue went on sale in August 1953. Its cover format and interior design clearly imitated *Galaxy*. The publisher, Morris Latzen, was aware of the sf boom and spoke to agent Scott Meredith about how he might take advantage of the demand. Meredith made contact with Donald Wollheim who agreed to act as a freelance packager, acquiring the

stories and handing them over to Latzen's in-house editor, Jules Saltman, who assembled the issues and dealt with the artwork. Because of Wollheim's involvement the magazine is better than one might otherwise expect for a latecomer in the boom year. Nevertheless it published little that was remarkable. Its main contributors were August Derleth (with his stories about reporter Tex Harrigan who would find strange people doing strange things), Charles Beaumont, Mack Reynolds, Philip K. Dick and Wollheim himself. The magazine contained almost as much fantasy as science fiction, including Wollheim's own 'Asteroid 745: Mauritia' in the first issue (under his Martin Pearson alias) which is an excellent story of a haunted asteroid. One of the best stories in *Orbit* was 'The Passion of Orpheus' by Bryce Walton (July/August 1954), a post-atomic story in which religion plays a part in restoring civilization particularly through the power of music. It was rather more original than the many other post-nuclear/last-man stories that proliferated in *Orbit* and other magazines at this time.

As with most of its rivals, *Orbit* was competent but unremarkable. Latzen's small publishing concern, Hanro, was geared to gangster novels and men's magazines, and when *Orbit's* sales proved lower than expected Latzen cut his losses and *Orbit* folded after five issues.

*Cosmos Science Fiction and Fantasy Magazine* only ran to four issues, between September 1953 and July 1954. This magazine had the same origin as *Orbit*. Another publisher of men's magazines, J. A. Kramer, who ran Star Publications on Fifth Avenue, New York, also wanted a bite of the sf cake, and he also went to Scott Meredith. This time Meredith handed the project over to one of his readers, Larry Harris. Because of the sf boom, and because Meredith handled many of the top writers, he was able to package together material by good writers at a reasonable rate. For that reason *Cosmos* is full of big names, including Poul Anderson, Philip K. Dick, Arthur C. Clarke, Gordon R. Dickson, A. Bertram Chandler and Jack Vance. It was a good magazine. There were still too many post-nuclear doom stories, but that was typical of the time. Probably the best story was 'The Troublemakers' by Poul Anderson, one of his future history sequence, although 'The Fiends in the Bedroom' by John Jakes and 'The Curse' by Arthur C. Clarke are effective and memorable. All three of these appeared in the first issue. After the second issue there was a gap of some months as the publisher awaited the sales returns. Again sales were reasonable but not remarkable. Two further issues were released but sales did not pick up and Kramer pulled out.

The last new magazine of 1953 was *Spaceway*, and with this we return to the indefatigable William Crawford. Crawford was the first fan, back in 1933, to launch a small press semi-professional magazine, *Unusual Stories* (though his other magazine *Marvel Tales* made it into print first). Crawford

was a one-man band who had his own printing outfit, but it meant that he had no financial backing at all and all of his attempts at publishing were thwarted by his lack of finances and poor distribution deals. His post-war magazine, *Fantasy Book*, which had published the first sf by Cordwainer Smith, was similarly blighted, and had died of malnutrition with its eighth issue released in January 1951. Shortly afterwards, thanks to connections with Forrest Ackerman, Crawford was requested to edit a new magazine styled around the Hollywood sf movie king George Pal, to be called *George Pal's Tales of Space Conquest*. Pal had made some of the best sf films of the early fifties, starting with *Destination Moon* (1950), which ushered in the sf film boom of the fifties, and including *When Worlds Collide* (1951) and *War of the Worlds* (1953). His latest project was *The Conquest of Space*, hence the magazine title, but before this was released in 1955, financial and artistic problems over the film, which resulted in Pal leaving Paramount, killed the magazine before it was issued.

Nevertheless, Crawford, having made connections with a new distributor, and assembled and typeset most of the first issue, decided to go ahead anyway, but switched the film features from Pal's film to a British one, *Spaceways*, for which Ackerman had access to film stills and background features. It was unfortunate that *Spaceways* was a low-budget early Hammer film. Based on a radio play by Charles Eric Maine, it was competently adapted for the screen by Paul Tabori, but the acting and effects were stilted and the film (in black and white) sank without trace. This had an effect on the magazine, which was also of limited quality. Crawford drew most of his material from Ackerman's agency, which saw the resurrection of writers such as Stanton Coblenz, Arthur J. Burks and Clyde Beck, plus L. Ron Hubbard, E. Everett Evans and A. E. van Vogt. Through his links with British editor and agent John Carnell, Ackerman also supplied stories by H. J. Campbell and E. C. Tubb, but generally the magazine had little of merit and contained stories that would have been only just acceptable in a fanzine.

After the first issue's poor circulation the distributor pulled out of the deal leaving Crawford high and dry. He struggled on, publishing seven issues on an irregular basis till the last, dated June 1955, which left Ralph Milne Farley's serial 'The Radio Minds of Mars' incomplete. Nobody worried. Somewhat surprisingly, this is not the last we shall hear of *Spaceway*!

We have now passed the peak of the science-fiction boom. In fact only one other new title would appear at this time, and that was *Imaginative Tales*, published by William Hamling and released as a companion to *Imagination* in September 1954. It is surprising that Hamling left it so late to produce a companion that he might more profitably have issued two or three years earlier. *Imaginative Tales* was issued initially as a fantasy magazine,

and led with Hamling's favourite discovery, Charles F. Myers, with 'Toffee' (a reprint of 'The Shades of Toffee', *Fantastic Adventures*, June 1950). The magazine's format resembled Galaxy SF Novels and gave the appearance of a paperback novel rather than a magazine. The deliberate attempt to imitate the work of Thorne Smith, which continued to be popular in paperback, allowed Hamling to reprint the Myers novels and commission new ones from Robert Bloch and Geoff St Reynard. These novels were all humorous fantasies, and since there was nothing else like this around in magazine form at the time, Hamling secured a small niche that he was able to develop. When the bottom fell out of the fantasy market, Hamling shifted the emphasis in *Imaginative Tales* to science fiction and it rapidly became an unremarkable space opera magazine, with lead novels by Edmond Hamilton and Dwight Swain, and looking exactly like *Other Worlds*. In fact Palmer appeared in the magazine with one of his dreadful Shaveristic adventure stories, 'The Metal Emperor' (November 1955). By then *Imaginative Tales* was at its all-time low, from which it never really recovered, even though it staggered on until 1958.

### The Passing of the Pulps

It is often considered that the end of the science-fiction boom came with the death of the pulp magazines that hit the field in 1954. It's easier to recognize the passing of the pulps because so many big names went, among them *Weird Tales*, *Planet Stories*, *Startling Stories* and *Thrilling Wonder Stories*, but it is also necessary to recognize that just as many digest magazines died at that time, including *Orbit*, *Cosmos*, *Beyond*, *Space SF*, *Science Fiction Adventures* and *Rocket Stories*. It is true that all of these were new magazines that had been unable to establish themselves, but it was their passing that really indicated the passing of the sf boom, because the market had rapidly reached saturation point. The death of the pulps was part of that same set of circumstances, but they were more a victim of it than a cause.

What then was the cause, and how many threads do we need to untangle?

The reason usually given for the death of the magazines is the failure of the American News Company. Frederik Pohl gives a good background into how the company folded in *The Way the Future Was*.<sup>10</sup> The American News Company, or ANC as it was known, was the biggest single distributor of magazines, books and periodicals throughout the United States. There were plenty of other independent distributors, but ANC was the big one, and it

<sup>10</sup> Pohl, *The Way the Future Was*, pp. 217–19.



handled most of the sf magazines. The only problem with this argument is that ANC did not go into liquidation until 1957, and it pulled out of distributing magazines in June that year. As we shall see later, 1957 was the real year of the culling of sf magazines.

What has confused people is that in 1955 there was a strike by ANC workers in New York, which meant that magazines built up in warehouses and were not being distributed. When they were they were usually past their off-sale date and the magazine retailer merely returned the boxes complete. Publishers received back almost their whole consignment of magazines unsold, so it was hardly surprising that they rapidly ceased publication of those magazines. It also explains why so many of those titles from the fifties, despite poor circulation, are still easy to acquire in good condition, because many of them remained in warehouses, unpulped.

Although this was a significant factor it could be viewed as the straw that broke the camel's back, not the initial blow. As I explored in more detail in *The Time Machines*, the pulp magazine field had received a significant setback in 1949 when Street & Smith decided to stop all of their pulp magazines. Their switch to slick magazines and the emergence of digests as the preferred format was part of a culture change. The pulp magazine size, format and image were no longer appropriate to readers of the fifties, and during the height of the science-fiction boom (which was also a boom for many other digest magazines, especially in the detective and mystery fiction field) the bookstalls were so overlaid with digest magazines that the pulps found themselves pushed to the margins. No matter how good their content was (and some, such as *Startling Stories*, remained excellent to the end), if the retailers did not display the magazines they could not be sold.

A glossy magazine had appeared in December 1953 which would soon revolutionize the field. This was the men's magazine *Playboy*, published by Hugh Hefner, a former devotee of the pulp magazines and a member of the Weird Tales Club. In its early days the magazine might easily have been dismissed as a 'girlie' magazine, but its serious treatment of a wide range of social and political issues as well as its regular publication of top-rate short stories meant that this was a more sophisticated magazine than it might at first appear. It regularly published science-fiction and horror stories, including the serialization of Bradbury's expanded version of *Fahrenheit 451* (February–April 1954). With its high payment rates and extensive readership it represented an opportunity for science fiction to become more widely appreciated and gave sf writers a market that was intermediate between the pulps and digests and the more refined slicks. It was another pointer to the future.

The pulps were also being displaced by the mushrooming pocketbook industry. Paperback books and digest magazines could sit comfortably side

by side, but not the pulps. The pulps also retained an image that had now been superseded by the comic-book field, and indeed, many of the pulp publishers also had buoyant comic-books which usually outsold their pulp partners and frequently helped sustain them financially.

This was the nub of the problem with the pulps. In the eyes of the public and distributors they were so closely linked to the comic-books that a blight on one would seriously affect the other – and that is what happened. The early 1950s had seen a rise in juvenile delinquency, and the psychiatrist Fredric Wertham became convinced that there was a link between this and the increased violence prevalent in comic-books. He wrote a series of articles on the subject for *Ladies' Home Journal* during 1953 under the title 'What Parents Don't Know About Comic Books' and expanded this as a book published as *Seduction of the Innocent* (1954). Wertham was called to testify before a Senate Subcommittee set up to investigate juvenile delinquency in April 1954, and several comic-books were used in evidence. The result of this exposure was a furore among God-fearing parents and a significant backlash on the comic-book industry. It forced the comic-book publishers to introduce a Comic Code, and to become self-censoring. It was the same problem that was echoed 25 years later in campaigns against video nasties. It meant that at the height of the concern distributors and retailers refused to handle comic-books. Comic-books were publicly burned and a blight settled over the industry.

The impact upon the comic-books was immediately noticeable, as some publications either went out of business or cleaned up their act. *Tomb of Terror* was one of the more notable excesses of the comics. It had been issued by Harvey Publications since June 1952 and featured at least one classic horror cover, that on its May 1954 issue, with an exploding head illustrating the story 'Break-Up!'. Its next issue was its last. After that it retitled itself *Thrills of Tomorrow*, and presented rather less harmful fiction, including the caped hero Stuntman, but it survived only four issues in that shape before folding in April 1955. The same fate befell other rather excessive comic-books: *Menace*, an Atlas Publication which had only started in March 1953, folded in May 1954; *Weird Terror* from Hardy Associates and *Weird Mysteries* from Gilmore Publications both folded in September 1954; *Horrific*, which specialized in grotesque faces on the cover, also folded in September 1954, though re-emerged briefly as *Terrific*, which wasn't much better. In March 1955 it cleaned its act up and became *Wonder Boy*, with its clean-cut boy hero, though that only survived three issues.

The worst hit was E. C. Comics, under William M. Gaines, whose fortune had been made on these comics. Among their titles was the famous *The Vault of Horror*, which had started as a feature within *War Against Crime* and

had become sufficiently popular to warrant a magazine of its own. E. C. Comics also issued two sf books with covers closer to the horror publications. These were *Weird Fantasy* and *Weird Science*, both of which started in May 1950. Although they were less gruesome than either *Weird Terror* or *Weird Mysteries* their titles became linked. This was despite the fact that these two comics treated science fiction comparatively seriously, with good adaptations of stories by leading writers, especially Ray Bradbury, and top-class artwork from Wallace Wood, Frank Frazetta and others. The two were merged as *Weird Science-Fantasy* in March 1954 and retitled *Incredible Science Fiction* in August 1955, but by the end of 1955 the company found it could no longer survive the vendetta against it. By then William Gaines had decided to cut his losses. He closed down his entire comic-book chain and focused on *Mad*. This had started as a comic, with the banner heading *Tales Calculated to Drive You . . . MAD* in October 1952, and its success had spawned a pocketbook equivalent, *The MAD Reader*, from Ballantine Books in 1954. In July 1955, Gaines converted *Mad* from a comic-book into slick-magazine format, and thus rid it of its comic-book image.

Of course the passing of the horror comics had no improving effect upon juvenile delinquency, and guardians of the public morals moved on to criticize other things, especially rock'n'roll music and television. What is clear is that the comics were as strong an influence upon the next generation of horror writers (especially Stephen King and Ramsey Campbell) as the pulps and early comic-books had been on Ray Bradbury and other emerging sf writers in the forties.

The blight settled over the comic-book field during 1954 and 1955 in the wake of the Wertham report. The effect toppled over into the pulp field. Publishers who were getting the bulk of their revenue from comics suddenly found that income threatened. For instance, Fiction House, which published *Planet Comics* and *Jungle Comics*, had terminated their publication in 1953, and that revenue was never adequately replaced. *Planet Stories*, the pulp, continued until early 1955 but the combination of the ANC strike and the adverse public reaction to the comics was too much.

One other factor that has been adduced as a cause of the death of the pulps was the emergence of television. This may have had an effect upon some of the pulps, especially the Western and romance pulps, and their loss of circulation would have affected the publishers, but the real effect of television was on the writers. Television needed material at an even faster rate than radio, and the pulp writers were ideal for producing fast copy. Many of the television series of the fifties were little more than a continuation of pulp-magazine series. As the writers turned to television the pulps found it harder to find new material, and another spiral set in.

It was the combination of all these factors that saw the pulps rapidly fade. *Weird Tales* was perhaps the saddest loss. This had started the special-interest weird-fiction market in 1923. Although the issues from the forties do not hold the glamour of those from the twenties and thirties, it still published some good material, and had been the most consistent market for weird fiction. It had converted from a pulp to a digest magazine in September 1953, but by then its days were numbered and it folded in September 1954 when its sister magazine, the venerable *Short Stories*, also folded.

*Thrilling Wonder Stories* was merged with *Startling Stories* after its Winter 1955 issue but *Startling Stories* saw only three more issues, folding in Fall 1955. From then on *Science Fiction Quarterly* remained the only sf pulp and this survived until the end of 1957 (issue dated February 1958), when the ANC decision not to handle sf magazines had its final effect.

The fact that these pulps folded did not, in itself, mean that they were bad magazines. The magazine market is seldom as simple as that. Often bad magazines can survive longer than good ones if they get the right backing. The pulps became victims of the age. Of the pulps, *Thrilling Wonder* and *Startling Stories* had contributed the most to the development of science fiction, and should be rated alongside *Astounding*, *Galaxy* and *F&SF* for the quality of their material. Despite their old-style titles and flamboyant covers, they contained some of the best science fiction available.

The end of 1955 saw the American sf magazine market at its lowest ebb since the end of the Second World War. There were only eleven magazines that had survived the blight: *Amazing Stories* and its companion *Fantastic*, *Astounding*, *Galaxy*, *F&SF*, *Fantastic Universe*, *If*, *Imagination* and its companion *Imaginative Tales*, *Other Worlds* and *Science Fiction Stories*. But there was hope on the horizon. At the end of 1955 a new magazine appeared. It was called *Infinity*, and was edited by Larry Shaw. It was published by Royal Publications, which was run by Irwin Stein and his wife Helen. They had set up the company in 1954 to publish two vest-pocket-size non-fiction magazines called *Celebrity* and *Our Life* from East 44th Street in Manhattan. Larry Shaw joined them as editor but left within the year to edit a hot-rod auto magazine, *Rodding and Re-Styling*, but returned in 1955 when he learned that Stein was interested in issuing an sf magazine. The first issue, dated November 1955 (but issued in September) carried 'The Star' by Arthur C. Clarke, which went on to win the Hugo award as the year's best sf short story. The second issue, dated January 1956 but out in November 1955, carried 'Glow-worm', the first professional appearance of Harlan Ellison. What is often forgotten is that Shaw acquired a sequel to 'The Star', not by Clarke, but by Betsy Curtis. 'Rebuttal', which appeared in the third issue (June 1956), is about the expedition to the planet destroyed by the nova.

*Infinity* was not a top-quality magazine. It was produced on the cheap, though the action-packed covers by Ed Emshwiller, who was now illustrating most of the sf magazines, gave it a certain uniformity. Its strength was that it was edited by someone who knew the field and endeavoured to acquire good material when he could afford it. He was respected by the leading writers so he was able to publish Damon Knight, Frederik Pohl, Charles Beaumont, Robert Sheckley, James Gunn and Isaac Asimov, sometimes with first-run material. He encouraged Damon Knight to return to book reviewing, and he ensured that the magazine appealed to the fans. As a result, at its best, *Infinity* was able to hold its head up among the magazines, and was certainly among the second order, alongside *If* and *Fantastic Universe*.

*Infinity* was off to an auspicious start, and other magazines would come in its wake, which we shall explore later. The pause around 1955 between the death of the old magazines and the birth of the new gives us an opportunity to take stock and consider two other areas. Firstly, we shall explore the situation in science fiction in the UK in the first half of the 1950s, and secondly we shall take a closer look at the writers and the stories that were being published in the mid-fifties.

## 3

# The Best of British?

### Statten Island

Although in America, in 1950, issues of science-fiction magazines outnumbered science-fiction paperbacks, the opposite was true in Britain. This was because paper rationing during the Second World War had meant that not only was there less paper to go round, so books were smaller, but there was also a restriction on starting any new serial publication.

It was a situation from which fiction magazines never really recovered. Even the grandfather of them all, *The Strand Magazine*, staggered on in a slim digest format, succumbing to financial pressures with its final issue in March 1950. Thereafter few fiction magazines of any kind survived, with science fiction being one of the exceptions.

Britain's two premier sf magazines were *New Worlds* and *Science-Fantasy*. *New Worlds* had first appeared in professional format in 1946 but the publisher had folded after three issues. A consortium of British fans and writers saw the magazine relaunched on a more robust financial basis in 1949 with the formation of Nova Publications. From the sixth issue, dated Spring 1950, *New Worlds* appeared on a regular quarterly schedule. The stronger financial base allowed Nova to publish a companion magazine, *Science-Fantasy*, which first appeared dated Summer 1950. This was edited by Walter Gillings, the pioneer of British sf magazines, who had started *Tales of Wonder* in 1937, and had edited the short-lived *Fantasy* just after the war, of which *Science-Fantasy* was a continuation in kind if not in name. After just two issues, though, the board of directors at Nova Publications felt that they could save money if John Carnell, who edited *New Worlds*, edited both magazines, and he took over *Science-Fantasy* from the third issue. This was quite a body-blow to Gillings, who felt fandom had betrayed him. This, and

a family bereavement, meant that he turned his back on science fiction for twenty years, but we shall encounter him again in the late sixties.

For a period both *New Worlds* and *Science-Fantasy* published the same kind of science fiction, though *New Worlds* tended to follow traditional sf, in the vein of *Astounding*, while *Science-Fantasy* was less restrictive. Both magazines needed a while to establish themselves and develop a stable of writers. At first they relied on writers who, for the most part, had made their first sales to America. Some, such as John Beynon Harris (who appeared briefly as John Beynon on his way to becoming John Wyndham), had been writing sf for twenty years, while others, including Arthur C. Clarke, Sydney J. Bounds, Peter Phillips, John Christopher and A. Bertram Chandler, had emerged in the forties.

These two magazines would rapidly become the bedrock of high-quality science fiction in Britain, and I shall give them a fuller analysis later. First we must consider the opposition, a term which in its widest sense is appropriate for most of what was emerging in 1950.

1950 saw the same mushrooming of sf publications in Britain as in America, though whereas America's growth was in magazines, Britain's was in paperbacks. Both economies were recovering from the war and both cultures were reacting to the new atomic world in the same way. Yet while Britain may have been the home of science fiction under H. G. Wells, the medium was no longer held in such regard. The growth of genre science fiction in Britain was not a natural British development. It was only a reflection of what was happening in America. Whatever was popular there, the British sought to imitate and in the case of science fiction it became a literary disaster.<sup>1</sup>

The war-time import restrictions still applied, and British publishers began to issue imitation American paperbacks, usually concentrating on the same things that sold well shortly before and especially during the war to a displaced male audience. Top of the list were hard-boiled crime and gangster novels in the style of Peter Cheyney and James Hadley Chase, whose *No Orchids for Miss Blandish* (Jarrolds, 1939) had been a war-time bestseller. Westerns were steadily popular and, from 1950, those same publishers expanded into science fiction.

There were already British reprint editions of American magazines. *Astounding SF* had had a regular British edition since August 1939, and though

1 The full story of the development of British sf in the years after World War II has been detailed in two books by Philip Harbottle and Stephen Holland: *Vultures of the Void* (San Bernardino: The Borgo Press, 1992) and *British Science Fiction Paperbacks and Magazines, 1949–1956* (San Bernardino: The Borgo Press, 1994). My thanks to Philip Harbottle and Stephen Holland for their assistance with this chapter and for permission to quote from these two volumes.

slimmer than its parent publication, it had managed to appear monthly throughout the war and would do so until 1963. Other British reprint editions of US magazines began to appear from 1949 onwards, including *Startling Stories*, *Thrilling Wonder Stories*, *Super Science Stories*, *Amazing Stories* and *Fantastic Adventures*. Most of these were published by Atlas Publications, which reprinted *Astounding*, though others came from Thorpe & Porter in Leicester and Pembertons of Manchester, both pre-war distributors and booksellers who knew there was an audience for American magazines.

All of these reprinted titles sold well, and a number of opportunist British publishers decided they would get a piece of the action. Unfortunately, few of these had any real idea what science fiction was, partly due to the lack of any science-fiction magazine tradition in Britain. Many of the writers and editors who were called upon to produce science fiction and who were not part of the real sf circle fell back on their memories of reading from the past, which was predominantly juvenile sf from the boys' papers of the twenties and thirties. If they did any research at all it would have been among the readily available second-hand pre-war US pulps or the sf classics of Wells, Verne and Conan Doyle, now half a century old. These small paperback publishers could also react quickly to fluctuations in the market and where they found sf selling well they promptly piled more on top of the old. To catch this wave of interest these publishers turned to their fastest authors to turn out science-fiction yarns, and the resulting paperbacks were often Wild West action in space, with daring heroes fighting monsters, rescuing damsels in distress, and hopping from planet to planet. This was painfully reminiscent of American science fiction in 1931, when pulp publishers started to jump onto the bandwagon of success that Gernsback's magazines were achieving. American sf had eventually overcome this through the work of F. Orlin Tremaine and John W. Campbell. Britain would have to learn the same lessons. Perhaps fortunately, it did all of its catching up in the space of two or three years, but it was a period that would see the publication of some of the worst science fiction ever written, bringing a stigma and an image to the field that took many years to live down.

The first to enter the fray was the firm of John Spencer & Co., a company run by Maurice Nahum and Samuel Assael in Shepherd's Bush in West London. It had been founded in late 1947 and then concentrated mostly on Westerns and gangster books. Assael, the primary partner, who also served as editor, was aware of the growing market for sf and decided to launch not one but four science-fiction magazines. The first to appear was *Futuristic Science Stories* in April 1950, though this and all issues of all the magazines were undated. It was followed by *Worlds of Fantasy* in June 1950, *Tales of Tomorrow* in September, and *Wonders of the Spaceways* in February 1951. Issues



appeared erratically, depending upon paper availability and publishing whim, but the most regular was *Futuristic*, which sustained an almost quarterly schedule.

The magazines were indistinguishable from each other, apart from the titles. They were issued in the standard pocketbook format, and with no editorial matter could be regarded as occasional paperback anthologies of new material. The drab, lifeless covers were the work of Gerald Facey, although later issues came alive with the action-packed paintings of Norman Light and the aeronautically inspired work of Gordon C. Davies.

Assael showed little discretion in his choice of fiction. He was interested only in filling an issue and meeting the printer's deadline. Issues tended to be filled with the work of just one or two authors working under various pen names, since it was only by producing work at a conveyer-belt pace that authors made Spencer's word rate of ten shillings per thousand words (which was about one-fifth of a cent a word) mount up to anything. A standard issue ran to about 30,000 words, so that the fiction cost only £15 (then about \$60). Authors used to the paperback field succeeded in negotiating a higher rate, though never more than fifteen shillings per thousand words.

The first issues of *Futuristic*, *Tales of Tomorrow* and *Worlds of Fantasy* were written almost solely by three writers: Norman Lazenby, Sydney J. Bounds and John F. Watt. Watt produced confessions stories and gangster novels for Spencer and had never written any sf previously. Lazenby produced mostly gangster novels, and would later turn to Westerns and confessions stories. Only Bounds (and to a lesser extent Lazenby) had any grounding in science fiction. Bounds was a capable writer, though these early stories are all best forgotten. All of the stories were first-draft compositions with no revision. It is doubtful that Assael ever read them.

It did not take long for writers to realize that here was an abysmal set of magazines, and any writer with a degree of self-respect avoided them. Alternatively, they sought out the easy money that was offered and supplied them with the type of fiction they deserved. In the second *Futuristic Science Stories*, Lazenby reached an all-time low with 'Plasma Men Bring Death', set on a miniature Earth called Earthkin, which is invaded by the ruthless outlaw Arturo Korlin and his Plasma Men. That same issue carried the appalling 'Vultures of the Void' by Sydney J. Bounds writing as Clifford Wallace, telling of the space heroics of Captain Starlight and his chum Tubby Masters.

There is no doubt that these magazines contained the worst science fiction ever published, and probably the worst science-fiction writer in the form of Barney or Edward Ward. Ward, whose identity has not been traced, produced at least four stories for Spencer's, including 'Aftermath' (*Tales of Tomorrow* #2, [January] 1951), a post-nuclear holocaust story of

humankind facing deformed mutations. This story shows a complete lack of knowledge of anything scientific, as the reference to keeping deformed babies in 'concubines', rather than incubators, demonstrates. 'Pirates of the Black Moon' (*Futuristic Science Stories* #7, [Spring] 1952) proves Ward's total lack of knowledge of space. This story was later expanded as the novel *Pirates of Cerebus* (Gannet Press, 1953) under the alias Bengo Mistral, recognized by Philip Harbottle as the worst sf novel ever published.<sup>2</sup>

This was not a good training ground for new writers, and it is therefore not that surprising that few who appeared in the pages of *Futuristic Science Stories* appeared elsewhere. It is surprising that writers such as Sydney J. Bounds and Lan Wright appeared in its pages at all. Wright learned his lesson quickly. His first sale, 'Heritage', a moderately readable story about space-war tactics, appeared in *Futuristic Science Stories* #6 (Winter 1952) and he sold them half a dozen more before he moved up to *New Worlds* to become one of its better writers of the fifties. In fact Wright is the only example of a writer who debuted in the Spencer magazines and succeeded in graduating to better things.

It is probably not surprising that R. Lionel Fanthorpe, who would go on to be Britain's most prolific writer of science fiction and supernatural stories in the late fifties and early sixties, first appeared in *Futuristic*. Fanthorpe had writing ability, and a very fertile imagination, but Spencer's total lack of quality control meant that Fanthorpe found no need to improve on his first juvenile effort, 'Worlds Without End' (*Futuristic Science Stories* #6, [Winter] 1952, as Lionel Roberts), written when he was sixteen. He went on producing the same kind of material with much gusto for the next fourteen years.

Apart from Bounds and Wright, two other writers capable of better work appeared in the Spencer magazines. These were E. C. Tubb and John S. Glasby. Tubb was another of Britain's most prolific yet versatile writers. Had he been American living at the height of the pulps he would have been one of their major contributors, but he came along just when the pulps were dying, and with no such outlet in Britain, Tubb turned to the next best thing. Unfortunately, in Britain, anything after *New Worlds* or *Science-Fantasy* was the next worst thing. Tubb debuted in *New Worlds* with 'No Short Cuts' (Summer 1951), a story about the electronic transfer of knowledge to the brain, and had sold over half a dozen stories to Carnell before he made his first sales to Spencer's, where he appeared with three stories at once. The most remarkable of these was 'First Effort' (*Worlds of Fantasy* #7, 1952, as L. T. Bronson), in which pioneers to Venus find repairs to the ship impossible

<sup>2</sup> See Harbottle and Holland, *British Science Fiction Paperbacks and Magazines, 1949-1956*, p. 126.

and they are forced to take poison. Tubb was renowned for his hard-hitting bleak view in science fiction and his seven stories in Spencer's sf magazines are among the few high spots.

Glasby was a research chemist with a good grounding in science fiction, having read *Astounding* throughout his student years. He was a particular devotee of the works of A. E. van Vogt, and though never equal to van Vogt's techniques, Glasby could still produce some interesting stories. His first, 'Moondust' (*Futuristic Science Stories* #8, 1952, as A. J. Merak) is about four escaped convicts and their search for a fabled lunar drug. Had Glasby been selling to Carnell there is no doubt that he would have developed as a good writer. Instead his sales to the Spencer magazines and other paperback publishers doomed him from the outset, as he got into the habit of producing instant first-draft material of average quality for non-discerning publishers.

And there were plenty of these around. Apart from Spencer, there were three others that dominated the sf paperback field: Scion, Curtis Warren and Hamilton. Both Scion and Curtis Warren had begun publishing in 1948, again relying mostly on gangster novels, though Scion also produced everything from comics to romances, and did not produce gangster novels until 1950. Maurice Read, Scion's editor, came into contact with John Russell Fearn, who, since his first sales to the American pulp magazines in the thirties, had become Britain's most prolific sf writer. Fearn was finding it harder to make sales to America after the war, since most of his US markets had either folded or had new editors who were seeking more mature fiction. He decided to concentrate exclusively on the most lucrative of his overseas markets, the Toronto *Star Weekly*, which published a weekly novel supplement that was also widely syndicated. However, the editors could only use at best two or three sf novels a year from Fearn. British publishers, on the other hand, just wanted science fiction, of any kind, all the time there was a market for it. The quality did not matter. Fearn soon found that he could rework his earlier pulp material and resell it to the British paperbacks as well as picking up an additional reprint sale on his *Star Weekly* work. After the war he had found success in the UK writing detective novels and Westerns, which brought him into contact with Scion.

Fearn approached Read with a science-fiction novel that was an expansion of 'Queen of Venus' from *Marvel Stories*, November 1940, about a Venusian El Dorado in the Brazilian jungle. It was promptly accepted and published under the title *Operation Venus* in May 1950. It appeared under Fearn's own name, but thereafter Read felt that it was a bad idea to have science fiction appearing from one of his established Western writers, so he created an American-sounding pseudonym, Vargo Statten, and announced

a new series of novels. The first Statten novel, *Annihilation*, in which Earth faces destruction following the loss of its magnetic field, appeared in June 1950, followed by *The Micro-Men* in July and *Wanderer of Space* in August. These were not novels written to order. They had been completed some years earlier for markets that failed before publication, so they were better written and more intelligent than most other paperback science fiction that was around. Although few of these novels were on a par with those appearing in the American magazines, at that time most British readers were not aware of this. Because of the dearth of any significant British material, the Vargo Statten novels began to sell in large numbers. Fearn also sold a series of stories to rival publisher Hamilton's, which prompted Scion's publisher, Binyimin Emmanuel, to sign Fearn to a contract to write sf exclusively for Scion.

It was the success of the Statten novels that caused sf publishing to mushroom in Britain. Curtis Warren, through editor Edwin Self, latched on to this immediately. One of Warren's readers was David Griffiths, himself an active science-fiction fan. Griffiths, along with fellow writer Denis Hughes, began to produce a series of mediocre novels for Curtis Warren, under a range of pseudonyms. Most were either immature space operas or post-atomic mutant/gangster novels.

By 1951 Curtis Warren was attracting work from any writer anxious to earn a crust, few of them capable of producing material of any quality. Curtis Warren created a series of house pseudonyms that masked the identity of several writers. These included such names as Berl Cameron, Neil Charles, Gill Hunt, King Lang, Rand LePage, Kris Luna and Arn Romilius. The authors themselves had no say as to which names their books appeared under, and this meant that it was possible for one by-line to have an excellent novel one month and an atrocious one the next. Take the name Gill Hunt. As Philip Harbottle's research has revealed, this was used initially for the works of Dennis Hughes, though his novels, *Hostile Worlds*, *Planet X*, *Elektron Union* and *Space Flight*, all published in the first half of 1951, are shoddy space opera lacking any merit. The quality then changed. *Vega*, by David Griffiths, was one of his better novels, and is a cleverly conceived story of alien invasion. Then came *Galactic Storm*, another alien invasion story but with a little more merit. This was the work of John Brunner, though his credit remained hidden for almost thirty years because he was so embarrassed by it. The next Gill Hunt novel was *Planetfall*, an enjoyable novel of colonial revolt and the search for a lost spaceship on Venus. This was the work of E. C. Tubb.

This pseudonymity was not helpful to the field. It meant that good sf became indistinguishable from bad sf, because if readers exercised any

discrimination they would probably not buy the next novel bearing the same by-line as one they had disliked. It also meant that most science fiction rapidly became tarred with the same brush, the lowest common denominator being the worst sf around.

None of the paperbacks from Scion or Curtis Warren was a magazine in any sense of the word, but they were the closest British equivalent. They were written to the same criteria and under the same conditions as many of the pulp magazines, especially the hero pulps, from the thirties and forties, with writers under arrangement to produce a certain wordage each month. The same condition prevailed at *Amazing Stories* and *Fantastic* in the United States in the mid-fifties. Curtis Warren reached its sf publishing peak in 1952 with over 40 sf titles, in the same year that Scion published 18. In total some 95 sf books were published in Britain in 1952 compared to only 33 issues of science-fiction magazines, a ratio of roughly one magazine to every three books. In America, by contrast, 1952 had seen 152 different magazine issues but only 16 bona fide sf paperbacks, a ratio there of one book to every ten magazine issues. Clearly, the only regular market in Britain for sf was the paperback, so it is no surprise that even the better writers, such as Tubb, Brunner, Fearn and even Glasby (whose first sales were to Curtis Warren), found they had to turn to these publishers in order to make any sales in Britain.

As we have seen, the borderline between book and magazine is not always clear. The publisher that began to show some discrimination and sought to pull the sf paperbacks out from the mire towards some degree of respectability was Hamilton's, and that was because the company had a good editor in Gordon Landsborough.

Hamilton's had been founded in 1943. One of its founding directors was Harry Assael, the brother of Samuel Assael, while the other was Joseph Pacey, who went on to launch Curtis Warren, which shows what a close-knit community the paperbacks were in the forties. We have already encountered Hamilton's in the first volume of this history, *The Time Machines*. They published two appalling pulp magazines, *Futuristic Stories* and *Strange Adventures*, in 1946, both of which saw two issues written entirely by N. Wesley Firth, who simply transplanted his gangster novels to outer space.

Gordon Landsborough joined Hamilton's in 1949 and did his best to raise the standard of writing and production. This wasn't difficult, since there were no standards, but it was difficult to find any really good-quality material at the rates Hamilton's were prepared to pay. It was only by a steady process of persistence that Landsborough succeeded in improving the rates for both stories and artwork and started to edge slightly ahead of the competition, with better quality products.

As with everyone else, by 1950, Hamilton's wanted a share of the sf action. At that stage sf, to Hamilton's, meant Edgar Rice Burroughs. Since 1949, the publisher Mark Goulden had been having considerable success reprinting Burroughs' Tarzan and John Carter novels. Landsborough commissioned John Russell Fearn to produce some imitation Burroughs Martian novels. These began with *Emperor of Mars*, published in October 1950. Scheduled for two a month, the series stopped abruptly after the fourth novel, *Goddess of Mars*, when Fearn signed his exclusive contract with Scion.

Landsborough scouted around for other writers. Needing to fill the gap left by Fearn quickly, he initially brought in writers producing non-sf books for Hamilton's, and as with other publishers set up a series of house names for their material. In fact Landsborough hid his own editorial identity behind the alias L. G. Holmes. The first of these 'new' authors was Lee Stanton, who also wrote under his real name as Rick (Richard) Conroy. His first book, *Mushroom Men from Mars* – which title says it all – was of abysmal quality. Much better was the next novel, *Reconnoitre Krellig II*. This appeared under the alias Jon J. Deegan, which was later discovered to be an alias for Robert G. Sharp, a general fiction writer who, at the time, was producing Foreign Legion novels for Hamilton. Sharp was an experienced writer and although he lacked competence in sf, his general writing skills brought him through. This novel was the first in what became known as the *Old Growler* series, the title referring to the spaceship in which the survey team from the Interplanetary Exploration Bureau explored various planets in the system of the star Vega. The characterization in the series was not far above boys' adventure quality, but the plots and writing were much better than most other fiction around, and the *Old Growler* series became instantly popular.

They helped establish what Hamilton's had called the 'Authentic Science Fiction Series'. This general title had been applied to these first two novels, which had appeared on 1 and 15 January 1951. Although Landsborough was not keen on the 'Authentic' appellation, the very use of that title by Hamilton's showed that they were seeking to present a series that was a cut above the general run of science fiction, claiming to be something genuine.

With the third novel in this series, Landsborough placed a banner on the cover declaring 'SCIENCE FICTION FORTNIGHTLY'. This was only intended as an indication of the publishing schedule, alerting the reader to expect a novel every other week. However, the banner rapidly became the title, with readers asking dealers for *Authentic Science Fiction Fortnightly*. The first novel under this banner, *Gold Men of Aureus*, was an atrocious lost-in-space style of adventure, and ushered in the new by-line Roy Sheldon. The perpetrator of this novel is unknown, but the next Sheldon novel, *Phantom Moon (Authentic #6, 15 March 1951)*, was by new writer H. J. ('Bert') Campbell.

Campbell was a 25-year-old newly qualified research chemist who was a member of the London circle of sf fans. Through his contact with Arthur C. Clarke, Campbell had been involved with the new high-quality comic magazine for children from Hulton Press, *The Eagle*, which appeared on 14 April 1950. *The Eagle's* lead comic strip was 'Dan Dare – Pilot of the Future', expertly drawn and plotted by Frank Hampson. The rest of the magazine featured a mixture of adventure stories, but also emphasized scientific developments. Clarke assisted as technical adviser for a short period, but then brought in Bert Campbell when his own commitments became extensive. The success of Dan Dare caused Hulton's to consider launching a science-fiction magazine. Campbell prepared four pilot issues before Hulton's changed their minds and instead launched a companion comic to *The Eagle* called *Girl*. Both these comics remained the mark of quality throughout the fifties.

Campbell's experience was not wasted. He switched to technical adviser at Hamilton's, where Landsborough was keen to ensure that the science-fiction material he was buying was scientifically accurate – living up to the 'Authentic' label. He was able to rewrite his Dan Dare-style adventures for the novel *Phantom Moon*, and thus launched the series featuring space explorers Shiny Spear and Dirk Manners. This series became somewhat notorious for its violent and wholesale destruction of alien races.

Campbell's own name first appeared on *World in a Test-Tube* (*Authentic* #8, 15 April 1951), in which he contrasted the values of human and mutated life. He developed this theme in *The Last Mutation* (*Authentic* #11, July 1951), in which a mutant tries to rebel against his human overlords in the hope of replacing humankind.

Campbell's work was not especially sophisticated, even though Landsborough regarded him as a good writer, but it was enjoyable, and showed the mark of an author who at least knew his material, even if he did not always know how to develop it. Campbell, as a result, had the qualities of a good editor. When Hamilton's decided to convert their 'Authentic' series into a regular science-fiction magazine, to cash in on the market reached by the British reprint of *Astounding*, Landsborough employed Campbell to develop *Authentic* from a series of novels into a magazine. The series was retitled *Authentic Science Fiction Monthly* from its thirteenth issue in September 1951, when Campbell took over as editor. It remained primarily a paperback novel, with occasional filler articles, until issue #26 in October 1952 when, in addition to the novel, *Authentic* ran the first episode of a serial, 'Frontier Legion' by Sydney J. Bounds.

At the start of 1953, *Authentic* began to reprint stories from America, most of them acquired via Forrest Ackerman's literary agency. *Authentic* reprinted

stories by Ray Bradbury, Dwight V. Swain, A. E. van Vogt, Rog Phillips and Daniel F. Galouye, and occasionally acquired new material by American writers. It was in this way that *Authentic* made its most significant scoop, though it went unappreciated for over ten years. The lead novel in the March 1953 issue was 'The Rose' by Charles L. Harness. This is a remarkable novel about human evolution towards a superman phase, but is written against an intensely human backdrop of gradual mutation and the sacrifice of art for science. Harness, who had been selling good material to John W. Campbell, Samuel Merwin and Anthony Boucher in America, had been unable to find a market for this story. Despite the taboo-breaking crusades being undertaken by American sf editors, clearly there were stories that remained unappreciated. The inability to sell this story probably soured Harness on sf, as he drifted away from the scene for over ten years. Moreover, its publication in a cheap British paperback may have added insult to injury.

Nevertheless 'The Rose' was an example of the type of story that British magazines would publish while Americans would not. This did not necessarily demonstrate a more liberal publishing policy in Britain, as most British publications at that time had no policy at all. But during the fifties it became evident that Britain had a wider interpretation of how science fiction could be treated, a fact that would revolutionize the field in the mid-sixties under Michael Moorcock. It is therefore pertinent to note that one of Moorcock's first actions as editor in 1965 was to buy new material from Charles Harness and secure a reprint of *The Rose* (Compact Books, 1966).

It was not until its August 1953 issue that *Authentic* dropped its US reprints and featured all new material by British writers. It still published work by US writers, but this time all new stories, and reprints did not return until 1956. During this period, therefore, *Authentic* was able to develop its own stable of British writers. Its contents rapidly matured in quality and it took on an identity.

*Authentic* came to represent a merger of technical expertise and prophetic doom. From issue #35 (July 1953) the magazine began to publish better quality covers, often illustrating features that discussed various aspects of rocket flight and space travel. It encouraged fiction that explored space, but which endeavoured to be a notch above space opera. Likewise, stories exploring the future had to be well developed. Writing in the shadow of the atomic bomb, with nuclear war and mutation a key theme for every writer, most stories reflected the inevitability of nuclear destruction. Authors working in both camps included Bryan Berry, John F. Burke, Charles Eric Maine, John Christopher, William F. Temple, Kenneth Bulmer and particularly E. C. Tubb, whose hard-hitting stories became a feature of *Authentic*.



Another writer who made an early sale to *Authentic* was Edmund Cooper. His downbeat approach to sf seemed just right for *Authentic*, and it is surprising that he appeared there only once with 'The Jar of Latakia' (September 1954), though he may have been deterred by the wordage rates, which were still much lower than those of the American market. Cooper is a good example of the extremes that could be achieved in a very short space of time. After serving in the British Merchant Navy, Cooper became a teacher after the war before risking full-time writing in 1951. His first sale was 'The Unicorn' in *Everybody's* in 1951 and he began to sell fairly regularly to the magazines, including *London Mystery Magazine*, *Authentic* and, in the States, *Fantastic Universe*. He also began to sell his first novels to – of all publishers – Curtis Warren. Three pseudonymous books appeared, including his first sf novel, *Ferry Rocket* (1954, as by George Kinley).<sup>3</sup> Within two years, Cooper had a story in the *Saturday Evening Post*, 'Invisible Boy' (23 June 1956). I know of no other writer who, in such a short space of time, went from the lowly British pocketbook to the *Post*. But soon after, Cooper virtually ceased writing short stories and focused on novels. 'When I knew how to write sf, I knew I could express far better in novel terms than in short story terms the things I want to say and do,' he told James Goddard in 1975.<sup>4</sup> He added that 'magazines like *Analog*, for example, put a narrow limitation on their writers, *F&SF* and *Galaxy* impose a different kind of limitation'. Since Cooper never appeared in these magazines one must assume that his approach did not square with the editors. To Cooper it was not worth the sacrifice to comply with editorial restrictions and he pursued the wider playing field and greater rewards of the novel.

Another science-fiction magazine had appeared in Britain in 1952. This was *Nebula*, and it was published in Glasgow by dedicated science-fiction fan Peter Hamilton. Hamilton had just left school in 1952, but work was difficult to obtain and his constant ill-health meant that any hard physical labour was impossible. His parents were printers, and Hamilton suggested a way of using the printing machinery during its idle moments. Hamilton planned to issue a series of pocketbooks and began to acquire material, but a local distributor advised him that a magazine would sell better than a paperback. This has been supported by Gordon Landsborough, who has stated elsewhere that while the Hamilton paperbacks were selling at their best 15,000 copies (and other paperbacks sometimes as few as 10,000), *Authentic* sold upwards of 30,000 copies and the British edition of *Astounding* was rumoured to sell 40,000.<sup>5</sup>

3 Details of Cooper's early pseudonymous sales will be found in 'Curtis Warren & Grant Hughes Index', by Steve Holland, *PBO* #9, Spring 1998, p. 47.

4 James Goddard, 'An Interview with Edmund Cooper', *Science Fiction Monthly* 2(4), [May] 1975, p. 11.

Hamilton thus converted his paperback project to a magazine, and *Nebula* was born. The first issue was in large digest format, the same size as *New Worlds*, but thicker, at 120 pages. It was entirely self-financed by Hamilton, though he had considerable help in the magazine's production by British fans Kenneth F. Slater, A. Vincent Clarke and John Brunner. Forrest Ackerman served as American agent, supplying material as he did to *Authentic* and *New Worlds*, though this became less intrusive as issues developed. The two novels Hamilton had acquired for his pocketbook series dominated the first two issues: 'Robots Never Weep' by E. R. James, set in a robot-dominated future, and 'Thou Pasture Us' by F. G. Rayer, a Padgettesque story about alien toys. These authors were both regular contributors to *New Worlds* and were not tainted by the paperback inferno. The novels were more upbeat and positive than their *Authentic* equivalents and, like Carnell's magazines, the stories looked at the effects of science upon people and society rather than being simplistic space adventures.

Hamilton had two other handicaps. Firstly, because the magazine was entirely self-financed, he had to wait for income from sales before he could invest in the next issue. Secondly, because his parents had not expected to publish a magazine on a regular basis, Hamilton could only use the printing facilities when they became available. Both of these factors contributed to *Nebula's* irregular schedule, though Hamilton encouraged (and acquired) subscribers to guarantee receipt of issues, and this soon became a sufficiently strong base to put the magazine on an almost bi-monthly basis.

Hamilton's love of good science fiction, his determination to produce a good-quality magazine and his willingness to work with writers all contributed towards *Nebula* rapidly establishing itself. Despite his precarious finances, Hamilton also determined to pay good wordage rates, though he started as low as 21 shillings per thousand words (or half a cent a word), but with the promise of a £5 or £2 bonus for those whose stories proved the most popular story in each issue. Hamilton later increased these rates substantially, sometimes to as much as 2d (or three cents) a word for big-name writers. This was more than John Carnell was paying at *New Worlds* and equal to the best of the US sf markets.

*Nebula* rapidly attracted some of Britain's best writers, especially William F. Temple, J. T. McIntosh and above all Eric Frank Russell, who regarded *Nebula* as his primary British market (since his material was always despatched first to John W. Campbell for *Astounding*). E. C. Tubb became

5 Gordon Landsborough in Harbottle and Holland, *British Science Fiction Paperbacks and Magazines*, p. 49. The figure for the British *Astounding* seems very high for the period, but may include sales to Australia and South Africa.

*Nebula's* most prolific contributor and invariably topped the reader polls. Although Tubb's work was almost always downbeat, he tended to save his more positive work for *Nebula*.

*Nebula* also attracted work by new writers, and Hamilton's willingness to help them develop was something rare in British sf at that time. Several fan writers made sales to *Nebula* at the outset, though a number of these, such as Peter J. Ridley, David S. Gardner and Paul Enever, were unable to sustain more than two or three sales. During 1953 Hamilton bought the first stories by four writers: Bob Shaw, Brian W. Aldiss, Barrington J. Bayley and Robert Silverberg. Silverberg appeared first with 'Gorgon Planet' (February 1954), a good first story about pioneers on a planet where one form of animal life kills at a glance. This story launched one of the most prolific careers in modern science fiction. It was another example of Britain taking note of a burgeoning talent when American markets were less favourable.<sup>6</sup> Bob Shaw's 'Aspect' appeared in August 1954. It was a neat story about the discovery of a planet that is an out-station for a series of planetary matter transmitters. The story showed the influence of van Vogt, though remained underdeveloped, but it nevertheless nudged into the professional ranks a writer who was a remarkable humorist among Irish fandom, and who in the sixties would develop as one of Britain's leading writers. Brian Aldiss's first sale, 'T', did not appear in print until November 1956, by which time Aldiss had made a number of sales elsewhere, including his first book. Neither Aldiss nor Hamilton could recall why 'T' took so long to get into print, as Hamilton was convinced that he never held a story for longer than a year. The most probable reason is that Hamilton had requested revisions, so that while 'T' may have been Aldiss's first story to receive a professional editor's encouraging attention, it was not acquired until 1956.<sup>7</sup> As for Barrington Bayley's first story, for some reason this never did appear, unless it was the long delayed 'Consolidation'

6 Silverberg had previously appeared in 1952 with a short story, 'The Sacred River', in the first issue of the little magazine *The Avalonian*, published by former sf writer and poet Lilith Lorraine. Silverberg's first appearance in a professional US magazine was with 'The Silent Colony' in *Future SF*, October 1954.

7 Aldiss used to refer to this as his first story sale. In his bibliography *Item Forty-Three*, compiled by Margaret Manson (Oxford, 1962), Aldiss noted against 'T', 'This was my first sf story to be accepted. After acceptance it had three years to wait for publication.' These annotations have been dropped from Aldiss's recent bibliographies. The story was included in Damon Knight's anthology *First Flight* (Lancer, 1963) as being Aldiss's first sale. Recalling those days in his essays 'Magic and Bare Boards' in *Hell's Cartographers*, edited by Aldiss with Harry Harrison (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1975), Aldiss commented: '*Nebula* [. . .] was more exciting. Hamilton took a lot of trouble trying to make the stories I submitted publishable, but without much success – for one thing, I've always disliked rewriting at editors' behest' (p. 191).

in the January 1959 issue as by John Diamond. Again, neither author nor editor can recall.

By 1954 *Nebula* had established itself as Britain's most popular sf magazine in terms of readership response (though not necessarily in sales), and it also established itself around the world with good sales in the United States, Australia and South Africa. It was always a struggle to sustain a regular schedule since each issue was usually financed by the preceding one. In 1955 Hamilton switched printing of the magazine from his family business to a new printer in Dublin and this gave him better control over the magazine's schedule. He shifted it to bi-monthly in September 1955 and even sustained a monthly schedule during 1958. By 1957 circulation was averaging 40,000 copies, a respectable figure for an independent magazine, although only 25 per cent of this was in Britain. *Nebula* was hit when, in 1959, Britain introduced crippling excise duties on exports and South Africa and Australia brought in import restrictions. Costs escalated and Hamilton was forced to close the magazine in June 1959 after 41 issues. It was a sad loss. During the 1950s *Nebula* was arguably the most pleasing of the magazines. It presented a wide range of material by excellent writers and was seldom predictable. Unfortunately time has not treated it well, as many of its stories were of the moment and they have not stood the test of time.

The opportunist publishers, meanwhile, were starting to experience some problems. Their intense publishing had glutted the market and sales were dropping. This led to their cutting their book budgets. Wordage rates dropped, which meant that quality (such as it was) declined and readers, who were becoming tired of the general poor quality of the books, stopped buying. In addition, newsagents and dealers were being raided because of the alleged pornographic content of some of the gangster and semi-erotic romance novels, which hit the dealers hard. By 1953 the police were also moving against the publishers with magistrates levying heavy fines, so that by the mid-fifties most of the opportunist publishers had cut back in their genre publishing or had gone out of business.

Some publishers cast envious eyes to the more profitable magazines, especially Hamilton's *Authentic*. One of these was Norman Light, the artist who provided the more action-orientated covers for the Spencer magazines. He liked science fiction, and had established his own publishing company, Gould-Light, in 1953, to publish an sf comic, *Spaceman*. This was sufficiently successful for Light to test the waters with a magazine, *Worlds of the Universe*. The first (and only) issue carried three stories, all pseudonymous. 'Waters of Eternity', by Mark Denholm, was really by John Russell Fearn, while the other two were by Thomas W. Wade, who also wrote regularly for Spencer's. All three were crude routine adventure stories. Light probably distributed

the magazine through his comics distributor, and it clearly did not appeal to that readership. Although he had high hopes for future issues, none materialized, and Light thereafter concentrated on comics.

Scion, on the other hand, knew they had hot property in the name of Vargo Statten. By 1953 total sales were exceeding 200,000 copies a year. There was an urge to capitalize on this as Scion had suffered a financial setback in 1952 and had needed to secure new financial backing. The new editor at Scion was Alistair Paterson, and it was under his aegis that the new *Vargo Statten Science Fiction Magazine* appeared in January 1954. This magazine looked an anachronism from the first issue. It was in pulp format, seeking to emulate the British edition of *Astounding SF*, though the cover by Ronald Turner, which was intended to appeal to the juvenile market, did little to endear it to the more discerning adult fans. It was a slim magazine, of only 64 pages, with the contents written almost wholly by Fearn, Tubb and F. Dubrez Fawcett (one of Scion's gangster writers). The magazine sought to appeal to fandom with a number of fan-orientated features, and also encouraged work by new writers. Among these were Chuck Harris and Ron Deacon, though only Barrington Bayley (whose 'Combat's End' made it into print in the May 1954 issue, marking his first professional appearance) survived the magazine and went on to better things. John S. Glasby, Kenneth Bulmer and even John F. Burke also contributed, but the magazine seldom rose above average, and was more often mediocre. By now, while the Vargo Statten books may have sold well, the name had become synonymous with all of the opportunistic sf paperback publishers and thus equated with poor-quality fiction. It was made worse by Paterson's request that the fiction be written down to a juvenile audience. Some writers, such as Brian W. Aldiss, refused to do that and it was clear, after only a few issues, that the magazine would never make a mark.

During 1954 Scion had another internal shake-up. Unable to meet its debts the magazine and the rights to the Statten name passed to the printer, Dragon Press. Paterson left, and Fearn took over editorial control as part of his two-books-a-month Scion contract. Although Fearn made some effort to enhance the quality, the enforced reduction in his budget limited his chances of acquiring any good material. The magazine's title was changed to *The British Science Fiction Magazine* from September 1954, and the format changed to large digest and then to pocketbook. It ran more features, including a photographic inset of stills from current sf films. Although it looked more presentable, the quality of fiction remained minimal except for the work of E. C. Tubb hidden under the alias George Holt. The magazine was retitled *The British Space Fiction Magazine* in June 1955, and somehow it staggered on for 19 issues, folding in February 1956 as a result of a printers' strike.

Another new magazine put in a brief appearance in 1954. This was *Space – Fact and Fiction* and came from the veteran war-time publisher Gerald G. Swan. Swan was the golden opportunist. During the forties he had made an arrangement with Louis Silberkleit's Columbia Magazines to reprint stories in Britain. *Space* started as another of these. Its first issue, undated but issued in March 1954, was a flimsy 34–page pulp. It reprinted three stories from 1941/42 issues of *Future*, but also included a new story, 'Forced Landing on Elvarista' by Reginald Brown. This is another appalling story, ranking among the worst in sf. Brown outdid himself with a later story, 'The Black Menace of Zenolius' (*Space*, August 1954).<sup>8</sup> The second issue, which appeared in April, contained all new material, or at least previously unpublished material. Swan had a tendency to stockpile manuscripts and it is certain that these stories, by John Russell Fearn, Henry Rawle and the pseudonymous Preston Foxe, had been acquired during the forties. *Space* ran for eight issues, until October 1954, publishing its mixture of abysmal new material and average reprints. Its reprints included artwork by Hannes Bok, making the issues something of a collector's oddity, but it has no other value.

Two other series are worth noting, if only to demonstrate the continuing interest in sf among opportunist publishers. Stanley Baker, based in Brighton, launched a Fantastic Science Thriller series. This consisted of five 60–page novels all written under different pen names by children's writer Erroll Collins. They appeared erratically between June 1953 and November 1954, and reflected all that was bad about the British sf book scene.

The other series came from the publisher C. Arthur Pearson and was called *The Tit-Bits Science Fiction Library*. The standard of Pearson's magazines was usually high, and *Tit-Bits* was itself an extremely popular weekly of general news, gossip and light fiction. One might therefore have expected their novel series to be of a similar quality, but editor Bob Brandon fell into the trap of acquiring material from the same writers producing for the opportunists. The series began in August 1953 with two novels by John Russell Fearn, *The Hell Fruit* as Laurence F. Rose, and *Cosmic Exodus* as Conrad G. Holt. Fearn then became ensnared by his revised contract with Scion, and the series continued with a range of relatively moderate fiction, which included work by E. C. Tubb as Carl Maddox, and Kenneth Bulmer as Philip Kent. Almost all of the series were routine space opera, generally above the average of most other series, but still not spectacular. Two books are of particular interest. *The Star Seekers* by F. G. Rayer (December 1953), which was revised from two stories published in *New Worlds*,

<sup>8</sup> Reginald Brown was a real writer and should not be confused with Reginald Browne, the pen name of Edwy Searles Brooks (1889–1965) a prolific writer of boys' books and the creator of the detective Norman Conquest.

concerned humankind's expansion into space. *Space Puppet* by John Rackham (June 1954) inaugurated a short series of planetary exploration novels by an author who later established himself in the sf field, including appearances in *Analog*. These novels were his first sales. The *Tit-Bits SF Library* ran for 19 volumes until March 1955. By then the sf paperback field was becoming decimated, and not before time. Science fiction and detective fiction had acquired an appalling reputation that besmirched the whole field.

The causes of the passing of the opportunist publishers are manifold. I have already mentioned the main two. They had glutted the field and almost destroyed the market, and the destruction of books and increased use of fines for obscene publications had seriously harmed them. Paper rationing had at last been lifted in 1953, allowing the more discerning publishers to expand their own lines. Transworld Publishing, which issued Corgi Books, was the British outlet for Bantam Books. They began to release British editions of Bantam's sf books, including Fredric Brown's *Space on My Hands* in 1953, Arthur C. Clarke's *The Sands of Mars* and Edmond Hamilton's *The City at World's End* in 1954, and Ray Bradbury's *The Illustrated Man* in 1955. Their sf line began to mushroom in 1956. Likewise Pan Books, which had been reprinting editions of Conan Doyle's *The Lost World* and James Hilton's *Lost Horizon* since they began in 1947, started to expand their line in 1952. First was C. S. Lewis's Perelandra trilogy. In 1954 they added *Spaceways* by Charles Eric Maine and *Prelude to Space* by Arthur C. Clarke, and in 1955 *The Man Who Sold the Moon* by Robert A. Heinlein.

Nova Publications, like *Galaxy*, also began a digest novel series, called Nova SF Novels. The first, *Stowaway to Mars* by John Beynon, appeared in 1953 in digest format. Unfortunately this was just at the time that Nova Publications had changed printers and the second volume in the series, *Bullard of the Space Patrol* by Malcolm Jameson, was delayed so long that it was dropped. The series was later revamped and issued as a standard paperback with *The Weapon Shops of Isher* by A. E. van Vogt in 1954. Three other novels followed – *The City in the Sea* by Wilson Tucker, *The Dreaming Jewels* by Theodore Sturgeon and *Jack of Eagles* by James Blish – before distribution problems curtailed the series in 1955.

Discerning readers, hopeful of acquiring better quality material, readily bought these books, while the opportunist publishers, licking their wounds, began to fold. All of the Spencer sf magazines ceased in the summer of 1954, though surprisingly they had totalled 50 issues between them, constituting the worst series of sf magazine stories ever published. It was not the end of Spencer's. In May 1954 they launched a new magazine, called *Supernatural Stories*. This was a better looking production and the first issue,

written entirely by John S. Glasby under pen names, was slightly more readable. *Supernatural Stories* and its later sf novel companion series would see the firm of John Spencer continue into the sixties.

Curtis Warren were not so lucky. After publishing over one hundred titles, the firm went into liquidation in November 1954 just as their last sf title, *The Seeing Knife* by Crawley Fenton, left the presses. They had also tried to issue a magazine in 1954. *Suspense Stories* was a mixture of weird and mystery fiction, and ran for three issues in July, September and November 1954. Its print run was almost certainly small and many copies were not distributed, making it a collector's item for those fanatical enough to want it.

As we have seen, Scion also went bust in 1954, with its remaining assets, including the rights to the name Vargo Statten, passing to its printer, Dragon Press. One of the off-shoot companies of Scion, Gannet Press, also experimented with a magazine, *Weird World*, which saw two issues in November 1955 and February 1956 before that too became a victim of the printers' strike.

The passing of these publishers and magazines allowed the survivors to breathe more deeply of fresher air. Hamilton's now published not only the profitable *Authentic SF Monthly*, but had a companion novel imprint, Panther Books. During 1953 and 1954 this was publishing two sf novels a month in addition to crime, westerns and other fiction. Britain's four science fiction magazines now had a chance to develop themselves and, more particularly, develop their writers. The publishing trade had recognized this decline in science fiction, and realized that it was primarily because the casual reader, who did not necessarily know what was good or bad at the outset, had become tired of the invariably poor quality of sf and had moved on to other things. Exactly the same was happening in the United States after the glut of the sf boom in 1953. Carnell commented:

The battle is to convert the casual reader into an interested regular reader. Providing he starts off with a good magazine he will become more interested. Should he unhappily come across rubbish first it is more than possible he will never know there are such advanced literate magazines as *New Worlds*, *Astounding* and *Galaxy*.<sup>9</sup>

With most of the rubbish out of the way by the end of 1954, the next few years saw a significant upswing in the quality of British sf. Having spent some time looking at all that was bad about British sf, it is time to turn the page and look at what was good.

<sup>9</sup> John Carnell, 'Battleground', *New Worlds* #29, November 1954, p. 5.



### The British are Coming

Throughout the period of the pocketbook boom, *New Worlds* and *Science Fantasy* had soldiered on with commendable steadfastness. From being almost a lone voice for quality fiction in 1950, by 1953 *New Worlds* found itself supported by a growing rank of hardcover book publishers, especially Sidgwick & Jackson, Weidenfeld & Nicolson and Museum Press, all of whom were publishing good-quality science fiction. Despite the dross of pocketbooks, science fiction seemed to be emerging as a respectable field for consideration, and with the growing field emerged more writers.

A significant development was the appearance of the Science Fiction Book Club. This was organized by Sidgwick & Jackson and released its first title, *Earth Abides* by George R. Stewart, in March 1953.<sup>10</sup> The Club released six books a year. The editorial committee was headed by Arthur C. Clarke, and included the astronomer and broadcaster Dr J. G. Porter, novelist and critic Angus Wilson, and *New Worlds'* own John Carnell. This panel gave the selections a high degree of respectability. The remaining choice for the first year was an interesting range of material: *The Martian Chronicles* by Ray Bradbury, *Last and First Men* by Olaf Stapledon, *Tomorrow Sometimes Comes* by F. G. Rayer, *Minimum Man* by Andrew Marvell, and an anthology, *No Place Like Earth*, edited by Carnell.

Another factor not to be overlooked in raising the public perception of science fiction was BBC television, and in particular Nigel Kneale. In July 1953 the BBC began transmission of Kneale's six-part serial *The Quatermass Experiment*. Despite the restrictions of a small budget and live transmission, Kneale's powerful scripts and skilful production by Rudolph Cartier made the end result very effective. The story told of an experimental manned rocket, which returns to Earth contaminated by alien spores. The series, broadcast late at night, employed a number of shock tactics, to the extent that it became one of the most talked-about television productions of the year. Kneale's Professor Quatermass became a popular TV character, appearing in four more serials and translating to the big screen. The team of Cartier and Kneale also produced a powerful dramatization of George Orwell's *1984*, broadcast in December 1954. These productions proved to an impressionable BBC audience that science fiction could be both effective and adult in treatment and went some way to salvaging the reputation of the field during these dark days.

<sup>10</sup> This had originally been published in the United States by Random House in 1949 and in Britain by Gollancz in 1950. It was the recipient of the first International Fantasy Award established in Britain and presented at the International Science Fiction Convention held in London in May 1951.

Until 1950 most British writers had to rely on American markets to become established. This was especially true of Arthur C. Clarke, Eric Frank Russell, John Beynon Harris and John Christopher. Harris was about to launch a new career as John Wyndham with the serialization of 'The Revolt of the Triffids' in *Collier's Weekly* starting on 6 January 1951. With the exception of Russell, these writers succeeded in establishing themselves in the mainstream and this lured them away from the genre magazines. Few stories by them appeared in British magazines without having first appeared in either the American sf magazines or a slick market. Another who would soon join their ranks was Charles Eric Maine. Maine (real name David McIlwain) was a science-fiction fan from Liverpool, who had co-produced a fanzine called *Satellite* in 1938. During the war he had served in the RAF as a signals officer before becoming a radio and television engineer and editor. His work with the BBC led to his writing a radio play, *Spaceways*, about the development of a space rocket. This was broadcast in 1952, adapted as a book in 1953, and filmed the same year. In the mid-fifties, Maine appeared in the sf magazines with some regularity, starting with 'Repulsion Factor' (*Authentic*, September 1953) about matter transmitters. 'Highway i' (*Authentic*, November 1953) was an intriguing time travel adventure and murder mystery. It was adapted as a popular radio play in 1954 as *The Einstein Way* and expanded into a novel, *Timeliner*, in 1955. Thereafter, Maine sold most of his work directly as books, bypassing the magazines. His best known work was *The Mind of Mr Soames* (1961), about a man in a coma from birth who is revived and has to cope with society. It was also filmed.

Although these five were the exceptions, they represented a higher proportion of the rank and file of British sf writers than their equivalent in the United States, where only Robert A. Heinlein and Ray Bradbury could claim to have risen above the genre parapet in the 1950s. In Britain, science fiction retained a greater degree of respectability than in the United States, and this may be because its general reputation had not been sullied by the pulp magazines, for all that the unscrupulous pocketbook publishers of the early 1950s almost sabotaged the field. Thankfully it was all over within three or four years, whereas in the United States many bad pulp magazines had prevailed for over twenty years.

Nevertheless, these five British writers aside, most others had to rely on the magazines for the majority of their sales, and with a regular high-quality British market emerging in the fifties, a new generation of writers was able to develop. Although some of these debuted in *Authentic* and *Nebula*, it was *New Worlds* that was the primary market and that, through the fifties, would do the most in recognizing and developing new writers, giving them a regular and reliable base from which to learn their craft.

There was a slight hiccup in that base in 1953. Early in 1953 Nova Publications had sought a new printer in the hope of reducing the cover price from 2/- to 1/6d. They found one, but the experience was a disaster. The May 1953 issue was delayed a month, and the overall printing quality was poor. It was the first standard digest-size issue, instead of large digest. The next issue (#22) was delayed even longer, and was eventually scheduled for a January 1954 release. However, during that period, John Carnell was approached by Maclaren's, a technical trade-magazine publisher looking to extend their range. They first suggested that Carnell edit a new sf magazine for them, but Carnell was loyal to *New Worlds*, so Maclaren's offered to take over Nova Publications as a subsidiary imprint. Carnell now became a full-time salaried editor of *New Worlds* and *Science Fantasy*, with the former being placed on a regular monthly schedule. A new issue 22 was assembled and released in April 1954. The former unreleased issue, which had at last been printed, was scrapped and the stories reused in later issues of the magazines. Only one copy was retained by Carnell and must be the rarest issue of any sf magazine.<sup>11</sup>

With *New Worlds* now monthly and supported by the more dependable finances of a publishing house, the magazine was able to expand and develop. The period from 1954 to 1960 was a Golden Age for *New Worlds* and saw the coming of age of a whole generation of writers, several of whom remain active. There was the talented Scottish writer J. T. McIntosh. He had first appeared in the December 1950 *Astounding* with 'The Curfew Tolls', but was soon in print regularly on both sides of the Atlantic. He provided *New Worlds* with its first serial in 1952, 'The ESP Worlds', wherein a telepath is despatched to a world governed by women adept in teleportation. By 1953 McIntosh was joining the American trend for breaking taboos with 'Made in USA' (*Galaxy*, April 1953) in which a husband sues his wife for divorce on the grounds that she did not reveal she was an android until the wedding night. McIntosh's early work is unjustly forgotten. It includes an excellent trilogy 'One in Three Hundred', which was sold to *F&SF* in 1953/54, about the evacuation of Earth people to Mars when the sun's temperature temporarily rises, and 'The Big Hop' (*Authentic*, May-June 1955), in which a generation starship leaves behind a freezing Earth.

Lan Wright, who had survived from his first sales to the Spencer magazines, appeared in *New Worlds* for January 1952 with 'Operation Exodus', which concerns the transfer of Earth's overpopulation to another sector of

<sup>11</sup> The whereabouts of this issue are now uncertain. It is believed that after Carnell's death in 1971 it was acquired by a well known fan collector, but was later lost when that fan's collection was dispersed.

space, only to discover an alien spaceship interested in the same territory. Wright made a name for himself in the *Nova* magazines in the mid-1950s with his series about Ambassador Dawson and his humorous attempts at diplomacy, which was a forerunner to Keith Laumer's popular *Retief* series of the sixties.

The same January 1952 issue of *New Worlds* also saw the first professional appearance of Jonathan Burke. Although born in Rye in Sussex, Burke had grown up in Liverpool and was a close friend of both David McIlwain (Charles Eric Maine) and Sam Youd (John Christopher). He had almost made his debut ten years earlier when he had sold a story to *Tales of Wonder*, which folded before it could be published. His first sf story was 'Chessboard', about conditioned citizens of the future. Burke became a mainstay of *Authentic* where he produced a number of bleak stories about future dictatorships and oppressive societies. He was an associate editor at Museum Press and helped develop their science-fiction line in the fifties. His stories for *New Worlds* tended to emphasize the probable demands of future governments upon society, a typical example being 'The Gamble' (May 1954), in which a national lottery is run to determine who will travel to Venus — on a one-way ticket.

James White's first story was 'Assisted Passage' (*New Worlds*, January 1953), about the first manned rocket but with the wrong pilot. White, an Irish fan from the same locale as Bob Shaw, was obsessive about authentic scientific detail, and his many stories in *New Worlds* earned him a high reputation. He came into his own in 1957 when he began his series about a space hospital with 'Sector General' (*New Worlds*, November 1957)

It was now that John Brunner began to emerge in the magazines. He kept quiet about his Curtis Warren book, *Galactic Storm*, written while he was still at school and published under the name Gill Hunt in November 1951. His first magazine appearance was under another pseudonym, John Loxmith, with 'Thou Good and Faithful' (*Astounding*, March 1953) a moving, if dated, story about the growing relationship between explorers and the inhabitants of a newly discovered planet. As K. Houston Brunner, he appeared in *Nebula* (Spring 1953) with 'Brainpower', about a super-computer, and in *2 Complete Science Adventure Books* (Summer 1953) with the novella 'The Wanton of Argus', about a feudal society on another planet. He did not become a regular contributor to the *Nova* magazines until 1955, after two years spent in the RAF. 'Visitors' Book' (*New Worlds*, April 1955) betrays some of that RAF training. It's a clever little story about a psychological bluff to potential alien invaders. Brunner would rapidly become one of the mainstay contributors to both magazines, especially *Science Fantasy*, where his imaginative tales set standards of originality. 'A Time to Rend'

(*Science Fantasy*, December 1956) was set in a weird parallel world. 'Lung-fish' (*Science Fantasy*, December 1957) looked at the psychological effects on children of being born on a generation starship. 'Earth is But a Star' (*Science Fantasy*, June 1958) depicted a decadent Earth facing destruction from a passing star.

E. R. James had first appeared in *Fantasy* in 1947, but did not start to come into his own until *New Worlds* hit a regular schedule. James was fastidious at working through scientific detail, with the result that his stories were technically competent but lacked the human element. They were nevertheless always intriguing. He produced a good series of stories unravelling the exploration of the solar system, covering such aspects as mining by remote control on Uranus in 'Where No Man Walks' (November 1952), the problems of servicing radio transmitters on Mercury in 'Ride the Twilight Rail' (June 1953) and human adaptation to work on Saturn in 'Man on the Ceiling' (July 1954).

Kenneth Bulmer had also been selling prolifically to the pocketbook publishers since 1952 before shifting to the magazines with 'First Down' (*Authentic*, April 1954). Although now dated, this action story about two men occupying a one-man rocket, both determined to be the first on the moon, was well received. Bulmer remained a prolific contributor to the British magazines throughout the fifties. The initial action-packed exuberance of his novels remained in his work for pocketbook publishers, but was tamed slightly in the magazines where his stories became more thoughtful and often ingenious. Bulmer was only an occasional contributor to *New Worlds* but, like Brunner, he became a mainstay in *Science Fantasy*, where the longer lead stories gave Bulmer the space he needed to develop his ideas.

One British author who had sold several pocketbook novels achieved a special coup in 1953. This was Bryan Berry, a copy-writer and scriptwriter as well as a dedicated sf fan. He sold ten novels to Hamilton's. Berry's sensitive nature made these stories less brash than the usual fare and they remain quite readable. Hamilton's, who had bought all rights to these novels for £40 each, sold the American rights for two of them to *2 Complete Science Adventure Books* at £300 each. *Aftermath* appeared as 'Mission to Marakee' in Spring 1953. Learning of this sale Berry protested first to Hamilton's and then to Fiction House. The American publisher could offer no further payment but were sympathetic to Berry and asked to see some of his short stories. They then accepted several and published three simultaneously, all under Berry's name, in the January 1953 *Planet Stories*. This brought some harsh response from readers, but Berry was satisfied that justice had been done, especially when he received a letter of praise from

Clifford Simak. Berry would almost certainly have developed as a high-quality writer during the fifties, but he died tragically young in 1955.<sup>12</sup>

The most prolific British sf writer throughout the fifties was E. C. Tubb. This is some claim considering that Britain had some immensely prolific writers at this time (especially Fearn, Bulmer, Brunner, Glasby and Fanthorpe). Tubb was a hard-edged writer of sf realism, and few of his stories pull any punches. A fine example was the series that began with 'Without Bugles' (*New Worlds*, January 1952) and ran through to 'Operation Mars' (*Nebula*, December 1954), which traced the colonization of Mars during the years 1995 to 2030. It was later revised in book form as *Alien Dust* (1955). Another original story was 'Precedent' (*New Worlds*, May 1952, as by Charles Grey), which demonstrated how a stowaway on a spaceship can be disastrous. This story beat into print by two years Tom Godwin's 'The Cold Equations' (*Astounding*, August 1954), which has an identical theme and which is usually upheld as a pioneering example of grim realism. Tubb's phenomenal output was stifled in late 1955 when Bert Campbell stepped down from editing *Authentic* and handed the reins over to Tubb, with the comment that 'You write most of it, you might as well edit it!'. Tubb had never regarded himself as an editor and, unable to acquire good material on Hamilton's low budget, did end up writing most of the stories.<sup>13</sup>

Britain's premier science-fiction writer in the fifties (and for many years after) was Brian W. Aldiss. His earliest story to sell, 'T', about a mysterious entity encapsulated in a space-time projectile which is programmed to activate upon reaching Earth, did not appear in print until the November 1956 *Nebula*. Aldiss worked in a bookshop, and his first published story, 'A Book in Time', appeared in the book dealers' trade magazine *The Bookseller* in February 1954. Aldiss went on to sell a series of humorous stories to *The Bookseller* about life in a mythical bookshop. Titled 'The Brightfount Diaries', the series was also the basis for his first book in 1955. This managed to make him part of the literary establishment from the start, which would soon prove to be a considerable boost for British sf. His first story in an sf magazine was 'Criminal Record' (*Science Fantasy*, July 1954), a cleverly told tale of the lesson learned from a record from the future. Aldiss's name gained added prestige when he achieved third prize in a science-fiction competition in the Christmas 1954 *Observer* for stories set in the year AD 2500. His entry was 'Not for an Age'. Like many of Aldiss's stories, it took an oblique

12 The exact nature of Berry's death has never been resolved. It was generally reported that he died in a motorcycle accident, but there were also rumours that he had a terminal illness and committed suicide.

13 For a complete guide to all of Tubb's fiction see Sean Wallace and Philip Harbottle, *The Tall Adventurer* (Harold Wood: Becon Publications, 1998).

look at society and traditional sf themes. In fact Aldiss never conformed to the traditional treatment of sf, so that most of his early work remains fresh and readable forty years on. This is equally true of his first novel, 'Non-Stop' (*Science Fantasy*, February 1956), which studies the society on a generation starship. Aldiss was a writer ahead of his time, and his stories, while appreciated in *New Worlds* and *Science Fantasy*, were never as popular as those of some of the more orthodox contributors. It is more to the credit of John Carnell that he recognized the talent and abilities of Aldiss, because Aldiss would be one of the saviours of British science fiction in the sixties.

Another renegade talent that Carnell recognized was J. G. Ballard. He had a double debut. His first story to be bought was 'Escapement' (*New Worlds*, December 1956), but the earliest written was 'Prima Belladonna' (*Science Fantasy*, December 1956),<sup>14</sup> the first of several stories Ballard would write set in the fantasy world of Vermilion Sands. Ballard was fascinated with the workings of the mind, and though psychology was sufficiently a science to allow his stories to be classified as science fiction, Ballard was seldom writing science fiction at all, but was producing a new-age form of horror fiction in which society was becoming the monster. Like Aldiss's work, Ballard's fiction would become one of the key driving forces in the sixties, and we shall return to him later.

Other writers who would emerge in the early and mid-fifties, especially in *New Worlds*, included Peter Hawkins, Alan Barclay, Dan Morgan, John Kippax and Philip E. High. Like most of *New Worlds'* contributors they were technically competent without necessarily being first-class writers, but had sufficient skill to develop an intriguing idea to its natural conclusion. *New Worlds'* writers, like *Astounding's* a decade earlier, became fascinated by the kind of small, niggling problem that would arise in space and, because of the context, might become life-threatening. Lan Wright, A. Bertram Chandler, F. G. Rayer and Sydney J. Bounds were all experts at this, but the best known story of this type is almost certainly 'Allamagoosa' by Eric Frank Russell (*Astounding*, May 1955), about the chaos that breaks out on a routine space-ship mission when the crew are unable to find an entry in the ship's inventory. Perhaps because of its American publication the story received greater recognition, and it went on to win a Hugo award as that year's best short story, but it was typical of many stories appearing in the British magazines. Another example is 'The Half-Pair' by A. Bertram Chandler (*New Worlds*,

14 This is the order of events as Carnell remembers them; see Carnell's 'Preface' to James Goddard, *J. G. Ballard: A Bibliography* (privately published, 1970). However, Ballard was certain that 'Prima Belladonna' sold first. See J. G. Ballard, 'From Shanghai to Shepperton', *Foundation* #24, February 1982, p. 16.

November 1957), in which the stiff-upper-lip British desire for standards nearly ends in disaster after an asteroid prospector kicks up a fuss because he's lost one of his cuff-links.

The British approach to sf during the fifties was fundamentally different from the American. The same themes interested both nations, especially in the decade following the Second World War and the atomic bomb. The Americans, more than the British, became obsessed with invasion, either by aliens or infiltration by communists, while the British were more interested in the way aliens might invade, and especially in the notion of first contact with aliens. The British style was more easy-going than the American. American writers tended to be hard-hitting, at times almost Chandleresque in their desire to punch their concepts at the reader and force their characters through a series of hoops. It made American sf exciting and challenging. British sf was more relaxed. Each author would set out his theme and explore it, working through to a natural conclusion. This seemed more suited to the British culture, but it irritated American author Alfred Bester, who told Carnell that he became impatient 'with this meticulous working out of the obvious; and I feel cheated when the author has not taken the trouble to outsmart me'.<sup>15</sup> The difference between the two approaches was lampooned mercilessly by Evelyn E. Smith in 'The Last of the Spode' (*F&SF*, May 1953), in which the last three survivors on Earth discuss semantics and scones and hope they have sufficient tea to last for the next fifty years.

This more languid British style was used by most writers in *New Worlds* and *Nebula*, though less so in *Authentic*. Eric Frank Russell, E. C. Tubb, Kenneth Bulmer, John Brunner and J. T. McIntosh tended to favour the American style over the British. The main difference was that while American sf focused on action, British sf focused on ideas. Both, by the 1950s, related these to people, but it meant that British sf could easily be read as theoretical rather than practical. For this reason those used to a diet of mostly American sf found British sf dull by comparison, but on balance British sf writers took more time to think through the consequences of their ideas, with the result that British sf was probably more realistic. In the long run this approach would influence American sf, and we would see British sf writers becoming popular in America. The best practitioners of genuine technical British sf were James White, Lan Wright, John Kippax, E. R. James and F. G. Rayer, with the most skilled exponent from the late fifties, Colin Kapp, emerging in 1958 with 'Life Plan' (*New Worlds*, November 1958).

One theme that fascinated British writers particularly was computers and automation. This was largely because the writers were themselves technically

<sup>15</sup> Alfred Bester, letter in 'Postmortem', *New Worlds* #29, November 1954, p. 127.



trained, either by vocation or following a period of conscription in the armed forces. Not surprisingly, many of these stories appeared in *Authentic*, which was always the more technically orientated of the magazines. E. R. James and F. G. Rayer explored these areas in particular, especially in terms of remote control. J. T. McIntosh looked at a computer-controlled society in 'Katahut Said No' (*Authentic*, September 1956), while Robert Presslie looked at the shortfalls of a robot jury in 'Lest We Forget' (*Authentic*, November 1956). One of the best remembered series was a humorous one featuring Hek Below, a cyberneticist, who has endless problems with sentient or psychologically imbalanced machines. The stories were by Ed Mackin and began with 'The Trouble with H.A.R.R.I.' in *Authentic* (February 1957) but soon shifted to *Science Fantasy*.

Throughout the fifties *New Worlds* had striven to be an attractive magazine. Its covers were always good, especially the work of Gerard Quinn, while Quinn and Gordon Hutchings provided the best of the interior art. Quinn was endlessly adaptable and some of his best interior work had the style and quality of Virgil Finlay's illustrations. Another good artist was Brian Lewis, whose covers from 1957 on were invariably surreal, often imitative of the American illustrator Richard Powers. Carnell broke with tradition in 1957 when he dropped all interior illustrations. 'Art work in the digest-size magazines is as out-of-date as a coal fire', he declared.<sup>16</sup> *New Worlds* already carried single-column type, rather than double-columned pages, and was following the precedent set by *F&SF* in 1950. In effect *New Worlds* was coming closer to looking like a normal pocketbook in all but size. According to Carnell few readers protested, indicating that while illustrations might be appreciated they were no longer essential. It might also be argued that initially the illustrations had been intrinsic to the stories, helping to convey that sense of wonder with the portrayal of wonderful inventions or alien scenes, but with the emphasis on human issues in sf, the illustrations became less necessary. It was all part of science fiction growing up.

The disappearance of artwork in *New Worlds* and *Science Fantasy* was but a small change in British sf circles. Rather more significant was the departure of *Authentic*. During 1955, H. J. Campbell had become dissatisfied with his role. He had established *Authentic* as a good technical sf magazine, and felt he had little else to offer. When he surveyed readers for feedback on proposed improvements the response was meagre, which made Campbell feel that there was a lack of interest. The time spent on *Authentic* had increased and Campbell wanted to pursue other avenues, especially more research

<sup>16</sup> John Carnell, 'Traditions', *New Worlds* #62, August 1957, p. 1.

work to obtain his master's degree, so, at the end of 1955 (with the January 1956 issue), Campbell bowed out and handed editorial control to E. C. Tubb.

Tubb was not a technical man like Campbell, and he soon changed the style and approach of the magazine. It had always been action-orientated, and that was emphasized even more. A year later, in March 1957, the magazine's format was changed from pocketbook-size to digest. In the light of Carnell's views on artwork and paperbacks, this might seem a reverse step. *Authentic*, which had started as a novel series and then converted to a pocketbook magazine, was now becoming a more traditional digest magazine. The main reason was to sell more copies in the United States, where the digest magazine was still dominant. The covers, among the earliest work by Josh Kirby, were in close imitation of Ed Emshwiller's, who dominated the American magazines, and *Authentic* now looked similar to *Imagination* and other middle-range magazines.

It was probably also an experiment by *Authentic*'s publisher, Hamilton's, to see whether the digest format sold more issues. *Authentic* had always been profitable, and it remained so, but the change did not increase income that much. Hamilton's were now recognizing that the pocketbook market was regenerating itself. Eventually, in the summer of 1957, they decided that they would rather use the money tied up in *Authentic* in developing their paperback line and *Authentic* was phased out. Their Panther imprint would soon become one of the leading British paperback publishers of sf.

1957 also saw the firm of John Spencer return to the field. Firstly they relaunched their 1954 magazine, *Supernatural Stories*, with issue 9 in the spring of 1957, still in its former digest size. This issue was written single-handedly by Ted Tubb. Then, from issue 10, published in the summer, they converted the magazine to standard pocketbook size, and it remained that way, on an approximate monthly schedule, for the next ten years. The magazine became, in effect, a series of short-story collections, the contents written almost entirely by John Glasby or R. Lionel Fanthorpe, often alternating, though Fanthorpe went on to dominate the issues. From issue #29, at the end of 1959, the short-story volumes alternated with a full-length novel. These all appeared under the Badger Books imprint. In 1958, Spencer's introduced a companion science-fiction series, though all of these were full-length novels. After a one-off volume, *This Second Earth* by R. L. Bowers in 1957, probably issued to test the market, the series began with *The Waiting World* by R. L. Fanthorpe. The series contains little of value, but surprisingly it occasionally reprinted some good-quality American sf, including *Who?* by Algis Budrys and *Three Faces of Time* by Sam Merwin, both in 1960, and also published the first book by R. Chetwynd-Hayes, *The Man From the Bomb* in 1959.

Although the profusion of poor-quality sf that had dominated the paperback field in the early fifties had gone, the return of Spencer's demonstrated that wherever a field was popular there would always be opportunist publishers, and *New Worlds* would always have low-quality competition to attract the casual reader.

In 1957 the World Science Fiction Convention was held for the first time in Britain. On this occasion there was a special category among the Hugo awards for Best British Professional Magazine. It was won by *New Worlds*. The American award went to *Astounding*. These results demonstrate that the predominantly British delegates at the convention favoured the more technical approach to science fiction, even though changes were already afoot in Britain (and to a lesser degree in the United States) to move to a more humanist, almost psychological approach.

It is an opportune time, therefore, to consider the type of fiction appearing in the mid-fifties in Britain and America, which will help lead us to the major changes of the sixties.

## 4

# Creative Chaos

There are always new writers entering the realms of science fiction, but there are certain periods when the creative clutch of eggs is more fertile than at other times. This is closely related to the state of the market. In the period up to 1955, there were three such hatchings: 1927–29, when writers reacted to the birth of the sf magazine; 1937–40, when they responded to the growing number of sf publications and to Campbell's requirements at *Astounding*; and 1947–54, when writers reacted to the post-war boom in science fiction.

The difference between the third boom and the second was that with the second boom many of the first wave of writers began to fade and either stopped writing altogether or moved to the comic-book field. Science fiction rapidly matured in the 1937–40 period and few of the pioneer writers could adapt. However, the writers of the second wave were more than able to continue into the fifties. Many of them rejoiced in the taboo-breaking that newcomers such as Philip José Farmer stimulated. Some, such as Theodore Sturgeon and Fritz Leiber, actively encouraged it. This meant that the 1950s had the greatest concentration of talent that the science-fiction field had yet seen at a time when the market expanded to a greater extent than before. In fact it was arguably the most fertile period in science fiction's history. This fertility lasted until the mid-1960s, when, as we shall see, the 'new wave' revolution and other factors shattered the boundaries of science fiction. In more recent years the influence of the wider sf media and the amalgam of science fiction with fantasy has brought more diversity to the field, but not the same proportion of creativity. The 1950s saw the greatest flowering of science-fiction talent the field has ever seen.

To cover these authors in any detail is a huge task, and the following survey must, perforce, be fairly superficial. Even so I intend to cover the works

of about 60 writers, some in more detail than others. What I particularly want to cover are the various influential talents that emerged during the 1950s, as well as earlier writers who adapted during the decade, and the extent to which this was affected by the different magazines and markets available. There were certain writers who responded to individual magazines and thus were considered as a *Galaxy* writer or an *Astounding* writer, but many were able to sell to both and more besides. This bias will become apparent through the following survey, in which I want to follow individual writers and strands of writing rather than specifically by magazine. Firstly I want to consider the new or comparatively new writers emerging in the late forties and early fifties.

### A Flowering of Talent

One of the most important writers to emerge in the fifties was Philip K. Dick. His output was prodigious, fed as much by his desire to earn a living by writing – always a precarious existence – as by a compulsion to find out what makes the world tick. Almost the entirety of Dick's fiction is driven by the one dictum 'nothing is what it seems', right from his earliest stories through to his major works of the sixties which later brought him cult status. This concept may have owed something to Dick's own strong paranoia, but it also grew from his delight in the writings of A. E. van Vogt, whose own view of transcendent unreality had been explored in his Null-A series for *Astounding* in the mid- to late forties. Ironically, although van Vogt's Null-A world had been worked out alongside John W. Campbell, Jr, Dick's own extension of this philosophy had no place at *Astounding*. Dick sold to virtually every sf magazine in the early fifties but he sold only one story to *Astounding*, because the ideologies of these two strong-minded individuals were poles apart. Campbell's was positive, demonstrating that science and the power of human beings could overcome all odds. Dick's was intensely negative, full of the belief that humankind had little if any control over the cosmic powers that influenced everyday events. His one story in *Astounding*, though, 'Impostor' (June 1953), remains a classic and typifies one of Dick's central questions: what is human? In this case a man who fully believes that he is human suddenly discovers that he is an android, with frightening consequences. The idea that automata and humans might not be that far apart fascinated Dick and he wrote several stories in which robots continued to fight for their survival. The first was 'The Gun' (*Planet Stories*, September 1952), his second published story, in which a mighty gun continues to protect a long-devastated Earth. Automated factories and computers that

determine their own survival are central to 'Second Variety' (*Space SF*, May 1953), 'Autofac' (*Galaxy*, November 1955) and the short novel 'Vulcan's Hammer' (*Future #29*, 1956; expanded as *Vulcan's Hammer*, Ace, 1960). Dick also liked the idea of other life forms that were imitative of humans or had control over them. This was behind his first published story, 'Beyond Lies the Wub' (*Planet Stories*, July 1952), in which the sentient Martian wub becomes food for humans but ends up taking over the host. It was also the basis of 'Colony' (*Galaxy*, June 1953), in which explorers discover an organism that can take on any shape. He returned to it in 'Human Is' (*Startling Stories*, Winter 1955), a story written only a few months after 'Colony' but which remained unpublished for two years. Here the mind of a scientist on another planet is taken over by an alien entity and it requires a deep understanding of what makes a human being to uncover the alien. Dick later regarded this story as a fundamental statement of his personal credo about humanity.<sup>1</sup> Dick's views about paranoia and the other side of reality came together in an early novel, 'A Glass of Darkness' (*Satellite SF*, December 1956), revised slightly for book publication as *The Cosmic Puppets* (Ace, 1957). Here the protagonist returns to his childhood town only to find that things are not as he remembers and that the town is under the control of an alien intelligence.

After selling over 80 stories in the space of less than three years, Dick moved away from the magazines. He had become frustrated with Horace Gold interfering with his stories at *Galaxy* and sold him nothing after 'Autofac'.<sup>2</sup> With the two main markets off-limits and other magazines rapidly folding, Dick turned to writing novels. Many were reworkings of his magazine stories, although he had long yearned to publish a mainstream novel. His publisher, Donald A. Wollheim, warned him against it, and the fact remained that only one of the mainstream novels that Dick wrote in this early period was published during his lifetime, and then not until 1975.<sup>3</sup> His earliest mainstream novel, *Mary and the Giant*, written in 1955, was not published until 1987, and only then because of Dick's cult status. Even though in his later years Dick was disparaging about his early fiction, all of it remained fundamental to his philosophy and demonstrates a clear template for his later books. The science-fiction magazines were the only market for Dick's work. No other publisher would give it any consideration because the stories were so out of kilter with reality. Even in the 1960s,

1 See John Brunner (ed.), *The Best of Philip K. Dick* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1977).

2 See Lawrence Sutin, *Divine Invasions: A Life of Philip K. Dick* (New York: Citadel Press, 1989), p. 75.

3 This was *Confessions of a Crap Artist* (Entwhistle Books, 1975), written in 1956.

when the drug culture took over, Dick still relied heavily on the magazines for the publication of his more extreme material, such as 'The Days of Perky Pat' (*Amazing Stories*, December 1963), which was the touchpaper for *The Three Stigmata of Palmer Eldritch* (Doubleday, 1965). Dick's talents were not recognized outside the field of science fiction until the 1970s. They had not even been recognized *within* the sf fraternity for a long time. His first short-story collection was published in Britain, not in America: *A Handful of Darkness* (Rich & Cowan, 1955). In reviewing it Anthony Boucher, who can lay claim to discovering Dick, since he was the first to buy one of his stories ('Roog', *F&SF*, February 1953), commented on the lack of attention paid to Dick's work, adding: 'I don't understand why Dick has been so neglected by anthologists. [ . . . ] urge American publishers to correct the local absence of a Dick collection'.<sup>4</sup> If it had not been for the science-fiction boom, and the diversity of sf magazine markets for Dick, it is probable that he would never have been published at all. I shall return to Dick when we reach the 1960s.

Robert Sheckley had no trouble getting his first story collection published. Like Dick, Sheckley was immensely prolific from the start. Their first stories appeared within two months of each other<sup>5</sup> and, like Dick, Sheckley sold nearly eighty stories in his first three years. But, unlike Dick's, most of Sheckley's stories were upbeat and uncompromising. Although he appeared in many of the sf magazines at the time of the sf boom, including *Astounding*, his primary market was *Galaxy*, where he produced a regular stream of amusing, often satirical stories, taking a sideways look at many aspects of the consumer society. In fact, whereas Dick felt himself to be alienated from society, Sheckley was firmly rooted in everyday life. He enjoyed life with a healthy scepticism, which is what allowed him to parody so many of the traditional nuts-and-bolts of science fiction. Looking back on this in 1980, he told Charles Platt: 'I felt I wasn't really writing science fiction. I was in some way writing a commentary on science fiction, and this sometimes made me feel, a little sadly, that I was not really into it.'<sup>6</sup> This superficiality was noted by Groff Conklin when he reviewed Sheckley's first collection, *Untouched by Human Hands* (Ballantine, 1954); he suggested that the author was 'still trying to discover his own particular bent – experimenting, in other words, with a wide variety of story types – and that he hasn't quite found his footing'.<sup>7</sup> In fact Sheckley *had* found his 'bent'. It was

4 Anthony Boucher, 'Recommended Reading', *F&SF* 10(4), April 1956, p. 79.

5 Sheckley's first story was 'Final Examination' (*Imagination*, May 1952) and Dick's 'Beyond Lies the Wub' (*Planet Stories*, July 1952). They were also almost the same age: Sheckley was born on 16 July 1928, Dick on 16 December 1928.

6 Charles Platt, *Who Writes Science Fiction?* (Manchester: Savoy Books, 1980), p. 203.

7 Groff Conklin, 'Galaxy's 5-Star Shelf', *Galaxy* 8(5), August 1954, p. 97.

his tripping the light fantastic around the trappings of science fiction that established his reputation. A little over a year later Anthony Boucher stated that 'no one [. . .] is so deft as Sheckley in using interplanetary fiction as a vehicle for Gilbertian satire, topsy-turvy, shrewd, and wholly captivating'.<sup>8</sup> Sheckley's early work has been called 'sophisticated'<sup>9</sup> when in fact that's the very thing it isn't. It is urbane and clever and witty with a veneer of sophistication, as if Sheckley were trying to imitate P. G. Wodehouse (though his fiction was more like Henry Kuttner's), but Sheckley's strength was his sheer lack of sophistication – his ability to run circles around the establishment. Whereas Dick's work almost without exception gives the impression of a vast cosmic unknown intent upon suffocating or distorting humankind, Sheckley's work highlights the fact that man's worst enemy is himself and proceeds to make the characters look as ridiculous or as sad as it can. In 'One Man's Poison' (*Galaxy*, December 1953), for instance, two space travellers run out of food and land on a planet to look for provisions. They find a huge alien warehouse and end up with more than they'd bargained for. In 'Hands Off' (*Galaxy*, April 1954), two more explorers discover an alien spaceship and again end up in problems when they find that it doesn't do what they want it to. In 'Something for Nothing' (*Galaxy*, June 1954), which is strongly influenced by Kuttner's work, one of society's drop-outs discovers a strange alien machine which grants his every wish. Needless to say the man goes one step too far. There is nothing sophisticated in these stories, and to a large degree they are predictable, but the main thing is that they are tremendous fun.

Sheckley was capable of more serious and more thoughtful work. While still humorous, 'A Thief in Time' (*Galaxy*, July 1954) is a remarkably intricate story about a chase through time, with all the inevitable consequences. The first of Sheckley's stories that made readers sit up and take notice was 'Seventh Victim' (*Galaxy*, April 1953). It presents a dystopian future in which overpopulation has led to legalized human hunting to the death. Anyone who can dispose of seven victims achieves a high social status. The story was considerably more effective than the dreadful Italian film adaptation, *The 10th Victim* (Embassy, 1965), and demonstrated that Sheckley could write powerful visions of the future when he wasn't being flippant. Another dark future emerged in 'Love, Incorporated' (*Playboy*, September 1956; also known as 'Pilgrimage to Earth'), in which an innocent young man travels to Earth looking for love only to find that on Earth love has become sordid and commercial, and men's treatment of women vicious and ugly.

<sup>8</sup> Anthony Boucher, 'Recommended Reading', *F&SF* 10(4), April 1956, p. 80.

<sup>9</sup> Platt, *Who Writes Science Fiction?*, p. 203.



The stories for which Sheckley is remembered in the fifties almost all appeared in *Galaxy*. Sheckley responded to Gold's cudgelling with infinite ease. In fact there is little to suggest that Gold had to cudgel him at all. Sheckley had a natural flair that required some grooming, but which otherwise developed rapidly and naturally. Sheckley was a natural writer for *Galaxy* – he shared with Gold a desire to hold society up to the light and see what shone through. Although Sheckley sold to other markets, when Gold left *Galaxy* at the start of the sixties the magic went. Sheckley left the United States to live in Spain for several years, and he never recaptured that cauldron of creativity from the fifties.

If Sheckley was the typical *Galaxy* writer, then his equivalent at *Astounding* was Eric Frank Russell. Russell never sold a story to Gold, and although he appeared in several other magazines in the fifties, including *Other Worlds*, *Imagination*, *Startling Stories* and even *Planet Stories*, his regular home was *Astounding*. Campbell later admitted that Russell was his favourite writer.<sup>10</sup> In an *Astounding* that is so often associated with war and human domination of aliens, Russell's stories bore the message of tolerance. He started the decade with a clever story of how pacifist colonists could thwart military might, '... And Then There Were None' (*Astounding*, June 1951). The most profound is surely 'Fast Falls the Eventide' (*Astounding*, May 1952), in which humans are sent as ambassadors and missionaries to alien worlds to teach that all are equal. The story has a lot in common with the mood of Campbell's own 'Twilight' and 'Night' from *Astounding* twenty years earlier, as humankind faces the inevitability of a dying Earth. Russell followed this with the equally moving 'I Am Nothing' (*Astounding*, July 1952), which shows the horrors and futility of war. Russell frequently experimented with variations on this theme of alien racial parallels. Other stories include 'The Witness' (*Other Worlds*, September 1951), in which an alien is put on trial as a menace after she has come to Earth for sanctuary; and 'Postscript' (*Science Fiction Plus*, October 1953), in which a man corresponds with an alien female only to learn that she is a loathsome fungus.

Russell was adept at exploring a mixture of human ingenuity and failing in the presence of alien cultures, as in 'Diabologic' (*Astounding*, March 1955), 'The Waitabits' (*Astounding*, July 1955), 'Legwork' (*Astounding*, April 1956) and the ingenious 'Nuisance Value' (*Astounding*, January 1957), in which a bunch of misfit humans show their alien allies how to defeat their oppressors. His stories admirably translated Campbell's dictum that some aspect of human ingenuity will always win in the end, and the wackier the better. Russell thus forms a third apex of a triangle, with the Sheckley/Gold

10 Alan Dean Foster, *The Best of Eric Frank Russell* (New York: Del Rey Books, 1978).

stories of human failure in society and Dick's stories of human paranoia against cosmic oppression being the other two.

To convert this triangle into a square, you have to introduce the element of fantasy and the unexpected, which was the playground of *F&SF*. If there was one author who typified this during the fifties, it was Avram Davidson. Davidson never sold to Campbell. His stories and characters were just too bizarre and unorthodox. He did sell to Gold and, surprisingly, it was one of those stories, 'Or All the Seas with Oysters' (*Galaxy*, May 1958), that won Davidson his first Hugo award for the year's best short story. This tale of two bike-shop owners who discover aliens on earth disguised as inanimate objects would have worked equally well in *F&SF* yet seemed strangely suited to *Galaxy*, which had once before published a story about inanimate objects having a life of their own – 'Inanimate Objection' by H. Chandler Elliott (February 1954).<sup>11</sup> Davidson's first professional story sale had been to *F&SF*, 'My Boy Friend's Name is Jello' (July 1954), though it was 'The Golem' (*F&SF*, March 1955) – a wonderfully idiosyncratic story infused with Davidson's strong Jewish lore – that marked him as a name to watch. Davidson's work was always idiosyncratic and often obscure; the reader has to work to appreciate the story, but the effort is all the more rewarding, once you get the joke. And there often is a joke. A streak of dark humour glimmers in many of Davidson's works, such as 'The Bounty Hunter' (*Fantastic Universe*, March 1958), in which humans are hunted for their skins. His work should have marked him as a writer of slick fantasy from the outset, but as with so many unrecognized talents, Davidson remained locked in the world of the science-fiction and fantasy magazines. But anyone who could write 'Help! I am Dr Morris Goldpepper' (*Galaxy*, July 1957), about a dentist held captive by aliens, was due the widest readership possible.

Although Dick, Shekley, Russell and Davidson may not be quite the corner posts of the science-fiction field of the fifties, they are scattered well across the field and show some of the diversity of the authors and their main markets. We can now start to place other players on the field.

Poul Anderson may have started in *Astounding*,<sup>12</sup> but in the early fifties he seemed to have forsaken his origins and was producing entertaining but fairly self-indulgent space opera for a number of pulps, especially *Planet Stories*. 'Duel on Syrtis' (*Planet Stories*, March 1951), about a game of cat-

11 In fact it was an idea raised by Gold in his editorial 'To the Hills' (*Galaxy*, October 1953), where he considers our dependency on everyday objects as a ploy by aliens to weaken our resistance. I've not been able to find out whether the editorial was inspired by Elliott's story or vice versa, but the editorial prompted considerable response, discussed in the same issue in which Elliott's story appeared.

12 'Tomorrow's Children', *Astounding SF*, March 1947.

and-mouse between a human and an alien, is perhaps the best of these, but more typical were the Burroughsian 'Swordsman of Lost Terra' (November 1951) and 'War-Maid of Mars' (May 1952). Anderson would always have an undercurrent of adventure and excitement in his stories, and during the fifties he managed to blend the best of the old with the new. By the mid-fifties Anderson was well into his stride, and his work is a good example of how the old pulp values could be infused into the more sophisticated sf of the fifties. For *F&SF*, Anderson started an occasional series about policing time travel with 'Time Patrol' (May 1955). The series proved to be highly popular and still remains one of the better works to explore the problems of time policing. 'Call Me Joe' (*Astounding*, April 1957) is a powerful action story of an attempt to create a human super-being that could survive on Jupiter. Despite the vivid depiction of a hostile and alien environment, Anderson manages to create a very believable individual in Joe. Anderson produced a high quota of *Astounding's* serials during the fifties, of which the best was 'We Have Fed Our Sea' (August–September 1958; retitled *The Enemy Stars*, Lippincott, 1959), about the crew of a crippled starship and their efforts to survive. 'The Man Who Counts' (February–April 1958; retitled *War of the Wing-Men*, Ace, 1958) was his first novel featuring the interplanetary trader Nicholas van Rijn, whose adventures form the basis for Anderson's future Technic History. The van Rijn stories, while pure adventure, nevertheless develop a range of fascinating characters and a soundly depicted galactic future. There was one incident related to a serial of Anderson's that highlights the growing tension between magazines and paperbacks. 'The Long Way Home' (*Astounding*, April–July 1955) was a highly entertaining novel about a space crew who return to Earth after a year in space to discover that five thousand years have passed on Earth. Ace Books published the novel as *No World of Their Own* in June 1955 before the final instalment had appeared in *Astounding*. This angered Campbell but he could do little about it. Although magazines were still the main province for science-fiction novels, the pocketbook market was rapidly taking over – a factor I shall return to later.

Although Anderson told a good adventure story, he was also strong on scientific accuracy and in developing interesting and meaningful characters. In a very similar mould was Harry Harrison. Harrison came to science fiction relatively late. Although he had sold 'Rock Diver' to Damon Knight's *Worlds Beyond* (February 1951), apart from one or two further stories and articles, most of the next five years were spent writing quick copy for confessions and men's magazines, working as a graphic artist, and briefly taking over from Lester del Rey on editing *Science Fiction Adventures* and its companions. But once Harrison moved out of the confines of New York and

settled in the relative freedom of Mexico, the ideas began to flow, by which time he was thirty. 'The Velvet Glove' (*Fantastic Universe*, November 1956) was the start of what eventually developed into a series of stories collected as *War With the Robots* (Pyramid, 1962). Although these stories contained some humour, there was a strong element of pathos. 'The Stainless Steel Rat' (*Astounding*, August 1957), which subsequently turned into a healthy meal-ticket, was where the humour entered. This delightful romp about a much-wanted interplanetary criminal who turns law-enforcer led to a few sequels and eventually a series of books. The story was a mixture of hard-boiled action and amusing incident. Harrison was good at writing both, but he openly admitted that he wanted to write a solid action-orientated hard-science novel. The result was 'Deathworld', three years in the writing, and eventually serialized in *Astounding* (January–March 1960). It takes place on an intensely hostile planet where the native life-forms react telepathically to the human invaders and transmute into even more deadly beings.

At the time Harrison felt that 'there was too much empty writing in *Astounding*, stories that just talked and described and never moved on any level'.<sup>13</sup> There is some truth in this criticism. There was an increasing tendency for the short stories in *Astounding* to be philosophical and over-clever in exploring Campbell's ideologies, but this was not true of the longer material such as that already mentioned by Poul Anderson, and certainly not of the works of Hal Clement. Clement was the supreme writer of pure hard science fiction in the fifties. He had been selling to *Astounding* since 1942, and some of these stories had demonstrated Clement's abilities to create strangely alien creatures and worlds within a fast-paced story. Perhaps the best of the early ones was 'Needle' (*Astounding*, May–June 1949), in which two aliens – one pursuing the other – land on Earth and take over different host bodies. The story explores how the hunter finds his prey. But none of these stories prepared readers for the three great novels Clement would write for *Astounding* in the fifties: 'Iceworld' (October–December 1951), 'Mission of Gravity' (April–July 1953) and 'Close to Critical' (May–July 1958). In all three Clement succeeds in creating believable but utterly alien beings that can survive in worlds totally inhospitable to humans. The gem of the three is 'Mission of Gravity', set on the high-gravity world Mesklin, which, rather like Eric Frank Russell's works, shows how a close affinity can arise between two otherwise totally alien biologies. Clement is not normally noted for the characterization in his stories – his strength lies in his meticulously developed alien environments – but in 'Mission of Gravity' he

<sup>13</sup> Harry Harrison, 'The Beginning of the Affair', in Aldiss and Harrison (eds.), *Hell's Cartographers*, p. 85.

created several unforgettable characters and a fascinating culture. Clement worked extensively with both John W. Campbell, Jr and Isaac Asimov in developing Mesklin. It is interesting that when Campbell wrote to Asimov about it he commented: 'Hal Clement's "Mission of Gravity" is studying the cultural characteristics forced by the technology necessary to a high-gravity world. Most of the best-liked science-fiction turns out to be cultural studies.'<sup>14</sup> Campbell's point is that you can't simply write stories about aliens without properly considering their world, their culture and their individuality. Campbell was of the view that Clement was breaking new territory. Writing to Poul Anderson, just after he had bought 'Mission of Gravity', he commented that 'Clement is exploring an area of science fiction quite different from the area you're exploring – and from the area *ASF* is exploring generally. He's exploring, with a new and detailed care, the area of other physical environments. And doing a wonderful job of it.'<sup>15</sup> Harrison's 'Deathworld', and some of Anderson's later novels, especially 'Satan's World' (*Analog*, May–August 1968), are really an extension of Clement's ground-breaking work, and were a prelude to some of the major ecological novels of the sixties and seventies.<sup>16</sup>

Certainly Frank Herbert's 'Dune World' (*Analog*, December 1963–February 1964) was part of the same detailed study of planetary environments and cultures. I shall return to this novel in some detail later. The Dune series elevated Herbert to cult status, though there was nothing before this to provide any suggestion that he was developing such a *magnum opus*. Herbert had worked in newspapers long before he became a full-time writer. His first story, 'Survival of the Cunning', had been to the slick magazine *Esquire* (March 1945), and soon afterwards he was selling at the other end of the magazine chain with 'The Jonah and the Jap' to *Doc Savage* (April 1946). He didn't appear in the sf magazines until 'Looking for Something' (*Startling Stories*, April 1952). He wrote very few short stories, but did make an impact in *Astounding*, with his tense thriller serial 'Under Pressure' (November 1955–January 1956)<sup>17</sup> receiving considerable praise for its realism. It was one of a number of stories *Astounding* would publish over the next decade that were scarcely science fiction, but much closer to the political techno-

14 Campbell to Asimov, 13 May 1953, reprinted in Chapdelaine et al. (eds.), *The John W. Campbell Letters, Volume II*, Franklin, TN: A.C. Projects, 1993, p. 92.

15 Campbell to Anderson, 25 October 1952, reprinted in Chapdelaine et al. (eds.), *The John W. Campbell Letters, Volume I*, p. 83.

16 These include the works of Anne McCaffrey, John Varley, Robert L. Forward and Kim Stanley Robinson and will be discussed in more detail in Volume III, *Gateways to Forever*.

17 Published in book form as *Dragon in the Sea* (Doubleday, 1956) and *21st Century Sub* (Avon Books, 1956).

thrillers that began to dominate the publishing scene in the sixties. Set during war-time on an atomic submarine of the future, this serial bristles with intrigue as the submarine sets out to capture oil supplies with one of the crew a saboteur.

Like Harrison and Herbert, Gordon R. Dickson is a writer more closely associated with *Astounding/Analog*, but this is primarily due to his novels and stories of the sixties, especially his Childe Cycle sequence of human development and expansion that began in *Astounding* with 'Dorsai' (May–July 1959; abridged as *The Genetic General*, Ace Books, 1960). Throughout the fifties Dickson appeared in most of the leading magazines. He had first appeared in *Fantastic Story Quarterly* with 'Trespass!' (Spring 1950), written with Poul Anderson, with whom he would collaborate on the delightful Hoka series of stories. The Hokas were friendly aliens, rather like teddy bears, who are heavily influenced by whatever they discover next. The series had started in *Other Worlds* with 'Heroes are Made' (May 1951) but later found a home in *F&SF*. Dickson's stories were always meticulously researched and plotted and gradually, throughout the fifties, revealed a unifying theme of humanity's ability to learn and grow. This was evident as early as 'The Monkey Wrench' (*Astounding*, August 1951), in which a man has to use logic to defeat a computer. 'The Odd Ones' (*If*, February 1955) is an uplifting story of two aliens trying to understand what two human explorers are doing, with the end result that both races have a greater appreciation of each other. 'Our First Death' (*F&SF*, August 1955) is a remorseless story of a remote colony that has to face the fact that all of its inhabitants are dying (not unlike the early Jamestown colonists). Even then the human spirit rises above the tragedy. Part of Dickson's philosophy is summed up in the short story 'Of the People' (*F&SF*, December 1955). Sam Crossman flips one night and becomes desperate to leave behind the world that he has helped create. He travels half-way across the world in search of an escape but is forced back by the conviction that the time is not right and he must do what he is born to do until the moment comes when, like Moses, he can lead his people to a new land. As Dickson went on to explore in so many of his stories, humankind must grow and develop and create the next stage of transcendence.

Mack Reynolds was another writer who was prolific throughout the fifties but did not find his niche until the sixties. He also became closely associated with *Astounding/Analog* but did not appear regularly in that magazine until 'Pieces of the Game' (December 1958).<sup>18</sup> Reynolds was not a

<sup>18</sup> His only previous appearance in *Astounding* was with 'Me and Flapjack and the Martians' (December 1952), written with Fredric Brown.

scientist, but had strong social and political views. He appreciated that science fiction was changing during the fifties, and though he would happily produce space operas for *Fantastic Adventures*, *Planet Stories* and *Startling Stories* early in his career – although his were often harsh and unsentimental, presaging Harlan Ellison – he soon adapted his style to exploring the social and economic structures of the future. He was also a very cosmopolitan author, working as a travel writer throughout Europe and the Americas. As early as ‘Down the River’ (*Startling Stories*, September 1950), we find Reynolds demonstrating that Earth is seen as unfit for integration into an interstellar federation because of its racial prejudice. Curiously, in hindsight, Reynolds began to earn a reputation in some magazines, especially *F&SF*, for his humour, best exemplified in the oft-reprinted ‘The Business, as Usual’ (*F&SF*, June 1952), in which a gullible early time-traveller is swindled by a man of the future. A companion piece is ‘Compounded Interest’ (*F&SF*, August 1956). On the face of it this is a light time-travel story of a man from the present seeking to establish a financial power-base in the past, but the story is actually a satire on the two societies, demonstrating that human greed and avarice doesn’t change. By the time of ‘Gladiator’ (*F&SF*, March 1958) we find Reynolds exploring a harsh future in which Earth’s interplanetary empire has developed a gladiatorial approach to dealing with issues while Earth has sunk into pacifism. This story was more in line with the Reynolds of the sixties.

H. Beam Piper was almost wholly an *Astounding* writer. He had debuted there with the paradox story ‘Time and Time Again’ (April 1947) and his last stories appeared there in 1965 just after his tragic death. Although he sold a dozen stories to other markets, it is his *Astounding* stories that made his brief career memorable. At the start of the fifties Piper was in danger of becoming typecast with his enjoyable but limited Paratime Police stories – a series that pre-empted Poul Anderson’s Time Patrol. But Piper occasionally punched with the left, producing radical and often contentious stories. ‘Day of the Moron’ (*Astounding*, September 1951) looked at the problem of labour unions and how rules and regulations can interfere with scientific initiative and ultimately with people’s lives. ‘Null-ABC’ (*Astounding*, February–March 1953), written with John J. McGuire, develops the theme and considers how knowledge is a dangerous thing. It has been decided that literacy is the cause of war and, in the future, the majority of people are kept illiterate by the (literate) minority controlling them. The idea harks back to the pulp sf of the Depression and the story’s development also has a feeling of the thirties, despite the future setting. ‘Omnilingual’ (*Astounding*, February 1957) is arguably Piper’s best short story, an ingenious study of how scientists on a dead Mars set about decoding the ancient Martian language.

Piper became depressed over financial problems and committed suicide at the point when his career was really taking off. He was emerging from the magazines with a number of books featuring his delightful aliens, the Fuzzies, and had returned to his Paratime Police stories with a new series developing in *Analog*. Because he never had the time to fulfil his potential his career remains fixed in the glowing amber of the fifties.

Russell, Anderson, Harrison and Piper were all more at home in *Astounding* than in *Galaxy*. Their counterparts in *Galaxy*, in addition to Robert Sheckley, were Damon Knight and Frederik Pohl.

Damon Knight sold to many magazines in the fifties, though only once to *Astounding*. It was in this decade that he established himself as a gifted and creative writer, and this was mostly in *Galaxy*. Few of his stories can be simply categorized, though they were almost always the favourite in each issue. Knight, a vehement critic of the field, set himself high standards and always tried to bring something fresh to his fiction. Perhaps his strangest story of all was 'Cabin Boy' (*Galaxy*, September 1951), in which he developed a bizarre form of alien life where the children continue to reside within their father as host. He explored the same concept in a totally different way in 'Special Delivery' (*Galaxy*, April 1954), a gem of a story about an unborn baby that communicates with its mother. The other side of the coin was the subject of 'World Without Children' (*Galaxy*, December 1951), in which Knight explored the consequences of humanity becoming immortal only to discover that the process also made them sterile. Time travel was the theme in 'Don't Live in the Past' (*Galaxy*, June 1951), an endearing story of inevitability in which a cycle of consequences is established when items from the future end up in the present. Knight took the idea further in a complex time-paradox story 'Anachron' (*If*, January 1954). 'Ticket to Anywhere' (*Galaxy*, April 1952) presents a psychologically policed future – which was the same subject explored in his one outing in *Astounding*, 'The Analogues' (January 1952). An oppressive future society and how individuals cope with it was also the theme of 'Ask Me Anything' (*Galaxy*, May 1951) and 'Four in One' (*Galaxy*, February 1953). In 'Natural State' (*Galaxy*, January 1954) Knight explored the overcrowding of cities and how the 'muckfeet' of the rural environment had developed a different and arguably better way of life through biological engineering. This story was developed closely with Gold, a process that left Knight in two minds over the story. He accepted that the end result was better than his original, but he also felt that it had become a different story and that his original story had been still-born.<sup>19</sup> Knight's stories aren't especially typical *Galaxy* material. Although they are smoothly

19 Damon Knight, 'Knight Piece', in Aldiss and Harrison (eds.), *Hell's Cartographers*, p. 131.



written, and often satirical of society and in particular humankind's attempts to better itself, they were simply superior forms of what were appearing in most magazines. In fact Knight appeared regularly in several magazines and one of his most potent stories from the fifties, 'The Country of the Kind', was published in *F&SF* (February 1956). It has much in common with 'Ticket to Anywhere' in that it features an outcast, but in this case it's the frustration of a man seeking to rebel in a world where everyone has been brainwashed into pacifism. Nevertheless it was Gold's positive attitude to Knight's fiction that gave Knight the confidence to return to writing and stimulated his output in the fifties.

The writer who became most closely associated with *Galaxy* – and not just because he later edited it – was Frederik Pohl. It would not be far from the truth to say that Pohl's fiction typified the ideology of Gold more than any other contributor. The two were clearly on the same wavelength and, although Gold interfered as mercilessly with Pohl's work as with any other author's (though Pohl lived with it and later edited out the parts he didn't like for book publication), the two could spark each other into higher dimensions of creativity. Pohl summarized the relationship when he noted that 'in the struggle between Horace-yin and writer-yang something came out of it that was better than either could have achieved alone'.<sup>20</sup>

Pohl first appeared in *Galaxy* with one of his collaborations with Cyril M. Kornbluth – perhaps the best known of their work together, 'Gravy Planet' (June–August 1952), later published in book form as *The Space Merchants* (Ballantine, 1953). Surprisingly, although Pohl had had over twenty stories in the sf magazines, mostly in collaboration, all of them had appeared under pseudonyms, and this was the first time his name appeared as author. 'Gravy Planet' is the story of an ultra-commercialized future in which society is controlled by powerful exploitative advertising agencies. That may sound dull in outline, but the adventure story that's woven around this concept remains exciting even after fifty years – Gold called it 'incandescent'.<sup>21</sup> The narrator finds himself in a conflict between his own top agency and the Conservationists, seeking to protect the natural resources of both Earth and Venus. In concept and plotting the story is reminiscent of several sf novels from the mid-1930s, especially the technocracy novels of Nathan Schachner,<sup>22</sup> but 'Gravy Planet' is light-years ahead in the natural development of those concepts and the presentation of a credible

20 Pohl, *The Way the Future Was*, p. 213.

21 H. L. Gold, 'Forecast', *Galaxy SF* 4(2), May 1952, p. 158.

22 See Volume I, *The Time Machines*, p. 78, for discussion of 'Revolt of the Scientists' (*Wonder Stories*, April–June 1933).

future. Seven years later Kingsley Amis opened his series of lectures on criticism at Princeton University with a quotation from *The Space Merchants* and went on to state that it 'has many claims to being the best science-fiction novel so far'.<sup>23</sup> The novel was one of the first best-sellers to emerge from within the science-fiction field. It had been started by Pohl, but he became bogged down after twenty thousand words. Gold liked what he saw and asked him to finish it. Pohl showed it to Kornbluth, who promptly rewrote the beginning and added a whole new action-packed section. It's not always easy to see the join in the Pohl/Kornbluth collaborations because they were both such focused writers, but in 'Gravy Planet' it is more apparent, with Pohl writing most of the social commentary and Kornbluth providing the means of getting from A to B. It works well.

With this work under his belt Pohl had found a profitable vein. After 'Gravy Planet', he and Kornbluth began a new novel which became 'Gladiator at Law' (*Galaxy*, June–August 1954), in which a future is once again dominated by huge corporations, but this time by huge property developers and their lawyers, with a corrupt police force in tow. There is less action but more drama in this novel, and I personally prefer it to 'Gravy Planet', but it has never had quite the same profile. It may be that it is too repetitive of the basic premise of 'Gravy Planet', but I also think that it is a more believable presentation of a future that is becoming all too familiar.

While Pohl and Kornbluth were writing 'Gladiator at Law', Horace Gold was in the middle of judging a \$6500 prize competition for the best new science fiction novel, co-sponsored by *Galaxy* and Simon & Schuster. The competition had been announced in the March 1953 issue of *Galaxy* and the deadline for submissions was 15 October. The novels Gold was receiving were generally poor and he asked Pohl if he could treat 'Gladiator at Law' as an entry if he and Kornbluth were prepared to submit it under a pseudonym. Pohl did not think this was playing fair and declined. However, soon after completing 'Gladiator at Law' Pohl began a new novel, 'Preferred Risk', this time with Lester del Rey. Here the huge corporations of the future were the insurance companies, which had refined every action and consequence down to a scale of probabilities and actuarial tables. By now the plot variations were becoming a little staid, and this novel is not a patch on the previous two. Nevertheless, Gold liked it – or certainly preferred it to the submissions he had received. The contest deadline had passed and he was desperate. He persuaded Pohl and del Rey to allow 'Preferred Risk' to be entered under a pseudonym and it was duly declared the winner. The novel, attributed to 'Edson McCann', ran in the June to September issues of

23 Kingsley Amis, *New Maps of Hell* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1961), p. 107.

*Galaxy*. Pohl and del Rey were sworn to silence and had to create a whole persona for McCann, who, we learned, was a nuclear physicist involved in such top secret work that he could make no personal appearances. So the world never saw Edson McCann, and there are probably still readers of *Galaxy* from the mid-fifties who believe this was a one-hit wonder.<sup>24</sup> In fact, anyone who had read 'Gravy Planet' and 'Gladiator at Law' would see the similarities and would have guessed this was a pseudonymous novel. The secret was not well kept, but it made a mockery of the competition and was not repeated during Gold's editorship.

It was important for Pohl to find his own voice. He wrote several solo short stories for *Galaxy* at this time which continued the theme of the novels and thus helped identify his role within the collaborations. 'The Midas Plague' (April 1954) is an amusing tongue-in-cheek story in which future technology leads to the overproduction of goods, with the result that the lower strata of society find themselves swamped with everyday items which they are forced to accept. The story has remained popular and is often reprinted even though Damon Knight charged it with 'second-order idiot plotting'.<sup>25</sup> It is certainly not a story that benefits from close analysis, and is probably too long for its basic idea, but it nevertheless made its point very effectively. 'The Tunnel Under the World' (January 1955) had even more impact. This clever tale of a town destroyed in a chemical explosion, but where the minds of its inhabitants are kept alive in miniature robot bodies reliving their final day over and over again, remains one of Pohl's most popular stories from the fifties. Pohl's theme of exploitation continued in 'The Candle Lighter' (March 1955), which looks at the relationship between humans and Martians and how one needs to understand the Martian race in order to be clear whether or not it is being exploited.

During the second half of the fifties we find Pohl starting to shift away from his social satires towards more formal adventure stories, though often with a strong moral aspect. His one remaining solo serial for *Galaxy* in the fifties was 'Slave Ship' (March–May 1956). This has much in common with Frank Herbert's 'Under Pressure', which had only just finished running in

24 This wasn't the only misguided novel contest at that time. In 1953 the publishers Shasta sponsored a contest for the best new novel offering \$1000 prize money plus \$3000 for paperback rights from Pocket Books. The contest was won by Philip José Farmer with *I Owe for the Flesh*. On the strength of this sale Farmer gave up his job to write full time. Unfortunately, as the months passed by no money was forthcoming. Farmer discovered that Pocket Books had passed their \$3000 over to Shasta but that Shasta had invested that money in what should have been a successful project, *The Beauty Book* by Hollywood make-up king Percy Westmore. Unfortunately the book did not sell enough to break even and Shasta, which had invested heavily in the book, went bust. Farmer was not paid. He was severely affected by the episode and it set his writing back for several years.

25 Damon Knight, *In Search of Wonder* (Chicago: Advent, 1967), p. 195.

*Astounding*. Both portray a bleak future in which there is tension between East and West and both portray a powerful submarine in a secret mission. Probably Pohl's best story in the second half of the fifties was 'The Man Who Ate the World' (*Galaxy*, November 1956), again depicting a dystopia dominated by robots, but all his fiction has something to offer. Kingsley Amis regarded Pohl as 'the most consistently able writer science fiction, in the modern sense, has yet produced'.<sup>26</sup> Brian W. Aldiss classified him as 'one of those giant figures who have substantially shaped the genre about them, growing as the field grew',<sup>27</sup> and went on to categorize him as 'The Big Fourth'<sup>28</sup> after Heinlein, Asimov and Clarke. Since Pohl was also the most prolific contributor to *Galaxy* in the fifties his abilities must have contributed towards the popularity of the magazine. And yet Pohl received no Hugo award in the fifties or the sixties for his writing. Clearly the sf fraternity took some while to catch up with Pohl's abilities. In the year that 'Gravy Planet' was serialized, the Hugo award for the year's best novel went to 'They'd Rather be Right' (*Astounding*, August–November 1954), an enjoyable but now mostly forgotten serial by Mark Clifton and Frank Riley.

Mark Clifton was a high-profile writer in the fifties. Barry Malzberg called him 'the most prominent and controversial' writer in the sf magazines of the period.<sup>29</sup> In fact he ranked him as 'one of the twelve most influential writers of science fiction' up to that time of writing, in 1980.<sup>30</sup> Clifton was already in his mid-forties when he first appeared with 'What Have I Done?' in *Astounding* (May 1952) after a long career as an industrial psychologist working in personnel management. He poured his understanding of people into this first sale about a human taken on by alien invaders to help them become substitute humans. Their plan was to steadily eradicate the human race, but the psychologist knew that their superiority would be their death warrant since humankind destroys anything it cannot understand. Clifton knew what made people tick and on the whole it was a bleak picture. He believed that if humankind wanted to improve its lot it needed to make quantum leaps in its behaviour, attitude and view of the world, and he believed that for most people this was impossible. The very title of 'They'd Rather be Right' struck at those individuals who would rather stick to their old beliefs and die than cast aside old values and become regenerated. The serial was the final part of a sequence of stories he had started

26 Amis, *New Maps of Hell*, p. 102.

27 Brian W. Aldiss, *Trillion Year Spree* (London: Gollancz, 1986), p. 240.

28 Brian W. Aldiss, *Science Fiction Quiz* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1983), p. 92.

29 Barry N. Malzberg, *The Engines of the Night* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1982), p. 127.

30 Barry N. Malzberg in 'Afterword' to *The Science Fiction of Mark Clifton* (Southern Illinois University Press, 1980), p. 293.

with Alex Apostolides in 'Crazy Joey' (*Astounding*, August 1953), about a repressive future society and a couple of rogue scientists (one a telepath) who create a super-computer which can rejuvenate people if they are prepared to radically alter their worldview. In Clifton's stories, any alternative paradise is for those few who can use new techniques or recast perceptions that the rest of humankind cannot understand. Clifton's stories explored alternative sciences that made John W. Campbell do mental hand-stands. The Ralph Kennedy series, which began with 'What Thin Partitions' (*Astounding*, September 1953) and included the delightful 'Sense from Thought Divide' (*Astounding*, March 1955), was perhaps the most extreme example of counter-science stories that Campbell published, featuring poltergeists, levitation and all manner of psi powers. If there is a single theme to be identified in Clifton's work it is one of manipulation, whether by aliens, humans, gifted humans or computers, in an attempt to improve the human lot. Clifton would have become a major writer but ill-health dogged his career and in the late fifties he became disillusioned with science fiction and particularly with Campbell. Clifton believed that science fiction could count among its readers those few who would cast their eyes beyond the horizon and escape the repression of the McCarthy era and the Cold War, but he subsequently convinced himself that even sf readers were bound by their limitations. Clifton died at the all-too-young age of 57 in 1963. His last fling was a kind-hearted argument with a reader in the pages of *Amazing Stories* over the extent to which Clifton hated humankind. Clifton's response showed his high regard for humanity's potential:

With or without mandate, I am so very proud of mankind, and have so much faith in him, that I shall go right on needling, coaxing, shaming and challenging him, however insignificant my attempt may be, trying to get him to grow up, to reach [for the stars].<sup>31</sup>

Although at the time Clifton's work was not always appreciated, it certainly had an affect upon other writers, especially in *Astounding*, where his work was continued to some extent by Randall Garrett and Laurence Janifer. But his influence can be seen across the field. I suspect that Daniel Keyes' 'Flowers for Algernon' owes its approach subconsciously to Clifton's techniques, and that his messages worked their way into stories by James H. Schmitz and Mack Reynolds.

Another writer whose career was almost wholly within the 1950s and who established a near legendary reputation was Walter M. Miller, Jr. Miller had sold his first story to the eclectic mainstream digest *American Mercury* in

<sup>31</sup> *Amazing Stories* 36(7), July 1962, p. 144.

1950, but thereafter he made the sf magazines his sole domain for the rest of the decade. A converted Catholic and an engineer, Miller was able to bring strong religious and humanist views into stories with believable technical content. In theory, this made his work welcome at both *Galaxy* and *Astounding*, but in practice Miller was at times so daring in his approach that even Horace Gold was too cautious, and Campbell too principled. The religious overtones are almost always apparent. 'Dark Benediction' (*Fantastic Adventures*, September 1951) considers the invasion of Earth as a plague until a religious enclave highlights the benefits of contamination. 'Conditionally Human' (*Galaxy*, February 1952) looks at a highly regulated, overpopulated future Earth, where new births are limited and parents have genetically modified animals as 'babies'. 'It Takes a Thief' (*If*, May 1952) opens with a thief being crucified on Mars. Mars is also the setting for 'Crucifixus Etiam' (*Astounding*, February 1953) in which a human, terraforming Mars, discovers that he has become too acclimatized and can no longer return home. 'I Made You' (*Astounding*, March 1954) is a terrifying story of a robot machine on the moon bent on destroying his operator. 'The Ties That Bind' (*If*, May 1954) contrasts the pacifist morals of a far future pastoral Earth society with the knowledge that their forebears were military overlords who dominated the galaxy. 'The Darfstellar' (*Astounding*, January 1955) is a deeply touching story of a human actor who tricks his way into a robot theatre (in a future when all theatres are run by robots) to demonstrate that only humans can perform true art. This story won Miller his first Hugo award. 'A Canticle for Leibowitz' (*F&SF*, April 1955) was the first of a trilogy of novellas that were revised into the novel *A Canticle for Leibowitz* (Lippincott, 1960) and which won Miller his second Hugo in 1961. It is set on a post-atomic holocaust Earth where the religious order of St Leibowitz – a canonized scientist – strives to regain some semblance of order. No summary can do justice to this deeply moving novel, which became an instant classic and is still regarded as one of the few universally accepted masterpieces of modern science fiction to emerge from the magazines. When it was published in book form it appeared as a mainstream novel, not sf, and so garnered wider appreciation, but it is doubtful it would ever have been published had it not been for the sf magazines, and even there Miller had his problems. He found it difficult to place the first story and it was only the liberal broadmindedness of Anthony Boucher that saw it published at all. After the book publication of *A Canticle for Leibowitz*, Miller abandoned writing for over thirty years and never appeared again in an sf magazine during his lifetime. Although he claimed he had writer's block, it was more likely that he had said all he needed to say in *Leibowitz* and his forty other stories of the fifties, and no writing compulsion remained. The legacy Miller left

was one of deep passion and humanity and one of the most intense bodies of work of any writer in the field.

Ward Moore is a name overlooked today despite his competent contributions to the field, notably 'Bring the Jubilee' (*F&SF*, November 1952), an excellent alternative-Earth story set in a world in which the South won the American Civil War. Moore portrays a technologically backward contemporary world but the novel's strength lies in its exploration of free will versus predetermination. Moore's best work appeared in *F&SF*. This included 'Lot' (May 1953) and its sequel 'Lot's Daughter' (October 1954), which considers the problems of survival and growing up on an Earth after atomic devastation.

Several writers who would not establish their reputation until the sixties began their writing careers in the fifties, producing a not inconsiderable output. The most prolific of them all was Robert Silverberg. He started steadily with a few sales in 1954 and early 1955 to *Nebula*, *Imagination* and *Future*, but the floodgates opened in the summer of 1955 when he began to sell to every available market. Initially he sold regularly to the lesser markets – *Amazing Stories*, *Science Fiction Stories*, *Imagination*, *Fantastic Universe*, *Infinity* – but within his first year he had also sold to *Astounding* and *Galaxy*. There seemed no bounds to his fertile imagination, and the scale of his output meant that he was soon using an army of pen names. His most prolific alter ego was Calvin Knox, a name suggested by Robert Lowndes as being thoroughly Protestant after Judith Merrill had told Silverberg that he would not sell fiction using his Jewish name.<sup>32</sup> However, when Silverberg submitted his stories he typed in the by-line 'Calvin M. Knox'. Lowndes was pleased to see the name used but, puzzled by the middle initial, asked Silverberg, 'What's the M for?'. Silverberg retorted, 'Moses! Am I gonna give up completely?'. Another alias used by Silverberg was Ivar Jorgensen (sometimes spelled Jorgenson). The name had originally been used by Paul W. Fairman, starting with 'Whom the Gods Would Slay' (*Fantastic Adventures*, June 1951) but by 1957 the name had become a Ziff-Davis house name used on the work of several writers. Silverberg later commented that he grew up admiring Jorgensen and ended up becoming him!

Silverberg recalls the time:

The summer of 1955 was a hot and dreary one in New York City, setting records every day for temperature and humidity. But in a decrepit apartment house on West 114th Street, in the shadow of Columbia University, an eager, bright-eyed, beardless young man laboured tirelessly over a

32 Merrill had adopted a pen name rather than use her own name, Josephine Grossman.

smoking typewriter, turning out science fiction stories night and day with the furious energy of one who has just started to sell fiction regularly, and who is afraid to rest for a moment, lest the spell of success be broken.

That busy young man was Robert Silverberg. He was not the only busy writer in the building at the time, for next door to him lived a certain Randall Garrett, and one flight down dwelled a refugee from Ohio named Harlan Ellison, and they, too, made their typewriters hum.<sup>33</sup>

It would be easy to be dismissive of Silverberg's early writing as so much of it was hackwork written by the yard to order. Even he has been critical of it, once commenting that 'most of what I had published was carefully carpentered but mediocre, and much was wholly opportunistic trash'.<sup>34</sup> But true talent shines through. Silverberg's first sale to *Astounding*, 'To Be Continued' (May 1956), was a wry twist on the longevity theme: a 2000-year-old man discovers that he can at last father children and finds a fellow immortal who, at a mere 400 years old, is still too young to have children. The reverse of this idea appears in 'The Old Man' (*Imagination*, April 1957, as by S. M. Tenneshaw), wherein a spaceman is forced to retire because he's approaching twenty. Silverberg was adept at developing the ideas of others. In 'New Men for Mars' (*Super-Science Fiction*, June 1957, as Calvin M. Knox), he took the idea used by Walter Miller in 'Crucifixus Etiam' of Peruvians from the high Andes being better adapted to live on Mars, and developed it to show what such a community would be like and how it needed to live alongside another, less adapted settlement, in order to share skills. He had used this same idea of the need to share skills and talents in space in 'Double Dare', his first sale to *Galaxy* (November 1956), where humans and aliens exchange engineers to resolve special problems. Echoes of Miller appear again in 'Shadow on the Stars' (*Science Fiction Adventures*, April 1958; revised as *Stepsons of Terra*, Ace Books 1958), in which a distant colony of Earth returns to the mother planet for aid against hostile aliens only to find that Earth is now pacifist and will not help. 'Collecting Team' (*Super-Science Fiction*, December 1956) was a perfectly competent reworking of the already standard plot whereby explorers on a planet collecting examples of local fauna become specimens themselves. Elements of the work of Frederik Pohl and Jack Williamson glitter beneath the surface of 'The Iron Chancellor' (*Galaxy*, May 1958), in which a robot-cook designed to help people moderate their over-eating ends up nearly starving them to death, and in

33 Robert Silverberg, 'Editorial', *Science Fiction Greats* #13, Winter 1969, p. 2.

34 Robert Silverberg, 'Sounding Brass, Tinkling Cymbal', in Aldiss and Harrison (eds.), *Hell's Cartographers*, p.20.



'Passport to Sirius' (*If*, April 1958), in which bluffs and counter-bluffs in misinformation are government ploys to help start a war.

Silverberg produced both light-hearted and bleak stories according to the markets. Some of his early stories were especially bleak. 'Road to Nightfall' (*Fantastic Universe*, July 1958) had been written as early as 1954 but took over three years to find a market because of its dark portrayal of a post-holocaust United States in which the survivors are driven to cannibalism. In 'The Seed of Earth' (*Super-Science Fiction*, April 1958) a man's family is wiped out by aliens and the man himself eventually killed, but not before he realizes that he may have an illegitimate son, fathered upon one of the alien women many years earlier. 'Ozymandias' (*Infinity*, November 1958) depicts a once thriving planet now totally lifeless. The military are delighted when they find a robot that has, within its memory, details of the weapon that destroyed the planet.

Early in his career Silverberg benefited from collaborating with Randall Garrett. Their joint work also appeared under several pen names, of which the best known was Robert Randall. Some of their best work appeared under this name, especially the Nidor series publishing in *Astounding*, starting with 'The Chosen People' (June 1956) and including the serial 'The Dawning Light' (March–May 1957). This explores humankind's god-like attempts to manipulate the planet Nidor until the local inhabitants rebel.

Right from the start Silverberg was determined to achieve financial security from his writings and he could only do this by being prolific. If there had not been the profusion of magazines to sell to he would not have had the opportunity to earn a living. He told me, 'Take away the magazines of the fifties, Lowndes and Campbell and Ziff-Davis's bunch and the others, and I think you take away the whole course of my career as it evolved'.<sup>35</sup> He added that he might have become an occasional writer, supporting himself through journalism, but he would not have established his credentials in such a way as to become the more significant writer of the sixties.

Silverberg's erstwhile partner, Randall Garrett, lacked the drive and commitment to establish himself in quite the same way. He still produced a considerable amount of material during the fifties, much of it reflecting Garrett's delightful sense of humour and his ability to pastiche and parody the work of others. At the time his best work seemed to be in collaboration with others. After Silverberg it was with Larry M. Harris – the two writing as Mark Phillips – who produced a series of novels featuring Kenneth Malone, a telepathic secret service agent.<sup>36</sup> It was not until the mid-sixties

<sup>35</sup> Robert Silverberg, personal email, 25 September 1999.

that Garrett created the Lord Darcy series which would prove his most memorable work.

Harlan Ellison may not have been as prolific as Silverberg, but for a period he was not far behind. He first appeared with 'Glow Worm' (*Infinity*, February 1956), a story of the last man on Earth, and within a year was appearing in all the second-stream magazines. During the fifties he never made a sale to *Astounding*, *Galaxy* or *F&SF*. His material appeared mostly in *Amazing Stories*, *Fantastic*, *Infinity*, *Science Fiction Adventures* and *If*. There are some light-hearted stories, but most of them are hard-edged, bitter action stories of the harsh reality of space or the future. In several stories, such as 'The Steel Napoleon' (*Amazing Stories*, June 1957), Ellison extrapolated into the future the emerging youth culture of the mid-fifties, especially juvenile delinquency. Ellison had hung out with a street gang in his youth and was writing crime stories from his personal experiences for *Trapped* and *Guilty*, companions to the sf magazines. Thus it is no surprise that we find a youth who becomes an assassin and is sent to kill his own father in 'The Assassin' (*Imagination*, October 1958). We even find a delinquent robot in 'Life Hutch' (*If*, April 1956), Ellison's second published sf story. It is set during the war between humankind and the Kyben: one space-fighter finds himself trapped in his own life-support pod by a service robot that has malfunctioned and will kill him the moment he moves. In a similar vein, though rather more cunning, was 'My Brother Paulie' (*Satellite*, December 1958), in which officials believe that the first space explorer experiences hallucinations of being hunted on board ship by his twin brother, though by the end of the story they aren't so sure. Ellison's stories, even this early, were often the conscience of science. His fiction would thump till it hurt. One example is 'The Abnormals' (*Fantastic*, April 1959), which looks at the discarded mutants of science who survive brutally on a spaceship orbiting Earth. It is of little surprise that Ellison's stories did not appear in *Astounding* or *Galaxy* – they were usually too bleak and too unforgiving. Yet all of this raw and unstoppable output was as nothing to Ellison's work of the sixties when he hit his stride.

Another writer who would defy the conventions of science fiction was Paul M. Linebarger, better known as Cordwainer Smith. In fact Smith was a strange phenomenon in sf circles. He had started writing sf as early as 1928, but apart from a story in a high-school magazine<sup>37</sup> he was unable

36 The series ran 'That Sweet Little Old Lady' (*Astounding*, September–October 1959; revised as *Brain Twister*, Pyramid, 1962); 'Out Like a Light' (*Astounding*, April–June 1960; revised as *The Impossibles*, Pyramid, 1963); and 'Occasion for Disaster' (*Analog*, November 1960–February 1961; revised as *Supermind*, Pyramid, 1963).

37 'War No. 81–Q', *The Adjutant*, June 1928.

to sell any of his stories except for the remarkable 'Scanners Live in Vain'. This was rejected by every magazine until it turned up in William Crawford's obscure *Fantasy Book* in 1950. It was evident that this story was part of a large future history, but Smith still remained remote from the field. The story had left an impression on Frederik Pohl, who reprinted it in his anthology *Beyond the End of Time* (Permabooks, 1952). Suitably encouraged, Smith returned to writing and, guided by Pohl, sent a new story, 'The Game of Rat and Dragon', to Horace Gold, who promptly published it in *Galaxy* (October 1955). The story was clearly a companion piece to 'Scanners', since it also involved further developments in space travel, this time using human and feline telepaths to protect travellers from hyperspatial 'dragons'. Smith remained only an occasional writer for several years. He sold three stories to *If* including 'No, No, Not Rogov!' (February 1959), which proved to be the starting point for his Instrumentality series, into which almost all of his stories fitted. It is a complex and unresolved future history which begins with the controversial concept that a far future hegemony (the Instrumentality) is established by the family of a Nazi scientist who are revived from suspended animation. The Instrumentality explore space by increasingly complex but safer means and on a colony planet discover an immortality drug which they keep secret. Humanity becomes decadent but eventually a group of Underpeople pursue the Recovery of Man. Smith's stories were not published in an internally consistent sequence making them obscure and tantalising, but all the more incredible for that. It was as if he was releasing occasional pieces of the jigsaw so that his future history only gradually fell into place. Smith was one of the most idiosyncratic and maverick of science-fiction writers. His background as a political scientist and military adviser meant that he could bring a verisimilitude to his Instrumentality series based on his own consistent logic. He regarded all of his later writings as 'literary' science fiction, not pulp, and yet it is almost impossible to imagine that Smith's sf could have appeared outside the sf magazines. This is not to denigrate his writing – he had three non-sf novels published in the late 1940s and was a capable literary stylist – but his concepts could only be grasped by a science-fiction readership, and even they found it difficult. Smith's work was not universally adored but it was highly regarded.

There were two writers who debuted in the fifties and, despite subsequent works, are generally regarded as writers whose careers were fixed in the fifties almost entirely because they were one-hit wonders. Tom Godwin is known almost solely for 'The Cold Equations' (*Astounding*, August 1954), a hard-hitting story about the precision required in calculating space trajectories and fuel loads and the fatal consequences upon a stowaway.

Although Godwin wrote around 25 other stories and three novels he was never able to repeat the success of this remarkable story, which has been anthologized about 30 times. It was based on an idea suggested by Campbell<sup>38</sup>, and caused more reader reaction than almost any other story in *Astounding* during the fifties. Most of Godwin's stories are bleak and unremitting, possibly because of his own physical misfortunes (he had a deformed spine and spent most of his adult years alone as a prospector in the deserts of Wyoming and Arizona). His first story, 'The Gulf Between' (*Astounding*, October 1953), which also provided the first cover for *Astounding* by Kelly Freas, was a powerful military story exploring the difference between soldiers and robots in action. He struggled to retain *Astounding* as a market after 'The Cold Equations', and slipped down the magazine chain until he regained Campbell's eye in 1961. Stories such as 'The Barbarians' (*If*, December 1955) and 'Operation Opera' (*F&SF*, April 1956) are interesting comparisons of human and alien cultures. 'Too Soon to Die' (*Venture*, March 1957; expanded as *The Survivors*, Gnome Press, 1958) is the harsh story of prisoners of a space war abandoned on the penal planet Ragnarok. 'The Nothing Equation' (*Amazing Stories*, December 1957) tells of a lone spaceman who becomes paranoid when he calculates that the pressure within his space-pod makes it a potential bomb if struck by anything. The story's title suggests that Godwin was trying to recapture the success of the earlier story.

Something similar applied to Daniel Keyes. He had first appeared with 'Precedent' in *Marvel SF* (May 1952), a magazine he helped edit, but he produced only four other stories during the fifties. Although he later branched out into mainstream novels of borderline sf interest, he would pretty much have been forgotten had it not been for 'Flowers for Algernon' (*F&SF*, April 1959), which remains among the most universally praised of all science-fiction stories. It tells of an experiment that increases the IQ of Charlie Gordon from 68 to genius level, but this subsequently deteriorates. The story, as told by Gordon, is intensely moving. It won the Hugo award as the year's best short fiction and the novel derived from it received the Nebula

38 In a letter to Ronald E. Graham, dated 8 September 1969, Campbell says, 'Only once did I send a story back six times for revision – and that was not a commissioned story, by an author who had an idea, a good one, and could write – but simply couldn't accept the underlying honest answer to the story-idea he had come up with' (see John Bangsund [ed.], *John W. Campbell, An Australian Tribute* [Canberra: Graham & Bangsund, 1972], p. 86). However, over twenty years earlier Campbell said, in a letter to Theodore Sturgeon (30 November 1954), 'I had Godwin sweating on that one four times'. Soon afterwards, in a letter to Philip José Farmer (30 July 1955), Campbell said, 'I got Godwin to write that piece' (see Chapdelaine et al [eds.], *The John W. Campbell Letters, Volume 1*, pp. 266, 293). Even if it was not specially commissioned the story was clearly a strong collaboration between the two.

award in 1966. The story was originally written for Horace Gold, who had asked Keyes for a follow up to 'The Trouble With Elmo' (*Galaxy*, August 1958), which was about a super-computer that was way past its prime but which was impossible to decommission. Gold, in one of his occasional moments of being blind to a brilliant story,<sup>39</sup> suggested that Keyes rewrite 'Flowers for Algernon' to give it a happy ending. The strength of the story is in its ending, and if Keyes had written it to Gold's suggestions the story would have passed into oblivion. Fortunately William Tenn stopped Keyes making any such revisions and Robert P. Mills, the new editor of *F&SF*, acquired the story. He asked for some slight trimming which improved it. When published, the story became legendary. Keyes wrote other stories and books, but never repeated the success of this gem, which may remain the nearest to a perfect science-fiction story we shall ever get.

William Tenn, who had made an auspicious start in *Astounding* with 'Alexander the Bait' (May 1946) and the Kuttneresque 'Child's Play' (March 1947) really came alive in the mid-fifties, especially in the pages of *Galaxy*. His first story in *Galaxy* had been 'Betelgeuse Bridge' (April 1951), a clever little tale about friendly but devious aliens who swindle Earth out of its natural resources in exchange for super-technology which, it transpires, won't work without those natural resources. But his real run in *Galaxy* began with 'Project Hush' (February 1954). Although the technological aspects of the story are now woefully dated, the basic idea remains highly enjoyable in poking fun at the military. Project Hush is a top-secret manned Army mission to the moon, so secret that no other agencies know about it. When they arrive they discover that the Navy has beaten them to it! 'Down Among the Dead Men' (June 1954) is a very different story. Judith Merrill regarded it as the story 'that marks (with a WOW!) the emergence of his mature powers as a writer'.<sup>40</sup> In the future humankind is losing the war against the alien Eoti, and have to rebuild soldiers from the dead to sustain a fighting force. 'Time in Advance' (August 1956) is one of Tenn's best known stories, in which people serve time in advance of committing a crime. 'Of All Possible Worlds' (December 1956) is a fascinating story of terrifying alternatives. Scientists in 2089 plan to send a weapon into the past to intercept a nuclear missile that had destroyed the world's food supplies in 1976. However, if they get it wrong it will result in widespread infertility.

39 According to Damon Knight, Lester del Rey once said that Gold 'turned mediocre stories into good ones, and excellent stories into good ones' ('Knight Piece', in Aldiss and Harrison [eds.], *Hell's Cartographers*, p. 132). Frederik Pohl also stated that '[if] Horace had a failing as an editor it was that when a perfectly good story came along his responses faltered. He had no way to improve it and sometimes rejected it.'

40 Judith Merrill, 'Books', *F&SF* 35(3), September 1968, p. 33.

'Time Waits for Winthrop' (August 1957) is a delightful story of fashion and tastes. A delegation from the future invites an assortment of people from the twentieth century to visit the twenty-fifth century. Most people find the future too surreal and hideous except for an old tramp who likes it so much that he doesn't want to return to the past. Tenn also had several notable stories in other magazines. 'The Custodian' (*If*, November 1953) is about the last man alive on Earth, left as custodian of all Earth's treasures, who becomes aware that he may not be alone. 'The Liberation of Earth' (*Future*, May 1953), regarded by Damon Knight as 'the funniest story he's ever written',<sup>41</sup> is a brilliant satire on how Earth copes with alien domination and was a blatant poke in the eye for Joseph McCarthy. In fact Gold had been somewhat anxious over publishing it in *Galaxy* but Robert Lowndes had no such qualms in *Future*. 'Eastward Ho!' (*F&SF*, October 1958) is an incisive post-atomic holocaust satire of the continuing bureaucratic relationship between the native Americans and the United States. Tenn had a sharp eye for satire, especially of the military and other bureaucracies, and also had an ingenious approach to developing plots and story-lines. As a result most of his stories seem as fresh today as they did at the time and a few are even more relevant. His writing skills made him a better satirist than Sheckley, and developing the stories around identifiable characters made them as pertinent and sometimes even more accessible than Pohl and Kornbluth's. It was a loss when other commitments caused Tenn to abandon writing in the early sixties.

Jack Vance had sold his first story just before Tenn: 'The World-Thinker' (*Thrilling Wonder Stories*, Summer 1945). Vance was in a class of his own. A beautiful stylist and wordsmith, he tended to conjure stories and worlds in the decadent mode of Lord Dunsany or Clark Ashton Smith. His stories were more planetary extravaganzas than solid science fiction, but he was such a deft writer that he could weave the two together when he wanted, making his stories appeal to a wide range of readers. He was at home in *Planet Stories* and *Startling Stories* as he was in *Galaxy* or *Astounding*. In fact it is as likely to be Vance as any other writer who caused Campbell to begin publishing stories with a stronger flavour of the fantastic. 'Big Planet' (*Startling Stories*, September 1952) is a good example of how Vance blends his approaches to sf and fantasy. The story is the odyssey of a rag-bag of assorted humans across a vast planet inhabited by an even wilder assortment of alien cultures and renegades. 'The Gift of Gab' (*Astounding*, September 1955) is a clever story of human learning to communicate with dolphin. 'The Miracle Workers' (*Astounding*, July 1958) follows Arthur C.

41 Knight, *In Search of Wonder*, p. 120.

Clarke's aphorism that to a primitive culture any advanced science is indistinguishable from magic. It is from 'The Miracle Workers' onwards that we find Vance developing his stories of cultures so scientifically advanced, and with such a range of psi powers, that the stories read as much like fantasies as like sf. These became too extreme for Campbell, but 'The Miracle Workers' had fired the gun and the baton would be passed on to Randall Garrett, Frank Herbert, Anne McCaffrey and others in the sixties.

### The Adaptive Ancients

Of the 24 writers covered above, three of them – Damon Knight, Frederik Pohl and Eric Frank Russell – had sold stories before the Second World War, and all adapted without a problem to the change in sf in the fifties. Indeed, Knight and Pohl flourished as never before because of the change. Many of the old guard had faded away by the forties and even though a few of them, such as Raymond Z. Gallun and Eando Binder, reappeared briefly in the fifties and even the sixties they did not make a second reputation for themselves. There were, however, plenty of others who grew and prospered in the fifties and, if anything, established themselves more strongly than before.

There is no better example than Theodore Sturgeon. Sturgeon had first appeared in *Astounding* with 'Ether Breather' (September 1939) and remained a regular in that magazine throughout the forties. In the fifties he shifted his main market to *Galaxy* and only sold one more story to Campbell, 'Won't You Walk –' (*Astounding*, January 1956). We have already seen how Sturgeon encouraged and contributed to a more open-minded attitude to sexual themes in science fiction, and this would certainly have been one reason why Campbell could no longer consider his stories. But Sturgeon's philosophy had also moved away from Campbell's. He no longer wanted to consider the indomitable expansion of humankind through space or the triumph of human ingenuity over adversity. He was more interested in exploring the impact of the world and of change upon man and woman, especially changes they did not understand and over which they had no control, or changes that they imposed upon others. This approach was admirably summarized in the title of Sturgeon's fantasy 'A Touch of Strange' (*F&SF*, January 1958), about the love between a human and a mermaid.

Sturgeon's great days at *Galaxy* began with 'Baby is Three' (*Galaxy*, October 1952), which was the basis for the award-winning *More Than Human* (Farrar Strauss Young, 1953). It traces the growth of *homo gestalt* with the uniting of six lonely outcasts of society who have psi powers and come

together as a hive mind, thus creating a gestalt super-being. This concept was pure Campbellian, yet Campbell was critical of the story – possibly out of petulance for not having published it.<sup>42</sup> *More Than Human* won the International Fantasy Award in 1955 and is still regarded by many as Sturgeon's best book and one of the true classics of science fiction. Sturgeon's belief that the future of humankind lay in some form of mental gestalt was explored again in 'The Touch of Your Hand' (*Galaxy*, September 1953), which shows what damage can ensue when an individual asserts his independence and seeks to regain the old ways. The obverse of this was explored in 'Mr Costello, Hero' (*Galaxy*, December 1953), a thinly disguised attack on McCarthyism, in which the eponymous individual can control others by his mind and personality and develop a mental hive. Whether he is hero or villain depends on the outlook.

'Saucer of Loneliness' (*Galaxy*, February 1953) is a moving story of a young woman contacted psychically by a UFO. The woman is grilled by the FBI to reveal the message but she won't. The denouement of the story is at once touching and powerful. The usually highly critical James Blish thought that 'technically, the piece is quite perfect, which makes it extraordinary to begin with', a view that he maintained ten years later.<sup>43</sup> In a similar vein is 'When You're Smiling' (*Galaxy*, January 1955), which explores the relationship between a sadist and an apparently mentally subnormal 'friend', Henry, who is a telepath. It transpires that Henry is always smiling not because he is stupid but because he is grimacing from the mental anguish caused by the telepathic broadcasts of the sadist.

Like Sturgeon, Fritz Leiber and L. Sprague de Camp had been part of the Campbellian revolution in the early 1940s. The two had distinctly different writing careers in the fifties. De Camp was working in a variety of fields. He was writing more non-fiction, including fascinating reference books on lost continents and ancient engineers. He also wrote the first book about the creative art of writing science fiction, *Science-Fiction Handbook* (Hermitage House, 1953), and produced several fantasy stories and novels, including editing a number of Robert E. Howard's previously unpublished Conan stories. He remained very prolific, but dipped his toe into the science-fiction pool less frequently as the decade progressed. His appearances were always welcome, because de Camp's fiction seldom followed the fashion. He enjoyed humorous fiction. 'Property of Venus' (*Galaxy*, July 1955) is an amusing story of the consequences of planting Venusian vegetation on

42 See Campbell's letter to Sturgeon, 30 November 1954, in Chapdelaine et al. (eds.), *The John W. Campbell Letters, Volume 1*, pp. 263–75.

43 James Blish, *The Issue at Hand* (Chicago: Advent, 1964), p. 42.



Earth. 'Internal Combustion' (*Infinity*, February 1956) is a spoof about a bunch of robot gangsters. 'Impractical Joke' (*Future* #29, February 1956) considers the dire consequences of a practical joke on an alien planet. 'A Gun for Dinosaur' (*Galaxy*, March 1956) reveals the perils of time travel and dinosaur hunting. It has some elements in common with 'Aristotle and the Gun' (*Astounding*, February 1958), in which a time-travelling scientist goes back to teach Aristotle a thing or two but ends up in another continuum. As can be seen, de Camp's fiction of the fifties was mostly light and slick, but did little to take the field forwards. By the end of the decade he was experimenting with historical fiction, starting with *An Elephant for Aristotle* (Doubleday, 1958), which seemed a natural development from his interests in fantasy. It had already shown itself in a number of his sf stories such as 'The Glory That Was' (*Startling Stories*, April 1952), in which two men from the twenty-seventh century suddenly seem to be transported back to ancient Greece.

Fritz Leiber, on the other hand, went through something of a sea change in the fifties. Although he produced some good short stories at the start of the decade, as we've already seen, his creativity flagged, not helped by his increasing alcoholism. But towards the end of the fifties there was a resurgence as he developed his Change War series. The Change War takes place throughout time and space and is a battle between the mysterious Spiders and the Snakes. Soldiers are recruited from all planets and times. The first stories in the series appeared simultaneously: 'Try and Change the Past' in *Astounding* (March 1958), 'A Deskful of Girls' in *F&SF* (April 1958) and the big one, 'The Big Time' in *Galaxy* (March–April 1958). The novel, which sets the scene in an R&R unit outside time, won Leiber his first Hugo award.

Two other seasoned writers continued to produce reliable and occasionally memorable work throughout the fifties: Isaac Asimov and Clifford D. Simak. Most of Asimov's short fiction of the fifties had less impact than his major works in the forties, even though he regarded his output as having become more sophisticated. His stories took on the coating of light entertainment and only a few, such as 'The Dead Past' (*Astounding*, April 1956), 'Jokester' (*Infinity*, December 1956), 'The Feeling of Power' (*If*, February 1958) and 'The Martian Way' (*Galaxy*, November 1952) went deeper. 'The Feeling of Power' is an especially pertinent prediction about a computer-dominated world in which most people lose the power to do mental arithmetic because there is no need. When computers fail, it is the human mathematician who comes to the rescue. 'The Martian Way' was Asimov's reaction to McCarthyism, though in fact the story's internal politics and the tensions between the Scavengers (who clean up space debris) and the Wasters (who waste water and other commodities) are as relevant today as

then. Damon Knight went so far as to call it 'one of the best science fiction novellas ever published'.<sup>44</sup> Asimov later mused over how it managed to be published without a reaction to its anti-McCarthy message and eventually came to the same conclusion as Theodore Sturgeon, that science fiction was 'the last bastion of free speech'.<sup>45</sup>

Asimov also produced two excellent novels during the 1950s that fused the genres of science fiction and detective fiction better than any previous attempts (and many since). These were 'The Caves of Steel' and 'The Naked Sun', which introduced the characters of Lije Bailey and the robot R. Daneel Olivaw. Both are multi-layered stories, depicting excellent futuristic worlds, the usual human failings and prejudices, and ingenious crimes with believable solutions. These novels were suited to both Gold and Campbell – in fact it was Gold who had first proposed the blending of sf and mystery fiction and suggested a robot detective. The proposal appears to have arisen more out of petulance at not getting Asimov's latest novel, 'The Currents of Space', which had sold to *Astounding*,<sup>46</sup> but it was a moment of genius, leading to one of Asimov's best books. So it was that 'The Caves of Steel' was first serialized in *Galaxy* (October–December 1953), but 'The Naked Sun' appeared in *Astounding* (October–December 1956). This raises the question of why Gold had not secured the sequel. In the second part of his autobiography, *In Joy Still Felt*, Asimov states that he simply liked to alternate his novels between *Galaxy* and *Astounding*, but this is too simple an explanation.<sup>47</sup> If one reads between the lines it does not take long to find that Asimov had tired of Gold's continual interference with his work. He regarded him as getting 'crankier' and at times believed that some stories were ruined by Gold's editorial meddling. After 'The Caves of Steel' Asimov sold Gold only two more stories. Asimov was incensed when Gold changed the title of the last of these, 'The Ugly Little Boy' to 'Lastborn' (September 1958). But Asimov also had to concede that this story, about the last surviving Neanderthal child, which was one of his personal favourites, had benefited from Gold's input – so much so that Asimov had torn up the first draft and rewritten it based on Gold's suggestions.<sup>48</sup> There are aspects of *The Naked Sun*, especially the agoraphobia and paranoia, which seem to be modelled on Gold himself, and it is more than probable that Asimov believed he would have too much trouble getting the novel past Gold.

44 Knight, *In Search of Wonder*, p. 93.

45 Asimov, *In Memory Yet Green*, p. 650.

46 Asimov, *In Memory Yet Green*, p. 648.

47 Isaac Asimov, *In Joy Still Felt* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980).

48 Isaac Asimov, *I. Asimov* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1994), p. 191.

Simak did not seem to be fazed by Gold's or Campbell's editorial intrusions. This unassuming, inimitable writer of humanistic science fiction produced the same type of story for either editor and was equally highly regarded by both. During the fifties most of Simak's stories appeared in *Galaxy*. These include 'How-2' (November 1954) about granting civil rights to robots, the delightful alien stories 'Drop Dead' (July 1956), 'Operation Stinky' (April 1957) and 'Carbon Copy' (December 1957), and the most poignant of them all, 'A Death in the House' (October 1959), in which a farmer cares for a dying alien. Despite these excellent stories it was 'The Big Front Yard' in *Astounding* (October 1958) – about a house that becomes the vortex for a pan-dimensional gateway – that won Simak a Hugo award in 1959.

It was easy to forget that Simak had first appeared in print as far back as 1931,<sup>49</sup> since he established his reputation in the forties with *Astounding*. A few of his early contemporaries continued to appear in the sf magazines, some further enhancing their reputations. Although Edmond Hamilton would re-emerge in the sixties with some better material, he was content to sit on his laurels in the fifties and churn out basic space opera for William Hamling's *Imagination* and *Imaginative Tales*. His one nod to new developments were his two stories for *Venture*, 'No Earthman I' (November 1957) and 'The Dark Backward' (May 1958). The first was a gritty depiction of a harsh alien world, while the second was a more gimmicky piece about people from the future programmed to live in the past.

Jack Williamson also made little progress in the fifties. He had seen the majority of his old pulp markets close, and was having trouble placing books. His main writing in the early fifties was the comic strip 'Beyond Mars', based on the universe he had created with his Seetee stories.<sup>50</sup> The strip ran weekly in the New York *Sunday News* from 17 February 1952 to 13 March 1955, illustrated by Lee Elias. When the strip finished Williamson turned to teaching and further study. He was one of the first to treat science fiction as a serious subject for academic research. His MA thesis was 'A Study of the Sense of Prophecy in Modern Science Fiction', completed in August 1957.<sup>51</sup> Williamson would return to writing science fiction in the sixties.

49 'The World of the Red Sun', *Wonder Stories*, December 1931.

50 The series began in *Astounding* with 'Collision Orbit' (July 1942) and continued with 'Minus Sign' (November 1942) and 'Opposites – React!' (January–February 1943). These three were reworked as the book *Seetee Ship* (New York: Gnome Press, 1951). A later serial, 'Seetee Shock' (*Astounding*, February–April 1949), was published in book form by Simon & Schuster in 1950.

51 Williamson went on to study H. G. Wells for his doctoral thesis, producing *H. G. Wells: Critic of Progress* (Baltimore: Mirage Press, 1973) in 1966. He later produced a privately published survey of science-fiction courses called *Science Fiction Comes to College* in 1971.

Edward Elmer Smith was also less active in the fifties. He was busy with his job as manager of a food-mix company until his retirement in 1957, and so found little time for writing. His Lord Tedric series had failed after just two episodes in Palmer's magazines, but Smith still felt he had something to offer the new generation of readers. He worked on a new novel about super-telepaths who develop an intergalactic government. The story-line failed to gel and the book was rejected by Campbell, and appeared as 'The Galaxy Primes' in *Amazing Stories* (March–May 1959). It was not a success. Campbell did buy 'Subspace Survivors' (*Astounding*, July 1960), about a mighty spaceship lost in subspace, as a prelude to another novel, but did not continue the series. Smith's day was not quite over, but his main contribution to the field was already well in the past.

Murray Leinster was the oldest old-timer of them all, having been writing fantasy and science fiction for forty years by the end of the fifties and still going strong.<sup>52</sup> Unlike his fellow pioneers, he had a new lease of life in the fifties – not that there had been much lapse in the old Leinster. He had some fine tales in the last of the pulps, *Thrilling Wonder* and *Startling Stories*, especially 'The Gadget Had a Ghost' (*Thrilling Wonder*, June 1952), an ingenious story of time paradoxes. He moved effortlessly into *Galaxy*, where he had half a dozen stories during the fifties. The first was 'The Other Now' (March 1951), in which a husband seeks out another time continuum in the hope of saving his wife from death in a car crash. Perhaps the best was 'The Sentimentalists' (April 1953), in which two telepathic aliens save an Earth colony from destruction. Soon after this, Leinster started two new series in *Astounding*. There was the Colonial Survey series of planetary exploration, starting with 'Sand Doom' (December 1955), and of which 'Exploration Team' (March 1956) won Leinster a Hugo. Then there was the popular Med Service series featuring Dr Calhoun and his monkey-like companion Murgatroyd, which began with 'Ribbon in the Sky' (June 1957). Though modern in content, both of these series were traditional in style, and really little more than old-time entertainment, but they were thoroughly well written with a flair born of years of experience. The Colonial Survey series, in particular, has much in common with the first series of *Star Trek*, which would emerge in less than a decade, showing a continuity from the old magazines to the new generations.

Although not quite as old as Leinster or Hamilton, Alfred Bester had been around longer than it seemed. His first sf story was 'The Broken Axiom' (*Thrilling Wonder Stories*, April 1939), but although he had over a dozen stories published between then and 1942 few of them left much of a mark. As

52 His first sf/fantasy story was 'Oh, Aladdin!' (*Argosy*, 11 January 1919).

we have already seen, he re-emerged in the early fifties with extraordinary works. His main market was *F&SF*, but if he is remembered for anything it is for his two serials in *Galaxy*. We have already discussed 'The Demolished Man' (January–March 1952), and there are those who think that 'The Stars My Destination' (October 1956–January 1957; also published as *Tiger! Tiger!*, London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1956) is better. It tells of the attempted revenge of anti-hero Gully Foyle on the class system that pervades the interplanetary oligarchy. The novel does not have the suspense of 'The Demolished Man', but it has more depth and some striking characterization.

'The Stars My Destination' had originally been mooted to be serialized in *F&SF* as 'The Burning Spear', starting in the June 1956 issue. However, it was withdrawn at the last minute when Bester had several ideas for revisions, and then other writing commitments for television intruded upon his time. It was a blow to Tony Boucher, therefore, when the revised version surfaced in *Galaxy*. *F&SF* still remained Bester's main market, though his work for television, radio and *Holiday* magazine limited his time for science fiction. When he had an idea for a story it was always a neat, clever, sharp item, such as the time-travel twisters 'Of Time and Third Avenue' (*F&SF*, October 1951), 'Hobson's Choice' (*F&SF*, August 1952) and 'The Men Who Murdered Mohammed' (*F&SF*, October 1958); or the future murder mystery 'Fondly Fahrenheit' (*F&SF*, August 1954), in which, against the prime directive, an android appears to have committed murder; or the bravely experimental 'The Pi Man' (*F&SF*, October 1959), which may be viewed as a mathematical fantasy of a man seeking to find a balance within his environment. This story showed that Bester was ahead of the New Wave in his approach to, treatment of and understanding of sf. His influence on his fellow writers is far out of proportion to the comparative paucity of his output.

Bester could be described as the Heinlein of the fifties. Robert A. Heinlein, the master of the *Astounding* Golden Age, ten years earlier, was going through a transformation in the fifties and not everyone went with him. His novels for young readers, such as *The Star Beast* (Scribner's, 1954; serialized as 'Star LummoX', *F&SF*, May–July 1954), continued to be popular in America, but his adult novels were of variable quality, setting the trend for some of his more outrageous works of the sixties and seventies. 'The Puppet Masters' (*Galaxy*, September–November 1951), in which Earth is invaded by alien parasites, and 'Double Star' (*Astounding*, February–April 1956), a Ruritanian-type adventure in which an actor doubles for a politician, both have their supporters – the latter even won a Hugo. 'The Door into Summer' (*F&SF*, October–December 1956), in which the protagonist goes into suspended animation to the year 2000 only to find himself the subject of a

swindle, is now badly dated. *Starship Troopers* (Putnam, 1959; serialized in a heavily abridged form as 'Starship Soldier', *F&SF*, October–November 1959) caused an uproar at the time, when Scribner's refused to publish it and Heinlein found a new publisher. This study of militaristic mayhem on a colony planet remains one of Heinlein's most contentious novels, especially from this middle period. Even Heinlein confessed at the time that 'this is not my best work'.<sup>53</sup> Many critics condemned it as glorifying war and because Heinlein's work was so closely associated with young readers, it was believed that the book was likely to corrupt youth. However, those who bothered to read the book in detail and to consider the philosophies that Heinlein explored recognized that he was taking a logical development in the confrontation between humans and aliens and projecting it to its conclusion. Both John Carnell, writing in *New Worlds*, and P. Schuyler Miller, writing in *Astounding*, believed that Heinlein was a 'master craftsman', even though Carnell felt obliged to add that he felt it was 'very unlikely that the book would ever be published in Great Britain'.<sup>54</sup> Despite this controversy, or more probably because of it, *Starship Troopers* went on to win the Hugo award for that year's best novel.

None of these works prepared Heinlein devotees for *Stranger in a Strange Land* (Putnam, 1961), Heinlein's most famous novel, which had no prior magazine serialization. He had been struggling with it for ten years, and it had grown and grown. It began from a conversation with John W. Campbell back in 1949 when the idea about a human child raised on Mars was first mooted. Heinlein wanted to contrast the products of two totally different cultures and environments. He soon realized that he had a book that took him above his juvenile novels – which he had happily serialized in the digests – and which might actually sell beyond the normal sf circles. Heinlein did not want the book considered as science fiction – he argued that it was a 'Cabellesque satire on religion and sex'.<sup>55</sup> It was evident that by the end of the fifties writers were actively seeking changes, which I shall explore later.

Although Heinlein first appeared in the so-called Golden Age of Science Fiction which sprang from *Astounding* between 1939 and 1942, there is no doubt that there was another Golden Age in the pages of *Galaxy* and other magazines during 1952–54. With Sturgeon at his peak, with Philip K. Dick and Walter M. Miller developing their portfolios, with new work from

53 Robert A. Heinlein, letter to Lurton Blassingame, 19 February 1959, in Virginia Heinlein, *Robert A. Heinlein: Grumbles from the Grave* (New York: Del Rey Books, 1990), p. 83.

54 See John Carnell, 'Big Book of 1959', *New Worlds* 33(97), August 1960, p. 2, and P. Schuyler Miller, 'The Wiswell Syndrome', *Astounding SF* 65(1), March 1960, pp. 157–59.

55 Heinlein, letter to Lurton Blassingame, 21 October 1960, in *Grumbles from the Grave*, p. 228.

Damon Knight, Frederik Pohl and Poul Anderson, and the rush of talent from Sheckley, Silverberg, Ellison, Dickson, Clifton, Piper and so many others, the fifties were an astonishingly fertile period.

And yet I still have not finished my survey. There are still three aspects to consider. Of the 35 writers covered above only one was British (Eric Frank Russell) and none were women. Yet the fifties saw a significant emergence of women writers and a gathering in strength of British writers. I shall consider the British first.

### Great Britons

The publication of several good-quality science-fiction magazines in Britain meant that in the fifties, for the first time, a generation of writers had the opportunity to practise, experiment and develop. Hitherto for British writers to make the grade they had to take their chances in the American magazines and not every British writer was able to appeal to American editors. Eric Frank Russell, whom we've already discussed, was sometimes accused by British readers of being too Americanized. Two other British writers, Arthur C. Clarke and John Wyndham, had also made the grade, such that by the early fifties they could be considered alongside Heinlein and Bradbury as authors who had developed beyond the confines of the sf field and had been accepted by the mainstream.

John Wyndham did this in fine style at the very start of the fifties. His novel *The Day of the Triffids* was serialized in *Collier's Weekly* as 'The Revolt of the Triffids' (6 January–3 February 1951) to a tremendous reception. Robert Lusty of Michael Joseph became interested and the book appeared in hardback in Britain. Michael Joseph was not normally known for publishing science fiction and this spread Wyndham's reputation in the mainstream. At the time it seemed that John Wyndham was a new writer. Not many knew that he was John Beynon Harris, who had first appeared in Gernsback's *Wonder Stories* twenty years earlier with 'Worlds to Barter' (May 1931). As Wyndham he created a new persona which virtually blanked out the past and allowed him to develop in the mainstream without the 'stigma' of the sf magazines. As Harris, he had developed a reasonable if limited reputation before the war, but during and immediately after the war, Harris had moments of doubt. He was uncertain about whether he wanted to continue to write science fiction and turned instead to detective fiction and even a political thriller, but neither book sold. A story completed before the war, 'The Living Lies', eventually surfaced in *New Worlds* (#2, 1946) under a new alias, John Beynon. As Beynon, he began to sell a few more stories. Two are

of particular significance. 'Adaptation', a moving story about a young girl who is scientifically adapted to live on another planet, was his first appearance in *Astounding* (July 1949), and marked his return to the science-fiction community with a high degree of credibility. But more importantly, a rather light fantasy about an artistic monkey, 'Jizzle', sold to the slick magazine *Collier's Weekly* (8 January 1949) thanks to Harris's American agent Frederik Pohl. This gave Harris an opportunity with *Collier's* for *The Day of the Triffids*. Pohl had already sold it to Doubleday but got them to delay publication because of the interest from *Collier's*. 'Collier's love expressed itself in the biggest check I had ever seen, five figures worth of fondness', Pohl recalled.<sup>56</sup> The success of *Triffids* meant that over the next few years Wyndham concentrated on novels, every one of them a great success. One would imagine that Wyndham's popularity would have led to his being courted by the slicks, but such was not the case. Only his next novel, *The Kraken Wakes* (Michael Joseph, 1953; published in the US as *Out of the Deeps*, Ballantine, 1953), was serialized in *Everybody's* in 1952. The slicks seemed less interested in Wyndham's later novels, *The Chrysalids* (Michael Joseph, 1955; published in the US as *Re-birth*, Ballantine, 1955) and *The Midwich Cuckoos* (Michael Joseph, 1957), although when the latter was filmed as *Village of the Damned* (MGM, 1960) it further established his reputation. In fact, although Wyndham adapted his story-telling in the fifties to appeal to a wider audience, few of his short stories found a home outside the science-fiction magazines. His only other market was the British digest magazine *Argosy* and its companion *Suspense*. This did not concern Wyndham. His novels and short-story collections sold extremely well; he wrote the occasional short story more out of recreation than need and did not aim them at the sf readership. In fact, once *The Day of the Triffids* became a best-seller, and after Frederik Pohl closed his agency in 1953, Wyndham hardly bothered with the US market. When he wasn't writing fantasies, such as 'Bargain from Brunswick' (*F&SF*, June 1951), 'Chinese Puzzle' (*Argosy*, February 1953; retitled 'A Stray from Cathay', *Fantasy Fiction*, August 1953) or 'Close Behind Him' (*Fantastic*, January/February 1953), he favoured time-paradox stories, such as 'Operation Peep' (*Suspense*, Summer 1951; also published as 'Pawley's Peepholes', *Science Fantasy*, Winter 1951/52), 'Time Stops Today' (*Future*, January 1953) and 'Chronoclasm' (*Star SF Stories*, 1953). These were all styled for a general readership, as likely to be female as male. There were really only two stories of Wyndham's from the early fifties that harked back to more traditional science fiction. '... And the Walls Came Tumbling Down' (*Startling Stories*, May 1951) was a fine novelette of an expedition to

<sup>56</sup> Pohl, *The Way the Future Was*, p. 171.



Earth by silicon beings. 'Consider Her Ways' (*Sometime, Never*, 1956) explores a future entirely without men. It was not until the end of the fifties that Wyndham returned to an almost mundane sequence of stories exploring the conquest of space through the adventures of one particular family, the Troons. The series ran in Britain in *New Worlds* and in the US in *Fantastic*, starting with 'For All the Night' (*New Worlds*, April 1958) about the first space station.

Wyndham had always been a relatively prosaic writer who adapted to the demands of the pulp market in the thirties but was more at home with the sophisticated style of the fifties. Clearly he no longer needed the science-fiction magazines and they only existed as a fall-back for him. This was not the case for Britain's other major writer of the period, Arthur C. Clarke, although his market profile followed a similar pattern. Clarke also had a blockbuster at the start of the decade, only in his case it was non-fiction. In 1952 *The Exploration of Space* sold to the Book-of-the-Month Club for a sizeable fee.<sup>57</sup> Although an unusual selection for the BOMC it was heavily subscribed and rapidly established Clarke's name. This did not have an immediate effect on the sale of Clarke's existing books in print, *The Sands of Mars* and *Islands in the Sky*, both of which were essentially juvenile books. But it did affect his next book, *Childhood's End*. Because of his high profile this received extensive reviews, including one in the *New York Times*. It had been published by Ballantine Books in simultaneous hardback and paperback in August 1953 and by November had sold over a quarter of a million copies. The book had never been offered to any magazine for serialization, and very few were thereafter. Clarke's reputation was now established and his books would sell a guaranteed number. He did not need the sf magazines. However, unlike Wyndham, Clarke still enjoyed producing the occasional short story and was happy for them to appear in the genre magazines. There were fewer of them, because he had much less time to write short stories, but when the mood took him and time allowed, stories still flowed. After the publication of *Childhood's End*, Clarke's stories appeared in *F&SF*, *Infinity*, *Fantastic Universe*, *Adventure*, *Satellite*, *If*, *Venture* and even the short-lived *Space SF Magazine*. Admittedly most of these were minor stories forming part of a sequence of episodes, such as the White Hart tales or the 'Venture to the Moon' or 'Other Side of the Sky' groupings. Nevertheless there were also some excellent stories. The best known is 'The Star', a profound story about extinction of life on a planet by a sun going

57 The fee was purported to be around \$50,000, according to Scott Meredith, quoted in Neil MacAleer, *Odyssey: The Authorised Biography of Arthur C. Clarke* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1992), p. 82. Clarke would have received half of that, less Meredith's agency fee, which equates to the \$20,000 (or about £5000) that Clarke reported receiving in *Fantasy Times*, April 1952.

nova – a sun that became the Star of Bethlehem. The publication of this story is a good example of the role and value of the sf magazines. The story had originally been written as an entry in a short-story competition run in 1954 by *The Observer* newspaper on the subject ‘AD 2500’ The results were announced in January 1955. The winner was the now-forgotten E. L. Malpass, and among the other prize-winners were fledgling writers Brian W. Aldiss, Arthur Sellings and Robert Wells. Clarke’s story never even made it into the ‘also-rans’.<sup>58</sup> It was subsequently rejected by the *Saturday Evening Post* as blasphemous, and it finally appeared in the new magazine, *Infinity*, for November 1955. This story was entirely at home in the science-fiction magazines. It was taken to heart by science-fiction fans, who voted it the year’s best short story in the Hugo awards. And in 1961, when Victor Gollancz published Clarke’s collection *The Other Side of the Sky*, which included ‘The Star’, Gollancz stated in the press release: ‘I am inclined to think that “The Star” may be the finest short story I have ever read’.

Other well crafted stories from this time include ‘Out from the Sun’ (*If*, February 1958), a moving, almost mystical story of solar intelligence; the romantic ‘The Songs of Distant Earth’ (*If*, June 1958); and the chilling ‘Who’s There?’ (*New Worlds*, November 1958), better known as ‘The Haunted Spacesuit’ and one of the few good examples of combining the science-fiction story and the ghost story.<sup>59</sup> A significant sale in 1957 was ‘Let There Be Light’, the first of Clarke’s stories to be published by *Playboy* (February 1958), which would go on to publish some of his best stories of the next twenty years. Curiously, ‘Let There Be Light’ seems a most un-*Playboy*-like story. It’s a belated White Hart narrative about the creation of a death ray. Several of Clarke’s stories seemed at home in the men’s magazines, even though there was nothing erotic about them. It may have been because they are always written from the heart. For example, ‘Out of the Cradle’ first appeared in *Dude* (May 1959). Set on the eve of the millennium, it is about the first baby born off planet Earth.

Both Clarke and Wyndham had started the decade with critical, popular and financial success that established them as international stars of the emerging sf genre. Despite this success neither of them was welcomed by the slick magazines. Clarke did retain his contact with the sf magazines, though mostly through his agent, but Wyndham was less loyal. Ironically, Clarke’s short fiction began to find a home in the men’s magazines and Wyndham’s in the women’s. This is at least one measure in

58 See Clarke’s ‘Bibliographical Note’ to *The Other Side of the Sky* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1961).

59 Clarke managed this again with the intensely moving ‘Dog Star’, originally published as ‘Moon Dog’ (*Galaxy*, April 1962).

showing the difference between Clarke the scientist and Wyndham the sophisticate.

Only one other British writer got close enough to snatch at the stars in the fifties and that was Sam Youd, better known under his alias John Christopher. Christopher had been one of the more active fans of the thirties and forties. He was heavily involved in the production of the amateur magazine *The Satellite*, edited by David McIlwain and John F. Burke, which ran for 17 issues from October 1938 to August 1940. He also produced nine issues of his own fanzine *The Fantast* from April 1939 before handing editorship over to Douglas Webster in April 1941. After the war he was fortunate in receiving an Atlantic Award in Literature from the Rockefeller Institute which allowed him to devote himself to writing. The result was an early fantasy novel, *The Winter Swan* (Dobson, 1949, as by Christopher Youd) and a series of sales to the sf magazines starting with 'Christmas Tree' (*Astounding*, February 1949). Many of these early stories, which later formed the core of his collection *The Twenty-Second Century* (Grayson, 1954), featured Max Larkin, head of a managerial bureaucracy that runs society. They tend to be cynical stories. Unlike Arthur Clarke, Youd was less enthusiastic about the future. He classed himself as a 'medievalist', believing that 'our civilisation took the wrong turning at the Renaissance and is now [. . .] on the way out'.<sup>60</sup> You find little scientific advancement in Christopher's stories – at least, not to the benefit of humankind – but you do find a worldview with a degree of sympathy for the other occupants of our planet. 'The Tree' (*Worlds Beyond*, January 1951), for instance, features a sentient tree, while 'Monster' (*Science Fantasy* #1, 1950) is told from the viewpoint of the Loch Ness monster. 'Socrates' (*Galaxy*, March 1951) is about a self-sacrificing super-intelligent dog. Like those of Wyndham and Clarke, Christopher's short stories appeared in a variety of magazines, in both the UK and the US, but rarely in the major titles. He had three stories in *Galaxy*, but otherwise appeared just once or twice in *Science Fiction Quarterly*, *Orbit*, *Imagination*, *If*, *Infinity*, *Satellite*, *Fantastic* and *Fantastic Universe* through the fifties, as well as the British magazines *New Worlds*, *Science Fantasy*, *Authentic* and *Nebula*. This is rather surprising, for Christopher's stories were often clever and sophisticated and ideal for *F&SF* and occasionally *Galaxy*. It therefore came as a major surprise when, in 1957, the *Saturday Evening Post* serialized Christopher's novel *Death of Grass*. This had already been published in Britain by Michael Joseph, who were establishing Christopher as a new John Wyndham. The US book rights had sold to Simon & Schuster, who had sold the US serial rights to the *Post*, where the book appeared as 'No Blade of Grass'

<sup>60</sup> *Worlds Beyond*, January 1951, inside front cover.

(24 April–7 June 1957). Although this book established John Christopher's name it did not automatically open the doors to the slick magazines. In fact, although Youd produced a few more adult novels, most of his efforts were put into successful juvenile novels. He virtually disappeared from the sf magazine scene after the publication of 'Winter Boy, Summer Girl' (*Fantastic*, October 1959).<sup>61</sup>

No other British writers came close to the success of Wyndham, Clarke or Christopher in the fifties, though some might have done had circumstances been different. Clarke's close friend William F. Temple had a promising start to the fifties. He was selling stories regularly and had sold a novelization of his 1939 story 'The 4-Sided Triangle'. This was published in Britain by John Long (1949) and in the US by Frederick Fell (1951) and rapidly went through reprintings and translations. It was acquired by Horace Gold as a *Galaxy Science-Fiction Novel* (#9, April 1952) and the film rights were sold to Exclusive Films in April 1952. Unfortunately the film of *The Four-Sided Triangle* was not the success Temple had hoped. Although he was still selling regularly to the magazines he found more fortune in writing for the children's market. Nevertheless Temple produced some classic stories during the fifties, all too few of them remembered today. One of his best was 'Forget-Me-Not' (*Other Worlds*, September 1950), a powerful study of humans imprisoned under alien domination. 'Immortal's Playthings' (*Authentic*, January 1953<sup>62</sup>) is a chilling story of a war on Venus which turns out to be the games of a super-being. 'The Lonely' (*Imagination*, July 1955) was based on an idea by Arthur C. Clarke, and considers what happens when the last woman on Earth finds the last man, who is gay. 'Uncle Buno' (*Science Fantasy*, November 1955) and 'The Different Complexion' (*New Worlds*, October 1958) are thoughtful stories which explore alien cultures and, in particular, the tensions arising between natives and settlers.

The strength of the book market in Britain allowed some writers to establish a reputation for their science fiction with no further need for the magazines. This certainly happened with Charles Eric Maine, John Lymington (real name John Newton Chance) and Edmund Cooper. Both Maine and Cooper achieved success in books by the mid-fifties and thereafter scarcely contributed to the sf magazines. Lymington is an interesting example of a writer who established a reputation as a science-fiction writer by the end of the fifties with *The Heat of the Night* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1959) and who never sold a single story to a science-fiction magazine. Early in his career, in

61 This had already appeared in Britain as 'Summer's Lease', *Argosy*, July 1959.

62 An abridged version appeared first as 'Field of Battle' (*Other Worlds*, February 1953) and the full text in book form as *Battle on Venus* (Ace Books, 1963).

the thirties, he had sold several crime stories to the British weekly *The Thriller*, but otherwise he worked entirely in books, under several pen names. When he later produced a few short stories, collected in his book *The Night Spiders* (New English Library, 1964), he sold them initially to newspapers, particularly the *London Evening News*.

The other significant British sf writers of the fifties fall largely into two camps. First, there were the more traditional writers whose work appeared almost solely in the British sf magazines and scarcely, if ever, in the US magazines, although they might still have had books published in the US. Secondly, there were those who appeared as often, if not more often, in the US magazines and who consequently established a higher profile. Typical examples of the former include F. G. Rayer, E. R. James, Ian Wright, E. C. Tubb, John Kippax, Robert Presslie, Arthur Sellings, Dan Morgan and, initially, James White, Colin Kapp and Bob Shaw, even though they broadened their market substantially in the sixties. Examples of the latter include A. Bertram Chandler, J. T. McIntosh, John Brunner and, to a degree, Kenneth Bulmer. These were all good writers capable of excellent science fiction, but only Brunner, White and Shaw went on to establish solid reputations in the sixties. Chandler was a prolific short-story writer in the fifties and graduated to novels in the sixties. Despite his significant output of short stories most of them were based on simple, clever ideas which were briefly amusing but of no great lasting quality. It was only when he developed his concept of the Rim Worlds, starting with 'To Run the Rim' (*Astounding*, January 1959), and introduced his regular characters, especially the space captain John Grimes, that Chandler became more widely recognized. These stories could be seen as ideal precursors to *Star Trek*.

James White was one of the most popular contributors to *New Worlds*. He had appeared regularly since 'Assisted Passage' in the January 1953 issue, and had gained a steady following from his scientifically accurate stories, which often centred on themes of conflict. One such was 'Tableau' (*New Worlds*, May 1958), telling of a permanent symbol erected in memory of a human-alien war. 'Grapeliner' (*New Worlds*, November 1959) depicts the knife-edge tension when humans first encounter extra-terrestrial life. White's major contribution to *New Worlds* was his series about the space hospital for aliens which started with 'Sector General' (November 1957), and which he continued to develop for the next forty years.

Kapp, like White, preferred hard-core scientific themes, but he dealt with them from the human standpoint, with considerable stress on psychological and philosophical issues. His first story, 'Life Plan' (November 1958), dealt with the superman theme, while 'Survival Problem' (April 1959) was concerned with efforts to enter another dimension. Kapp's earliest success

came with 'The Railways Up on Cannis' (October 1959), the first of a series about a team of engineers who use unorthodox methods to solve bizarre scientific problems.

Kenneth Bulmer did not appear in the American magazines as much as might be expected. Like those of E. C. Tubb, his stories filled the pages of the British magazines, sometimes pseudonymously, and he was renowned for his meticulous action-orientated sf, though he could also write humorous sf at times. He had a natural bent for fantasy and his longer stories became one of the features of *Science Fantasy*. But his existence was well known in the US because his longer stories and serials were often reprinted in paperback, without a magazine appearance. 'Green Destiny', for instance, serialized in *New Worlds* (March–May 1957) was published in the US by Ace Books in November 1957 as *City Under the Sea*. British readers who did not frequent the magazines would not see the novel until it was published by Digit Books in 1961. Occasionally it would work the other way round. *The Secret of ZI*, a novel very similar to the popular TV series of the seventies, *V*, about an Earth under alien domination, was first published in the US by Ace Books in December 1958 and was then serialized in *New Worlds* as 'The Patient Dark' (July–October 1959). Increasingly Bulmer saw the American paperback market as more lucrative. *The Changeling Worlds* was published by Ace Books in June 1959 without any British magazine serialization. *The Earth Gods are Coming*, a clever story about android missionaries, was already sold to Ace Books, with publication set for August 1960, when it was published in *Science Fiction Adventures* (May 1960) as 'Of Earth Foretold'. Bulmer is just one of several writers for whom the paperback was taking over from the magazine as the market of first sale.

The perils of the paperback market, however, especially Ace Books, also needed to be borne in mind. Like Kenneth Bulmer, John Brunner found Ace Books a ready market in the fifties. His novel *Threshold of Eternity*, which had been serialized in *New Worlds* (December 1957–February 1958) was published by Ace Books in January 1959 and labelled as 'Complete and Unabridged'. In fact the novel had been severely edited in order to fit into Ace Double's length limitations. The magazine version remains the only printing of the complete text.

John Brunner was, in some respects, like a British Robert Silverberg. He was prolific, within the limitations of the British market, and for most of the fifties wrote relatively routine science fiction, though always with a challenging edge. He reinvented himself in the sixties, producing some of the most potent sf of the decade. The seeds for this were planted in the fifties. Two novellas, 'City of the Tiger' (*Science Fantasy*, December 1958) and 'The Whole Man' (*Science Fantasy*, April 1959) were reworked by Brunner

into the novel *The Whole Man* (Ballantine, 1964; retitled *Telepathist*, Faber, 1965). It is the story of Gerald Howson, a telepath who discovers that he has curative powers. The book version was nominated for a Hugo Award in 1965.

There are two other British writers, not yet mentioned, who would emerge as the leading exponents of science fiction in Britain – Brian W. Aldiss and J. G. Ballard. They do not fit into the pattern of any of the other British writers, and possibly this was because they had distinctive approaches from the start. Like some of the better American satirists, especially Sheckley, Pohl and de Camp, Aldiss, who wanted to imitate P. G. Wodehouse at the outset, loved to poke fun at the sf archetypes. Thus his early stories are rife with humour, be it vaudeville, as in the infuriating logic and limited intelligence of his robots in 'All the World's Tears' (*Nebula*, May 1957) and 'But Who Can Replace a Man?' (*Infinity*, June 1958), or sardonic, as in 'Poor Little Warrior!' (*F&SF*, April 1958), in which a dinosaur hunter falls victim to the dinosaur's parasites. Throughout Aldiss's early work one finds a strong wariness of technology and a sigh of despond for nature. Aldiss was an early ecologist. The spaceship in 'Nonstop' (*Science Fantasy*, February 1956) has become overrun by a jungle of growth spawned from the hydroponic tanks. Aldiss began a series about the adventures of the Planetary Ecological Survey Team (its acronym PEST being Aldiss's comment on science's interference with nature). In the first episode, 'Segregation' (*New Worlds*, July 1958), the team reach a planet where a lone human had been stranded nineteen years earlier and the story contrasts his perception of the planet's life-forms with those of the team. 'Blighted Profile' (*Science Fantasy*, June 1958) is set in the far future and the opening portrays a vivid picture of a blighted Earth seeking to regenerate itself. A strong image in the story is that of a huge tree, and this image reworked itself into Aldiss's Hothouse series, also set on a far-future Earth, tide-locked into one side always facing the sun, and where nature has gone wild on the sunward side. This series began with 'Hothouse' (*F&SF*, February 1961) and won Aldiss his first Hugo award.<sup>63</sup>

J. G. Ballard was instantly recognized as a creative talent. Initially he had wanted to be a *Galaxy* writer – he preferred the wit and style in that magazine to the stodginess of *Astounding*. But his regular markets became John Carnell's *New Worlds* and *Science Fantasy*. Ballard regarded Carnell as 'a very likeable, sensitive and intelligent man, whose mind was above all the pettiness in the sf world. I think he recognized what I was on about from a very early stage and he encouraged me to go on writing in my own way.'<sup>64</sup> His

63 Aldiss had also received a special plaque, not a formal Hugo, in 1959 as the best new author.

64 J. G. Ballard, 'From Shanghai to Shepperton', *Foundation* #24, February 1982, p. 17.

first sale, 'Escapement', was about a man out of synch with time, and increasingly Ballard's fiction would explore individuals somehow displaced from time, space or reality. 'Build-Up' (*New Worlds*, January 1957) depicts a man trapped within a huge future-city complex; 'Manhole 69' (*New Worlds*, November 1957) is a grim and terrifying look at insanity; and this continued through 'Track 12' (*New Worlds*, April 1958), 'Now: Zero' (*Science Fantasy*, December 1959) and 'The Last World of Mr Goddard' (*Science Fantasy*, October 1960) to 'The Overloaded Man' (*New Worlds*, July 1961), in which a man progressively switches off the world about him until he switches himself off as well. Writing in 1959, Ballard said of science fiction:

What particularly interests me is the opportunity sf gives for experimenting with scientific or psycho-literary ideas, which have little or no connection with the world of fiction such as, say, coded sleep or the time zone. But just as psychologists are now building models of anxiety neuroses and withdrawal states in the form of verbal diagrams – so I see a good science fiction story as a model of some psychic image, the truth of which gives the story its merit.<sup>65</sup>

It was from considerations such as this that science fiction began to mutate in the sixties, to which I shall return.

Clearly the British element was having its effects upon the development of science fiction, both within the mainstream and in its evolution as a genre. The American and British factors would come together explosively in the mid-sixties.

There remain two other dimensions to consider in this survey of the major writers of the fifties: the emergence of women writers and the transition for many writers from the genre magazines to the slicks.

### **The Female Perspective**

It does not require a statistician to see that the majority of writers appearing in the science-fiction magazines were men. In fact, until the fifties, very few women at all wrote science fiction, even though Mary Shelley, as the author of *Frankenstein* and *The Last Man*, is a remarkable precedent.

The pulps had produced a few good women writers, Catherine L. Moore and Leigh Brackett being the best examples. Both of their names, however, are closely associated with stories of planetary romance, especially that of Brackett, who produced many excellent adventures for *Planet Stories* in the

<sup>65</sup> From the 'Profiles' column of *New Worlds*, November 1959.



forties. Moore's name had become inextricably entwined with that of her husband, Henry Kuttner, to the point at which it was no longer possible to determine who was writing what. In her later years Moore confessed to having written a far greater amount of their fiction than was usually attributed to her. But she had always written either solely as C. L. Moore, to mask her gender, or pseudonymously with Kuttner. Perhaps it is pertinent that for their last few stories in the magazines they identified themselves individually. 'Home is the Hunter' (*Galaxy*, July 1953) is a rather savage story of humans who hunt each other in Central Park and of how one of them achieves the ultimate trophy – himself. 'Two-Handed Engine' (*F&SF*, August 1955) and 'Rite of Passage' (*F&SF*, May 1956) are both crime stories set in the future. Moore and Kuttner had shifted to the more lucrative mystery market in the early fifties and followed that route to writing for television. Kuttner died tragically young of a heart attack when he was only 42, in February 1958. Moore continued writing for television until she remarried in 1963 and then ceased writing altogether.

Leigh Brackett also shifted into the film and television market and all but deserted the sf field for nearly twenty years. 'Runaway' (*Startling Stories*, Spring 1954) is a strong, psychological story of a complex future society and a man trying to escape from himself. Her last sf novel, *The Long Tomorrow* (Doubleday, 1955), a taut post-holocaust quest adventure, was not serialized in the magazines, though might well have made *Startling Stories* or *Thrilling Wonder* had those pulps not been folding fast. Her last stories of the fifties both appeared in *Venture*. 'The Queer Ones' (March 1957) is a tense story of the discovery of a strange race of children in the Appalachians. 'All the Colors of the Rainbow' (November 1957) shows how prejudice on Earth affects the opportunity to enter the Galactic Federation.

Both Brackett and Moore would be severely missed. Highly capable writers with a strong sense of characterization and plot, they would have had a strong role in the next evolutionary stage of science fiction. However, they left their disciples behind them. One who would eventually eclipse them in fame and reputation was Marion Zimmer Bradley. Her first professional appearance had been with two stories, 'Keyhole' and 'Women Only' in the second (and last) issue of *Vortex* in 1953. But she was soon selling regularly to *Fantastic Universe* and *F&SF* and to other magazines. An early story, 'Falcons of Narabedla' (*Other Worlds*, May 1957), remained unpublished for a few years. Bradley later confessed that it was a 'shameless pastiche' of Moore and Kuttner's 'The Dark World' (*Startling Stories*, Summer 1946). Her third published story, 'Centaurus Changeling' (*F&SF*, April 1954), and her first for *F&SF*, brought a laudatory introduction by the editors that is worth reprinting in full. It amply demonstrates that

here was an author tackling head-on issues which women seemed more prepared to consider than men:

Here, by a young writer, is a remarkably perceptive and detailed study of a theme largely ignored by veteran space-hands: the problem of Terran pregnancy on a planet whose atmosphere will permit *adult* Earth men and women to live, albeit uncomfortably, but will not allow Terran babies to be born. Recognizing the full consequences of such a situation, Mrs. Bradley has not only told the moving story of an expectant mother on a world of  $\Theta$  Centauri, but also sketched in with a sure hand the fascinating details of intergalactic politics and a complete, though unobtrusive, picture of a culture that was originally Terran but, somewhere along the line, evolved at a right angle to the course followed by the home planet. Perhaps the warmest recommendation we can make to you of Marion Bradley's first (and not last!) appearance in this magazine is to say that her story is, from beginning to end, completely and inarguably, *science fiction*.<sup>66</sup>

The story was one of the most popular published in *F&SF* in 1954. 'The Climbing Wave' (*F&SF*, February 1955) is about the return to Earth of the descendants of the first starship, 130 years after the expedition to Alpha Centauri. They discover an Earth that has abandoned technology and whose inhabitants think of them as barbarians. With 'The Planet Savers' (*Amazing Stories*, November 1958), Bradley introduced the planet Darkover, which would remain central to her writing over the next thirty years and which would firmly establish her reputation, directly in the spirit of Brackett and Moore.

Bradley's early stories also reflected the approach of Judith Merril. Merril had first appeared with a strong feminine story in 'That Only a Mother' (*Astounding*, June 1948). Her output was not extensive, but each story was finely crafted and packed with emotion. Her novel *Shadow on the Hearth* (Doubleday, 1950) was a harsh portrayal of a nuclear war from the perspective of a woman at home. Not only was the novel effectively adapted for television as *Atomic Attack* (1953) but the recording was used by the US Civil Defense in its training programme. 'Peeping Tom' (*Startling Stories*, Spring 1954) considers how a harmless young man copes with the sudden gift of telepathy. 'Dead Center' (*F&SF*, November 1954) is a poignant story of the fate of the first man on the moon and, more importantly, the effect of the tragedy upon his family. The story was selected by Martha Foley for *The Best American Short Stories 1955*, a rare distinction for anything from the sf magazines. 'Project

66 *F&SF* 6(4), April 1954, p. 85, almost certainly written by Anthony Boucher.

Nursemaid' (*F&SF*, October 1955) was an especially daring story of the effects upon the mother of genetically modifying human embryos for low gravity adjustment. 'Wish Upon a Star' (*F&SF*, December 1958) explores the emotional dilemmas of a young boy brought up on a matriarchal starship. All of Merrill's stories brought a compassionate viewpoint to science fiction, something far less common in the work of the male writers.

Merrill not only wrote sf, she also judged it. Starting in 1955 she began to compile an annual selection of the best science fiction. This series would revolutionize readers' attitudes towards the definition of science fiction. Merrill cast her net wide in selecting challenging material, not all of it recognized as sf even by the authors when they wrote it. The first volume, *SF: The Year's Greatest Science Fiction and Fantasy* (Gnome Press, 1956), was fairly conservative, with most material being selected from within the genre magazines, though there were stories from *Good Housekeeping* and *Bluebook*. By the end of the decade, however, almost half of the stories came from non-genre magazines and many of them were far removed from the traditional perception of science fiction. I shall return to this in more detail later.

*F&SF* was the home for most of the women writers of the fifties, with *Fantastic Universe* a close second. Margaret St Clair had something of a split personality, because she created the alter ego Idris Seabright almost exclusively for unpredictable stories in *F&SF*. Under her own name she had first appeared in *Fantastic Adventures* with 'Rocket to Limbo' (November 1946) but she soon became more at home in *Thrilling Wonder* and *Startling Stories*, which published over half of her stories in the next decade. These included the amusing adventures of a housewife, Oona, and her long-suffering husband Jik as they faced daily predicaments in the future. So light-hearted were these stories that it always came as a jolt upon meeting the other side of St Clair. 'Quis Custodiet . . . ?' (*Startling Stories*, July 1948) features hostile mutants that emerge after a nuclear war. 'The Gardener' (*Thrilling Wonder*, October 1949) was about a bureaucrat who chops down a sacred tree on an alien world and is held subject to the ultimate penalty – he begins to transform into a tree. St Clair's novel 'Vulcan's Dolls' (*Startling Stories*, February 1952; expanded as *Agent of the Unknown*, Ace Books, 1956) is an extremely complex study of the struggle between the android Mulciber and his god-like creator Vulcan for control over human destiny. Such epics were far removed from the products of alter ego Idris Seabright. She first appeared with 'The Listening Child' (*F&SF*, December 1950), about a young deaf boy who becomes aware of disasters just before they happen, which he somehow hears in his head. Thereafter her stories explored a wide range of styles and emotions, from humorous Dunsanian tales to positively horrid explanations of the dangers of space travel. The stories were invariably short,

sharp and clever. St Clair only once eluded *F&SF*, with a somewhat advanced story of love-making, 'Short in the Chest', which appeared in *Fantastic Universe* (July 1954). Throughout the fifties the St Clair/Seabright dualities demonstrated that women could produce as wide a variety of science fiction as any man.

*F&SF* was also the home of the People stories by Zenna Henderson; the witty and often caustic tales of Miriam Allen deFord, the grand dame of sf and mystery; and the often anarchic and topsy-turvy stories of Kit Reed. Evelyn E. Smith, whose satirical and often barbed stories dug deep into the male chauvinist world, was at home in most magazines, as likely to surface in *Galaxy* and *Fantastic Universe* as in *F&SF*. Anne McCaffrey also made her first appearance during this decade with a brief vignette, 'Freedom of the Race' (*Science Fiction Plus*, October 1953), but it would be another ten years before she made her major impact.

Two other women writers emerged in the fifties who would make a considerable mark on the genre. Kate Wilhelm first appeared with 'The Pint-Sized Genie' (*Fantastic*, October 1956) and sold only a few stories over the next few years until she began to gather pace in the sixties, influenced no doubt by Damon Knight, whom she married in 1963. Her first important story was 'The Mile-Long Spaceship' (*Astounding*, April 1957), about a man who finds he is in telepathic contact with a vast alien invasion vessel. For the next few years, however, Wilhelm was mostly under the wing of Robert Lowndes, appearing in *Future SF* and *Science Fiction Stories*. These pieces are not representative of her later work, but they reveal a perceptive talent. 'Love and the Stars – Today!' (*Future*, June 1959), for example, which includes a climactic speech reminiscent of the end of H. G. Wells' film *The Shape of Things to Come* (1936), is a forceful story about human prejudices and the need for space colonization to escape overpopulation.

Katherine MacLean had made her first sale at the end of the forties – 'Defense Mechanism' (*Astounding*, October 1949) – and she sold several more stories to Campbell during the decade. These include 'Unhuman Sacrifice' (November 1958), a potent reminder that we should not try to interfere with alien cultures. Both 'Contagion' (*Galaxy*, October 1950) and 'Syndrome Johnny' (*Galaxy*, July 1951, written under her husband's name, Charles Dye) are twists on the same theme of how a virus (alien in the first story; synthetic in the second) may advance the evolution of some individuals but be fatal to others. 'Pictures Don't Lie' (*Galaxy*, June 1951) is a memorable story of perception. It deals with televising the arrival of aliens on Earth. The revelation in the final lines is delivered with pure mastery of touch. 'The Snowball Effect' (*Galaxy*, September 1952) may remain MacLean's cleverest story. A sociologist explores the factors that cause

minor events to snowball into major ones and applies the principles to a local women's sewing circle. Before long everything gets out of hand and the sewing circle is en route to establishing a world government. This story, which is incisive, wry and well crafted, would have been entirely at home in any slick magazine.

It is to the slick magazines that we now turn in this final assessment of writers of the fifties, to consider their impact upon the genre.

### **Beyond the Pale**

It was seen as something of a triumph when Robert A. Heinlein sold 'The Green Hills of Earth' to the *Saturday Evening Post*, where it appeared on 8 February 1947. Both Heinlein and Ray Bradbury succeeded in making a number of sales to the slicks, and it seemed, at least for a while, that the barriers were down.

But it's never as simple as that. The barriers may not have been up in the first place. The slick magazines had always published science fiction and fantasy. In fact slick fantasy, in the style of John Collier, Stephen Vincent Benet, Lord Dunsany, James Thurber and many more, had been readily accepted in the quality magazines, as had science fiction by H. G. Wells, Arthur Conan Doyle, Sax Rohmer and plenty of others. The slick magazines were not averse to publishing science fiction – though it is unlikely they thought of it as that – provided the stories were of good quality, had strong human interest, and were the type that readers could relate to. Of course it helped if the author was well known, or if a series character was popular. So the *Saturday Evening Post* serialized Arthur Conan Doyle's Professor Challenger story 'The Maracot Deep' (18 October–1 November 1927); *Collier's Weekly* ran Sax Rohmer's 'The Day the World Ended' (4 May–20 July 1929) – a very formulaic madman-tries-to-conquer-the-world story – and *Liberty* ran Edgar Rice Burroughs' 'Tarzan and the Lion Man' (1 November 1937–6 January 1933). None of these stories was particularly remarkable. But the authors were well known and commercially successful. For the most part the writers of pulp science fiction were not well known and, more to the point, few of them were producing material of sufficient interest to the slicks. Much of it was poorly written and much of the well written material still depended upon science-fiction gimmickry making it difficult for the readers of the slicks to relate to their stories. By having become specialized science fiction had evolved rapidly through the pulps, especially in *Astounding*, and had moved ahead of the game. To appeal to readers not acquainted with the tropes and icons of science fiction the stories had to be stripped of

the clutter and presented as simple, basic, human stories. This is, after all, what Stephen Vincent Benet did. His post-holocaust story, 'The Place of the Gods' (*Saturday Evening Post*, 31 July 1937), in which a young boy discovers the ruins of an ancient city, requires no advanced scientific understanding and is a powerful story. Heinlein and Bradbury took precisely the same approach and thereby opened up the field.

The science-fiction magazines could continue to cater for all tastes so the fiction they published could be as complex or as simple as they wished. It meant that the sf magazines continued to lead the direction of the field, but in seeking to broaden their markets and break into the slicks, the writers became more creative, inventive, polished and sophisticated. Whereas I would suggest that perhaps only 5 per cent of the stories published in the sf magazines before the Second World War were suitable for sale to the slick magazines, I would estimate that around 30 per cent of those in the early to mid-1950s were suitable. The majority of these were appearing in *Galaxy* and *F&SF*. This was where high-tech sf had been softened and the stories focused more on the sociological aspects of the future and the psychological impact. Both of these allowed for a blurring around the edges, where science fiction could become slick fantasy or even mainstream. Take, for example, the time-slip story 'The Hour After Westerly' by Robert M. Coates (*The New Yorker*, 1 November 1947). This simple, reflective, non-scientific mood-piece was typical of the material in later issues of *F&SF* and even in the late-fifties issues of *Science Fantasy* in Britain.

This gradual acceptance that there were no barriers allowed for a greater crossover of talents and ideas. The more adaptable sf writers found that they could now sell to the slicks; and some writers for the slicks discovered that there was another, more specialized market for their work. That is not to say that it was an easy bridge to cross. There was still a divide between the slicks and the sf magazines, one related to money. The slicks paid vastly higher rates than the pulps and digests, and this brought with it a problem of literary snobbery rather than of quality. Writers might be able to sell to the slicks, but this did not mean that they were automatically accepted by the literary establishment, especially if they referred to their work as 'science fiction' – a rose by *any* other name . . . !

One writer who fell foul of this divide in the fifties was Kurt Vonnegut. Although he is now highly regarded by both sf readers and the literary establishment, for years Vonnegut did not fit into either camp. The sf fraternity did not readily accept him because Vonnegut seemed to be dismissive of science fiction, while the literary establishment could not accept him because his books were published as straight science fiction, with such pulpish titles as *The Sirens of Titan*. In fact Vonnegut had debuted in the slick

magazines, in *Collier's Weekly*, with 'Report on the Barnhouse Effect' (11 February 1950), later graduating to the *Saturday Evening Post* and *Cosmopolitan*. The quality of Vonnegut's first story was soon recognized. It was rapidly adapted for the new radio series *Dimension X* (broadcast 22 April 1950), and was selected by no less than Robert A. Heinlein for his anthology *Tomorrow the Stars* (Doubleday, 1951). But Vonnegut did not feel comfortable with the sf magazines – he disliked the old pulps because they were scrappy, dirty magazines – and needless to say the slicks paid more. He must have winced when his early story 'Thanasphere' (*Collier's*, 2 September 1950), about a rocket test pilot who finds the spirits of the dead orbiting the Earth, was reprinted in the pulp anthology *Wonder Stories*, a late spin-off from *Thrilling Wonder Stories*. It was only when the occasional story failed to sell to the slicks that they surfaced in the genre magazines, and this was very rare. Only two stories appeared in the fifties, and both of these in *Galaxy*. 'Unready to Wear' (April 1953) is a slight story in which humankind has scientifically evolved to exist as disembodied minds, only wearing bodies occasionally as clothes. 'The Big Trip Up Yonder' (January 1954) uses immortality as the vehicle to satirize the weakness of humanity and people's growing reliance on television and consumerism. Interestingly, for many years this was the only one of Vonnegut's stories to be regularly anthologized. Yet, although Vonnegut's fiction was well suited to *Galaxy*, his stories were mild compared to other material Gold was publishing, and Gold did not see fit to announce them as anything special in his 'Forecast' column of the next issue's contents.

Similar to Vonnegut was Bernard Wolfe. Wolfe wrote little sf, though he was fascinated with the potential of science and its impact upon the psychology of humankind (he had a BA in psychology). But he regarded science fiction as a parasite of science and had little respect for the medium. Nevertheless he did produce a remarkable novel of a future society, *Limbo* (1952) and popped up in *Galaxy* briefly with 'Self-Portrait' (November 1951), which, through a series of diary excerpts, provides a glimpse of a near-future controlled society that might have emerged had Senator McCarthy had his way. Wolfe chose not to open the portals of the sf magazines again, though Harlan Ellison did cajole him into writing for *Again, Dangerous Visions* twenty years later. Yet the uniqueness of his work has meant that he is still remembered and talked about even today, fifty years on.

There was another writer, an exact contemporary of Vonnegut and Wolfe, who had none of their hang-ups about sf. This was Jack Finney. Finney did not mind what genre he worked in, whether it had a name or not. He first appeared as one of the finalists in the annual fiction contest

in *Ellery Queen's Mystery Magazine* with 'The Widow's Walk' (July 1947) and, having found his feet, soon graduated to the slicks, particularly *Collier's Weekly*. In fact Vonnegut and Finney often appeared in successive issues. His first sf story was the much-reprinted 'The Third Level' (*Collier's*, 7 October 1950). Finney never submitted a new story to an sf magazine, though he was reprinted three times in *F&SF* in the fifties. But he was happily accepted by the sf world, and surprisingly remained accepted by the literary world. I say surprisingly because it was Finney who wrote one of the major sf works of the fifties, a story that became a cult film. 'The Body Snatchers' was first serialized in *Collier's* during December 1954 and was published as a paperback original by Dell Books in 1955. It was pounced on by Hollywood and made into *Invasion of the Body-Snatchers* (Allied Artists, 1956), which became one of the most popular sf films of the fifties and spawned a host of imitations. The book was not marketed as science fiction and, had the term been around in the fifties, it would certainly have been treated as a 'thriller'.

Although Finney does not have the stature of Vonnegut, he was no more a product of the sf magazines than Vonnegut, and yet had none of the stigma that Vonnegut had to contend with. The difference may be that Finney wrote unashamedly popular material, whereas Vonnegut went for serious dystopian satire, which was not especially popular with the establishment at the time, but which was also not as advanced as material appearing in the sf magazines. It is unlikely that either author would have achieved quite the success they did had they appeared first and solely in the sf magazines.

There were plenty of other writers who sold with a fair regularity to the slick magazines (and sometimes to other markets) and who occasionally produced science fiction or borderline fantasies. Screenwriter Sidney Carroll, the father of fantasist Jonathan Carroll, wrote several, most notably 'None Before Me' (*Cosmopolitan*, July 1949) in which a passionate collector acquires a doll's house and gradually takes on god-like powers over its occupants. In 'The Enormous Radio' (*The New Yorker*, 17 May 1947), John Cheever at first amusingly and then increasingly sardonically tests what happens when a radio begins broadcasting what's happening in neighbouring apartments. J. B. Priestley had long been fascinated with time paradoxes, most recently (as of the mid-fifties) with 'The Strange Girl' (*Collier's*, 9 May 1953), which hints at the circularity of time. Gerald Kersh was perhaps the most prolific of the slick fantasists, several of his stories being bona fide science fiction, even when dressed up to shock. 'The Brighton Monster' (*Saturday Evening Post*, 21 February 1948) is an ingenious time-slip story while 'Men Without Bones' (*Esquire*, Fall 1954) ends with the shocking revelation that evolution on Earth may have gone wrong and humans may in fact be descended from Martians.



Every one of these stories would have been at home in a science-fiction magazine. *F&SF* took many of them to its bosom and often reprinted from the slicks. Ray Bradbury also presented for a general readership (but including sf and fantasy fans) a remarkable selection of stories from the slicks in *Timeless Stories for Today and Tomorrow* (Bantam Books, 1952), while Barthold Fleš assembled *The Saturday Evening Post Fantasy Stories* (Avon, 1951). During this period of apparent liberation, several writers who had been selling to the slicks started to embrace the sf field. A good example was Reginald Bretnor, whose first sale was to *Harper's* with 'Maybe Just a Little One' (August 1947), a delightful story about a man who discovers a new element in beans and creates nuclear fission in his basement. Bretnor continued to sell to the slick magazines but also became a regular contributor to *F&SF*. He also studied science fiction and produced one of the first critical symposia on the field, *Modern Science Fiction: Its Meaning and Its Future* (Coward-McCann, 1953).

There was a healthy exchange between the slicks and genre magazines during these re-formative years. In addition to Ray Bradbury and Robert Heinlein, other sf writers began to sell regularly to the slicks in the early fifties – John Wyndham, Arthur C. Clarke, John Christopher, Edmund Cooper, Robert Sheckley, Ward Moore, Charles Beaumont – with more to follow.

A new market appeared in 1954 that would be significant for sf writers. This was *Playboy*. This magazine was really half-way between the genre magazines and the slicks. It was slick and glossy in appearance and was able to pay big money, which attracted top-rate writers, but it never had the same literary status. That would be difficult for a men's magazine, regardless of the quality of the contributors. Nevertheless its status would climb over the years, so that by the sixties it was recognized for publishing material of significance. At the outset it always favoured science fiction and fantasy. The associate editor responsible for fiction acquisition was Ray Russell, a long-time fan of science fiction. At first it relied heavily on reprints, serializing Bradbury's 'Fahrenheit 451' in the first issue (undated, December 1953), plus material by Ambrose Bierce.

The first sf writer to sell new material to the magazine was Charles Beaumont with the sardonic non-sf 'Black Country' (September 1954). Although he remained an occasional contributor to the genre magazines, Beaumont soon graduated beyond the field's confines. His real passion was for comics and films (and later television) and today he is better remembered for his work on such series as *The Twilight Zone* than he is for his work in the sf magazines. In fact little of Beaumont's material was genuine science fiction. Like Ray Bradbury, who took Beaumont under his wing early on, Beaumont really worked at the edges of science fiction in that hazy

world of fantasy and the supernatural where almost anything can happen. As a consequence, when he did sell to the genre magazines it tended to be *F&SF*, because this was the best forum for his skewed vision of sf. His first appearance there was with 'The Last Caper' (March 1954), a spoof on the hard-boiled mystery story featuring a PI's search for the Chocolate Maltese Falcon which is in the hands of a Venusian. He followed it with 'The Quadriopticon' (August 1954), another humorous romp set in a film industry that has developed a four-dimensional projector. Beaumont's fiction was in line with the sophisticated fantasies that had already been appearing in the slick magazines. In fact Beaumont was as much in the tradition of Stephen Vincent Benet and John Collier as he was in that of Ray Bradbury and Robert A. Heinlein.

In the wake of Beaumont came Robert Sheckley, Mack Reynolds, Robert Bloch, Richard Matheson, Ray Bradbury, Fredric Brown, Henry Slesar and Gerald Kersh, all within the first three years. *Playboy* would prove an important market over the years. Not only did it maintain a high profile for science fiction, it became something of a sanctuary during the lean years that hit the field at the end of the fifties.

This chapter has surveyed the work of nearly 60 writers. Even though the individual coverage has been cursory, the length of the chapter shows what a multiplicity of talents there were during the fifties – and there are still plenty of other excellent writers whom I have not mentioned: James Gunn, Alan E. Nourse, F. L. Wallace, James H. Schmitz, William Morrison, Milton Lesser, William F. Nolan; and the list goes on. The diversity of magazines in the fifties allowed writers to explore the field more extensively than before and to develop their own talents. The three leading magazines did not wholly control the field, even though they set some direction. *Galaxy* had become the field leader, and had allowed science fiction to breathe and take in the world about it. The sf in *Galaxy* was orientated to people we know and the here and now, regardless of the time and locale of the story. *Astounding* still carried much good material, and there was a sense of danger about the magazine. You were never quite sure whether Campbell had gone completely haywire in his delight in stories of psychic powers and unorthodox sciences, but it meant that he did keep pushing the limits. And yet neither Campbell nor Gold would push the limits beyond their own strict boundaries. It needed Anthony Boucher to make *F&SF* the most liberal of the magazines and to chip away at the preconceptions of genre sf. It was in *F&SF* that the seeds of the New Wave revolution of the sixties were sown, though other evolutionary strands were developing in Britain in *New Worlds* and *Science Fantasy*.

If stories missed the big three – whether for reasons of editorial taste or space limitations – there were plenty of other magazines. During the boom years *If*, *Fantastic Universe*, *Space SF*, *Startling Stories*, *Thrilling Wonder* and even briefly *Amazing Stories* and *Other Worlds* were all capable of running top-class science fiction. It was an immensely exciting period, the fruits of which have still not been fully appreciated.

What this chapter has revealed is that the fifties, especially the early fifties, were just as much a Golden Age as the early forties, possibly more so. Never had there been such a period of prodigious output of fiction from such diverse talents writing for a more sophisticated and enlightened readership. This makes it all the more surprising that, as with the fall of Rome, a Dark Age would hit science fiction very soon, and just at the moment of triumph: the dawn of the space age. It is that period that we consider next.

## 5

# Transformations

### **Resurgence**

The period from 1955 to the end of the fifties was arguably the most turbulent of all in science fiction. As we explored in Chapter 2, the pulps had virtually all passed away by the mid-fifties. The readers who were once attracted by the pulps had other avenues to explore. Those still interested in the super-heroes and action stories – mostly the young readers – had the comics. Those interested in adult science fiction had the digest magazines and the growing number of paperbacks. Those wanting more virile, violent adventures had the men’s magazines. The cinema and radio had always been regular companions to the magazines, and continued to exert their influence, but there was now the added factor of television, which began to syphon readers away from magazines, slowly at first, but with increasing speed as the sixties dawned. Comics, paperbacks and television became the three-horned nemesis of the fiction magazine for the rest of the century, though they never quite managed to eradicate the medium.

At the same time advances in science were making science fiction more topical and relevant every day, especially with the dawn of the space age in October 1957. There was growing interest in flying saucers and UFOs and one side-effect of this was the growth of monster-movies in the cinema. In addition the tension of the Cold War and the continuing nuclear threat made everyone only too aware of the power of the atom and its potential to end civilization on Earth.

All of this meant that science fiction had a wider and more appreciative audience, and the magazines had to respond to that as well as facing the challenge of their opposition. The result was, to some degree, predictable, with magazines trying to pander to all interests and not necessarily satisfying

any. This chapter will chart the turbulent sf magazine market from 1956 to 1960 and will explore the consequences of all these factors.

At the start of 1956 there were 14 American sf magazines, only one of which was still in pulp form. The field leaders were *Astounding*, *Galaxy* and *F&SF*. *If* and *Fantastic Universe* were a close second in quality. *Amazing Stories* and *Fantastic* had experienced a brief spell of glory but had now sunk into a trough of hack predictability, as had Ray Palmer's *Other Worlds* and Bill Hamling's *Imagination* and *Imaginative Tales*. In the middle, striving for quality with a minuscule budget, were the three magazines edited by Robert Lowndes: *Science Fiction Stories*, *Future SF*<sup>1</sup> and *Science Fiction Quarterly* – the last-named being the only remaining sf pulp. *Infinity*, edited by Larry Shaw, was the new kid on the block, off to a cracking start with the publication of Arthur C. Clarke's 'The Star', but was essentially an adventure magazine aiming at a juvenile readership.

During 1956 five new magazines appeared, all surviving their initial issues, showing that there was still sufficient interest to sustain a wide range of magazines. The first was *Satellite SF*, a highly appropriate title for the dawn of the space age. It was published by Renown Publications of Fifth Avenue, New York, and it was steered by a man familiar to all in the magazine trade – Leo Margulies. Margulies had recently left King-Size Publications where he had successfully launched *Fantastic Universe* and *The Saint Detective Magazine*. He now planned to issue a new family of magazines. First came the *Michael Shayne Mystery Magazine*,<sup>2</sup> launched in August 1956 (with a September cover date). This was a monthly publication building on the success of the Mike Shayne mystery novels by Davis Dresser (writing as Brett Halliday). Halliday was listed as the editor of the magazine although the editorial duties were actually undertaken by Sam Merwin. A week after *Michael Shayne Mystery* appeared came *Satellite SF*, but as a bi-monthly, with a cover date of October 1956. This caution shows that at the time the mystery magazines were the safer bet in publishing. Moreover, while *Michael Shayne Mystery* contained a number of short stories, the emphasis in *Satellite* was on the lead novel, which took up two-thirds of the magazine. Indeed the cover boasted 'A COMPLETE Science Fiction NOVEL in Every Issue' and internal promotion used the phrase 'The Magazine that is a Book'. This was not used on *Michael Shayne*, suggesting that the science-fiction market was more seriously affected by the growth in paperbacks than was the mystery market.

1 *Future SF* was only just getting back onto a regular footing. See page 61.

2 It was retitled *Mike Shayne Mystery Magazine* from April 1957.

The lead novel was *Satellite's* main selling factor. The first was 'The Man from Earth' by Algis Budrys, a characteristically hard-hitting story about a convict remoulded into a new body and sent out to Pluto to do battle against the alien Vilks who have confined the Terran civilization within the solar system. The book version, published as *Man of Earth*, and slightly revised, did not appear until March 1958 from Ballantine Books. The second issue ran 'A Glass of Darkness', the classic story of paranoia by Philip K. Dick, published a year later by Ace Books as *The Cosmic Puppets*. The third lead novel was something of an oddity. 'Planet for Plunder' had been written by Hal Clement but was too short to serve as a lead novel. The story is about an alien conservationist who visits Earth to study the terrain but confuses animal life and machines. The story is written totally from the viewpoint of the alien. Clement was asked if he could pad the story out to novel length. Clement had neither the time nor the desire to do so but, with his agreement, the story was revised by Sam Merwin, who added 10,000 words of new material by inserting alternate chapters that traced events from the viewpoint of humans. This added nothing new to the story and virtually killed it from the way Clement had planned and plotted it. In fact it's an object lesson in how to ruin a good story. It was never published in book form in this version, but the original novella, 'Planetfall', was eventually printed in Robert Hoskins' anthology *Strange Tomorrows* in 1972.

During 1957 the lead novels continued to be uneven. 'Operation: Square Peg' by Irving W. Lande and Frank Belknap Long (April 1957) was a rather old-fashioned space opera that Margulies boasted would 'be re-read and talked about and made a pivot for many a lively forum discussion wherever science fiction enthusiasts congregate – for a long time to come'.<sup>3</sup> The novel was rapidly forgotten and did not make it into book form. 'Year of the Comet' by John Christopher (August 1957) was a better novel, but was a reprint of the UK edition published by Michael Joseph in 1955. It was one of Christopher's 'Managerial' series about the Earth run by a bureaucracy. 'The Languages of Pao' by Jack Vance (December 1957) was arguably the best novel published in *Satellite*, or at least a close second to Dick's 'A Glass of Darkness'. It is one of Vance's colourful depictions of planetary societies, this time considering the impact of attempting to impose languages upon different cultures.

The short stories were always a minor element of *Satellite*. That's not to say they weren't good stories, often by top writers: Isaac Asimov, Philip K. Dick, Arthur C. Clarke and L. Sprague de Camp were all in the first issue.

<sup>3</sup> Leo Margulies, 'A New Dimension of Suspense', *Satellite SF* 1(4), April 1957, inside front cover.

But every issue was dominated by the lead novel, leaving the feeling that the stories were there for padding or, at best, post-prandial confectionery. Because they were very short, the stories are often gimmicky, enjoyable as light relief but of little lasting value. They were a mixture of fantasy as well as science fiction, including some clever stories by the Australian Dal Stivens. Most were bought by the yard from Scott Meredith's agency.

Margulies liked to experiment with his non-fiction features. One novelty that arose was to run a Li'l Abner comic strip by Al Capp, 'The Time Capsule' (August 1957). Of greater significance, though, was the emergence in *Satellite* of Sam Moskowitz as the chronicler of science fiction's history. From the third issue (February 1957) Moskowitz began a book review column, 'The Science Fiction Collector', and he used this from time to time to explore a theme in more detail. The June 1957 issue carried 'The Real Earth Satellite Story', about the development of the concept of the space station in science fiction. This was followed by 'Tennessee Williams, Boy Wonder' (October 1957) and, in February 1958, with 'Around the Worlds with Jules Verne', the first of the essays that would build into Moskowitz's seminal reference work *Explorers of the Infinite* (World, 1960).

By December 1957, Margulies was further expanding Renown Publications. He had acquired the titles to *Weird Tales* and *Short Stories* and planned to revive both. Interest in weird and horror fiction was at a low ebb in the mid-fifties and Sam Moskowitz advised strongly against relaunching *Weird Tales*. Margulies did reissue *Short Stories*, however, with the issue for December 1957. *Short Stories* was one of the oldest surviving magazines, having first appeared in June 1890, and had been a companion to *Weird Tales* since 1939, both being edited by Dorothy McIlwraith. It had suspended publication, along with *Weird Tales*, in September 1954, and its publisher, William Delaney, had briefly revived it under a new publishing aegis in 1956, but it was an ill-conceived venture and lasted only five bi-monthly issues. Margulies revived it as a general fiction companion to *Mike Shayne Mystery* and *Satellite*, but with the intention of including at least one science-fiction story and one weird story in each issue. The first issue carried 'Nine Lives' by Clifford Simak plus a reprint of 'The Lake' by Ray Bradbury from the May 1944 *Weird Tales*.

In addition Margulies planned to launch Renown Books. He felt that it was essential to have a foot firmly in both camps, issuing digest magazines and paperbacks, and planned to issue four books a month, one of which was science fiction. The idea was to acquire both book and serial rights, run the novel as the lead story in *Satellite* and then issue it in book form. The first novel mooted for the series was 'Mission to a Dark Star' by Frank Belknap Long, about an alien invasion of Earth. Unfortunately, the confrontation

between Margulies and his distributors, PDC, which ultimately led to the loss of both *Satellite* and *Short Stories*, also forestalled the launch of Renown Books.

The second of the new magazines to appear was *Science Fiction Adventures*. This was a companion to *Infinity*, though its appearance was somewhat anomalous, and belies the case made above that the crime-fiction magazines were more profitable than the science-fiction ones. When *Infinity* was launched, publisher Irwin Stein started a crime-fiction magazine called *Suspect Detective Stories*, with the first issue also dated November 1955, launched in September, and published bi-monthly. Larry Shaw put his efforts into *Infinity*, and *Suspect* had no personality or individuality. It also lacked any major tag such as Mike Shayne or the Saint or Ellery Queen to attract a core of readers. In fact *Suspect* was indistinguishable from so many of the other digest crime-fiction magazines that smothered the stalls in the mid-fifties. Stein soon had second thoughts. Its third issue was delayed for two months and after the fifth issue Stein decided to convert it to a science-fiction magazine. This way Stein was able to keep his second-class mailing permit without having to reapply for a new magazine, and lose valuable time. So with issue six, *Suspect* became *Science Fiction Adventures*, which is why the numbering of that magazine begins with Volume 1, Number 6.<sup>4</sup>

*Science Fiction Adventures* was aimed at a younger readership than *Infinity*. The intention was to publish longer stories strong on action and adventure, harking back to the pulps. Each issue boasted '3 COMPLETE NEW ACTION NOVELS'. The use of the word 'novel' was stretching a point since the lead story in the first issue, 'The Starcombers' by Edmond Hamilton, was only 15,000 words long. The other two novels, both collaborations between Robert Silverberg and Randall Garrett under different pseudonyms, were even shorter. In his editorial, Larry Shaw bemoaned the loss of a 'sense of wonder' in sf and claimed that *SF Adventures* would bring it back. In fact the intent of the magazine was no different to that of *Imagination* or *Imaginative Tales*, although at least *SF Adventures* contained stronger material. It also looked more substantial, with good artwork by Ed Emshwiller. It thus had a psychological advantage with the reader, even before they approached the fiction. That was also of better quality, and included some of Silverberg's best work for the period, such as his Chalice of Death series<sup>5</sup> under the

4 Unfortunately for Stein the US postal services did not agree with the deception and he had to reapply, but by then *Science Fiction Adventures* was launched. It took the likes of Donald A. Wollheim and Raymond A. Palmer to make this transition work successfully with *Saturn* and *Other Worlds*.

5 'Chalice of Death' (June 1957), 'Earth Shall Live Again' (December 1957) and 'Vengeance of the Space Armadas' (March 1958).



Calvin Knox alias. Telling of the discovery of ancient Earth thousands of years after its empire had spread throughout the universe, and of the subsequent fulfilling of the prophecy that Earth would regain its old power, the trilogy saw book publication as *Lest We Forget Thee, Earth* (Ace, 1958). In fact under one alias or another, Silverberg contributed over a quarter of the contents of *Science Fiction Adventures*. Harlan Ellison was the only other 'regular', although there were interesting appearances by Cyril Kornbluth, Harry Harrison and John Brunner.

At the outset both *Infinity* and *Science Fiction Adventures* were bi-monthly, appearing every eight weeks. Stein wanted to keep the benefits of a long on-sale time, but was also keen to increase the magazine's regularity. Not wishing to risk monthly publication, he chose six-weekly. Thus the April 1957 *Science Fiction Adventures*, which had gone on sale in the first week of February, was followed by the June issue on sale on 28 March. The July *Infinity* followed on 30 April. The magazines retained a monthly cover date, which became slightly confusing, giving the appearance that the magazine was sometimes monthly and sometimes bi-monthly. As one reader pleaded, 'My confusion is hopeless! Go monthly!'.<sup>6</sup> As a result it probably harmed rather than helped sales, but Stein kept to the six-weekly schedule for a year, reverting to bi-monthly in April 1958.

*Science Fiction Adventures* has one other interesting contribution to sf history. The English editor John Carnell was present at the World Science Fiction Convention in New York at the start of September 1956, where plans for *Science Fiction Adventures* were announced. It was also, incidentally, the same convention at which Clarke's 'The Star', from the first issue of *Infinity*, won the Hugo award. Carnell agreed with Irwin Stein to publish a British edition of *Science Fiction Adventures* as a more 'down-market' companion to *New Worlds* and *Science Fantasy*. It was over a year before the final arrangements were in place, and the first British edition appeared in January 1958 (issue dated March). Bi-monthly, its initial five issues consisted of a sampling of long and short stories from a variety of American editions and did not keep to strict issue-by-issue reprintings. However, hardly had the British edition begun than the parent magazine ceased publication in April 1958 (issue dated June). The UK sales were good, however, and, loath to drop the magazine, Carnell continued. From the sixth issue, dated January 1959, Carnell dropped the US reprints; *Science Fiction Adventures* became a completely British magazine and continued for three more years. Its contents were good, including long stories in which writers could develop their themes and characters. All were solid, basic adventures and thoroughly

6 See letter by Bill Myers, *Infinity* 2(5), September 1957, p. 128.

entertaining. The first new issue, for instance, featured 'Shadow on the Sword' by Australian Wynne Whitford, detailing the consequences of discovering an alien ship on Neptune's moon, Triton. The story had first been printed in the October 1958 *Fantastic Universe*, but that version had been cut to fit the magazine. *SF Adventures* carried the full text. Here too was Kenneth Bulmer, writing as Nelson Sherwood, with 'Galactic Galapagos', an absorbing story of a planet that was paradise but for its fauna, and Arthur Sellings with a clever tale of alien infiltration, 'The Tycoons'. The magazine was welcomed; it is the only example of a foreign edition of an sf magazine taking on an identity of its own and outliving its parent.

The third new magazine of 1956 was rather different. We have already seen how the introduction of a Comic Code had spelled disaster among publishers of comic-books and the knock-on effect this had on the pulps. Some of the comic-book publishers looked around for new territory. One of these, St John Publishing of 545 Fifth Avenue, New York, which had continued success with such comics as *Mighty Mouse*, had nevertheless had to tone down such other titles as *Weird Horrors* (retitled *Nightmare* from December 1953) and the slightly dubious *Teen-Age Temptations* (retitled *Going Steady* from November 1954). In October 1953 they shifted into the digest magazine market with *Manhunt*, a hard-boiled crime-fiction magazine which was a hit from the start. *Manhunt* would survive for 14 years as a best-selling crime-fiction magazine, second only to the more traditional *Ellery Queen's Mystery Magazine*. The success of *Manhunt* lured others to the field. Star Publications, which had issued a string of comic-books but had sold off all of its titles, brought out *Pursuit* in September 1953 at the same time as it launched its less successful *Cosmos Science Fiction and Fantasy Magazine*. It folded *Cosmos* after four issues in favour of another crime magazine, *Hunted*, both of which ran until the autumn of 1956 when Star Publications closed down following the death of one of its partners, Jerry Kramer.

Into the gap stepped Feature Publications. This company had been a successful publisher of superhero comics throughout the forties, best remembered for *Prize Comics*, which had started in March 1940 featuring Power Nelson, the Futureman. Later characters developed in the magazine were the Black Owl, who looked remarkably like Batman, the Green Lama, and America's fighting twins, Yank and Doodle. The magazine also developed Frankenstein's monster as a comic-book character, adapted by Richard Briefer, and eventually earned its own *Frankenstein Comics* in 1945. *Frankenstein Comics* was wound up under the Comic Code in 1954, and Feature also stopped *Prize Comics* and its companion, *Headline Comics* in 1956. In their place came two hard-boiled crime magazines: *Trapped*, issued under the imprint of Headline Publications, appeared in May 1956 (first issue dated

June), and *Guilty*, under the Feature Publications imprint, appeared the next month. In fact *Guilty* looked not unlike a true-crime comic-book that Prize still published, called *Justice Traps the Guilty*, where the first three words were in small print and GUILTY blared out from the title banner. Editor of both titles was William W. Scott, a refugee from Fiction House, which had closed down the previous year. Scott's credentials went back many years – he had been involved with *Action Stories* and other pulps from the twenties and thirties. Unfortunately, he had no experience of science fiction, so when Feature decided to add an sf title to their bow, Scott was out of his depth.

*Super-Science Fiction* was not a good science-fiction magazine. Scott simply acquired whatever sf was going and, not knowing good sf from bad, ended up with an appalling mixture. He relied heavily on the fiction factory of Silverberg, Garrett and Ellison. Ellison brought with him Henry Slesar, whom he was introducing to the various New York editors. Otherwise Scott turned to Scott Meredith, who was already providing science fiction by the yard to the other sf magazines. Meredith just got his clients to crank up the gears and out streamed more of the same.

What made *Super-Science Fiction* worse was that because Scott did not know his subject, he tried hard to make everything have instant impact. For the first issue, dated December 1956 and released in October, he acquired a striking cover by Kelly Freas. It did not illustrate any specific story, but showed a spaceman on an airless alien world being battered by a meteorite storm and raising his hands either in defiance or for protection. Scott used the cover as the basis for his editorial and purportedly the theme of the magazine, which was 'People'. According to Scott the cover portrayed the spaceman 'raising a fist in typical homo sapiens fury and determination. At the skies. At the Universe! The Man of the Future is going to conquer the Universe with fist and fury.' Well, such was Scott's optimism. The difference between Freas's actual painting and Scott's interpretation is replicated in the magazine's contents, which fail to deliver according to Scott's credo. The lead story by Robert Silverberg, 'Catch 'Em All Alive!', is a predictable story of two zoological hunters on a new world who discover that they have become the latest exhibits. 'Who Am I?' by Henry Slesar is about a lost spaceman who, as a result of an alien ritual, has ended up absorbing the personalities of all his ex-shipmates. In 'Psycho at Mid-Point' by Harlan Ellison an astronaut goes berserk and tries to kill everyone on board the spaceship. Not much hope for defying the universe in those stories.

The best issue of *Super-Science Fiction* is probably the second. Harlan Ellison was present with two good stories. 'Mission: Hypnosis' is about an unusual space squad who get the challenges other units won't face – rather like their terrestrial equivalents in the later television series, *Mission: Impossible*. In this

story a new recruit has to deliver a message to the Gobbleys of Aldebaran, renowned for eating humans. 'The Untouchable Adolescents', under the alias Ellis Hart, is a clever story of the crew of the *Wallower*, who try to rescue telekinetic aliens who do not believe their planet is doomed. 'Death of a Mutant' by Charles V. De Vet, which may have been written with Katherine Maclean, is about a young child who can kill by touch. The story has a powerful ending. 'Every Day is Christmas' by James E. Gunn is a story of a future Earth controlled by television – it contains the interesting prediction that Communist Russia would fall to the power of commercialism.

Thereafter the quality of the fiction dropped rapidly. Scott treated *Super-Science* just as he did *Trapped* and *Guilty*. He looked for hard-hitting action stories. There was no finesse. Scott still published an occasional good story, almost certainly more by luck than design. It was a surprise, for instance, to find a Magnus Ridolph story by Jack Vance, 'Worlds of Origins' (February 1958), or one of the Multivac stories by Isaac Asimov, 'All the Troubles in the World' (April 1958). There were just enough good stories to make *Super-Science* always interesting, if often disappointing. But by the middle of 1958 the magazine fell prey to the monster mania that was sweeping America, a subject I shall return to shortly.

The end of October 1956 brought a fourth magazine, and this time rather a surprise. Mercury Press, the stable that published *Ellery Queen's Mystery Magazine* and *The Magazine of Fantasy & Science Fiction*, was expanding its magazine range. Since March 1940, Lawrence Spivak and Joseph Ferman had issued two mystery novels a month, one in the Mercury Mysteries series and one in the Bestseller Mysteries series. In 1942 they added the Jonathan Press Mysteries. Each of these books was in digest paperback form, attractively designed and packaged by art director George Salter. Starting with the issue for September 1955 (number 210) the Mercury Mystery Book was converted into a digest magazine, *Mercury Mystery Book-Magazine*, called 'a New Idea in Mystery Publishing'. It continued to feature an abridged novel but this time bolstered by a few short stories and features. The concept of a magazine with a long lead novel and short supporting stories was hardly new, and it seems almost a retrograde step to convert the Mercury Mystery Book into a digest magazine rather than a pocket-book. In fact the distributor believed that he could get a greater circulation for the novels on the magazine racks than on the paperback racks at that time, and for a while so it seemed. In July 1958 the Bestseller Mystery likewise converted into *Bestseller Mystery Magazine*.

In between these two changes a lot happened at Mercury Press. October 1956 saw the launch of a new sf companion to *F&SF* called *Venture Science Fiction*, with the first issue dated January 1957. Unlike *Super-Science Fiction*,

which was an opportunist publication, and *Science Fiction Adventures*, which was aimed at a more juvenile readership, *Venture* had to be taken more seriously. For a start, *F&SF* was, at that time, the only magazine with an increasing circulation, and was part of a strong and reputable stable. Anthony Boucher chose not to take on the editorial duties. He had been editing *F&SF* single-handedly since Mick McComas stepped down in August 1954 and had too many other writing commitments. Instead Robert P. Mills, who had been the managing editor at *F&SF* (which meant that he assembled the issues from the stories and articles selected by Boucher), took on the role of editor. Boucher served in an advisory capacity and the young John Anthony West, later to establish himself as a short-story writer and playwright of some repute, served as the assistant editor – though he soon fled from New York to Ibiza, looking for peace and inspiration.

The idea behind *Venture* was not new. Here was yet another magazine running longer stories – usually a short novel with supporting stories – with the emphasis on action: ‘a story with pace, power and excitement’ as Joseph Ferman commented in his Publisher’s Note. What was not stated, but became evident from the stories, was that Ferman wanted the magazine to run stronger adult themes. In the lead story, ‘Virgin Planet’ by Poul Anderson, a man crash-lands on a planet occupied only by women, descendants of survivors from an expedition three centuries earlier. The women do not believe him to be a man but a monster and the only way he can prove he is a man is by impregnating the Corporal Maiden. Ed Emshwiller provided a suitably provocative cover. The story was not far removed from the type that had made Henry Kuttner notorious at *Marvel Science Stories* twenty years earlier, but times had moved on. In ‘Oh Father of Mine’ by Charles Beaumont a man travels back in time with the sole purpose of killing his father before he was conceived. When nothing happens it suddenly dawns on him that he is illegitimate. ‘The Girl Had Guts’ was a particularly nauseating story by Theodore Sturgeon about an alien virus that attacks humans and causes them to throw up their intestines. There were also two stories, both written pseudonymously, that looked at the roles of men and women after a nuclear war.<sup>7</sup>

The second issue of *Venture* (March 1957) was stronger than the first. Mills had compiled the first issue in a hurry, but he had more time with the second, although the cover, depicting a woman firing a ray-gun directly at the reader, looked more like something intended for *Ellery Queen’s* than for a science-fiction magazine. It contained strong stories by Tom Godwin, Leigh Brackett, Gordon R. Dickson and Walter M. Miller, Jr, and was

7 ‘A Man of the World’ by Les Cole (Les Collins and Colin Sturgis) and ‘A Woman of the World’ by Rose Sharon (Judith Merrill).

certainly a cut above any of the other new magazines. Both Godwin's 'Too Soon to Die', about colonists' struggle for survival on a near uninhabitable planet, and Miller's 'Vengeance for Nikolai', about a mother's revenge for the death of her child, were especially powerful.

*Venture* continued to publish high-quality stories by major writers. Cyril Kornbluth appeared regularly, the last issue running 'Two Dooms' (July 1958), a notable alternative-history story in which the Nazis won the Second World War. 'The Edge of the Sea' by Algis Budrys (March 1958), about a man who discovers an alien artefact, though initially thinks it is a bomb, struck a chord with readers, as it was shortlisted for a Hugo award. Theodore Sturgeon contributed several memorable pieces including his satire on television, 'The Comedian's Children' (May 1958). He also began a regular book review column. It was also in *Venture* that Isaac Asimov started a regular science column with a piece about overpopulation, 'Fecundity Limited!' (January 1958). When *Venture* folded the column continued in *F&SF* right up to Asimov's death.

*Venture* was a good magazine, and Mills a good editor. His intention to titillate the reader with stories with a stronger sex slant was, on the whole, sensibly managed so that the stories (comparatively tame by today's standards) did not insult. The magazine should have survived longer but, as usual, distribution problems became its bane. I shall discuss this problem in more detail in the next chapter. However, it is worth adding that *Venture* lost some of its potential when Mercury Press subdivided in 1957 and Davis Publications was born.

Bernard G. Davis had become partners with William B. Ziff in 1935 to form Ziff-Davis Publishing in Chicago. Ziff was interested in publishing high-quality magazines dealing with art and photography and had little interest in fiction magazines. It had been at the urging of Davis that they acquired *Amazing Stories* in 1938 and developed other fiction magazines during the forties and early fifties. Ziff died in 1953 and the company continued to change. Bernard Davis decided that he wanted to establish his own separate company and he left Ziff-Davis in September 1957. He was already in negotiations with Joseph Ferman to acquire *Ellery Queen's Mystery Magazine*, which shifted across to the aegis of Davis Publications in October 1957 (the issue for November). *Ellery Queen's* was the money-spinner, with a circulation around 100,000 copies a month, almost twice that of *F&SF*. It thus provided Davis with a very firm foundation to his new publishing venture. *EQMM* and *F&SF* remained step-sisters for a while because Robert P. Mills stayed as managing editor for both magazines.

Curiously, Bernard Davis did not automatically launch a companion science-fiction magazine to *EQMM*. In fact it would be twenty years before

his son, Joel Davis, began *Isaac Asimov's Science Fiction Magazine*. Davis did dip his toe very lightly into the water and published a trial issue of *Jack London's Adventure Magazine* in July 1958 (issue dated October). Robert P. Mills was again the managing editor, and Ed Emshwiller provided the cover, so it looked as fitting a companion to *Venture* as to *Ellery Queen's*. The magazine consisted mostly of reprints, though it did feature a new historical story by Poul Anderson, 'The Trader and the Vikings', a foretaste of the material Anderson would move to in the seventies. *Jack London's Adventure Magazine* saw only one issue. It appeared at the wrong time, when the distribution drought saw the death of many new saplings.

In his last year at Ziff-Davis, Bernard Davis had given the go-ahead to two new magazines. The origin of the first, *Dream World*, lies in the transformations *Fantastic* was undergoing. From having started as a fantasy magazine, *Fantastic* had converted to a science-fiction magazine in early 1955, and sales had improved. This had allowed *Amazing Stories* to shift to a monthly schedule from its November 1955 issue. Editor Howard Browne, however, still wanted to rescue the fantasy fiction and so tried a new tack. He was prepared to accept that his original plans for *Fantastic* had been too arty and sophisticated and that slick fantasy no longer seemed to appeal to the public. But what about wish-fulfilment fantasy? Stories in which individuals develop incredible abilities that allow them to become their type of super-person? This could mean walking through walls, or being irresistible to women . . . anything that your heart desired. Browne experimented in the December 1955 *Fantastic*. For that one issue the 'Science Fiction' subtitle was dropped. Ed Valigursky's cover, illustrating Paul W. Fairman's 'All Walls Were Mist', shows the protagonist walking through a wall into the bedroom of a young woman, who is undressing. That was the level of the fiction. All the stories were male dreams about how to get or impress a woman, whether by becoming a superman, as Milton Lesser explored in 'Between Two Worlds', or becoming irresistible, as in 'He Took What He Wanted', also by Milton Lesser as C. H. Thames, or by telepathic powers, as in 'The Man Who Read Minds' by John Toland.<sup>8</sup>

Browne later reported that letters expressing satisfaction with the special issue outnumbered critical letters by seven to one,<sup>9</sup> although, somewhat oddly, most of the letters he published about the issue gave a general feeling

8 This is the same John Toland who became a best-selling author with books about the Second World War, and won the Pulitzer Prize in 1971. Toland had sold one novel but had been unsuccessful in any follow-ups and wrote a fantasy for light relief. Browne bought this, 'Water Cure' (*Fantastic*, December 1954), and the story so impressed agent Rogers Terrill that he was soon selling material by Toland to the slicks.

9 See *Fantastic* 5(2), April 1956, p. 129.

of dissatisfaction. Nevertheless Browne continued to run further stories along those lines, such as 'Dream Girl' by Robert Silverberg and 'Everybody's Watching You' by C. H. Thames, both in the June 1956 issue. Then he ran another special issue in October 1956, with a cover boasting 'Stories of Incredible Powers!' and depicting a man materializing inside a women's shower-room. This issue was actually Browne's swan-song. Early in 1956 he had received a call from a television producer in Hollywood asking if he would like to have a turn at being a screenwriter. Browne thought this a good idea and left Ziff-Davis in May 1956. Plans for *Dream World* were well advanced and were handed over to Paul W. Fairman to see through to completion. Fairman became editor of *Amazing Stories* and *Fantastic* as well. At the same time, Davis believed that sales of *Fantastic* were good enough to warrant shifting it to a monthly schedule, which began from its February 1957 issue.

The first issue of *Dream World* went on sale on 11 December 1956, with a cover date of February 1957. It was really a sibling of *Fantastic*, using the same banner headings of 'A New Kind of Fiction' and 'Stories of Incredible Powers' and the same voyeuristic covers. The first issue clearly attempted some degree of sophistication, since it reprinted stories by P. G. Wodehouse and Thorne Smith, but most of it was predictable fare by Milton Lesser, Harlan Ellison, Robert Silverberg, Randall Garrett and Fairman himself, usually under various pen names. The issues were light-hearted fun, but little more than a gimmick. It was evident that the magazine had limited potential and it folded after three quarterly issues. Its demise coincided with the announced departure of Bernard Davis.

Davis's last experiment was to launch *Amazing Stories Science Fiction Novels*. According to Fairman<sup>10</sup> he was receiving many demands from readers for novel-length stories in both *Fantastic* and *Amazing Stories*, and this is certainly borne out by comments in the letter columns. However, neither magazine was in a position to switch to the novel-length lead story approach adopted by *Satellite* and *Venture*, or even the longer stories used by *Science Fiction Adventures*. In fact the conveyer-belt approach to short fiction now adopted by Ziff-Davis made it difficult to acquire serials. 'The Scarlet Saint' by Manly Banister, which ran in the January to May 1956<sup>11</sup> issues of *Amazing*, was the first serial in that magazine for eight years. It was a routine adventure story of humankind rebelling against alien domination and later saw print in book form as *Conquest of Earth* (Avalon, 1957). However

10 See Fairman's editorial to *Fantastic* 6(6), July 1957, p. 3.

11 But not in the April 1956 issue, which was a special 30th anniversary celebration.



it was evident that readers wanted longer material, and *Amazing Stories Science Fiction Novels* was an attempt to meet that demand. The choice of material was rather unusual. Setting aside Fairman's hype that 'we read a lot of s-f novels but none was up to the quality-level we demanded', he tells us that

by strange accident, we got hold of a shooting script of Columbia Pictures' new production *20 Million Miles to Earth* – at that time in the planning stage. There were several readings and every verdict was the same: 'This is the best thing to come along since *King Kong*.' Obviously, it had to be our first story. We gave the shooting script to one of our finest writers, Henry Slesar. He read it at one sitting, here in the office, and we watched his eyes sparkle. We didn't ask him if he wanted to write the novel. His reaction gave us the answer.<sup>12</sup>

Slesar had first appeared with 'The Brat' in *Imaginative Tales* (November 1955) but in a little over a year had already sold over two dozen stories to the sf magazines alone, plus almost as many stories to the crime magazines. This was his first attempt at anything novel length, and it was quite a daunting task. The screenplay, by Bob Williams and Christopher Knopf, had been developed from an unpublished story by Charlotte Knight, and had been created around the desire for Ray Harryhausen's special effects in animating the monstrous Ymir, hatched from an egg brought back from Venus, and intent on destroying Rome. Slesar had to develop the story-line considerably, especially in creating further characters, incident, motive and plot, but the end result was very creditable. The magazine went on sale on 11 June 1957 to coincide with the film's release. Neither the film nor the magazine had any real significant success, although in the intervening years the film has acquired a cult status among devotees of monster films, making the single-issue *Amazing Stories Science Fiction Novel* a rather undeserving collector's item.

The experiment was not repeated. However, it was recognized that readers enjoyed longer stories and from the March 1958 *Amazing*, the magazine was increased by 16 pages and extra space made to run a 'complete novel', starting with 'The Space Egg' by Russ Winterbotham. None of the initial novels was especially noteworthy, and it would be over a year before the magazine really began to show any new potential.

With Davis's departure, Ziff-Davis stopped any further development of its fiction magazines. *Amazing Stories* and *Fantastic* remained monthly, and were allowed to continue so long as they were profitable, but no one else at

<sup>12</sup> Fairman, editorial, *Fantastic* 6(6).

Ziff-Davis gave them a thought. They were rapidly becoming an anachronism for the publisher. Nevertheless, there was one definite advantage that came out of this. The demand placed upon first Howard Browne and then Paul Fairman in producing two monthly magazines plus the other experimental issues, and a short-lived, ill-conceived correspondence magazine called *Pen Pals*, had meant that Browne had recruited a new assistant, Cele Goldsmith. Goldsmith joined Ziff-Davis almost by accident. She had just graduated from college and was looking for a teaching position. She called for a friend who worked at Ziff-Davis and while waiting filled in a job application form. She was surprised to receive an interview and, in November 1955, started work. Goldsmith helped out on developing *Dream World* and *Pen Pals* and worked on all of the magazines' slush-piles. Browne and Fairman were both more interested in writing than editing, and they left more and more to Goldsmith. By early 1957 she was elevated to managing editor, and at the end of 1958 she took over from Paul Fairman as editor. Fairman had followed Bernard Davis and became editor of *Ellery Queen's Mystery Magazine*. Over the next five years, Cele Goldsmith would transform both *Amazing Stories* and *Fantastic*, as we shall see.

1957, the beginning of the space age, would see four more magazines of science fiction and fantasy. The first of these, *Space Science Fiction*, allows us to take a slight detour and to look at the relationship between popular magazines and the radio. It had been the success of the Shadow in *The Detective Story Hour* on CBS starting in July 1930 that had prompted the creation of *The Shadow* magazine and ushered in the age of the hero pulps. Other radio programmes spawned other mystery and horror magazines but, regardless of their popularity on the radio, none of these – *The Witch's Tale*, *Suspense* or *The Mysterious Traveler* – was a success as a magazine. In the fifties the formula was reversed.

The landmark series was *Dimension X*, which was broadcast by NBC from 8 April 1950 to 29 September 1951. The producer, Van Woodward, had the sense to adapt existing stories rather than commission new material, although some new stories did appear in the series. It drew heavily on stories from the sf magazines, mostly, but not exclusively, from *Astounding*, and John W. Campbell, Jr, served at the outset as technical adviser. The series adapted such classics as 'With Folded Hands' by Jack Williamson, 'Knock' by Fredric Brown, 'The Green Hills of Earth' by Robert A. Heinlein, 'Mars is Heaven' by Ray Bradbury and 'Nightfall' by Isaac Asimov. It was the first radio series to treat sf in an adult way. Asimov said that he was 'absorbed' when he listened to the adaptation of his *Pebble in the Sky*, aired on 17 June 1951, and felt that even though the producers had squeezed a full-length novel into a half-hour episode and had changed the ending, nonetheless 'it

was well done'. He was only indignant that the programme had not broadcast his name.<sup>13</sup>

When *Dimension X* ceased in September 1951 there was no immediate successor. A year later, ABC aired *Tales of Tomorrow*, a sister programme to their television series of the same name, which had been broadcast since August 1951. The radio series took its stories from *Galaxy*, which was mentioned at the start of each broadcast, though some were adapted almost out of recognition. It ran for just 15 episodes, until 9 April 1953, switching to CBS for the last six, and though it left little mark, it did pave the way for the most important of the fifties radio programmes, *X Minus One*, which began on 24 April 1955.

This was another NBC series produced again by Van Woodward, and was more than a spiritual successor to *Dimension X*, because for most of the first year the series re-ran the original *Dimension X* scripts. It was not until February 1956 that stories exclusively adapted from *Galaxy* were aired, and that remained the arrangement for the rest of the series, which ended in January 1958, after 125 episodes. *Galaxy* began to advertise the series from its April 1956 issue.

The series gave *Galaxy* much-needed publicity and, just as importantly, brought current sf to radio, providing adaptations of many excellent new stories and thus allowing the public to appreciate the best science fiction available at the time. Authors included Theodore Sturgeon, Frederik Pohl, Fritz Leiber, Robert Sheckley and Philip K. Dick. The format provided by these radio series would later be adapted to considerable effect by Rod Serling for his television series *The Twilight Zone*, which we shall return to later.

An attempt to promote *Astounding* in the same way was less successful. On 11 December 1957 the Mutual Broadcasting System began transmission of *Exploring Tomorrow*. According to a later advertisement for it in *Astounding* this was 'the first science-fiction radio show of science-fictioners, by science-fictioners, and for science-fictioners – real science fiction, for a change!'.<sup>14</sup> The series was scripted by Randall Garrett, Gordon R. Dickson and Robert Silverberg based on stories selected by John W. Campbell, who fronted the show, providing his own opinion on the scientific premise. It was nowhere near as successful as *X Minus One* and was dropped after one series in June 1958.

During 1956 Lyle Kenyon Engel tried to create a new package for radio. In 1950, ABC had run a short spy series called *American Agent*. Engel sought to relaunch this series and developed another, called *The Frightened*, to be

13 Asimov, *In Memory Yet Green*, pp. 628–29.

14 See *Astounding SF* 61(2), April 1958, p. 36.

narrated by Boris Karloff. To tie in with the radio series Engel put together a package of four magazines. Their publication was delayed by problems over the radio schedules and initially only *Private Investigator Detective Magazine* was published in September 1956 (cover date Winter). It was edited by Michael Avallone and was originally going to be called *Ed Noone's Mystery Magazine* after the popular detective created by Avallone. Alongside the second issue of that magazine the other three were at last launched: *American Agent*, *Tales of the Frightened* and *Space Science Fiction Magazine*. Although Avallone was a capable editor of the *PI* magazine and *American Agent*, he had no knowledge of science fiction, nor, for that matter, of weird fiction. *Space SF* and most of *Tales of the Frightened* were assembled from barrel-scrappings provided by the Scott Meredith Literary Agency. Even though the magazines carried some important names – John Wyndham, John Christopher, Poul Anderson, Jack Vance, Arthur C. Clarke, Mack Reynolds, Carl Jacobi – these were mostly stories that had done the rounds and failed to sell, or were reprints from UK magazines with no US sales. Very few were written to order. All of the stories are sub-standard, especially for these authors, and neither magazine has any redeeming qualities. Perhaps just two stories are worthy of comment. 'The Man Who Thought He Was Poe' by Avallone (*Tales of the Frightened*, August 1957), though melodramatic, is a clever story of a man who begins to live the life of Edgar Allan Poe and experiences the horrors described in his stories. 'The Devil Spins a Sun-Dream' by John Jakes (*Space SF*, Spring 1957) is about a prospector on Mars in search of a fabled city. Though limited in plot the story has a strong atmosphere, made all the more memorable by the poor quality of its companions.

All of these magazines saw only two issues, dated Spring and August 1957 (issued in January and June), and thankfully folded.

The next sf magazine to appear, *Saturn*, was the last new magazine for six years that would survive beyond its first issue. However, this was little to celebrate because *Saturn* was another opportunist, low-budget magazine that carried mostly minor fiction, despite the valiant efforts of its editor, Donald A. Wollheim. Wollheim had been approached by Robert C. Sproul, son of the general manager of the Ace News Company, a subsidiary of A. A. Wyn, and the distributor of Ace Books. Sproul had noticed the sudden upsurge in sf magazines and thought he should have some of the action. Wyn and Sproul had a number of associated companies that produced cheap magazines, including Pontiac, which published *Sure Fire Detective* and Candar, which launched *Saturn*. Wollheim was listed as editorial consultant but in fact did the whole work of editing and compiling each issue for a flat fee.

The first issue of *Saturn* was dated March 1957 and appeared in January. Its uninspiring cover by Leo Summers boasted a new story by Jules Verne.

This was certainly a scoop for *Saturn* for, although Verne's best work was now over eight decades old, his name was back in the public eye following the recent success of the films *20,000 Leagues Under the Sea* (Disney, 1954) and *Around the World in Eighty Days* (United Artists, 1956). 'Eternal Adam' was reputedly his last written sf work, though no manuscript survives, and was included in his posthumous collection *Hier et Demain* (Hetzl, 1910). It had not appeared in any English-language edition until then, when Wollheim acquired a translation by Willis T. Bradley. The story is unusual for Verne, since it is set in the far future and deals with a historian who discovers that the progenitors of their race were in fact survivors from a cataclysm that destroyed civilization in the twentieth century. The rest of the issue Wollheim filled out relatively cheaply, selecting two stories (by Alan Barclay and John Brunner) previously published in Britain in *New Worlds*: a new story by Robert Silverberg, and 'The Chaos Salient' by Noel Loomis, a pulpster from the forties. The story reads like a bottom-of-the-drawer reject. The only other story was 'The Bridey Murphy Way' by Paul Brandts, which I suspect was by Wollheim himself.<sup>15</sup> These stories all have a robust bravura about them but are, at best, only competent. Nevertheless Wollheim always had a way of finding interesting material regardless of the hurdles he had to surmount. Later issues of *Saturn*, which included fantasy as well as sf, were able to print material by Cordwainer Smith, Damon Knight, an August Derleth/H. P. Lovecraft posthumous collaboration, Jack Vance, Harlan Ellison, Marion Zimmer Bradley and even Clark Ashton Smith. *Saturn* was thus always an item of curiosity even though the contents were seldom of high quality.

It is also worth more than a footnote that *Saturn* published the last story by Ray Cummings. Back in the early twenties, Cummings had been the most popular writer of science fiction, before the advent of E. E. Smith's super-science. 'Requiem for a Small Planet' (March 1958) was yet another of Cummings' stories of infinite smallness, but this time touchingly relevant as children of an experiment return from a sub-atomic world to our own only to witness the power of the atom as nuclear war erupts. Cummings had died on 23 January 1957 aged only 69. In fact there was a spate of deaths at this time which was something of a harbinger of doom to the sf magazines. Some might not be so surprised by the passing of such old-timers as Cummings or Bob Olsen (died 20 May 1956, aged 72) or the artist J. Allen St John (died 23 May 1957, aged 84) or even the veteran fantasist Lord Dunsany (died 25 October 1957, aged 79). But it came as a shock when within seven weeks of each other first Henry Kuttner died (3 February 1958,

<sup>15</sup> The name was not included among a list of pen names provided to me by Wollheim, but he admitted to others he had forgotten. The only other story by Brandts was in *Orbit SF*, also edited by Wollheim, and both stories read like Wollheim's other work of the period.

aged 42) and then Cyril Kornbluth (died 21 March 1958, aged 34). Both these writers should have had years of creative time ahead of them, especially Kornbluth, who had started to hit his stride in the fifties with a solid body of work that still holds up well today. Some may feel that Kuttner had made his major contribution in the forties and that, with his move to mystery fiction and the cinema, his day as a major sf writer was past, but who could tell what he might have had in store? It was certainly a sad period and the magazines of the day were filled with eulogies to them both.

Sproul soon grew tired of *Saturn*. It was not selling as well as he had hoped. He had reduced the number of pages with the third issue, making it the smallest magazine on the market, though it still sold for 35 cents. After five issues he decided to convert *Saturn* into a detective magazine. Like Irwin Stein at *Suspect*, Sproul wanted to keep his second-class mailing permit, and he used more ingenuity. He kept the main title the same, but instead of *Saturn Science Fiction and Fantasy* it became *Saturn Web Detective Stories* with the issue for August 1958. The magazine's contents became increasingly more violent and sex-orientated, like those of the terror magazines of the thirties. The same transmutation happened to the step-sister magazine *Sure Fire Detective*, which, after a brief hiatus, became *Off Beat Detective* in September 1958. The change must have worked since both magazines continued into the early sixties. *Off Beat* eventually folded in January 1963. By then *Saturn Web Detective* had passed through a phase as *Web Detective Stories* to become *Web Terror Stories* (from August 1962), and survived in that form until June 1965. It published the occasional sf story, such as 'Orbit of the Pain-Masters' by Arthur P. Gordon (August 1962), in which aliens abduct a woman into their flying saucer in order to test her pain threshold. But generally it was a weird-menace terror magazine.

Summer 1957 was the height of the sf magazine rebirth, with 23 magazines on the US bookstalls (25 if you counted *Amazing Stories Science Fiction Novel* and *Galaxy Science Fiction Novels*), plus four British sf magazines. It should have been a moment of high optimism, especially since 1957 was also the International Geophysical Year. To be more precise, this 'year' lasted 18 months from July 1957 to December 1958. During that period scientists from 66 nations worked together to undertake a complete study of the Earth, including under the surface, beneath the seas and into the upper atmosphere. It was also a period of intense solar activity, and a much greater understanding emerged of the effect of the sun's radiation and of sunspots upon the Earth. There were many benefits arising from this international cooperation. A complete survey of the ocean floor resulted in the discovery of plate tectonics and continental drift. In March 1958 Vivian Fuchs completed the first crossing of the Antarctic continent – an epic journey of 2,158

miles in 99 days. And most memorable of all was the dawn of the space age. The Russians beat the Americans into space with the launching of *Sputnik 1* on 4 October 1957. *Sputnik 2* followed on 3 November carrying the dog Laiki, the first living creature to go beyond the Earth's atmosphere. The Americans followed on 31 January 1958 with the launching of *Explorer 1*, which detected the Van Allen radiation belts. Much more would follow. The Russian *Luna 2* hit the moon's surface on 13 September 1959 and a month later, on 10 October, *Luna 3* orbited the moon and for the first time sent back photographs of the far side, which had never before been seen by human eyes. During the period from *Sputnik 1* to the launching of the first man into space, Yuri Gagarin on 12 April 1961, scores of satellites were launched, and people became fascinated with the start of the space age.

Science-fiction fans were in seventh heaven during this period, and although there were a few sceptics who believed that science fiction had now had its day, because real science had taken over, far more became caught up in the excitement of the period and wanted to know more. Interest in science fiction blossomed.

Just at the time when the sf magazines should have benefited most, however, they were actually heading for disaster. The situation was not helped by what had happened to science fiction in the second half of the fifties. Instead of looking at the wonders of science and the potential advancement of humankind, too much of science fiction had become entangled in fantasies about the powers of the mind, flying saucers and monsters. When people turned to science fiction to see what it had to say about the future of science, the field was lacking.

### **Weirdos, Monsters and Aliens**

Although both *Astounding* and *Galaxy* continued to publish stories of high quality, much of the excitement generated in the first half of the fifties had faded. In the case of *Galaxy* this was partly due to authors becoming tired of Gold's continual meddling with their fiction. He had driven away writers such as Isaac Asimov, Theodore Sturgeon and Philip K. Dick and others treated him with caution.

At *Astounding* writers and readers alike were becoming frustrated with Campbell's continued fascination with alternative sciences and in particular with his latest fad, the Hieronymous machine. This was one of several psionic machines in which Campbell showed overbearing interest in the late fifties. A psionic machine was a machine that performed something otherwise impossible to known science – in other words, it seemed to work

by some kind of psychic or alternative science. In the case of the Hieronymous machine it was claimed that this could analyse the content of a mineral without accessing the mineral itself. It could, for instance, undertake the analysis via a photograph. This machine had been patented by T. G. Hieronymous. Campbell mentioned it in his editorial for the February 1956 *Astounding*. He then built his own and wrote up the findings in 'Psionic Machine – Type One' (June 1956). Campbell had tested the machine on several individuals, including Isaac Asimov, who regarded the machine as being of 'surpassing idiocy'. Asimov voiced the views of many when he later said: 'since the dianetics thing, I no longer trusted the rigidity and integrity of [Campbell's] judgment'.<sup>16</sup>

Campbell was clearly becoming obsessed by psionics – he later encouraged articles on dowsing and explored alternatives to rockets with the Dean Drive. Although all of this was not affecting the overall quality of *Astounding*, it did give the impression that Campbell was starting to pander to freaks, rather like Raymond Palmer had over the Shaver Mystery in *Amazing Stories* just ten years earlier. It was all a little too close for comfort. More and more stories in *Astounding* moved away from the hard sciences and explored ESP and psionics. These were not basic stories of telepathy or levitation, like those already discussed by Randall Garrett and Mark Clifton among others, but depictions of entire cultures based on alternative sciences. It was Campbell's belief in there being more to the world than was understood by conventional science that encouraged him to acquire 'The Miracle Workers' by Jack Vance (July 1958), in which magic and mysticism have become sciences.

Campbell's quirkiness certainly harmed *Astounding's* reputation in the late fifties, and it only added to the general malaise in science fiction and the return of the attitude that science fiction was for cranks. The most blatant example of this was the growth in interest in flying saucers and the related association with aliens and monsters.

As I discussed in the first volume, Raymond A. Palmer latched on to the interest in flying saucers right from the start, when Kenneth Arnold reported seeing nine saucer-shaped lights over the Cascade Mountains in Washington State on 24 June 1947. This was just ten days before the notorious Roswell incident in New Mexico and the subsequent alleged cover-up. Palmer used the Arnold story as the lead to launch his new magazine *Fate* with the issue dated Spring 1948. Through Palmer flying saucers became inextricably linked with science fiction. Willy Ley found himself writing about 'Flying Saucers: Friend, Foe or Fantasy' in the first issue of *Galaxy*

16 Isaac Asimov, *In Joy Still Felt* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980), p. 53.



(October 1950) and flying saucers soon became a popular illustration for alien spacecraft in the sf magazines. In 1952 Palmer assisted Arnold in producing the first definitive volume about UFOs, *The Coming of the Saucers*. To promote it Palmer ran a range of flying-saucer material in both *Fate* and *Other Worlds*. This included serializing the quasi-factual 'I Flew in a Flying Saucer' by the anonymous Captain A. V. G. (*Other Worlds*, October–December 1951) plus Arnold's account 'The REAL Flying Saucer' (*Other Worlds*, January 1952).

In 1949 former US Marine and one-time pulpster Donald Keyhoe<sup>17</sup> had been commissioned by *True* magazine to write a feature about UFOs. Keyhoe's research led him to believe that there was a government cover-up over flying saucers and he expanded his original article into the book *Flying Saucers are Real* (Gold Medal, 1950), which sold over half a million copies. Keyhoe went on to produce other books including *The Flying Saucer Conspiracy* (Holt, 1955) and, in August 1956, was one of the founding members of the National Investigation Committee on Aerial Phenomena (NICAP). This increased attention in the mid-fifties led to renewed interest by the science-fiction magazines.

The February 1957 *Fantastic Universe* was dedicated to the subject, including 'An Introduction to UFOlogy' by Ivan T. Sanderson and 'The Truth is Fantastic' by Gray Barker. Barker was the editor of *The Saucerian Review* and author of *They Knew Too Much About Flying Saucers* (University Books, 1956), which popularized the image of the men in black who create the blanket of secrecy around saucer sightings. In 'The Ships in the Sky', George H. Smith considered whether UFOs had visited Earth in earlier times, while in 'Invasion', Harlan Ellison wrote of civilization's fight with the UFOs – a story that preceded the film *Independence Day* by forty years.

Throughout 1957 and 1958 *Fantastic Universe* featured UFO articles and this alienated many of its fiction readers. They attached much of the blame to the recent arrival of Hans Stefan Santesson as editorial director. Santesson, who was 42 when he took over *Fantastic Universe* with the issue for September 1956, was little known among the sf fraternity prior to this, though he had been a writer, reviewer and editor of detective and mystery fiction. He soon became a regular attendee at science-fiction gatherings, where his apparent aloofness – arising from an inherent shyness – gave rise to an aura of independence which suggested that he would plough his own furrow with the magazine, regardless of the views of others. In fact, at the outset,

17 Keyhoe (1897–1988) had sold stories to *Weird Tales* starting with 'The Grim Passenger' (April 1925) and during the heyday of the hero pulps had written the lead novels for *Dr Yen-Sin* as well as writing regularly for *Battle Aces* and *Dare-Devil Aces*.

Santesson handled the magazine well, and *Fantastic Universe* continued to feature some good science fiction. There was Robert Bloch's homage to fandom, 'A Way of Life' (October 1956); a new robot story by Isaac Asimov, 'First Law' (October 1956); a 'hard-boiled' robot series by Harry Harrison, starting with 'The Velvet Glove' (November 1956); and strong material by Michael Shaara, Harlan Ellison, L. Sprague de Camp and Alan E. Nourse. However, as time passed these became the exception rather than the rule, and *Fantastic Universe* took on an air of mediocrity. What had once been an exciting and at times challenging magazine was now barely average, and was pandering to fringe cults. The appearance of some of the older generation of writers, such as Robert Moore Williams, Nelson Bond, Lloyd A. Eshbach and Stanton Coblenz, suggested that *Fantastic Universe* was less committed to pushing the boundaries. P. Schuyler Miller summed it up well when he looked back on *Fantastic Universe* in 1960 and remembered it as 'that exasperating magazine'.<sup>18</sup> Santesson clearly had a love for science fiction, and published some fine material, but couldn't always see the wood for the trees.

There is certainly one reason to remember *Fantastic Universe* in its latter days. It published the first professional story by Thomas Burnett Swann, 'Winged Victory' (July 1958). It was an early example of the historical fantasies that would make Swann's reputation in the sixties.

As if in imitation of *Fantastic Universe*, *Amazing Stories* dedicated its October 1957 issue to flying saucers. There were two stories, written pseudonymously by Algis Budrys ('If These Be Gods', as by Gordon Javlyn) and Harlan Ellison ('Farewell to Glory', as by Ellis Hart), plus a batch of articles by Raymond Palmer, Kenneth Arnold, Gray Barker and even Richard S. Shaver. The articles were strong on the 'conspiracy theory' approach, maintaining that the government was hiding facts and that aliens were already among us, but there was one feature which was surprisingly naïve. This was a rather sanctimonious piece by the Reverend Neal Harvey, which was little more than a sermon. Harvey was seeking to reassure people that they should not worry about flying saucers. He went so far as to say: 'The flying saucers can not be any threat to us because God would certainly not allow any form of life the power of space travel if their intent were hostile to other life'. Such faith in God may be honourable, but it has no place in a science-fiction magazine. The issue was generally well received, primarily because it gave scope for an open debate. UFOs continued to feature on the covers and in stories in *Amazing* over the next few months. Fairman even went so far as to publish a special Shaver Mystery issue of *Fantastic* in July 1958,

18 P. Schuyler Miller, 'The Reference Library', *Analog* 66(4), December 1960, p. 167.

running a long lead novel by Shaver plus an array of articles. This, however, was a step too far, with most readers howling in protest over the issue and regarding it as 'rot'.

Although neither Santesson nor Fairman had entirely sold their souls to the fringe cults, there was one editor who certainly did, and it is no surprise that this was Raymond A. Palmer. In the melée of competing magazines, Palmer felt that what *Other Worlds* lacked was the right image of a science-fiction magazine. There was not enough room in the confining digests for the full sweep of what he wanted from sf. So with the November 1955 issue he converted *Other Worlds* back to pulp format. With everything pointing the other way, Palmer defied the trend, but that was Palmer for you. Reprinting covers by J. Allen St John and Virgil Finlay, which certainly made the issues look attractive, Palmer also went for the old gosh-wow extravagance that he had once enjoyed at *Amazing Stories*. He brought back the writers from the old *Amazing* stable: Robert Moore Williams, Rog Phillips, David V. Reed and Don Wilcox, alongside new writers who imitated their style: Hal Annas, Roger Arcot, and especially Stuart J. Byrne. Byrne wasn't actually a new writer. He had been producing material for *Amazing* since 1935 both under his own name and as John Bloodstone. He was a typical Palmer writer, able to produce fast-paced action material on a cosmic scale riddled with mystical and occult overtones. Better still, he was able to imitate the work of Edgar Rice Burroughs to the letter. Byrne had even written a new Tarzan novel, *Tarzan on Mars*, which the Burroughs estate refused to authorize. Palmer, in typical Palmer fashion, began a campaign to authorize an official successor to Burroughs. The Burroughs estate would not capitulate. Byrne's manuscript of *Tarzan on Mars* circulated around Palmer's contacts and became probably the most read unpublished story ever. So, when all else failed, Palmer resorted to reprinting Shaver material. No matter what he tried, though, Palmer was unable to tap into the readership that he had once enjoyed at *Amazing Stories*. That was because for the most part it was no longer there, and those who did remain were able to get their enjoyment from other magazines – especially the current *Amazing Stories* and William Hamling's *Imagination* – and from the paperbacks, especially Ace Books.

Palmer's last trick was to make distributors and readers believe that *Other Worlds* was in fact two magazines, not one. With the July 1957 issue he retitled it *Flying Saucers from Other Worlds*, but shifted the emphasis so that alternate issues read either *Flying Saucers from OTHER WORLDS* or *FLYING SAUCERS from Other Worlds*. The *Flying Saucers* issues sold better, and Palmer eventually did what he should have done long before, and changed the title completely to *Flying Saucers* from its October 1958 issue, phasing out all

fiction. He converted both *Flying Saucers* and *Search* to small booklet-sized magazines, switched to undertaking his own printing, and managed to eke out a living from his ranch in Amherst, Wisconsin, a ranch that he had built with the fortunes he amassed at *Amazing Stories*.

At times *Other Worlds* had not been a bad magazine and even as it faded into the UFO haze it still published some interesting material, such as 'Falcons of Narabedla' (May 1957), an early story by Marion Zimmer Bradley, later worked into the Darkover sequence. But Palmer was always the renegade in sf. Everyone who knew him loved his personality and his generosity, but there is no denying that his love for sensationalism dominated his love for good science fiction. Palmer was the primary influence in the forties in giving science fiction a bad name not just by publishing bad fiction (in fact other pulps published far worse fiction) but by associating science fiction with other alternative beliefs. This, in itself, would not have been bad had those beliefs been explored seriously, but Palmer couldn't do that. He pandered to the more fanatical instincts and in doing so degraded the science fiction he published.

Palmer was not alone in this. The increased interest in science fiction had seen a growth in science-fiction films during the fifties, only a few of which were of any durable quality. The better crafted films of the first half of the fifties, inspired by the success of *Destination Moon* (1950) and including *The Day the Earth Stood Still* (1951), *War of the Worlds* (1953) and *This Island Earth* (1955), had given way to B-movies full of monsters and rubber-suited aliens which were poorly directed, even more poorly acted, and had such abysmal special effects as to tip the scales into parody. The worst of all such sf films, *Plan Nine from Outer Space* (1956), is so dreadful as to have become a classic in its own right, but most of these films could not even aspire to creative awfulness. They were simply banal, produced without any artistic merit and with no attempt to explore the story's sf premise. Only three films from the second half of the fifties rose to the challenge imposed by their story-lines: *The Forbidden Planet* (1956), *Invasion of the Body-Snatchers* (1956) and *The Incredible Shrinking Man* (1957). Each of these explored the perils of humans facing the unknown. The first showed the inability of humans to control our own subconscious; the second showed humankind at the mercy of invaders capable of controlling our minds; the third showed a man at the mercy of the world about him as he shrinks into insignificance. All can be seen as parables about the changes in society in the fifties, with humankind struggling to come to terms with the scientific advances, the atomic age and the perils of the Cold War. Like all good science fiction these films used sf motifs to mirror humankind's psychoses.

Unfortunately these were but three out of hundreds. For every film as good as *The Forbidden Planet* there were a dozen like *The Blob* (1958), or *Godzilla* (1954), or *I Married a Monster from Outer Space* (1958), or *Attack of the Fifty Foot Woman* (1957), or *The Creature from Galaxy 27* (1958). And even more unfortunately, it was these films that the public came to associate with science fiction. Just at the time when science fiction could have responded to a public interest (or fear) about the world and the power of science, it turned in on itself and pandered to the puerile. We have already seen how at Ziff-Davis, Paul Fairman launched *Amazing Stories Science Fiction Novel* in the summer of 1957, featuring a novelization of the film *20 Million Miles to Earth*, about the dinosaur-like Ymir brought back to Earth from Venus. Elsewhere in *Amazing Stories* and especially in *Fantastic*, Fairman encouraged more stories featuring monsters and aliens, and the covers declared such titles as 'I Married a Martian' and 'Call Me Monster'.

Long-time science-fiction fan Forrest J. Ackerman, who was as much if not more a devotee of the sf film as he was of books and magazines, saw the fascination with monster movies as an opportunity. Along with publisher James Warren he assembled a trial issue of *Famous Monsters of Filmland*, which appeared (undated) in January 1958. There was no fiction in the magazine, and precious little text beyond Ackerman's usual wide-eyed and exuberant ramblings, but it was full of rare film stills from Ackerman's remarkable collection. This was a large-format magazine, slightly larger than quarto, running to 64 pages and printed on book-quality paper just of sufficient standard to carry the many film stills. The first issue sold over 300,000 copies, and after a second issue in the summer of 1958 it went into regular production – or at least as regular as Warren's outfit allowed. The success of *Famous Monsters*, which was tailor-made for adolescent boys fascinated not only by the monsters but also by the poor damsels-in-distress under threat from the monsters, ushered in a whole new generation of readers who became interested not so much in science fiction – and certainly not in serious sf – but in monster fiction. Many of the next generation of budding horror writers, including Stephen King and Ramsey Campbell, were titillated and encouraged by the magazine.

Others rapidly changed course to catch the fall-out from this market. First came Irwin Stein at Royal Publications. He ceased publication of the ailing *Science Fiction Adventures* and, under a new imprint of Magnum Publications, issued *Monster Parade*. The first issue was dated September 1958. This was a large-format magazine in direct imitation of *Famous Monsters*, complete with a wide range of film stills and film information. Unlike *Famous Monsters*, though, this magazine carried fiction, under the guiding editorial hand of Larry Shaw. A surprising by-line in the first issue was

Lawrence Block with 'I'll Love You to Death', and perhaps even John Jakes felt he must have reached rock bottom with 'Feed Me, Mr. Wodgett'. Many of the stories in later issues were by Robert Silverberg under a platoon of pen names. None of the stories is remotely memorable, but their appearance was a sign of things to come. Although *Monster Parade* was short-lived (four issues, September 1958 to April 1959) – and its companion *Monsters and Things* even more so (two issues, January and April 1959) – they were the start of a long line of media-related sf magazines that would come to dominate the market in the 1970s and 1980s. Most of these magazines carried no fiction and those few that did, such as *Shock Tales*, *Suspense* and *Thriller*, were really horror-fiction magazines that tried to project the film-horror image.<sup>19</sup> In effect the film-horror magazines had supplanted the horror comics which had been neutered (albeit temporarily) by the Comic Code.

One other magazine that embraced the monster movie fad was *Super-Science Fiction*. Although it remained a digest, all-fiction magazine, it began to promote 'monster' fiction. The April 1959 issue was headed 'Special Monster Issue', and all the remaining issues promoted a 'Monster' banner above the magazine title. Once again Robert Silverberg provided most of the fiction under a further bevy of pen names. Titles such as 'Vampires from Outer Space' or 'Creatures of Green Slime' or 'Beasts of Nightmare Horror' were actually much worse than the stories themselves, because Silverberg's fertile imagination and creativity meant that although he produced hack fiction, he still came up with entertaining ideas. 'Mournful Monster' (April 1959), for instance, written under the Dan Malcolm alias, has a rocket-ship crash on an uncharted planet and the survivors have to hack their way through a jungle filled with an amazing variety of alien life-forms. Although it reads as though it was written between tea breaks, it retains a vivacity and excitement typical of so many of Silverberg's potboilers.

Little of this was good news to the authentic world of science fiction. Monster movies, UFOs, the Shaver mystery, psi powers, the Hieronymous machine – none of these eccentric and sensational gimmicks did anything to encourage either the hard-core sf fan or the new readers attracted by the rising popularity of science fiction. Moreover, the excitement generated by the new magazines in the early fifties had started to fade. The science-fiction magazines of the late 1950s are pale in comparison. It was almost as if the coming of the space age had drained the vitality out of them.

Then came the final straw. The collapse of the main distribution agency, the American News Company, and the fight among the independent agencies,

19 Full bibliographic details of these magazines will be found in Appendix 2 on page 320.

caused many magazines to fold overnight. Others sought to survive by changing, but none coped with the change. The end of the 1950s saw a dinosaur-like extinction of fiction magazines, not just the science-fiction titles, though they seemed to suffer most.

### The End of an Era

Just consider the statistics. At the start of the space age, in the winter of 1957/58, there were 20 American science-fiction magazines: *Amazing Stories* and its companion *Fantastic, Astounding SF*, 'The Original' *Science Fiction Stories* and its companions *Future SF* and *Science Fiction Quarterly*, *F&SF* and its partner *Venture SF*, *Imagination* and its partner *Imaginative Tales*, *Galaxy*, *If*, *Fantastic Universe*, *Infinity* and its partner *Science Fiction Adventures*, *Satellite SF*, *Super-Science Fiction*, *Saturn* and the newly launched *Star SF* and *Vanguard SF*. Within three years, by the autumn of 1960, there would be only six. Fourteen magazines vanished within little more than 28 months. What's more, not one of those six survivors remained unscathed. Every one of them underwent some transformation of its own. And all this at a time when sf should have been at the forefront of public interest.

We have already seen some of the factors that contributed to a move away from the magazines. Paperbacks, television and comics whittled away at the circulation. A fascination with UFOs, monsters and weird science may have briefly attracted some readers, but alienated more, and a growth in other magazines, such as *Fate*, *Flying Saucers* and *Famous Monsters*, catered for those readers. Readership was fragmenting and it was not enough to sustain 20 magazines. The worst of them – *Saturn*, *Super-Science Fiction*, *Imaginative Tales* were almost bound to fail at some stage, and it's surprising that two of those titles lasted for as long as they did.

But, as with the extinction of the dinosaurs, much greater factors must have been at work for such a sudden blight to devastate the field, rather than a steady decline. The answer to that can be seen partly in the fate of the last two magazines to appear in the fifties.

The first of them, *Star Science Fiction* (January 1958), was a transformation in itself. It was really a magazine manifestation of the *Star Science Fiction* series of anthologies which had been published by Ballantine Books since 1953, edited by Frederik Pohl. Pohl had felt restricted by the confines of an annual anthology and wanted to experiment with a magazine format. After three years of wrangling with Ian Ballantine, the latter finally conceded, but the magazine appeared only after many further delays. The stories were of the quality one had come to expect from the original series, and included

Brian Aldiss's first American sale, 'Judas Dancing'. The presentation, however, left much to be desired. The stylistic interior artwork by Richard Powers was appalling, looking like the scrawlings of a drunken spider. But it was not this that sealed *Star's* fate. Frederik Pohl recalled:

It failed – I don't remember the sales figures, but they were disastrous, because of wholesaler and dealer resistance to any new magazines at that time. Where it got on sale it did fairly well, but in most of the country the copies sent to local wholesalers were returned in the original cartons, unopened.<sup>20</sup>

A second issue had been prepared but, despite the tentative quarterly schedule, it never appeared. Ian Ballantine's resistance to change now dominated: *Star SF* returned to book format and the contents of the planned second issue appeared as *Star SF Stories 4* in November 1958, and sold successfully.

The same fate befell *Vanguard SF*, a good-quality magazine edited by James Blish, which contained five excellent stories by A. Bertram Chandler, James E. Gunn, Raymond F. Jones, Richard Wilson and especially 'Reap the Dark Tide' by Cyril Kornbluth. This was one of his typically downbeat views of a future world devastated by nuclear war, and has become better known in its revised version as 'Shark Ship'. It was probably the last story Kornbluth saw in print since he died within a day or two of the first issue of *Vanguard* being distributed, at the end of March (cover dated June).

*Vanguard* was the last new science-fiction magazine to appear for five years. There was nothing wrong with it in terms of its quality, and it should have caught the public's imagination with its association with the Space Earth Satellite programme, Project Vanguard, but it was doomed from the start because of the resistance to new magazines. James Blish also predicted the magazine's fate in an afterword to the magazine:

The withdrawal of American News Company from magazine distribution last year caused a lot of confusion on the newsstands, some of which is still with us [ . . . ] *Vanguard's* distributor is one of the biggest remaining in business, and we expect to get good service from him; but neither he nor anyone else can absolutely guarantee that *Vanguard* will be on your local newsstand regularly. The situation is still too shifty to make such guarantees possible. The moral: You'd better subscribe.

No records remain of how many subscriptions came in, but they were certainly not enough to sustain *Vanguard* in a period of such constraint.

<sup>20</sup> Personal communication, Pohl to Ashley, 14 December 1976.



*Vanguard* was not the only magazine to put an ill-founded faith in the interest in the space programme. William Hamling suddenly changed the title of *Imaginative Tales* to *Space Travel* with its July 1958 issue. It had no measurable effect – not because of a lack of public interest, but because of an apathy among the bookdealers.

So why was there such wholesaler hostility, and was this solely the fault of the American News Company (ANC)? In reality this was a further stage in a series of episodes that had started when Street & Smith pulled out of publishing pulp magazines almost ten years earlier. This had started the downward spiral of the main pulp publishers, which had been further aggravated by the banning and eventual culling of many sf and horror comics during 1953–54, many of which had helped subsidize the pulp magazines. By the mid-1950s fiction magazines were no longer the lucrative business they had been twenty years earlier.

In hindsight it became apparent that the switch to digest format was really only a temporary measure – though for the sf magazines it became a long-term rut in which they remained stuck for another twenty years. The pocketbook was in the ascendance and with bookstalls stocking more of those the digest was easily overlooked. There was nothing to distinguish it.

Nevertheless, while ANC continued to function, its sheer size allowed the smaller magazines to be distributed alongside their more profitable cousins. And then in 1957 disaster struck. As Frederik Pohl explains in *The Way the Future Was*, an opportunist became aware that ANC's property and other commercial holdings were still on the books at antiquated prices. He acquired a controlling interest in ANC, sold off the property at considerable profit and liquidated the company.

The consequent scramble was disastrous. Not all the sf magazines were affected. Street & Smith had left ANC in the early 1920s and were handled by one of the independent distributors, so *Astounding* passed through the slaughter without a hitch. Likewise Robert Guinn at Galaxy Publishing had had the foresight to change distributors during ANC's strike in 1955, so *Galaxy* was also safe. When other publishers rushed to the dozen or so independent distributors to strike deals, they found that not only could the independents pick and choose, but they also set their own conditions. Most of the independents were not interested in the low-circulation sf magazines. Those with a good pedigree, high circulation and part of a bigger company, such as *F&SF* or *Amazing Stories* were safe and were able to change distributors with little hassle and with no preconditions. For the others, most of the independents had two requirements. The magazines had to go monthly and they had to switch to a slick or large-size format. Both these requirements were difficult for the smaller publishers. Some magazines,

such as *Future SF* and *Science Fiction Stories*, were bi-monthly, and alternated, so they were like one monthly magazine. For both of them to step up to a monthly schedule would have required a sizeable input of money. There would be no additional income from subscribers, and income from newsstand sales could take up to three months to filter back from the dealers through the distributor to the publisher. To switch to monthly, therefore, the publisher had to borrow money, and this was usually either from the printer or from the distributor.

It was a dangerous ploy, but some took the challenge. Louis Silberkleit switched *Science Fiction Stories* to a monthly schedule in May 1958. *Satellite* went monthly in February 1959. In fact Leo Margulies took an even greater gamble with *Satellite*. He not only went monthly but converted the magazine to large format with the same issue. *Fantastic Universe*, which had long maintained a monthly schedule, found itself struggling and dropped to bi-monthly at the end of 1958. In the summer of 1959 it found a new publisher, Great American Publications, and revived itself with its October 1959 issue in a new large format and on a monthly schedule.

These efforts were all doomed to failure. The increased costs of a monthly schedule and a format change were too much for these small publishers to bear. In fact they had been too much for some of the major publishers. The big slick magazines relied heavily on advertising for their income, and during the 1950s television had bitten heavily into the advertising budgets of big businesses. The large slicks found that their advertising revenue was dropping just when their prices, especially that of paper, were rising. In December 1956 two of the biggest mass circulation magazines, *Collier's* and *Woman's Home Companion*, folded. These magazines had a circulation of around four million.<sup>21</sup> What chance had magazines with circulations of barely 30,000?

Other digest magazines weathered the change but only because they either had substantial sales or they were supported by a larger chain. The hardboiled detective magazine *Manhunt*, for instance, had been forced to switch to a large format in March 1957, but this did not improve circulation and costs forced the magazine to go bi-monthly. It reverted to the digest format in June 1958. Similarly, *Alfred Hitchcock's Mystery Magazine* was forced to shift to the large format in May 1957, in a change that was so abrupt that the April 1957 digest issue was dropped and never distributed. But this change also had a detrimental effect and the magazine reverted to digest in January 1958.

<sup>21</sup> See David Reed, *The Popular Magazine in Britain and the United States, 1880–1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), p. 213.

A switch to a large format had to be accompanied by increased income, preferably from advertisers, and that was just not possible for the small magazines. The final blows had been struck and the magazines died in rapid succession. The first to go, not surprisingly, was the sole surviving pulp, *Science Fiction Quarterly*. Ironically it would not have required much of a change to switch this magazine from its pulp format to an upgraded semi-slick, in the style that *Argosy* and *Blue Book* had adopted and which had been the format of most of the men's adventure magazines of the fifties. But it required an injection of money to restyle the magazine and Silberkleit was not that committed. It had had a good run, and it was sacrificed in order that *Science Fiction Stories* could switch to a monthly schedule. It went with its head held high, however. Robert Lowndes was a highly capable editor, and he had kept *SF Quarterly* as a magazine of more traditional stories, using the more cutting-edge material (such that he could afford, of course) in his other magazines. But Lowndes did not sell out to cheap space opera or sensationalistic stories. The one feature that *SF Quarterly* lacked and yet what one would have expected from it was a long lead novel, which had always been the province of the quarterlies. Had the magazine run a regular novel it would have competed well against the insurgent pocketbooks and might even have had sufficient circulation to survive, for a while at least. For its last issue, dated February 1958 but released in December 1957, Lowndes acquired such a lead novel, 'We, the Marauders' by Robert Silverberg. It was a moralistic story of an attempt to colonize Ganymede at the expense of destroying the native inhabitants, and was a good example of traditional pulp sf storytelling but with modern values. It was already scheduled for publication by Ace Books, where it appeared as *Invaders from Earth*, just six months later in May 1958. When P. Schuyler Miller praised the book in his review in *Astounding* in January 1959, he was not even aware that it had had any prior magazine publication. So although *SF Quarterly* went with a bang, hardly anyone noticed.

I have already recounted the conversion of *Saturn* into a detective magazine after its March 1958 issue. *Saturn* was owned by the Ace News distribution company, which was owned by A. A. Wyn and distributed Ace Books, so *Saturn* was not a victim of the disappearance of ANC. Nevertheless its conversion to a detective magazine is symptomatic of the period, in which the detective fiction magazine was surviving better than the sf magazine.

In quick succession during 1958 there were the last issues of *Science Fiction Adventures* (June), *Venture SF* (July), *Imagination* (October), *Space Travel* (November) and *Infinity* (November). Irwin Stein's switch to the monster magazines *Monster Parade* and *Monsters and Things* was short-lived, and they had folded by early 1959. Stein could see that the future was in paperbacks

and he founded Lancer Books in June 1961. He would later revive *Infinity* in pocketbook format, which I shall return to in due course.

William Hamling had several irons in his fire. In addition to *Imagination* and *Space Travel* he had, since October 1955, been publishing the men's magazine *Rogue*, in imitation of *Playboy*. It was moderately successful, though its full potential was limited because Hamling was unable to acquire a permit to send *Rogue* to subscribers through the mail. Hamling would eventually challenge this through the courts, but although he was successful the legal costs proved too much and *Rogue* folded. That was not until the early 1960s, however. Hamling dropped *Imagination* and *Space Travel* at a moment's notice (there was no warning in either magazine) and invested the money in *Rogue*, converting it into the full slick format in May 1959. He also broadened his paperback publishing, starting a range of imprints such as Corinth Books, Nightshade, Regency Books and others, all under the umbrella of Greenleaf Publications. Although some of these published mainstream books, the majority published semi-pornographic 'adult' novels, many produced by sf and thriller writers.

The sixties would see a rapid liberalization of erotic fiction, and science fiction publishers took as much advantage of the marketing potential of this as any others. The real impact was not until the late 1960s, to which I shall return, but it is worth one aside here. By 1959 Robert M. Guinn was finding it harder to get sufficient distribution for his digest-size *Galaxy Science Fiction Novel*. Since Guinn was not in the book publishing business, rather than converting the series to a pocketbook himself, he handed it over to Arnold Abramson of Universal Publishing (who, by a strange coincidence, would end up publishing *Galaxy* ten years down the line), who continued the series under his Beacon Books imprint. Their first title, which was *Galaxy SF Novel #39*, was the rather more sedate *Odd John* by Olaf Stapledon, released in March 1959 as a pocketbook. But within a year the series was publishing titles more akin to the usual fare of Beacon Books, such as *Pagan Passions* by Randall Garrett and Larry M. Harris or *Flesh* by Philip José Farmer, both original novels. Science-fiction fans were not pleased, and Robert Guinn soon discovered that these titles were just as difficult to distribute as before. *Galaxy SF Novel* eventually passed away in 1961.

The sf magazines continued to fold. *Satellite SF's* attempt at upgrading to a semi-slick failed and it folded in May 1959. Sensibly, Leo Margulies had not experimented with the better selling companion, *Mike Shayne Mystery Magazine*, which retained the digest format. That magazine survived the culling and was set on a long life, appearing until August 1985. *Super-Science Fiction's* monster issues were not enough. It went in October 1959. *Fantastic Universe*, which was arguably the best of all these magazines, and which had

made a serious effort to upgrade itself, also failed, folding in March 1960. These last few issues were of high quality. Santesson acquired some good fiction such as Howard Fast's story of evolution, 'The Large Ant', and contributions by John Brunner, Lester del Rey (including his story 'Mine Host, Mine Adversary', planned for the second issue of *Vanguard* a year before) and even Jorge Luis Borges ('The Rejected Sorcerer'). Unfortunately, *Fantastic Universe* could not hide the fact that it looked like a pulp magazine, and pulps were out. Nor would there have been any point investing huge sums of money to upgrade it to a slick magazine, because it would never have attracted the advertising. More to the point, it was an sf magazine at a time when the distributors and retailers and the market generally were against science fiction. Plans to drop *Fantastic Universe* were sudden because Santesson had just started the serialization of Fredric Brown's novel of alien possession, 'The Mind Thing', in the last issue. Readers would have to wait a year for the book publication to find out what happened. The publishers did plan a special one-shot magazine to use up the inventory of stories, but the projected *Summer SF* never appeared. In fact, during 1960 Great American Publications, under Henry Scharf, were in financial turmoil. Their main moneyspinner was *The Saint Mystery Magazine*, but Leslie Charteris, the creator of the Saint, who retained overall editorial veto, was unhappy with the quality of their publication and eventually cancelled the licence. The last issue under their aegis was dated August 1960. Great American cast around for other potential publications. They produced a new pulp magazine, *Tightrope!* (in April 1960), in pulp format, in the slot once occupied by *Fantastic Universe*, and another pulp, *77 Sunset Strip* (July 1960) as a spin-off from the popular television series. But distributors did not want new magazines, and neither magazine survived long enough to make an impact. The same happened to the horror magazine *Fear!*, which had two digest-sized issues in May and July 1960, and the American reprint edition of the British *New Worlds*, which saw just five issues from March to July 1960.

The final casualties of the blight were among the best loved of the magazines: *Future SF* and *Science Fiction Stories*. They had been admirably edited by Robert Lowndes, on and off, for nearly twenty years. Lowndes was a highly competent editor who could produce miracles on small budgets. He was intensely interested in his magazines, their contributors and their readers. Many editors took the attitude 'look after the magazine and it will look after the reader'. With Lowndes it was almost the other way round. His magazines were full of highly personalized editorials, in-depth reader and fan departments, and an overall feeling of 'we're all in this together'. When reading one of Lowndes' magazines you felt you belonged to one big family, which in the still small world of science fiction, in the 1950s, you did.

Lowndes had continued to publish good fiction in both magazines. Because of its increased monthly frequency, *Science Fiction Stories* was able to carry serials. These included L. Sprague de Camp's heroic romp from his Krishna series, 'The Tower of Zanid' (1958), about an adventurer's attempts to regain his lost kingdom, and the much overlooked 'Caduceus Wild' (1959), by Ward Moore and Robert Bradford. This is set in a medical-dominated future, in which it is an offence not to carry a doctor's health certificate, and it deals with the revolution of the 'mallies' – the unhealthy.

Several authors owe their first or early sales to Lowndes during this period. These include Thomas N. Scortia, who went on to become better known as the co-author of one of the books on which the film *The Towering Inferno* was based. Although his first sale, 'The Prodigy' (*Science Fiction Adventures*, March 1954), had been to Lester del Rey, most of his remaining sales in the fifties were to Lowndes. One of the best was 'Genius Loci' (*Science Fiction Stories*, September 1957), set on an alien world where human colonists are mysteriously affected by a plant blight. Scortia brought much of his knowledge as a qualified chemist to this intriguing story.

Lowndes also bought several stories by women writers, in particular Kate Wilhelm and Carol Emshwiller, the wife of artist Ed Emshwiller. Indeed, he bought Emshwiller's first five sales starting with 'The Thing Called Love' (*Future* #28, 1955). She brought a much-needed breath of originality to the field. During the 1950s no magazine worth its salt missed carrying a cover or interior artwork by Emsh, as he was better known. His talent was for portraying people, especially women, and what his covers may have lacked in originality, they usually compensated for in beauty. Along with Kelly Freas and Virgil Finlay, Emsh was one of the big three sf magazine artists of the fifties.

One of the last new authors Lowndes would buy for these magazines was R. A. Lafferty. His first sale was 'Day of the Glacier' (*Science Fiction Stories*, January 1960), about an imminent ice-age catastrophe, though even this betrayed some of the quirkiness and idiosyncracies for which Lafferty's fiction would later be renowned.

The last issues of *Future* and *Science Fiction Stories* were dated April and May 1960 respectively. It was not quite the end for *Science Fiction Stories*. Long-time fan James V. Taurasi bought the title from Louis Silberkleit. In December 1961 he issued a leaflet announcing the continuation of the magazine, under the title *The Original Science Fiction Stories*, and two privately printed issues appeared in the winters of 1962 and 1963. These two issues published some fiction, mostly unmemorable, and some fan articles by Sam Moskowitz, and are not usually reckoned among the professional sf magazines.

Even the surviving magazines did not escape entirely during this purge. *If* almost vanished from the stands. Throughout the fifties *If* had published good-quality fiction, and was certainly the best of the second tier of magazines. Arthur C. Clarke appeared regularly with stories such as his tale of solar sentience 'Out from the Sun' (February 1958) and the poignant 'Songs of Distant Earth' (June 1958), about a remote planetary colony and the repercussions when a starship lands for repairs. There were many stories by Lloyd Biggle, Harlan Ellison and Cordwainer Smith, and it was *If* that carried Isaac Asimov's clever twist on the computer age, 'The Feeling of Power' (February 1958).

Yet, despite these excellent stories, *If* was suffering like the rest. In an attempt to save it, Quinn brought in Damon Knight as editor. Knight's first issue, dated October 1958, has a slightly contrived feel. The contents page is headed 'A Short History of Space Travel' and the stories are listed in order of their chronological setting, ranging from AD 1950 to AD 32,000,000. This was almost certainly Quinn's idea rather than Knight's, especially as Knight had inherited most of the stories. Quinn was seeking to capture the new space-age market and had even launched a companion non-fiction magazine called *Space Age*, with its first issue dated November 1958. Aimed at providing the American public with the dejargonized story of the human conquest of space, this was Quinn's entry into the slick magazine stakes. It was edited by Martin Caidin, then an aviation consultant, and already the author of several books on rockets and space exploration. In later years he would become best known as the creator of Steve Austin, 'the six million dollar man', in his book *Cyborg* (1972).

Damon Knight had little opportunity to find his voice in *If*. If any of the issues represents his editorial taste it must be the third, dated February 1959, which had a pleasing if rather unpredictable mix of science fiction and off-beat stories. There's a whimsical piece by Fritz Leiber, 'Pipe Dream', mixing communists and mermaids; there's a moving story by Marion Zimmer Bradley, 'The Wind People', and highly idiosyncratic stories by Cordwainer Smith and David R. Bunch. If there is one author, though, who sets Knight's *If* apart, it is Richard McKenna, who in his all-too-short career became best known for the non-sf novel *The Sand Pebbles* (1962), based on his experiences in the Navy. Quinn had purchased McKenna's first short story, 'The Founding of Fishdollar Five', though had returned it for the author to severely edit to half its length, which caused McKenna much anguish. In that time, *F&SF* ended up publishing McKenna first with 'Casey Agonistes' (September 1958), just a week before the October *If* appeared. 'The Fishdollar Affair', as that first story was retitled, betrays the signs of its enforced editing in its staccato sentences and crisp descriptions, yet this somehow heightens the

atmosphere in this otherwise uncharacteristically light-hearted episode of space diplomacy. Knight subsequently allowed McKenna more room to explore his characters and locales, so that the other two stories that appeared in *If* are more polished and complete. Especially rewarding is 'The Night of Hoggly Darn' (December 1958), about an ecologist seeking to save a colony despite the colonists' hostility. Over the next four years McKenna established a sound reputation in the sf magazines before he died, suddenly, of heart failure at the age of 51, in November 1964.

Just as Damon Knight was getting to grips with *If*, Quinn decided that he had had enough. Circulation was not rising – almost certainly because of the distribution bottleneck. At scarcely a moment's notice he sold the magazine to Robert Guinn at Galaxy Publishing. He kept *Space Age* for a while, but that too foundered within a year. Quinn's romance with science fiction had lasted scarcely seven years, and under his overall control the contents had varied from exceptionally good, often bold, to embarrassingly bad. Nevertheless the magazine was always interesting and often challenging, and it had a strong core of followers.

There was a delay of almost half a year in the publication of *If* as it changed hands, and when it did reappear, with the issue dated July 1959, it was unheralded. For a year or two *If* was certainly the poor step-sister to *Galaxy* and Horace Gold did little to make it memorable. His heart was clearly in *Galaxy*, and probably the only reason he had been able to take *If* on was because *Galaxy* had gone bi-monthly in December 1958, which allowed *If* to slot into the alternate months. Gold later maintained that *If* gave him more leeway, the ability to use stories that were not *Galaxy* standard and also scope to develop new writers.<sup>22</sup> Although the latter is commendable (and a policy that Frederik Pohl would develop to good effect), the combination of new writers and substandard stories definitely gave *If* a feeling of second-best for a few years. Just how Frederik Pohl turned that round to make *If* one of the most exciting magazines of the 1960s is something I'll come back to later.

*Galaxy* had been undergoing its own, less traumatic, transformations. The shift to bi-monthly had been in part to help Horace Gold. His health was deteriorating, his agoraphobia was getting worse, and he was finding it harder to sustain a monthly schedule. Although Frederik Pohl is not listed as managing editor until June 1961 (which in effect meant March of that year), he was providing an increasing amount of editorial assistance from mid-1959. Even before the frequency shift, *Galaxy* had slightly altered its title. The cover, spine and masthead had always read *Galaxy Science Fiction*

22 Horace L. Gold, 'Looking Aft', *Galaxy* 36(9), October 1975, p. 29.



but from the September 1958 issue this changed to *Galaxy Magazine*.<sup>23</sup> Gold did not make any reference to it at the time but readers clearly commented, because a year later he had the following to say: 'we always intended to establish *Galaxy* as a science fiction magazine, then drop the term because it scares many people away from buying'.<sup>24</sup> Here is further proof, if any were needed, that by the end of the 1950s science fiction, which had been such a growth industry at the start of the decade, was now becoming a liability in the market. In his autobiography, Frederik Pohl relates a story of publisher Robert M. Guinn's direct experience with distributors. Near Guinn's summer home was a big news-stand that sold only two copies of *Galaxy* a month. The proprietor said he had asked for more but the distributors would not bother. Guinn brought 50 issues of *Galaxy* to the stand and 46 of them sold. Guinn brought this evidence to the distributor, asking him to increase the numbers he sold. His response was: 'Why, no, Mr Guinn, I wouldn't care to do that and, because of that dealer's presumption, we won't ship him any copies of *Galaxy* at all, any more.'<sup>25</sup>

Science fiction needed to pull itself up by its bootstraps and re-establish its respectability. And what had been damaged in only a few short years took much longer to rebuild. It would not be until the mid-sixties that the next sf revolution would take place.

Early in 1960, long-time fan Earl Kemp circulated a questionnaire under the heading 'Who Killed Science Fiction?'. It went to 108 writers, artists, editors and fans, and he received 70 responses. The general opinion was that magazine science fiction was not dead, but that it was not well. The reasons for this were many and varied, and most of the points have already been discussed in this chapter. Certainly a strong point to emerge was that science fiction was injured by poor competition. P. Schuyler Miller emphasized the point by saying that 'the unutterably bad movies hurt the good magazines'.<sup>26</sup> It was an issue raised by Barry Malzberg twenty years later, showing that the problem had not gone away: 'Science Fiction is the only branch of literature whose poorer examples are almost invariably used by critics outside the form to attack all of it'.<sup>27</sup> The challenge is always there to ensure that all science fiction is good science fiction – which is impossible in sf just as it is in any artistic endeavour. It seems that science fiction is never forgiven its indiscretions, at least not by those outside the sf field. This leads to the related issue of the very nature of science fiction. One of the conclusions of

23 The indicia took a further month to catch up.

24 'Forecast', *Galaxy* 17(6), August 1959, p. 194.

25 Pohl, *The Way the Future Was*, pp. 232–33.

26 P. Schuyler Miller, 'The Reference Library', *Analog* 66(4), December 1960, p. 162.

27 Malzberg, *The Engines of the Night*, p. 175.

Kemp's survey was that science fiction was a 'minor branch of fiction, appealing to a minority of readers'.<sup>28</sup> The question was the extent to which science fiction should be judged by mainstream standards. Independent of Kemp's survey, but at the same time, John Campbell gave his views on the distinction between science fiction and mainstream literature:

Science-fiction doesn't fit into the mainstream of literature, and, so long as it is science-fiction, won't. The fundamental difference is this: the mainstream serious novel tries to show the effect of experiences on the individual who is the central character. Science-fiction tries to explore the effect of experiences on the group entity – culture, race, or confederation of races – which is, in fact, the central character.<sup>29</sup>

Campbell's argument holds little water. He is considering a difference of viewpoint and scale, not a difference of style, or technique, or approach. Many fans, readers and writers were coming to the view that science fiction had to be part of the mainstream and judged on the same terms, and that until it was, it would always remain a backwater, and would always be judged by the standards of its poorest examples. In other words, this was the science-fiction ghetto that writers rebelled against in the mid-sixties. To get out of it not only science fiction but society had to change, and all this took time.

Taking the opposite view to Campbell was Judith Merrill, who charted the progress of science fiction through her annual selection of the year's best works. She observed that sf as the prodigal son seemed at last to be returning to the main body of literature, but she recognized that literature was 'not prepared to meet us on the grounds of our own choosing – and certainly not to recognize us by the identity we assumed "outside"'.<sup>30</sup> In short, science fiction had to grow up.

Merrill's view was supported by Ray Russell, the fiction editor of *Playboy*. Although Russell was himself a devotee of science fiction, and had occasionally sold to the sf magazines, he was only too conscious of the cliqueness of science fiction and felt that sf had become too inward-looking. When asked what was wrong with science fiction he remarked: 'Tired ideas, jerry-built plots, non-characters, tissue-thin writing, and that chief offender of all, dull-dull-dullness and lack of color, spark, verve, zizz, life.' As if that were not enough he added that sf writers should 'emerge from their shells, remember they live in the world, and be perhaps a trifle more

28 Schuyler Miller, 'The Reference Library'.

29 John W. Campbell, Jr, in 'Brass Tacks', *Analog* 66(4), December 1960, p. 177.

30 Judith Merrill (ed.), *7th Annual Edition of the Year's Best S-F* (New York: Dell Books, 1963), p. 392.

concerned about communicating with and pleasing the reader rather than only communicating with and pleasing themselves and their buddies'.<sup>31</sup>

Science fiction needed a major transformation if it was going to survive.

1959–60 saw the surviving magazines licking their wounds and looking for safe ground. As part of its package for going bi-monthly, *Galaxy* increased its extent from 144 to 192 pages. (The cover blurb boasted that the magazine ran to 196 pages, but that counted all four pages of the cover.) At the same time the price increased from 35 cents to 50 cents, making it the most expensive magazine on the market. Gold's editorial emphasized the increase in size and wordage compared to rival magazines – implying that it was almost 50 per cent bigger, while referring briefly to a price rise of 'only' 15 cents. In fact the page extent had increased by 33 per cent, while the price had increased by 43 per cent, though the switch to bi-monthly meant that the overall annual cost was less, which meant that *Galaxy* was able to keep its subscription rate the same. Unknown to readers was the fact that *Galaxy* had also cut its payment rates to authors. *Galaxy* had paid three, sometimes four, cents a word but from 1959 this was cut by half. With the reduced schedule this meant that, despite the increase in extent, Guinn was able to save over \$12,000 in a year on the fiction budget alone.

All of these changes were a gamble, because there was strong reaction from both readers and writers. The changes also indicated that *Galaxy* was in trouble, and pushed the magazine into one of its darkest periods. Guinn, however, was prepared to take those risks. *Galaxy* had the highest circulation of the sf magazines – around 90,000 – and the overall package was a significant saving to the publisher, allowing him to lose a few readers if necessary. In fact *Galaxy's* circulation did drop steadily by about 10,000 over the next couple of years, but that was well within Guinn's safety zone.

The loyal readers of the sf magazines would continue to buy them whatever happened, but it was important for the magazine to capture the transient readers, who were quite a significant number. It was necessary, therefore, to present a strong package, and there was no doubt that the new '196'-page *Galaxy*, printed on thicker paper to appear even bigger, did look substantial. However, let us consider just how genuine that was by comparing the price and sizes of all the magazines in 1959 (see Table 1).

It doesn't take much to see that the new *Galaxy* offered even less in terms of quantity than it had before the size increase, and even then it was near the bottom of the pile. The new format placed it only slightly above the cheapest of the magazines in terms of cost, layout and production. The only

31 Ray Russell, letter in *PITFCS* #134, March 1960. See Theodore R. Cogswell (ed.), *PITFCS: Proceedings of the Institute for Twenty-First Century Studies* (Chicago: Advent, 1992), p. 74.

**Table 1** *Comparative cost of science-fiction magazines in the US in 1959*

<i>Magazine</i>	<i>Price per issue</i>	<i>Pages per issue</i>	<i>Average wordage per issue</i>	<i>Number of words bought for 1¢</i>
<i>Astounding</i>	35¢	160	70,000	2,000
<i>Amazing Stories</i>	35¢	144	60,000	1,714
<i>Satellite SF</i> (large format)	35¢	64	57,000	1,629
<i>Fantastic Universe</i> (neo-pulp format)	35¢	128	55,500	1,585
<i>Fantastic Universe</i> (digest format)	35¢	128	53,500	1,528
<i>Fantastic</i>	35¢	128	48,300	1,380
<i>If</i>	35¢	128	47,500	1,357
<i>Galaxy</i> (old size)	35¢	144	47,500	1,357
<i>F&amp;SF</i>	40¢	128	53,000	1,325
<i>Galaxy</i> (new size)	50¢	192	63,000	1,260
<i>Super-Science Fiction</i>	35¢	128	42,000	1,200
<i>Science Fiction</i>	35¢	128	40,000	1,143
<i>Future SF</i>	35¢	128	40,000	1,143

reason *F&SF* also appears so low is because its price had just risen from 35 cents, otherwise it would be about mid-range. *Astounding* offered far more in quantity for its price than any other magazine, and even when it increased its price to 50 cents towards the end of the year, it still exceeded *Galaxy*, though dropped to about mid-range.

Costs were certainly rising. Joseph Ferman spelled out the full details when notifying readers of the price rise of *F&SF* to 40 cents in February 1959:

You may be interested to know what has been happening to publication costs during the past ten years; paper costs have gone up by 38%, composition, printing, binding and handling costs have gone up by 32%, postage costs have gone up from 33% to 60%, and various other costs have risen as much or more since 1949 when *F&SF* was first launched.<sup>32</sup>

32 Joseph W. Ferman, 'An Open Letter to Our Readers', *F&SF* 16(2), February 1959, p. 4.

*Astounding* eventually raised its price to 50 cents in November 1959. During the year Street & Smith had experimented with selling copies in specific areas at the increased price in order to assess whether it harmed sales. Unfortunately full details of this study were not printed, but from Campbell's comments in the October issue's 'In Times to Come' it is apparent that sales were not adversely affected since readers appreciated that costs were rising.

In fact much more significant changes were in hand at *Astounding*, perhaps the most significant transformation of all. Starting with the February 1960 issue, *Astounding* began to phase out its old name and introduce a new one, *Analog*. The thinking was that the magazine needed a name more relevant to the space age, something which demonstrated that science fiction was analogous to science fact. And that's exactly how the full title was expressed. Campbell even invented a new symbol,  $\Leftrightarrow$ , to stand for 'analogous' in *Analog Science Fact  $\Leftrightarrow$  Science Fiction*. Inevitably there were complaints, which Campbell more or less ignored, although now and again his temper boiled over, with comments such as 'we're changing from an inappropriate to an appropriate title',<sup>33</sup> or more generally, 'It's a curious thing that readers have long accepted that lack-of-change is proof of a static and/or decadent system – yet object so loudly when the principle is applied'.<sup>34</sup> In Campbell's mind there was no debate.

The change was complete by the October 1960 issue. It was less subtle than the change at *Galaxy* but arose from the same cause. It was time for *Astounding* to rid itself of the stigma of the old comic-book aura of the sf magazines and enter a new age. *Analog* was science fiction for the seriously scientifically minded, of all ages, but it was not going to pander to the monster-movie or UFO fanatic, even though Campbell persisted in his fascination for alternative sciences.

There was one more change we should note here, less obvious but also significant. At the end of 1961 the venerable firm of Street & Smith, which had existed since 1855, was taken over by Condé Nast. The change was effective from the February 1962 *Analog*, although to all outward appearances nothing had changed. Within a year, however, there would be a major change, to which I shall return in due course.

By 1961, therefore, not only were there only six surviving sf magazines in the United States, but all had undergone changes, either in editor, publisher, size, shape, price or even policy. We can now turn to look at the consequences of those changes and how sf survived into the sixties.

33 See Campbell's letter comment in *Astounding SF* 65(2), April 1960, p. 175.

34 Comment by Campbell on a letter in *Astounding/Analog SF* 66(1), September 1960, p. 157.

## 6

# The Times they are a-Changing

### Quality not Quantity

With only six surviving US sf magazines it would have been only right to expect that quality would improve. Now there were no longer the opportunist publishers who thought sf would provide a quick profit and who had little interest in the field. The markets could pick the cream of the material available. It was going to be harder on the new, upcoming writer, but good editors should always be on the lookout for rising talent, and therefore quality would prevail.

In fact the market was even smaller than six, because there were only four editors in the United States and one in Britain. At the close of 1960, the four were John W. Campbell, Jr, at *Analog*, Horace L. Gold (soon to be Fredrik Pohl) at *Galaxy* and *If*, Robert P. Mills (soon to be Avram Davidson) at *F&SF*, and Cele Goldsmith at *Amazing Stories* and *Fantastic*. In Britain, it was John Carnell at *New Worlds*, *Science Fantasy* and *Science Fiction Adventures*.

The big three remained *Astounding*, *Galaxy* and *F&SF*. Some measure of their dominance of the field can be assessed from the Hugo awards, given at the annual World Science Fiction Convention. Although they had first been awarded in 1953, they did not settle down to a consistent basis until the 1958 convention in Los Angeles. That year saw the award for best magazine go to *F&SF*, while both the winning novel and short story, Fritz Leiber's 'The Big Time' and Avram Davidson's tale of aliens incognito, 'Or All the Seas With Oysters', came from *Galaxy*. With the Detroit convention in 1959 the picture became more concrete. Hitherto the awards had been decided by a straight vote. Now stories were first nominated and then a selection of the nominations were put forward to a final ballot. In the novelle and short story categories there were a total of 18 stories nominated.

The tally by magazine gives seven each to *Astounding* and *F&SF*, and one each to *If*, *Venture*, *Vanguard* and the anthology *Star SF 4*. The winners, 'The Big Front Yard' by Clifford Simak and 'That Hellbound Train' by Robert Bloch (which was really a fantasy rather than sf), came from *Astounding* and *F&SF* respectively.

*Galaxy* was noticeable by its absence, and the record repeated itself at the 1960 convention, where in the now combined Best Short Fiction category there were five nominations, four from *F&SF* and one from *Astounding*. It was won by 'Flowers for Algernon' by Daniel Keyes from *F&SF*. *F&SF* also won the Best Magazine award. Perhaps even more worrying for *Galaxy* was that it was not even nominated for Best Magazine in the 1961 awards, nor were any of its stories for the other categories.

The absence of *Galaxy* from these awards might suggest that during the late 1950s Gold had been losing his touch. Alternatively, it might suggest that Gold was ahead of the game and that fans who voted for the Hugo awards were still clinging to old preferences. Whichever way you looked at it, however, the cost-cutting measures that Guinn had instigated at the start of 1959, under the pretext of a bigger, bolder *Galaxy*, were not improving the situation.

Re-reading *Galaxy* from the period 1956–59 shows that its contents were still of a consistently high quality, but in many ways a consolidation of what had gone before. The refreshing newness that had come with *Galaxy* in the period 1950–55 had dulled a little. It was still there – no one else published stories like those in *Galaxy* – but they were now expected. There were reliable, enjoyable and rewarding stories, but they were also predictable. Damon Knight, Robert Sheckley, Frederik Pohl, Clifford Simak – the faithfuls who had remained with Gold when others (Dick, Asimov, Farmer) grew tired of him – continued to provide first-class stories, but nothing more than was expected. It is perhaps pertinent that the one story from *Galaxy* that did win a Hugo in the late fifties, 'Or All the Seas With Oysters' by Avram Davidson, was not a typical *Galaxy* story, but one that you might have expected to find in *F&SF*. And yet any volume of stories selected from *Galaxy* between 1956 and 1959 would still entertain today. It might include such excellent stories as 'The Deaths of Ben Baxter' by Robert Sheckley (July 1957), 'Time Waits for Winthrop' by William Tenn (August 1957), 'To Marry Medusa' by Theodore Sturgeon (August 1958), 'The Wizards of Pung's Corners' by Frederik Pohl (October 1958), 'Ullward's Retreat' by Jack Vance (December 1958), 'A Death in the House' by Clifford Simak (October 1959), and 'The Lady Who Sailed the Soul' by Cordwainer Smith (April 1960).

There were even some appearances which now come as a surprise looking back over forty years. Alan Arkin, later to become much better known

as a film actor, sold two stories to Gold in the mid-fifties: 'Whiskaboom' (August 1955) and 'People Soup' (November 1958). Neither is a typical *Galaxy* story, but then neither is especially good of either. Both are about children who seem to be able to create things out of nothing. Another surprise appearance was that of Thomas Mann's daughter, Elizabeth Mann Borgese, with 'True Self' (October 1959). This is a challengingly surreal story about psychological and physical reconstruction, and again is out of the ordinary for *Galaxy*. Although these stories are the exceptions rather than the rule they show, along with the work by Avram Davidson, that Horace Gold did try to ring the changes from time to time, even though it was only partially appreciated.

But once the cost-cutting exercise took hold, hardly any of these major authors remained with *Galaxy*, and what few of their works did appear had almost all been acquired previously. Gold did start to usher in some new talent – Keith Laumer, Fred Saberhagen, R. A. Lafferty – but these authors had yet to develop their skills. During 1960 *Galaxy* was at its bleakest. Scarcely a single story stood out, despite the case argued by Gold just a year earlier, that the bi-monthly schedule allowed him to select better quality material. Judith Merrill picked only two stories from *Galaxy* for her annual best collection. It was scarcely surprising that *Galaxy's* circulation was dropping. The quality of the magazine was not keeping pace with the price-rise promises.

In the end fate took over. Gold had a car accident, which seriously impaired his ability to operate and, combined with his poor health, forced him into early retirement. Although he remained nominally editor until the October 1961 issue, Frederik Pohl had taken over the helm at least six months earlier.

Pohl did not go out of his way to make immediate changes. On the whole he felt that *Galaxy* had a good pedigree and a sound policy. But it needed the payment rates improved, and the schedule changed back to monthly, and a face-lift. It took several years of arguing with Robert Guinn before Pohl made inroads on the first two counts, and he was never really successful on the third. In fact the magazines looked cheap and third-rate, and in appearance were the worst on the market. A year after Pohl's arrival, the printer made a mess of the September 1962 issue of *If*, and this gave them the opportunity to find a new printer. But it was only a minor face-lift. Guinn was not prepared to invest any more money in the magazines than he had to. They were going to have to earn their fortunes.

And Pohl began to make that happen. Writers who had grown tired of Gold were prepared to check Pohl out. Within the space of a year *Galaxy's* contents began to sparkle again. It wasn't the same as the old *Galaxy*. Not only was there a new man at the helm, but it was a new time – the sixties.



Attitudes were changing. Not just science fiction but all fiction was undergoing something of a sea change. The roots of the change had been in the Beat Movement, a reaction against society, which had started to emerge in San Francisco and New York in the mid-fifties. Writers associated with the movement, such as Jack Kerouac, Norman Mailer and Henry Miller, began to produce more off-beat, hard-hitting realistic novels. This tied in with a separate movement of hard-boiled fiction which had emerged from the pulps in the thirties and forties and developed considerably in the paperback market during the 1950s with writers such as Jim Thompson, Nelson Algren and Charles Willeford. The writer who became most closely associated with all of this change, and who had the biggest impact on science fiction, was William Burroughs. The full impact was still two or three years away, and will be explored in more detail in the next chapter, but some of its influence was already being seen in *Galaxy* more than in the other magazines. There is no better example than 'The Beat Cluster' by Fritz Leiber, illustrated on the cover of the October 1961 issue. Leiber depicts the Beatniks of the Beat Movement dissociating themselves from Earth and living in orbit in satellite bubbles where they play their guitars and remain 'way out'. It was not obvious at the time, but soon the Beat Movement would overwhelm science fiction.

Pohl also attracted to *Galaxy* new stories by Cordwainer Smith and Jack Vance. Although both of these had contributed to *Galaxy* before, they were not typical of the magazine and had, indeed, both suffered from Gold's editorial dictates. Pohl gave them a much greater rein and as a consequence their linguistic and artistic pyrotechnics soon began to transform *Galaxy* into a vibrant magazine. Vance's 'The Moon Moth' (August 1961) packs an amazing amount about an alien culture into a comparatively short story (even though it's billed as a 'novella'), while Smith's 'A Planet Named Shayol' (October 1961) was a grim and unsettling portrayal of a prison planet. In both stories the authors force you to look at other societies in a new way.

Within a year, Pohl must have gained much satisfaction when Vance's 'The Dragon Masters' (August 1962), another wonderful creation of an alien society, won the Hugo award as that year's best short fiction. It was the first story from *Galaxy* to be *nominated* for a Hugo, let alone win, for four years. Clearly Pohl was getting things right.

In the following issue (October 1962) Pohl ran Cordwainer Smith's beautiful story 'The Ballad of Lost C'mell', which was illustrated on the cover by no less than Virgil Finlay. This is amongst the best of Smith's Instrumentality series, and is another treasure of plot, construction and luxuriant language. In the space of a little over a year, Vance and Smith had given *Galaxy* a brand new feel. Here now was a magazine that revelled in exploring an

exotic alienness, and in publishing stories that were light-years away from the hard science of *Analog*. The closest *Galaxy* came to an *Analog*-type story was in Poul Anderson's serial 'The Day After Doomsday' (December 1961–February 1962), though even here we have an odyssey around alien worlds as explorers search for the culture which destroyed Earth. Stories by Algis Budrys, Jack Sharkey, Margaret St Clair, R. A. Lafferty, Ray Bradbury and even Frederik Pohl himself all challenged the conventions of Gold's *Galaxy* and turned it into an altogether new and different magazine. Just now and again Pohl published a more conventional story, as with Hal Clement's 'Hot Planet' (August 1963), where scientists struggle to survive on Mercury, though even here the true alien nature of Mercury is uppermost. And Pohl was not averse to publishing stories that highlighted social unrest and inequality, as in Brian Aldiss's satire 'Comic Inferno' or Clifford Simak's downbeat 'Day of Truce' (both February 1963), but the overall feel of *Galaxy* during the early sixties was of a magazine that had cast aside its old clothing and had put on a coat of many colours.

In September 1962, Robert Guinn brought in Sol Cohen to help him in the administration of the magazine production. Cohen became the publisher of *Galaxy* and *If*, while Guinn remained the proprietor. Pohl now had two people to haggle with rather than one, and this made his efforts to return *Galaxy* to a monthly schedule and to improve the payment rates even more of a struggle. But struggle he did. Both Guinn and Cohen were hesitant. *Galaxy* was showing a profit, so why risk it? The reverse argument applied to *If*, which was making a loss that could only be aggravated by increased frequency. Pohl felt he could not win either way. He exploded and the result took the wind right out of his sails: a new magazine, *Worlds of Tomorrow*, the first new sf magazine since *Vanguard*'s brief appearance five years earlier.

The original idea was that *Worlds of Tomorrow* would be a monthly, but Guinn and Cohen got cold feet at the last minute and it appeared as a bi-monthly, the first issue appearing in the last week in January 1963 (dated April). It had a similar cover design and presentation to *Galaxy*, and though thinner, at 160 pages, it used smaller type so that the wordage was close to that of *Galaxy*. It had some impressive names on the cover: Arthur C. Clarke, Murray Leinster, Robert Silverberg and popular newcomer Keith Laumer. Clarke's work was the advance serialization of his book *Dolphin Island* under the title 'People of the Sea'. This had been written for younger readers and told of the adventures of a teenager rescued by dolphins. The remaining contents were slightly uneven, ranging from Fritz Leiber's 'X Marks the Pedwalk' and Silverberg's 'To See the Invisible Man', both competent but inconsequential stories of oppressive future societies, to Leinster's 'Third

Planet', about a devastating future war, and Laumer's 'The Long Remembered Thunder', an enjoyable, almost old-fashioned, story about parallel worlds, which is perhaps the best story in the issue.

With the second issue, dated June 1963, a slight pattern started to emerge. There was again a story of the social aspects of a future class-dominated society in John Brunner's 'The Totally Rich', a tense space adventure in 'A Guest of Ganymede' by C. C. MacApp, a rather introspective story of a spaceman's dilemma, 'Spaceman on a Spree' by Mack Reynolds, and a humorous account of the encounter between humanity and the Galactic Union in Keith Laumer's 'The Star-Sent Knaves'. These stories all read very much like a Gold issue of *Galaxy*, although they were not quite as crisp or as sharp. Consciously or otherwise, *Worlds of Tomorrow* was becoming an ersatz *Galaxy*, but although enjoyable, it paled by comparison.

The second issue also gave space to R. C. W. Ettinger with 'The Prospect of Immortality'. This explores his theories about cryonics, the science of preserving terminally ill people in a frozen state until such time as their illness could be cured. It created a considerable stir at the time, following its discussion on radio, and caused that issue to sell out. Alas, it didn't lead to a rush in subscriptions.

During its run *Worlds of Tomorrow* was too often maligned as a second-rate *Galaxy*, even though it did publish some good stories. Brian Aldiss's 'The Dark Light-Years' (April 1964) was perhaps the most original in the early years. It should also be remembered for Philip K. Dick's complex novel of anachronistic disaster, 'All We Marsmen' (August–December 1963; published in book form as *Martian Time-Slip*, 1964) and 'Little Dog Gone' by Robert F. Young (February 1964), an almost Simakian story of an inter-dimensional alien, which was one of the few stories from *Worlds of Tomorrow* to be nominated for a Hugo award. It will probably be best remembered for resurrecting the Riverworld series by Philip José Farmer. This had started out as the novel *I Owe for the Flesh*, which won the Shasta competition in 1954 but which was never published because Shasta went bust. It tells of the entirety of humankind being reborn along the banks of a vast river. The original manuscript was lost. Farmer was long embittered about the affair, which set his career back, but ten years later Pohl encouraged Farmer to rework the novel. Inevitably it ended up not as one novel, but as a long series. It appeared as several novelettes in *Worlds of Tomorrow*, starting with 'The Day of the Great Shout' (December 1965). The first set of stories were later published in book form as *To Your Scattered Bodies Go* (Putnam, 1971) and went on to win a Hugo award.

Whereas *Worlds of Tomorrow* followed in the footsteps of *Galaxy*, *If* was following a track of its own. Both Gold and Pohl regarded *If* as a step-sister to

*Galaxy*, but one that had never quite been taken into the family. Under Gold, *If* was slightly neglected, being used as a backfill for *Galaxy*. At least Pohl recognized that the magazine should have an identity, but for a while his efforts went into *Galaxy*, and were then sidetracked by *Worlds of Tomorrow*, and any plans to develop *If* were delayed. In all probability this worked in the magazine's favour, because instead of being moulded into a contrived alternative to *Galaxy*, it steadily developed a personality of its own.

An early trait of this was noticeable in the November 1961 issue, though it wasn't obvious at the time. This saw the first episode in the serialization of 'Masters of Space', a novel by old-time fan E. Everett Evans, who had died before he had finished it, and which had been completed by E. E. Smith. A story more of super-psi than super-science, it was really below par for *If*, but had both a nostalgic appeal and a sense of fun, and it was this which began to typify *If* over the next few years. *If*'s secret weapon was Keith Laumer. Although Laumer had been a discovery of Cele Goldsmith at *Amazing Stories*, he made his home in the *Galaxy* group of magazines and especially in *If*, where he produced a series of stories about interstellar diplomat Jame Retief, who had to resolve problems arising between bumbling Terran officials and aliens. The first story in the series had appeared in *Fantastic* and was serious, but when they switched to *If*, starting with 'The Frozen Planet' (September 1961), the stories took on a broad streak of humour.

Pohl used *If* as a forum for developing new writers. Prompted by a letter from Clayton Hamling, who was bemoaning the lack of markets to enable new writers to develop their skills, Pohl inaugurated a policy of publishing the first story by a new author in every issue. It soon became known as the 'If-first' slot, and rather than implying that these were raw authors still learning their craft, Pohl made a celebration out of it. It worked remarkably well, and the list of authors who emerged in this slot over the next few years is impressive. The first 'first' was Joseph Green with 'Once Around Arcturus' (September 1962). Pohl had held on to this story for several months, so by the time it appeared Green had already been published in the British magazine *New Worlds*, starting with 'The Engineer' (February 1962), the first in a series about planetary colonists later published as *The Loafers of Refuge* (1965). Later 'If-firsts' included Gary Wright ('Captain of the Kali', January 1963), Robert Lory ('Rundown', May 1963), Bruce McAllister ('The Faces Outside', July 1963), Alexei Panshin ('Down to the Worlds of Men', July 1963), Norman Kagan ('The Mathenauts', July 1964), Robert E. Margroff ('Monster Tracks', October 1964) and above all Larry Niven with 'The Coldest Place' (December 1964). Niven recalled that scarcely had his story been set in print than it was out of date: it relied on the revelation that the

coldest place in the universe was the dark side of Mercury, but space probes had discovered that Mercury did revolve. Science has a habit of spoiling fiction in this way from time to time, as with Isaac Asimov's spoof vignette 'Everest', which was purchased by Raymond Palmer for *Universe* just at the time when Mount Everest was conquered.

These were not the only new writers in *If*. C. C. MacApp had first appeared in the May 1960 issue and was now a regular in all three magazines, often with his Gree series about alien domination. Fred Saberhagen had first appeared in the February 1961 *Galaxy* and soon developed a strong following for his Berserker stories of alien robot war machines.

In addition to these new writers, Pohl also acquired material from many of the great names of the past. He serialized three novels by Robert Heinlein starting with his last juvenile novel, 'Podkayne of Mars' (November 1962–March 1963). The next two made a greater impact: 'Farnham's Freehold' in 1964 and the Hugo-winning 'The Moon is a Harsh Mistress' in 1965–66. Pohl himself teamed up with Jack Williamson to produce two excellent adventure novels, 'The Reefs of Space' in 1963 and 'Starchild' (1965). But arguably his greatest coup was bringing A. E. van Vogt back to the sf magazines after a desertion of 14 years with 'The Expendables' (September 1963), about the confrontation between human and alien forces. Pohl acquired further van Vogt stories and although these later works lacked the originality and sheer daring of his early writings, his name remained a significant lure. Long-time fan Richard Kyle wrote in to say that '[this] September issue of *If* is the first I've bought in a few issues. Van Vogt's story sold it to me, of course. I got my money's worth. It is certainly a pleasure to have him back in science fiction.'<sup>1</sup>

Pohl was certainly pressing all the right buttons. He had fun with *If*, and it showed. The March 1963 issue was illustrated throughout, including the cover, by Virgil Finlay. The May 1964 *If* was an all-Smith issue. In addition to new writer Jack Smith, and old faithful George O. Smith, there was an Instrumentality story by Cordwainer Smith and 'The Imperial Stars' by Edward E. Smith, the original Family d'Alembert novelette that was later developed into a series.<sup>2</sup> Pohl eventually got his reward and, with the July 1964 issue, *If* went monthly. This gave him more scope with serials and better continuity with the magazine overall, and it was the final link in the chain that set *If* on the road to stardom.

1 Richard Kyle, letter in 'Hue and Cry', *If* 13(6), January 1964, p. 129.

2 By one of those odd coincidences, when E. E. Smith died in September 1965 his obituary ran in the December 1965 *If*. That was the same issue which carried the first story by Stephen Goldin, who, a decade later, assumed Smith's mantle to continue the Family d'Alembert series.

In the three years since he took over the editorship of *Galaxy*, Frederik Pohl had succeeded admirably in developing his family of magazines. *Galaxy* remained pre-eminent in its publication of exotic and, above all, different stories and ideas, while *If* had become an ideal companion with creative, often light-hearted, always refreshing stories. *Worlds of Tomorrow*, albeit not on a par with the others, was still a long-stop for the old-style *Galaxy* stories. Harlan Ellison later observed that 'for all his cantankerous, albeit friendly, canards [Pohl] remains one of the truest judges of writing ability the field of imaginative literature has ever produced'.<sup>3</sup> It was that ability, along with his perspicacity and tenacity, that allowed Pohl to shepherd his magazines through the wilderness of the early sixties and make them among the most exciting and rewarding publications of their day.

### **Feel the Quality, Not the Width!**

At *Analog*, John W. Campbell was having his own challenges. Apart from the name change, *Analog* continued much as before. In fact there had been a remarkable consistency to the old *Astounding*. On the appearance side what few changes there had been were almost all for the better – a switch to better quality paper, which allowed reproduction of photographs, made the magazine look slightly slimmer than its bulkier paper counterpart, but it looked the better for it. Apart from a few experiments with coloured spines, the magazine had a uniform darkness about it, and the covers, for the most part alternating between Kelly Freas and Henry van Dongen, were seldom sensationalistic, but often stark and severe. There was a feeling with *Analog*, even before you opened it, that here was a magazine that took itself seriously and was not to be meddled with.

The content also remained remarkably similar. Campbell still ruled the roost with his dictatorial and sometimes cranky editorials. The fiction was always of high quality, often challenging and even controversial. Although one could argue that Campbell had settled into a rut – too often he used the same authors and too often the themes were similar: Terran domination of the universe, humankind always triumphant, and the need to control the power of the mind and other psychic sciences – you could never accuse him of complacency. It was always worth checking out *Astounding* because there would always be something there that would stimulate or intrigue. It was the magazine for the reader with the exploring mind. In many ways, apart from the emphasis on psi-powers, it was the one true extrapolative

3 Harlan Ellison, 'Memoir', *Starship* Summer 1980, p. 13.

hard-science magazine remaining – although its British counterpart, *New Worlds*, might have challenged that statement. In 1961 and 1962 it won the Hugo award for the best magazine (for the years 1960 and 1961). Yet looking back on those issues, forty years on, there are few stories that stand out. One could single out ‘Monument’ by Lloyd Biggle, Jr (June 1961), in which an early freebooting settler on a planet is able to prepare the natives to hold out against future colonists; or ‘Lion Loose’ by James H. Schmitz (October 1961), an exciting story of a vicious telekinetic lion-like alien on board ship. Then there were the serials. ‘The Fisherman’ by Clifford Simak (April to July 1961), later published as *Time is the Simplest Thing*, reveals that humanity can only travel in space by telepathic means, resulting in a mind-link with a bizarre alien. ‘Sense of Obligation’ by Harry Harrison (September–November 1961, published in book form as *Planet of the Damned*) is an almost forgotten spiritual successor to *Deathworld* (though not part of that series) exploring the doomed and dangerous planet Dis. One serial that was much welcomed was ‘A Life for the Stars’ (September–October 1962) by James Blish, a long overdue story in his Okie series of space-travelling cities. *Analog* also began to publish several socio-political scientific thrillers by Mack Reynolds, such as those exploring the future of Africa in ‘Black Man’s Burden’ (December 1961–January 1962) and ‘Border, Breed Nor Birth’ (July–August 1962).<sup>4</sup>

Readable and enjoyable though these stories are, the main reason that most are less well remembered than the stories emerging in *Galaxy* is because they are more dated. Campbell was publishing the best of the old, whereas Pohl was encouraging the best of the new. In fact in the case of some of Mack Reynolds’ near-future thrillers, such as ‘Mercenary’ (April 1962), the events of the 1960s and 1970s overtook them all too quickly. *Analog* had become staid and predictable. At the 1963 World Science Fiction Convention (for the year 1962), not a single story from *Analog* was nominated for an award and *Analog* lost out to *F&SF* in the Best Magazine category.

With the sale of Street & Smith to Condé Nast, *Analog* received a face-lift. One change was instantly noticeable. The cover borders and spines were white and the paintings brighter. The darkness of the fifties was cast aside. Although van Dongen continued to paint the occasional covers, Kelly Freas stepped aside and new artists John Schoenherr and Lloyd Birmingham began to produce stylish and captivating covers. Schoenherr’s realistic image of satellites orbiting the moon on the March 1962 cover is very attractive, while his more symbolic cover of a giant hand stirring the clouds into a hurricane for ‘The Weather Man’ by Theodore Thomas was highly eye-catching.

4 Interestingly, the first story in this sequence, ‘Farmer’, appeared in *Galaxy* (June 1961).

Yet more changes were afoot. With the March 1963 issue *Analog* switched from digest to flat size. This was the same size as the slick magazines that were the main moneyspinners of Condé Nast: *Mademoiselle*, *Vogue*, *Vanity Fair* and *Gentleman's Quarterly*. *Analog* was Condé Nast's only digest-size magazine – in fact it had already been an anomaly at Street & Smith, but was left alone. Condé Nast forced it to change, and the reason was that advertisers' plates were set up to fit the standard size of the slick magazines. The slicks relied on their advertising income to survive – they were far too expensive to rely purely on revenue from sales. *Analog* was brought into line, or at least half way. It now conformed to the standard 'flat' size, but only the front and back signatures were on glossy paper, to carry adverts and scientific features. The rest of the magazine was on what Campbell called 'Antique' stock, which was closer to book paper than to pulp. Campbell, who normally chastised readers reluctant to change, seemed himself rather truculent when announcing the change, with the comment: 'Fiction and fiction illustrations don't belong on slick paper'.<sup>5</sup>

The new-size *Analog* looked a little out of place. It hadn't changed in any other way to take advantage of the new size; it was just the old *Analog* 'writ large'. The new size gave it a better display on the news-stands and circulation did rise by about 5 per cent, though it is difficult to be sure whether this was due to the new size alone, because circulation continued to rise even after it reverted to digest. Apart from the fact that the new size allowed John Schoenherr's cover paintings to be shown to good effect, it was difficult to see any benefit from the change. In the end Condé Nast had to admit it too. Despite all their efforts to encourage advertising, the advertisers did not believe that a science-fiction magazine was suitable for their promotions. *Analog* reverted to digest size with the April 1965 issue, and has remained digest ever since.

It's easier to say that the fiction appearing in the large-format *Analog* was more of the same, and to a large extent it was. Some short fiction did register more strongly than others. Rick Raphael's work was ideal *Analog* fiction, portraying worlds trying to adapt to new technology. 'The Thirst Quenchers' (September 1963) considers a world in which water is scarce and must be allocated. 'Code Three' (February 1963) and 'Once a Cop' (May 1964) look at the problems police have patrolling the superhighways of the future. Ben Bova, who had already been selling stories to *Amazing*, made his first appearance in *Analog* in collaboration with Myron Lewis with 'The Dueling Machine' (May 1963), an early depiction of virtual reality allowing powers to fight wars through technology. Randall Garrett continued to be

5 See 'In Times to Come', *Analog* 68(6), February 1962, p. 6.



the most prolific contributor, though under a variety of new pen names so that few realized the scale of his contribution. However, under his own name, 'The Eyes Have It' (January 1964) introduced his most memorable character, Lord Darcy, the official investigator for a vast Anglo-Norman Angevin Empire that survives in a modern alternative world in which Richard I had not died prematurely. In this world, though, magic operates as a science, and Lord Darcy, along with his assistant, Sean O Lochlainn, needs new skills to solve crimes.

Poul Anderson had also adopted a pseudonym, Winston P. Sanders, and it was under that name that 'Sunjammer' appeared in the April 1964 issue. The story is about merchant shipping between the asteroids and the planets by use of solar-powered ships. By a bizarre coincidence, Arthur C. Clarke had also just had a story called 'Sunjammer' published in the March 1964 *Boys' Life* using precisely the same premise. His story surfaced in the genre magazines in *New Worlds* and *Amazing* over the next two years. The stories of James H. Schmitz, particularly the series featuring the psi-talented Telzey Amberdon, who serves as a secret agent, were always of good quality. The series had started with 'Novice' (June 1962) in the earlier digest issues, but came to fruition in the large-format issues with 'Undercurrents' (May–June 1964) and continued into the later digest issues.

One new writer who emerged during this period was Norman Spinrad, someone who would seem worlds away from *Analog*-style sf. His first three sales were all to Campbell. 'The Last of the Romany' (May 1963) in fact held a typically Campbellian concept, namely that the majority of humankind might not be ready for space travel, but the Romany, who have spent generations on the move, are ideally suited. 'Subjectivity' (January 1964) is a spoof on government interference with interstellar travel and the consequences of introducing drugs to help travellers cope with the boredom. 'Outward Bound' (March 1964) explores the theme another way, this time looking at the bargaining power of a distant colony that develops faster-than-light travel.

However, all these stories pale when compared to possibly the most significant work that Campbell published in his latter years. Frank Herbert was a respected writer, but apart from his early novel 'Under Pressure', serialized in *Astounding* in 1955, he had written nothing else that would be considered outstanding. Then the December 1963 *Analog* presented the first episode of his new novel, 'Dune World', and all that changed. This serial was the first part of what would become Herbert's blockbuster book *Dune* (Chilton, 1965). Set mostly on the arid world of Arrakis, with its giant sand-worms and the source of the much-valued spice melange, it is a tale

of intrigue featuring the young Paul Atreides, feared by those in power as the promised Muad'dib, the new Messiah.

'Dune World' was what is known as a sleeper: that is, it took a long while for people to recognize its value. Even today, forty years on, readers are still polarized between those who rate it among the greatest works of science fiction and those who have little interest in it. But it's one of those novels that forces you to take one view or the other. You cannot ignore it.

Reader reaction was slow in *Analog*, although this is not always easy to judge because Campbell tended to prefer letters that pursued some scientific principle rather than those that simply commented on the stories. The first response was typical of many at that time, from long-time fan and collector Roy Tackett. He found the first episode 'rather disappointing', adding that 'except for some references to space travel and the arrival at Arrakis this could be the first part of a historical novel set in medieval times'.<sup>6</sup> There is no doubt that it took a long while to get into Herbert's new world, but that is often the way with any major work. Appreciation of the novel grew with the second serial, 'The Prophet of Dune' (*Analog*, January–May 1965), and the complete book went on to win the 1966 Hugo award for the best novel. *Analog* had also regained the honours by winning the award for best magazine in 1965 and 1966, though that would be the last time.<sup>7</sup>

Tackett's observation of 'Dune World' gives a perspective on a growing trend that I have called the 'fantastication' of science fiction. We have seen it in *Galaxy* with the works of Jack Vance and Cordwainer Smith and, through the use of psi-powers and quasi-magic in stories by Randall Garrett, Frank Herbert and many others, it was also becoming prevalent in *Analog*. As we shall see, it would become even more dominant as the sixties progressed.

### Strange Days

The third of the 'Big Three' magazines of the fifties was *The Magazine of Fantasy and Science Fiction*, or *F&SF*. However, whereas the main tussle in science fiction had been between Campbell's *Analog* and Gold's *Galaxy*, *F&SF* succeeded in standing on the sidelines and doing its own thing. Already, throughout the 1950s, it had appeared the most liberal of magazines, first under Anthony Boucher and then under Robert P. Mills. They both looked at

<sup>6</sup> Roy Tackett, letter in 'Brass Tacks', *Analog* 75(2), April 1964, p. 89.

<sup>7</sup> The category for best magazine was dropped from the Hugo awards in 1973 and replaced by that of best professional editor, in which year it was won by Campbell's successor, Ben Bova.

fantastic literature (not just science fiction) with a much broader eye, with the emphasis on quality, diversity and ingenuity. As a consequence it was *F&SF* that had published such remarkable works as Daniel Keyes' 'Flowers for Algernon' and Walter M. Miller's stories that made up the volume *A Canticle for Leibowitz*, all stories rejected by the other magazines. *F&SF* did not rely on hard-science extrapolation or sociological sf, or indeed on any specific approach. It just wanted good-quality fiction across the whole imaginative spectrum. This lack of polarization found many supporters and *F&SF* regularly won the Hugo award for the best magazine.<sup>8</sup> Because of its flexibility, *F&SF* often attracted work from writers not normally known for their science fiction, as well as providing an opportunity for writers within the field to experiment with ideas outside the philosophies of the other magazines.

In 1960 *F&SF* was still able to demonstrate this diversity with new work by Howard Fast (better known as the author of *Spartacus*, but a long-time sf reader), John Collier, Ray Bradbury, Theodore Sturgeon, Robert Arthur and even Allen Drury (author of *Advise and Consent*, 1959) – all authors known and respected in the mainstream. Perhaps surprisingly in the circumstances, *F&SF* continued to feature sf-inspired covers rather than more neutral designs, as for example that by Ed Emshwiller for Daniel Keyes' 'Crazy Maro' (April 1960), a story of a young boy's multi-sensory perception.

*F&SF* had also become the major market for Philip José Farmer, who had otherwise all but abandoned the sf field during the late 1950s following the problems with the Shasta competition recounted earlier. Ironically both *F&SF* and *Astounding* had rejected one of Farmer's most powerful stories of the late 1950s, and it was picked up by Leo Margulies for *Satellite SF*, and was even set in type as 'The Strange Birth' for the June 1959 issue, when the magazine was axed before publication. Mills changed his mind and published the story as 'Open to Me, My Sister' in the May 1960 *F&SF*. It was another of Farmer's graphic studies of alien biology and reproduction, which Mills felt compelled to label 'not for the squeamish', though generally it was well regarded.

Although the number of top-quality stories published by *F&SF* in the early sixties was less than in any similar period in the 1950s, those stories that do stand out have remained important landmarks over the years. 'Rogue Moon' (December 1960) is still considered by many to be among Algis Budrys' best novels. It's a tense account of the use of matter transmitters to explore something alien on the far side of the moon. February 1961 ushered in 'Hothouse' by Brian W. Aldiss, the first in his award-winning

<sup>8</sup> It first won in 1958 (for 1957) then again in 1959, 1960 and 1963, and would again from 1969 to 1972 when that category was dropped.

series about humankind's struggle against nature in the far-distant future. 'Alpha Ralpa Boulevard' (June 1961) was another of Cordwainer Smith's Instrumentality series that had bypassed Frederik Pohl at *Galaxy*, much to his annoyance.

In addition, *F&SF* continued to publish such treasures as Zenna Henderson's People series, about telepathic humanoid aliens shipwrecked on Earth and trying to survive incognito; 'Harrison Bergeron' (October 1961), one of Kurt Vonnegut's rare excursions into the sf magazines; and stories by Vance Aandahl, Ward Moore and Reg Bretnor, all of which were all uniquely suited to *F&SF*.

The magazine was also one of the first to look seriously at sf appearing in the non-English-speaking world. The French edition of *F&SF*, called *Fiction*, not only ran reprints from the US edition but also new stories by French authors. Damon Knight translated several of these into English for wider appreciation. The first was 'The Blind Pilot' by Charles Henneberg (January 1960), a poignant story of the perils of space. 'The First Days of May' (December 1961) by Claude Veillot was a harsh tale of alien domination with parallels with the Nazi occupation of France during the Second World War. Via Ray Bradbury, Chilean author Hugo Correa succeeded in selling 'The Last Element' to *F&SF* (April 1962). The story is a satire on science and the search for the ultimate element.

At the end of 1961, Robert P. Mills stepped down as editor, wishing to spend more time as a literary agent. The change was effective with the April 1962 issue, which saw Avram Davidson as the new editor. Throughout its existence there has been a remarkable consistency about *F&SF*, not just in its format and presentation, but in its cosmopolitan approach. Part of this consistency was helped by the regular science columns by Isaac Asimov, which had shifted to *F&SF* from *Venture* in November 1958 and which continued without missing a month until Asimov's death. Yet, despite this consistency, the Davidson-edited issues stand out as the most personalized and idiosyncratic and, as a result, they tend to be fondly remembered by many. Davidson wrote long introductions to the stories – sometimes these are anecdotal essays in their own right – and he almost always included an editorial, which was unusual in the magazine. He thus stamped his identity on it, and the result was a more personal magazine than usual. (Boucher had made the magazine friendly, and it has never lost that feeling, but Davidson brought you into his world.)

Davidson had an eye for new and unusual writers. In fact, if anything marks out his issues it is that he did not try to fill them with big-name writers. Nearly every issue has several stories by new or up-and-coming writers and by those writing for a sideline by producing unusual material. His first

major discovery was Terry Carr, whose story 'Who Sups with the Devil', a twist on the pact-with-the-devil theme, appeared in the May 1962 issue. Carr had been active in fandom throughout the fifties, and had already jointly won a Hugo award with Ron Ellick for his fanzine *Fanac* in 1959. Carr went on to become one of the best book and anthology editors in the field. Some of Carr's fannish humour remained with him in these early years. The July 1962 *F&SF* carried two stories by Carr, so one of them, 'Stanley Toothbrush', was published under the pen name of Carl Brandon. Brandon was the name that Carr and others had created for a non-existent fan in the 1950s whom they promoted as the first active black sf fan. Even when the hoax was revealed in 1959 many continued to believe that it was a cover-up, and the appearance of Brandon in *F&SF*, complete with a biographical introduction, only served to fan the embers for a while longer.

Joanna Russ had sold her first story, 'Nor Custom Stale', to *F&SF*, where it appeared in the September 1959 issue. She next appeared with 'My Dear Emily' (July 1962), a longer story which was a good pastiche of the supernatural stories produced by New England women writers in the late nineteenth century. These early stories are not on a par with her later work but do demonstrate what an adaptive writer she was. They were also good examples of the off-beat, sometimes cranky stories that Davidson enjoyed. His issues of *F&SF* are more biased towards slick and humorous fantasy, and there were plenty of short-short stories by Gahan Wilson, Calvin Demmon, T. P. Caravan, Don White, and others which poked fun at fantasy motifs. There were also plenty of off-the-wall horrific or unusual stories by Reginald Bretnor, Ron Goulart, Felix Marti-Ibanez, Robert L. Fish, Kit Reed, William Bankier and Gary Jennings – these last two both Davidson discoveries. Davidson also published Heinlein's unusual fantasy novel, 'Glory Road' (July–September 1963). It's impossible to describe all of the weirdness in the magazine, but Davidson himself regarded the 'damnedest' story he published as 'Tis the Season to be Jelly', a most untypical story by Richard Matheson (June 1963), a humorous tall tale about radiation sickness causing people to fall apart.

It was also under Davidson, at the suggestion of Joseph Ferman, that occasional issues of *F&SF* were dedicated to a celebration of individual authors. The first to be honoured was Theodore Sturgeon (September 1962), followed by Ray Bradbury (May 1963). These issues usually followed a similar format, with an appreciation or two of the featured author plus a bibliography and a story or two by the author. Sturgeon's story 'When You Care, When You Love', wherein loved ones are cloned, proved as controversial as ever, but was still nominated for a Hugo. Sturgeon, more than probably any other writer (with the possible exception of Philip José Farmer),

continued to challenge and test the taboos and boundaries of sf and fantasy throughout his career, and it was magazines such as *F&SF* that allowed him to do it.

Davidson edited the magazine for less than three years, but he left behind an indelible mark. A few other gems from his editorship include 'Hunter, Come Home' (March 1963), another well-crafted story of an alien world that lives and breathes in the writing of Richard McKenna; 'Sun Creation' (April 1964) by that great mystery man of fiction B. Traven, author of *Treasure of the Sierra Madre*; and even bringing together Leigh Brackett and Edmond Hamilton with separate stories in the same issue (October 1964). It was also to *F&SF* that Roger Zelazny turned with his more accomplished pieces when his market at Ziff-Davis began to wane. 'Rose for Ecclesiastes' (November 1963), a poignant blend of religion and Mars, was the story that saw the coming of age of Zelazny (and his first Hugo nomination), and sported the last original magazine cover by Hannes Bok. It was followed in March 1965 by the award-winning 'The Doors of His Face, the Lamps of His Mouth', one of the last stories set on a watery Venus before the truth was known about this lava-ridden hell. In the short space of three years Zelazny had risen to the first rank among writers. His novel '. . . And Call Me Conrad', serialized in *F&SF* during 1965, tied with *Dune* for the Hugo award.

One measure of the dominance of *F&SF* during the period from 1961 to 1965 can be made by referring to the Hugo nominations and awards for the years 1962 to 1966. Giving one point to a nominee and two to a winner in the magazine and short fiction categories, the results are: *F&SF* 18, *Analogue* 12, *Galaxy* 11, *Amazing*, *Fantastic* and *Science Fantasy* each 4, *If* 3, and *Worlds of Tomorrow* 2.

It grew increasingly difficult for Davidson to edit *F&SF* long-distance from Mexico, and he stepped down with the November 1964 issue in order to pursue his writing. For a short while publisher Joseph Ferman held the reins but they were rapidly handed over to his son, Edward Ferman, who had been managing editor (meaning that he had the administrative tasks of assembling the issues from Davidson's material, dealing with the printer and proofreading) since Davidson had taken over. Ferman had been assisted by Ted White since November 1963. Although Edward Ferman was not formally listed as editor until January 1966, he effectively took over from May 1965.

For a brief period *F&SF* had a close rival in the fantasy/sf field. It might be thought that when *Worlds of Tomorrow* appeared, it was the sign for a revival in the fortunes of the sf magazines. However, as we have seen, its appearance was really a fickle decision by Guinn and Cohen to avoid

making *Galaxy* or *If* monthly. But two other magazines appeared in 1963, showing at least a moderate if ill-founded return of faith.

*Gamma* had a similar design, format and policy to *F&SF*. The first issue appeared in the spring of 1963, digest-sized, with an attractive, if unimaginative, cover by Morris Scott Dollens, boasting the names of Tennessee Williams, Ray Bradbury and Rod Serling. Its subtitle was not 'Science Fiction' but 'New Frontiers in Fiction'. *Gamma* came from Hollywood, and was published and edited by a trio of notables, Charles E. Fritch, Jack Matcha and William F. Nolan. Fritch had been a regular contributor to the field, perhaps best known for his neat vignette of a future society doped so as not to know reality, 'Big, Wide, Wonderful World' (*F&SF*, March 1958). Nolan was co-author (with George Clayton Johnson) of *Logan's Run*, and was also known as an anthologist and the bio-bibliographer of Ray Bradbury, as well as an enthusiast on all matters pulp. Jack Matcha was a journalist and playwright turned novelist, who had set up the Star Press publishing company in Hollywood to publish *Gamma* and its short-lived hard-boiled crime companion *Chase*.

Coming from Hollywood, *Gamma* revolved around those writers whose work had been closely allied with the film and television industries: Charles Beaumont, Ray Bradbury, Ray Russell, Robert Bloch, George Clayton Johnson and Richard Matheson. The stories had a slick 'movie-style' treatment and the best of them were not sf but horror, as in Patricia Highsmith's 'The Snail Watcher'. Even the sf stories benefited from the horror treatment, as in Ray Nelson's account of a shipwrecked spaceman's growing insanity, 'Food'.

*Gamma* was always experimental and might have fared better had it been a fully fledged slick magazine with more film features. Each issue carried an absorbing interview, with subjects including Rod Serling, Forrest Ackerman and Robert Sheckley. The second issue included a cleverly contrived piece of verse by Ib Melchior from lines by William Shakespeare, rearranged to give an accurate description of the solar system.

It soon became evident that *Gamma* was being produced as a sideline, and a none too profitable one at that. Its appearances were erratic. Issue 2 came out in the autumn of 1963, the third in the summer of 1964; the fourth was dated February 1965 and was a special 'Outer Space' issue; the fifth was dated September 1965. And that was the last of them, although another was anticipated for months. *Gamma* never realized its full potential. Suffering from distribution problems, it failed to secure a sufficient readership; fans thereby missed one of the better new magazines to appear in the sixties.

Soon after *Worlds of Tomorrow* and *Gamma* came *Magazine of Horror*, with the first issue dated August 1963. This heralded the return of Robert A. W.

Lowndes to the fiction magazines. After leaving Columbia Publications in 1960 he had joined a small company called Health Knowledge as editor of their sex education magazine, *Real Life Guide*, and an occult non-fiction magazine, *Exploring the Unknown*. The publisher, Louis Elson, was impressed at the sales of the British paperback series *Pan Book of Horror*, edited by Herbert van Thal, then being distributed in the United States. It initiated a revival of interest in horror fiction, further stimulated by the success of the Hammer Horror films. Lowndes did not need any prompting and so *Magazine of Horror* was born. Appalling underfunding and dreadful distribution caused problems for the magazine throughout its existence, but if anyone was capable of producing good-quality magazines against all odds it was Lowndes. He cut costs to the bone, relying heavily on public-domain reprints, and selecting lesser known material from the pulps, especially *Weird Tales* and *Strange Tales*. The magazine attracted a strong core of followers who built up a sufficiently strong subscription base to see the magazine through eight years. Although it was strictly speaking a horror magazine, Lowndes occasionally used science fiction, especially when the stories were of a frightening nature. Apart from the old-time reprints he also published material by Donald A. Wollheim, Robert Silverberg and in particular Roger Zelazny, whose 'Comes Now the Power' (Summer 1966) is a highly effective example of a protagonist living backwards. *Magazine of Horror* is fondly remembered by collectors. Lowndes was able to spread costs across several companion magazines, including *Startling Mystery Stories* and *Famous Science Fiction*. *Startling Mystery* is especially collectible these days because it published the first two stories by Stephen King: 'The Glass Floor' (Fall 1967) and 'The Reaper's Image' (Spring 1969).

There was one other occasional publication at this time, which is sometimes regarded as a magazine in pulp format, though it was really a pulp format reprint anthology. In 1957 Ned Pines, publisher of the old Thrilling group of pulps and founder of Popular Library pocketbooks, had issued a digest-sized anthology of stories from *Thrilling Wonder*. Titled *Wonder Stories*, it had continued the numbering of *Thrilling Wonder* because Pines had decided that if sales were sufficient, it would continue as a reprint annual. The stories, selected by Jim Hendryx, Jr, were a good cross-section, featuring John D. Macdonald's short novel of humanoid aliens, 'Shadow on the Sand', plus stories by Ray Bradbury, Arthur Clarke and Anthony Boucher. It had a 'hip' contemporary cover by Richard Powers.

The slump hit the sf field the following year, so Pines hesitated over future issues. In 1963 he tried again, reprinting the same issue (with just one story change), but this time in pulp format. It sold well, so in 1964 came the first *Treasury of Great Science Fiction Stories*, also pulp sized, and still selected by Jim Hendryx. As a reprint anthology in magazine format it fared well, and



became a regular annual. It shortened its title to *Great Science Fiction Stories* in 1966, which promptly caused confusion because Sol Cohen had just issued another reprint magazine called *Great Science Fiction*, drawing from the Ziff-Davis archives which he had taken over. Cohen kept his title, and Pines altered his magazine to *Science Fiction Yearbook*, which continued to appear throughout the 1960s, in some ways the last pulp descendant of the original *Science Wonder Stories*.

Mention of the Ziff-Davis magazines means we must now turn our attention to the main success story of the early sixties, and probably the most surprising, because it also allows us to follow the road to revolution.

### **The Amazing Amazing**

During the mid-1950s one of the weakest magazines had been *Amazing Stories* and its companion *Fantastic*. Despite valiant early efforts by Howard Browne the magazines had sunk back into the rut of the forties, although by and large they had a better cohort of fiction writers producing the bulk of their contents: Robert Silverberg, Randall Garrett, Harlan Ellison, Milton Lesser.

However, when Paul Fairman left to write and edit *Ellery Queen's Mystery Magazine*, and Cele Goldsmith took over, *Amazing* began to undergo a transformation. Goldsmith was young and untried and there were those who were not sure she could handle the magazine, so Norman Lobsenz was brought in on a consultancy basis as editorial director. Although he usually wrote the editorials plus story blurbs, and had weekly (or less frequent) meetings with Goldsmith, she was soon left alone to edit the magazines as she saw fit. Lobsenz just offered a friendly guiding hand if needed. 'Norm and I had a fabulous working arrangement,' Cele Lalli (as she became after her marriage) told me years later. 'Without him I would have been in total isolation. He read everything I selected and it was great to have discussion about my "finds".'<sup>9</sup>

Cele Goldsmith had been taken on by Ziff-Davis in November 1955 as a secretary and within six months was elevated to the post of assistant editor to help with the extra workload generated by the launch of *Dream World* and *Pen Pals*. She was so good that she was kept on when those magazines folded and by March 1957 had become managing editor. This meant that she took on the bulk of the administrative duties tied to the magazines and read the slush-pile while Paul Fairman dealt with the more regular authors

<sup>9</sup> This and other specific comments in this section are drawn from personal correspondence between myself and Cele Lalli in 1982.

and assignments. Fairman had started to re-orientate the magazines during 1958, introducing a wider range of writers and featuring a long lead novel. By the time Fairman came to leave, Goldsmith already had a firm grip on the magazines.

It took Goldsmith perhaps two or three issues to adapt, and then things began to take off. Two opportunities presented themselves. The first one was the availability of a new novel by E. E. Smith, 'The Galaxy Primes', which began serialization in the March 1959 *Amazing*. It is interesting that it was also a Doc Smith serial that marked the start of the revival of *If* two years later. 'The Galaxy Primes' was not top-rate Smith – it's about psi-powered space travel and was written specifically for John W. Campbell at *Astounding*, but was rejected – but it was once again a signal of a change in *Amazing's* publishing policy. The same issue celebrated the twentieth anniversary of Asimov's first story publication in *Amazing* and reprinted 'Marooned Off Vesta' together with a sequel and commentary by Asimov. The next issue picked up a story by Cordwainer Smith, 'Golden the Ship Was – Oh! Oh! Oh!', plus another, 'The Fife of Bodidharma', for *Fantastic* (June 1959), before Frederik Pohl secured first options on all Smith's new stories. Goldsmith even printed 'Spontani Refleks' by Boris and Arkady Strugatski as 'Initiative' (May 1959), the first post-war story from Russia to appear in an American sf magazine.

*Amazing* and *Fantastic* began to attract better-known writers. Robert Sheckley, Poul Anderson, Alan E. Nourse, Fritz Leiber, Murray Leinster, Robert Bloch, James Blish, Gordon R. Dickson – all returned to their pages over the next few months. Reader reaction was prompt. After an initial fear that the improvement was a flash in the pan, the letters began to pour in praising the changes. Cele Goldsmith received some letters direct herself. No less than Robert A. Heinlein found himself subscribing to *Amazing* again after many years. Reading the June 1961 issue (which contained a profile of him by Sam Moskowitz), Heinlein said that it 'caused me to think I had been missing something'.<sup>10</sup>

*Amazing* received a face-lift with the October 1960 issue: a new logo and new features, some of which had been trailed earlier. With the folding of *Fantastic Universe*, Sam Moskowitz had switched his historical features about science fiction to *Fantastic*, where he began a series of author profiles, starting with H. P. Lovecraft (May 1960). This series shifted to *Amazing* from September 1960. Shortly afterwards there began a Classic Reprint department with stories from *Amazing's* archives selected and introduced by Moskowitz. *Fantastic* had a similar feature with stories chosen from a wider

10 Unpublished letter, Heinlein to Goldsmith, 17 June 1961.

source. The April 1961 *Amazing* was full of reprints, celebrating the magazine's thirty-fifth anniversary. It also ran a special editorial by Hugo Gernsback and sported an original wraparound cover by Frank R. Paul. This was Paul's swan-song. The dean of sf artists, whose work epitomized the machine-dominated sf world envisaged by Hugo Gernsback, illustrated no more sf magazines after that issue. He died on 29 June 1963, aged 79.

Both *Amazing* and *Fantastic* acquired cover art from a wider range of artists. Ed Valigursky had dominated the covers during the mid- to late fifties, and readers had become critical of his rather flat illustrations. Now the magazines began to run impressive covers by Alex Schomburg, Leo Ramon Summers, Ed Emshwiller, Lloyd Birmingham and others, and there was little doubt that during this otherwise 'wilderness' period in the sf magazines, *Amazing* and *Fantastic* were the best-looking and brightest magazines around.

Once this change was seen for real writers began to flock to the magazines. It was no doubt helped by the fact that Goldsmith dealt with all submissions quickly, often with long personalized responses. Payment was on acceptance and though it was still only one cent a word, the courteous and encouraging treatment went a long way further. Perhaps more important was that Goldsmith had no need to look for stories that fitted into her concept of science fiction. *Analogue* was certainly restricted by Campbell's increasingly insular vision. *Galaxy* and *If* were more open under Frederik Pohl, but even he was influenced by years within the field. Prior to becoming editor, Goldsmith had had no experience with science fiction and no idea about trends or taboos. She simply bought what she liked, looking for good-quality stories. The result, between 1961 and 1964, was the two most exciting and original magazines in the field. More major new writers debuted in *Amazing* or *Fantastic* in this period than at any other magazine. To consider them in detail would take far too long, but just consider the following catalogue of new writers: Keith Laumer (April 1959), Phyllis Gotlieb (September 1959), Ben Bova (February 1960), Larry Eisenberg and Roger Zelazny (August 1962), Ursula K. Le Guin (September 1962), Thomas M. Disch (October 1962), Sonya Dorman (January 1963), Piers Anthony (April 1963).

Although Laumer, Bova and Anthony all went on to great things, and we shall encounter them again in this history, three of those names – Zelazny, LeGuin and Disch – stand out as worthy of further consideration. Zelazny had placed a few stories with his high school magazine back in the early 1950s, and had also been an unsuccessful entrant in the story competition run by *If* in 1954. His first sale was 'Passion Play' (*Amazing*, August 1962), though ten days later 'Horseman!' appeared in the August 1962 *Fantastic*.

Most of Zelazny's early stories were cryptic, enigmatic word-plays drawing upon myth and legend. They at once intrigued and frustrated. He turned out over a dozen of them over the next year, almost every one surfacing in Goldsmith's magazines, some under the alias Harrison Denmark.<sup>11</sup> As confidence grew so Zelazny's work became deeper and more intense. 'The Graveyard Heart' (*Fantastic*, March 1964) is a fabulation of a distant future in which millionaires party between suspended animation. 'He Who Shapes' (*Amazing*, January–February 1965) concerns virtual reality: a psychiatrist enters the dreams of his patients to help in their therapy. It was expanded into the novel *The Dream Master* (Ace, 1966) but Zelazny later decided that he preferred the original novella, which won the first Nebula award from the newly formed Science Fiction Writers of America.

Although Zelazny started to sell to *F&SF* and other magazines after his first year, it was in the Ziff-Davis magazines that he developed his style. He personally thanked Cele Lalli, saying to her:

You were what encouraged my writing during that first, difficult year when I began to sell. If I had not been able to market some of those early stories, I probably would never have had the confidence to try some of the later, more complicated ones. Most of anything I have learned was stimulated by those first sales; and then I learned, and possibly even learned more, from some of the later rejections.<sup>12</sup>

That final comment is echoed in the recollections of Thomas M. Disch. He first appeared with 'The Double-Timer' (*Fantastic*, October 1962), about a man constantly reliving the day he was murdered. A later story, 'Descending' (*Fantastic*, July 1964), also explored the nightmare of being trapped in an endless cycle, but otherwise the majority of Disch's early stories were twists on popular motifs in myth and fable, an approach that Disch would develop with powerful effect in later years. Looking back thirty years later, Disch recalled, about Cele Goldsmith: 'She was my most faithful editor, and it was her taste that steered me in the direction(s) I would take in my first years, both by what she accepted and by what she rejected'.<sup>13</sup>

Sandwiched between Zelazny and Disch was Ursula K. Le Guin, who debuted with 'April in Paris' (*Fantastic*, September 1962). Her first five appearances were all in *Fantastic*, where she developed a line of magical fantasies that now look like training runs for her Wizard of Earthsea sequence

11 This pen name caused much confusion as many readers believed that it masked the identity of Harry Harrison, then living in Denmark.

12 Unpublished letter, Zelazny to Lalli, 20 March 1965.

13 Thomas M. Disch, 'My Life as a Child', *Amazing Stories* 67(7), October 1992, p. 12.

which emerged later in the decade. With 'The Dowry of Angyar' (*Amazing*, September 1964) Le Guin's attention turned to distant worlds in a forerunner of her Hainish series of books. The story was later reworked as the introduction to Le Guin's first novel, *Rocannon's World* (Ace, 1966).

Le Guin later recorded that her earliest influence was the work of Lord Dunsany, and that she was later inspired by the Lewis Padgett stories of Henry Kuttner and C. L. Moore, but a more immediate spark was seeing Cordwainer Smith's 'Alpha Ralpa Boulevard' in *F&SF*.<sup>14</sup> What is significant is that Le Guin, like Jack Vance (whose work is also Dunsanian in concept), Cordwainer Smith, Thomas M. Disch and Roger Zelazny, was not following the traditional Gernsback/Campbell road to science fiction. The works of all these writers have their roots in the deeper myths and fables of story-tellers and are therefore much closer to the mainstream fabulists than to the hardcore sf writers. Although this broader canvas had long been the playground of *F&SF* it had not broadened much beyond its pages. Now, however, especially in the pages of *Amazing Stories*, *Fantastic*, *Galaxy* and *If*, writers were able to explore science fiction with the brakes off. There was no longer the restriction of complying with science-fiction norms, or editorial diktats. Le Guin perhaps said it best when she described Goldsmith as that 'kindly and outrageous editor',<sup>15</sup> because she was not fettered by past sf requirements. She let it all hang loose, and let *Amazing* and *Fantastic* become a cauldron of experimentation, exploration and temptation.

As a result she attracted most of the mavericks in the sf world whose work had trouble fitting elsewhere. David R. Bunch made regular appearances. His fiction owed no allegiance to any other writer. He was by nature a poet, and wrote bewildering, exotic word pictures, vignettes both inconsequential and absorbing. He had first appeared in the sf field in *If* in 1957 but the majority of magazines would not take his material. *Amazing* and *Fantastic* did. Bunch is best known for his highly individual stories of the world Moderan and its flesh-strip part-human, part-metal inhabitants. Philip K. Dick, who had all but deserted the magazine field for books, became a regular contributor to the magazines. 'The Days of Perky Pat' (*Amazing*, December 1963) was a tale of Earth survivors clinging on after Martian invasion and reliving their old lives through dolls. This story later formed an integral part of Dick's amphetamine-powered psychotic novel *The Three Stigmata of Palmer Eldritch* (Doubleday, 1965).

Starting in 1962, *Amazing* carried several stories by the British writer J. G. Ballard. Ballard had never followed a conventional course in science fiction

<sup>14</sup> Ursula K. Le Guin, 'A Citizen of Mondath', in *The Language of the Night* (New York: Putnam, 1979).

<sup>15</sup> Le Guin, 'A Citizen of Mondath', p. 18.

and was constantly testing and challenging the borders of the field. *Amazing* proved a fruitful American outlet for his work, hitherto confined to British markets. 'The Insane Ones' (*Amazing*, January 1962) scarcely reads like science fiction, though it considers a future in which psychological treatment has been outlawed. 'The Thousand Dreams of Stellavista' (*Amazing*, March 1962) further explored Ballard's decaying resort of Vermilion Sands. These stories, like some of the work by Cordwainer Smith, Jack Vance, John Brunner and Roger Zelazny, considered decadent, bohemian futures rather than scientific visions.

*Fantastic* also saw the rebirth of Harlan Ellison. Ellison had, of course, never gone away, but the early sixties saw him reinventing himself. Instead of producing the material he was creating by the yard for the fiction-factory digests of the fifties, Ellison was now harnessing that emotion on a powerful series of stories that would be one of the cornerstones of the sf revolution of the mid-sixties. His return had been heralded by 'Paulie Charms the Sleeping Woman' in *F&SF* (August 1962), but it was 'Paingod' (*Fantastic*, June 1964) and 'Bright Eyes' (*Fantastic*, April 1965) that made the sf world recognize this transformation.

There were plenty of other such non-conformists whom Goldsmith welcomed to her magazines: Philip José Farmer, Fritz Leiber, Cordwainer Smith, Robert Silverberg, Lester del Rey, Frank Herbert, James H. Schmitz, William F. Temple, Arthur Porges, to list but a few. *Amazing* and *Fantastic* bubbled with activity. Here things were happening. Here the reader was spellbound with anticipation. Here old and new writers experimented side by side. The magazine saw new fiction by Leigh Brackett and Edmond Hamilton. Hamilton had a resurgence in the magazine with a handful of superb tales, including 'Sunfire!' (*Amazing*, September 1962), about sentient energy life on Mercury. *Amazing* even made a scoop by acquiring a previously unpublished story by Edgar Rice Burroughs, 'Savage Pellucidar' (November 1963), which was nominated for a Hugo award!

Almost single-handedly *Fantastic* revived the sword-and-sorcery genre, swashbuckling tales of wizardry and warriors which owed much to Robert E. Howard's Conan stories in *Weird Tales*. John W. Jakes created his own Conan-like Brak the Barbarian, while Fritz Leiber continued his saga of the inimitable and much-loved rogues, Fafhrd and the Grey Mouser. Michael Moorcock appeared with a non-Elric story, 'Master of Chaos' (March 1964).

Between them, *Amazing* and *Fantastic* during 1961–64 were almost as exciting as *Galaxy* and *Beyond* ten years before and *Astounding* and *Unknown* twenty years before. Like Campbell, though with no particular grand plan, Goldsmith allowed science fiction and fantasy to rejuvenate themselves.

When we trace the re-creation of science fiction in the mid-sixties, we find that it owes a huge debt to Cele Goldsmith.

It was a great blow in March 1965 when Ziff-Davis decided that the two magazines were no longer sufficiently profitable to fit into their expansion plans. Like Condé Nast, Ziff-Davis were broadening their slick magazines, such as *Modern Bride*, and recognized that neither fiction magazine could fit into that future. The titles were purchased by Sol Cohen, then the publisher of *Galaxy*, but who now set up his own company, Ultimate Publishing, to run the magazines. Cele Goldsmith (or Cele Lalli as she now was, following her marriage in 1964) chose not to go with the magazines, realizing that she could not work with Sol Cohen, and preferring to remain with Ziff-Davis. Cohen was determined to make the magazines profitable and he instructed his new editor, Joseph Wrzos, to rely almost wholly on reprints from the *Amazing* archives, eking out the new material that remained in the inventory and buying new stories sparingly. Cohen believed that Ziff-Davis had acquired second serial rights to all stories and that he could therefore reprint them without further payment.

Relying on reprints, *Amazing* instantly ceased to be the creative melting pot that was reinventing science fiction. To some extent the baton was taken up by Frederik Pohl at *Galaxy* and *If*, but the real changes were happening in Britain. It is time that we caught up with British science fiction.

## 7

# The New Wave

### The British Wilderness

The end of the 1950s saw Britain with three regular science-fiction magazines. These were *New Worlds*, *Science Fantasy* and *Science Fiction Adventures*, all published by Nova Publications and edited by John Carnell. *Authentic* had folded in October 1957 when its publisher, Hamilton, had shifted the emphasis to pocketbooks, and the Scottish magazine *Nebula* had ceased publication in June 1959.

Britain also had reprint editions of many of the American magazines. Some, such as the editions of *Future Science Fiction* and *Science Fiction Stories* from Strato Publications, were exact reproductions except for changing the advertisements. At the other extreme, Atlas Publishing and Distributing's edition of *F&SF* frequently omitted stories and rearranged fiction, so there was little comparison with the original. Since Carnell also bought stories that had been sold to the US magazines it sometimes led to duplication. For instance, Robert Silverberg's story about a perfect retentive memory, 'The Man Who Never Forgot', first appeared in the US *F&SF* in February 1958. It subsequently appeared in the British edition of *F&SF* in January 1960, but had already been reprinted in *Science Fantasy* for December 1958. This was always frustrating for British readers.

The most consistent British reprint was Atlas's edition of *Astounding*, which had started in August 1939 and continued sporadically throughout the war, settling to a monthly schedule in February 1952. It was a familiar sight throughout the 1950s. These reprint editions ceased when import restrictions were lifted in Britain in 1963. The last British edition of *Analog* (as *Astounding* had then become) was dated August 1963, while the last British edition of *F&SF* was in June 1964. Atlas did continue to reprint



stories from *F&SF* and the original US magazine *Venture* in a special British edition of *Venture*, which ran entirely independently of the US titles from September 1963 to December 1965.

One other magazine had surfaced briefly in the late 1950s. This was *Phantom*, a weird-fiction magazine issued by a publisher in Bolton in Lancashire. This publisher, Dalrow Publications, run by Leslie Syddall, normally issued pin-up magazines, but had arranged a deal to publish *John Creasey Mystery Magazine* in August 1956 and a companion war-fiction magazine, *Combat*, in November 1956. Problems arose over the licence for the mystery magazine, which was eventually removed in August 1957, and as a contingency plan Syddall developed *Phantom* to fill the slot. This first appeared in April 1957 and ran for 16 monthly issues. Although it was Britain's only weird-fiction magazine of the period, since *Supernatural Stories* had really converted to a paperback series, it was never more than average. Its stories were pedestrian and unimaginative. Later in the magazine's short life, Syddall and his editor Cliff Lawton made arrangements with Forrest Ackerman to run some US stories. *Phantom* reprinted some material from *Weird Tales*, but, of more interest, its last issue (July 1958) ran some new stories by Bob Olsen and Andre Norton. It folded through lack of funding, although editor Cliff Lawton later published just one issue of a new magazine, *Book of Weird Tales*, in 1960, with further reprints selected by Ackerman. This could almost be viewed as a continuation of *Phantom*, though it was even less successful.

I almost hesitate to mention *Science-Fiction Library*. This short-lived publication, which saw three issues in the summer of 1960, was so pathetic that it is only worth recording that it was published by Gerald G. Swan, who had issued similar disasters during and after the Second World War. It was a mixture of reprints from the war-time Columbia magazines (mostly *Science Fiction* and *Science Fiction Quarterly*) and new fiction acquired in the late 1940s or early 1950s but only now seeing daylight. The magazine gave no indication of this, leaving the unwary reader with a badly printed selection of dreadfully dated fiction. Its companion *Weird and Occult Library* was only marginally better.

By 1960 events happening elsewhere in the world were having far-reaching effects. Economic conditions in Australia and South Africa resulted in restrictions being placed on the import of foreign periodicals, and this was a mighty blow to Carnell's magazines. A large portion of their sales were to Australia, and though restrictions were later lifted, the damage was done. It was this that saw the end of the Scottish magazine *Nebula*, which had been entirely self-published. As part of the Maclaren Group of publications, Carnell's magazines had a little more flesh on the bone, though not much.

Carnell had also arranged with Great American Publications to produce an American edition of *New Worlds*, a rare reversal after the deluge of British editions of American magazines. When the first issue appeared, in March 1960, Hans Stefan Santesson was credited as editor. Carnell's name was completely omitted and there was no indication that the fiction had seen prior publication in Britain. Carnell complained about the edition in his editorial to the May 1960 *New Worlds*. It was all wasted effort. The American edition lasted just five monthly issues before Great American failed. Later attempts to distribute *New Worlds* in North America met with disastrous financial results.

The rising popularity of pocketbooks in Britain, where science fiction was now regularly available from Panther Books, Four Square Books and many more, including the highly respected Penguin Books, was starting to have an affect on magazine distribution and sales, just as it had in the United States four years earlier. The circulation of Carnell's magazines began to fall significantly. In May 1963, *Science Fiction Adventures* folded. The magazine had always been of a high quality, but had the lowest circulation. In its last years it had featured several suitably apocalyptic adventures. These included a shorter version of J. G. Ballard's catastrophe novel 'The Drowned World' (January 1962); John Brunner's fascinating Society of Time series set on an alternative Earth (published in book form as *Time Without Number* in 1962); and Michael Moorcock's armageddon of the universe, 'The Sundered Worlds' (November 1962) and 'The Blood Red Game' (May 1963).

*Science Fantasy* was always popular, receiving several Hugo nominations. It was even mooted to go monthly in the summer of 1963. At this time it was probably at its best, especially for fantasy fans. Starting with 'The Dreaming City' (June 1961) it had run a series of ten stories by Michael Moorcock featuring the doomed prince Elric of Melniboné. Although these were loosely modelled on Howard's Conan stories, they were far superior, and rate among the more sophisticated sword-and-sorcery series. At the same time the magazine was running the historical fantasies of Thomas Burnett Swann. Swann's talent was in creating a fey world at the dawn of civilization when the growth of humankind threatened the mythical creatures that lived in peace. Although an American writer, it was in Britain that Swann began to establish his reputation. The touching 'Where is the Bird of Fire?' (April 1962), retelling the legend of Romulus and Remus, was nominated for a Hugo.

Besides these supreme fantasies *Science Fantasy* also presented such excellent science fiction as Brian Aldiss's parallel world adventure 'Matrix' (October 1962) and his bizarre panorama of a future Earth, 'Skeleton Crew'

(December 1963). Here also was John Brunner's time dilemma 'Some Lapse of Time' (February 1963).

At this time *Science Fantasy* was publishing better material than *New Worlds*, where the quality had started to drop in the early sixties. Nevertheless there were still some gems among the dust. John Rackham, a much underrated author who sold as regularly in the United States as he did in Britain, produced an insightful story of the creation of an android in 'Good-bye, Doctor Gabriel' (August 1961). It was so popular that Rackham was prevailed upon to produce a sequel, the short novel 'The Dawson Diaries' (April–May 1962), a complex reworking of the *Frankenstein* motif detailing the relationship between the android and a female whose brain is kept alive in a synthetic body. Lan Wright also ran with this theme in 'Dawn's Left Hand' (January–March 1963), one of the many precursors to Martin Caidin's *Cyborg* (1972), about a bionic man set against the background of galactic intrigue.

*New Worlds* was strong on the hard-science story. It continued to run James White's excellent Sector General series about a giant space hospital. The stories built up to a novel, 'Field Hospital' (January–March 1962), which would have strong resonances, thirty years later, with the television series *Star Trek: Deep Space Nine*. In 'Twice Bitten' (February 1963), Scottish writer Donald Malcolm began a series featuring the Planetary Exploration Team faced with ecological or scientific problems. This drew upon an earlier sequence of stories he had written, starting with 'The Winds of Truth' (May 1960), which developed into a fine set of scientific problem stories. At this time Colin Kapp was probably the best writer of hard-science fiction. 'Lambda I' (December 1962), an inter-dimensional thriller, was followed by his first novel, 'The Dark Mind' (November 1963–January 1964), about a man who returns from the limbo between the dimensions with the power to control anti-matter.

Carnell was prepared to publish controversial material at times. Certainly this was the case with Harry Harrison's 'The Streets of Ashkalon' (September 1962). The story is about the innocent natives of a planet whom an atheist tries to save from religious indoctrination. The early sixties was yet another period when leading sf writers felt science fiction needed a kick in a new direction. The ground-breaking achievements of ten years earlier had been overtaken by an apathy that was making science fiction safe, predictable and uninspiring. As we have seen, sf in 1960 was probably at its lowest ever ebb. One strong voice that shone through was that of Judith Merril. For years, in her annual selections of the best science fiction, Merril had striven to push back the boundaries of science fiction and, moreover, challenge the segregation of science fiction in its bleak backwater. She was

the first to argue cogently for the removal of the description 'science fiction', which she felt was inappropriate. In her anthology she abbreviated it to SF and then over successive years continued to search for a phrase that fitted SF better. She eventually settled on 'speculative fabulation', a rather clumsy phrase that never caught on, although 'speculative fiction' did, and still has some currency.

In her attempts to move sf further into the credibility zone, Merrill began to assemble an anthology of stories that were good examples of 'new-sf' which, though not necessarily suitable for the sf magazines of the day, would not have been out of place in literary magazines. This anthology, *The Thin Edge*, never made it to fruition. Merrill was working with the in-house editor at Regency Books – first Algis Budrys and then Harlan Ellison – but none of them could agree on what really was challenging sf. One of the stories planned for the book was Harrison's 'The Streets of Ashkalon'. Harrison recalled the fate of the story after Merrill's anthology failed: 'The story came back and went out, and returned rather quickly from all American markets. It was too hot to handle since it had an atheist in it. Even my good friend, Ted Carnell, would not take it for the more liberal British *New Worlds*.'<sup>1</sup> In the end Carnell did buy it, but only after he learned that Brian Aldiss was planning to use it in his anthology *Penguin Science Fiction*. Carnell was still cautious when he introduced the story, saying that religion 'is a subject not readily acceptable to the genre and requires a delicate touch to avoid the pitfalls of conflicting theological beliefs'. Needless to say the reader reaction was supportive and the story was the most popular in the issue. It would be five years before the story appeared in the United States.

The most controversial author in Carnell's magazines, though, was J. G. Ballard. He had moved into overdrive in the early sixties and was producing some of his most complicated material. Although he still produced the occasional conventional story – such as 'Billenium' (November 1961), one of his trenchant depictions of an overpopulated future; or 'The Gentle Assassin' (December 1961), a story about the futility of trying to alter past events; or his catastrophe novel *The Wind From Nowhere* (Berkley, 1962; serialized in a shorter form as 'Storm-Wind', September–October 1961) – most of that kind of work now appeared in the American magazines. *New Worlds* and *Science Fantasy* became the homes for his more experimental works about the 'inner space' of the human mind. 'The Overloaded Man' (July 1961), for instance, is a haunting story about a man who steadily shifts his consciousness out of synch with time. 'The Subliminal Man' (January 1963) is an almost Orwellian story of humankind becoming subject to advertising control.

<sup>1</sup> Harry Harrison, 'The Beginning of the Affair', in Aldiss and Harrison (eds.), *Hell's Cartographers*, p. 89.

'End-Game' (June 1963) is scarcely science fiction but plays psychological mind-games with an innocent man convicted of murder. 'The Terminal Beach' (March 1964), which Carnell had been loath to publish, was perhaps Ballard's most penetrating story, in which time and perception are fractured by the first H-bomb test. Ballard's material, more than any other writer's at this time, set the scene for the New Wave revolution.

But that revolution, if it was going to happen at all, wasn't going to happen in Carnell's magazines. Circulation was at an all-time low, estimated to be around 5,000 each. At the meeting of Nova's directors on 19 September 1963 it was agreed that both *Science Fantasy* and *New Worlds* should cease publication. The last issues of both magazines under Carnell's editorship appeared in April 1964. Interestingly, that issue of *New Worlds* contained the results of the third occasional survey that Carnell had conducted into the nature of his readers. His overall conclusion was that 'the day of the specialized sf magazine, published for the devout band of followers, is almost over. SF is moving out into the broader stream of general literature.'<sup>2</sup>

Looking back, this statement now seems quaint and almost short-sighted, though it's a view that has been repeated many times in those intervening years. Carnell's conclusions made sense at the time. His survey showed that the average age of the magazine reader had dropped (from nearly 31 to 26), average salaries had increased, and there had been a rise in the number of sf books bought. 'The obvious assumption here,' Carnell concluded, 'is that the older reader is no longer regularly buying sf magazines and the majority of sf readers are buying more and more paperbacks.'<sup>3</sup>

Unfortunately the survey did not ask whether readers believed that the quality of science fiction had changed in those years, or whether there was a quality differential between books and magazines. Paperbacks were, after all, bringing out almost entirely reprint material (certainly in Britain), selecting the best sf published over the previous thirty years. There had been a huge increase in high-quality anthologies from respected publishers. In addition to Brian Aldiss's *Penguin Science Fiction*, Kingsley Amis and Robert Conquest had been compiling the annual *Spectrum* series from Gollancz since 1961. Bruce Montgomery, better known under his Edmund Crispin alias, had been compiling an occasional *Best SF* for Faber since 1955, and many American anthologies, especially those by Groff Conklin, Judith Merrill and August Derleth, were being reprinted in Britain with increasing rapidity. Publisher Tom Boardman was even able to put together an anthology called *Connoisseur's Science Fiction* for Penguin Books in 1964.

2 John Carnell, 'Survey Report . . . 1963', *New Worlds* #141, April 1964, p. 122.

3 Carnell, 'Survey Report . . . 1963'.

The British magazines, on the other hand, were still encouraging new writers and occasionally publishing more challenging and experimental material. Carnell was in the delicate position of having too many readers still coming to terms with the fact that science fiction had moved on and was not all monsters and ray-guns. These readers were several years behind *New Worlds*. Rather than the magazines recruiting readers to move on to paperbacks, it should really have been the other way round: readers of paperbacks should have graduated to the more progressive material appearing in the magazines. Yet Carnell's survey results suggest that this was not happening, at least if the average reader age is a measure. The danger was that the new reader would not find the magazines as entertaining as anthologies and novels, because they had yet to do the groundwork in basic sf.

There seemed little doubt, therefore, that the traditional sf magazine was going the way of the dinosaur and that the future of sf was in the paperback. Carnell took the necessary step. In December 1963 he contracted to edit a series of original anthologies of new sf stories. This was *New Writings in SF*, to be published on a quarterly basis, in hardback by Dennis Dobson and in paperback by Corgi Books. *New Writings* was not the first series of all-new sf: that had been *Star SF*, published by Ballantine Books and edited by Frederik Pohl, but *Star SF* was not on a regular schedule. The plan with *New Writings* was that it would appear quarterly – an ambitious undertaking, even though Penguin Books had achieved this to a degree, many years earlier, with its own *Penguin New Writing* and *Penguin Parade*.<sup>4</sup> The first volume of *New Writings in SF* appeared in August 1964 and sustained a quarterly schedule for nine volumes, before it began to waver. I shall return to *New Writings* later. Suffice it to say here that it was to all intents and purposes a continuation of Carnell's *New Worlds*, featuring many of the same writers and concentrating on traditional science fiction. Even so, one could never have anticipated just how huge a gap would grow between *New Writings* and *New Worlds* over the next few years.

### Brave New Worlds

History has a way of repeating itself. Fifteen years earlier, the future of *New Worlds* had been decided in a London pub, the White Horse Tavern. It was

<sup>4</sup> *Penguin Parade*, edited by Denys Roberts, had started as a quarterly in December 1937 and sustained this for the first few volumes but then became irregular, folding after eleven volumes in 1945. It was briefly revived for just three volumes in 1947. *Penguin New Writing*, edited by John Lehmann, maintained an ambitious monthly schedule from December 1940 to July 1941, then slipped to quarterly, which it managed to maintain throughout the war.

there that a group of fans decided to form their own company, Nova Publications, and relaunch the ailing *New Worlds*, which looked like folding when its first publisher, Pendulum Publications, disappeared overnight. In early 1964 the printer of *New Worlds*, who was in need of further work to fill the gap left by the folding of *New Worlds* and *Science Fantasy*, was having a chat in a pub with David Warburton, the publisher of Roberts & Vinter. Hitherto this firm had been publishing the Hank Janson and Reginald Carter hard-boiled thrillers in the style of Mickey Spillane, while another associated company, run by Warburton's partner, Godfrey Gold, published pin-up magazines. Warburton and Gold were taken by the idea of using the sf magazines as a 'respectable' front to allow them to get wider circulation of their other titles. Both *New Worlds* and *Science Fantasy* were then stocked by W. H. Smith and John Menzies, which had a stranglehold in Britain on the retail outlets for books. Warburton therefore acquired both titles from Nova Publications and established a new imprint called Compact Books.

Carnell had no desire to edit them as well as *New Writings*. He was also in the process of setting his literary agency on a formal basis. Warburton therefore looked around for a new editor. Unbeknown to Michael Moorcock, Carnell had put his name forward as a possible successor. This was especially interesting in the light of recent comments and actions by Moorcock. A year earlier Moorcock had provided a guest editorial for the April 1963 *New Worlds* in which he commented on the general malaise affecting science fiction. It was his view that too many writers were backward-looking, trying to repeat the glories of past science fiction, and that the field catered for too many amateur writers who would never have survived in the mainstream and who had not learned or developed. He recognized that there were good writers – he cited in particular the works of J. G. Ballard, John Brunner and Brian W. Aldiss. Yet even when he praised specific novels by Alfred Bester, James Blish, Theodore Sturgeon and Walter M. Miller, he added that 'they still contain flaws which, elsewhere, would be remarked upon, yet they are overlooked by readers who have grown to expect flaws as being apparently symptomatic of science fiction'.<sup>5</sup> His message was that science-fiction writers needed to improve their standards, otherwise they would be overtaken by writers from the mainstream who had seen that sf was 'becoming a legitimate field for serious expression again'. He cited Angus Wilson and Anthony Burgess as examples. 'Watch it, lads, we're going to need to be good'<sup>6</sup> were his parting words.

Moorcock, following discussions with Ballard, had even gone so far as to prepare the dummy for a magazine. He described it as follows:

5 Michael Moorcock, 'Play with Feeling', *New Worlds* #129, April 1963, pp. 125–26.

6 Moorcock, 'Play with Feeling'.

It would be on art paper, to take good quality illustrations; it would be the size of, say, *Playboy* so that it would get good display space on the newsstands; it would specialize in experimental work by writers like [William S.] Burroughs and artists like Paolozzi, but it would be 'popular', it would seek to publicize such experimenters; it would publish all those writers who had become demoralized by a lack of sympathetic publishers and by baffled critics; it would attempt a cross-fertilisation of popular sf, science and the work of the literary and artistic avant garde.<sup>7</sup>

With the news that *New Worlds* was being wound up, Moorcock wrote to Carnell and his letter appeared in the final issue. Moorcock could almost have been stating his own future editorial intentions, though he could not have known it at the time. His letter said in part: 'As I have said elsewhere, sf often claims to be far-out when, in fact, it rarely is. It *should* be far-out – it needs editors who are willing to take a risk on a story and run it, even though this may bring criticism on their heads'.<sup>8</sup> Within a few weeks of writing that letter Moorcock was approached by Warburton to discuss the magazines. At the same time Oxford art dealer Kyril Bonfiglioli, another maverick, had announced his interest in editing the magazines. This came as a surprise to many. Although Bonfiglioli was a friend of Brian Aldiss, he was an unknown in the fields of science fiction and fantasy. Born in Eastbourne in May 1928, Bonfiglioli was a director of two art galleries, a bookshop and an antique shop; and he had at one time been a sabre champion. Like Moorcock he believed that the magazines should maintain high literary standards and he disliked sword-and-sorcery and space opera.

Faced with two potential editors and two magazines Warburton decided to split them. Given the choice, Moorcock picked *New Worlds*, another surprise since his reputation as a fantasy writer was far superior to his reputation as a writer of science fiction. Needless to say Moorcock did not see the same divide as others at the time. To him it was all imaginative literature.

Unlike Bonfiglioli, Moorcock had some experience as an editor. At the age of seventeen he had taken on the editorship of the semi-professional comic *Tarzan Adventures* in 1957, and later served as an editor at Fleetway Press, where he worked on the Sexton Blake Library. He first appeared in the science-fiction magazines with 'Peace on Earth' (*New Worlds*, December 1959), a collaboration with Barrington Bayley published under the alias Michael Barrington. His fiction had appeared in *Science Fantasy* and *Science Fiction*

7 Michael Moorcock, 'Introduction' to *New Worlds: An Anthology* (London: Flamingo, 1983), p. 11.

8 Michael Moorcock, letter in *New Worlds* #141, April 1964, p. 128.



*Adventures* and his guest editorial had been his first solo appearance in *New Worlds*. In its last year *New Worlds* published several of Moorcock's stories, such as 'Flux' (July 1963) and 'Not By Mind Alone' (September 1963), which demonstrated that, like Ballard and Philip K. Dick, Moorcock had an unorthodox view of science fiction. These stories were more about perception and reality than they were about scientific development.

Moorcock's one disappointment when taking over *New Worlds* was that his desire for an art-format magazine was not acceptable. Warburton was following the pocketbook line, and rather cheaply at that. Moorcock's plans for a magazine that explored imaginative literature in all its forms were thus quashed. In hindsight this was probably for the good. Had Moorcock hit the readership with all his desires in one go, most would probably have gone screaming for the hills. Those that went, Moorcock would have been glad to see the back of, but it would not have helped the magazine's finances while Moorcock was also trying to attract contributors and readers from the literary avant-garde. It was necessary to take one step at a time.

Moorcock's first issue was indistinguishable from any other paperback on the stalls and, indeed, W. H. Smith displayed them on the same racks. Although it ran the title *New Worlds SF* along the top, J. G. Ballard's name was more prominent and it was easy to mistake the magazine for a paperback edition of Ballard's novel 'Equinox', which was serialized within. It was dated May–June 1964. At this stage Warburton was being cautious and both magazines were bi-monthly. The cover design by James Cawthorn was simple but effective. An upright triangle against a black background encased a scene from 'Equinox', though since all it showed was two men looking at a woman in a tropical setting, it could easily be mistaken for a mainstream book. The format and style, which led to better display, certainly helped sales as circulation doubled during the year, rising to around 10,000. Warburton was able to shift to a monthly schedule in January 1965.

Moorcock set down his challenge in his editorial, headed 'A New Literature for the Space Age'. 'The SF reader is an intelligent reader,' he wrote, 'dissatisfied, perhaps, with other forms of literary entertainment, who looks to SF for something more relevant to his own life and times. Also he wants variety of ideas, style, mood and plot. We intend to keep the contents of *New Worlds* both varied and stimulating.'<sup>9</sup> The contents were actually a mish-mash of material that Moorcock could get together at short notice. Both Brian Aldiss's 'Never Let Go My Hand' and Barry Bayley's 'The Star Virus' were relatively traditional, despite their quiriness of treatment. John Brunner's 'The Last Lonely Man' was unconventional only in that it

9 Michael Moorcock, editorial, *New Worlds* #142, May–June 1964, p. 3.

avoided the sf stereotypes. Ballard's short serial 'Equinox', which later formed the core of his novel *The Crystal World* (Cape, 1966), was more along the lines Moorcock wanted to carve out. It took a basic sf concept, that of time changing form, and used it to develop wonderful metaphors and images to explore and contrast humankind and society.

Of greater significance, though, were Ballard's essay on the author William S. Burroughs, entitled 'Myth-Maker of the 20th Century', and further references about Burroughs in Moorcock's editorial. Moorcock paraphrased Burroughs, saying, 'If writers are to describe the advanced techniques of the Space Age, they must invent writing techniques equally advanced in order properly to deal with them'.<sup>10</sup> Both Moorcock and Ballard were citing Burroughs as an example of an alternative approach to exploring the challenges arising in the second half of the twentieth century. These were challenges brought about by scientific achievement without, necessarily, the accompanying human development: the fear of the nuclear age, the availability of drugs, greater sexual and religious freedom.

Burroughs was one of those whose works had challenged the status quo and won. Although Burroughs found it difficult to obtain a publisher for his work, surprisingly his first book, *Junkie*, under the alias William Lee, was published by Aaron Wyn as an Ace Double in 1953. He soon became a key influence in the Beat Generation of the mid-fifties. His most influential book, *The Naked Lunch*, eventually saw print in France in 1959. Although a dystopia, this surreal sequence of drug-induced nightmare images might be better classified as horror rather than science fiction. Its approach, technique and viewpoints were hailed by major American authors, such as Norman Mailer, as among the most significant advances in literature in the twentieth century. Although the book was banned in America, Grove Press in New York published it in 1962, resulting in prosecution. The decision of the Supreme Court was as much a landmark against censorship in America as the British High Court's decision over D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* had been in 1960. The floodgates now opened and Burroughs' other novels poured forth. Some of these, particularly *Nova Express* (Grove Press, 1964), used science-fiction images and were rapidly adopted by the sf revolutionaries.

Barriers were coming down and Moorcock and Ballard would take full advantage of it. After fifty years science fiction was now showing the influences of James Joyce and William Burroughs rather than H. G. Wells and Edgar Rice Burroughs. Moorcock rapidly printed fiction that he thought challenged the accepted values of science fiction and thus set *New Worlds*

<sup>10</sup> Moorcock, editorial, *New Worlds* #142.

apart. His wife, Hilary Bailey, contributed a stark portrayal of an alternative Nazi-dominated England, 'The Fall of Frenchy Steiner' (July 1964). The old die-hard, E. C. Tubb, produced a descriptive hallucinogenic dream sequence, 'New Experience' (September 1964). It was newcomer Langdon Jones, however, who wrote the most controversial story from those first issues. 'I Remember, Anita . . .' (September/October 1964) detailed sex and love in a nuclear-devastated future and brought a deluge of response from readers. There were the inevitable letters for and against sex in science fiction, but the more interesting letters were those that suggested that Jones might be running before he could walk and that he shouldn't be so pretentious. It was a lesson for everyone, and one that was all too easily forgotten over the next few years.

Moorcock began to gather around him a coterie of writers, mostly young and relatively inexperienced, but who responded to the freedom of expression allowed by *New Worlds*. Charles Platt, George Collyn, David I. Masson and Michael Butterworth all made *New Worlds* their home. Platt made the most impact. His stories were always audacious, but at the same time had something serious to say. Although he first appeared with a short squib in *Science Fantasy*,<sup>11</sup> his first substantial story was 'Lone Zone' (*New Worlds*, July 1965). It was typical of his early work: a story of drop-outs set in a not-too-distant Orwellian future that, nearly forty years on, appears far less bleak than the real thing. The best of these early works was the deliberately offensive 'Garbage World' (*New Worlds*, October–November 1966), a clever satire about attempts to clean up an asteroid which is used as the solar system's waste dump. It's an effective lampoon of bureaucracy as well as an intelligent foresight of Earth's growing throwaway society.

Moorcock and assistant editor Langdon Jones spent a lot of their time encouraging writers and explaining just what they were seeking. Not every author could follow this route, some being a little bewildered by Moorcock's grand plan. As a consequence several turned to *Science Fantasy* as a safer haven, but there's no denying that Moorcock put much effort into guiding and nurturing new talent.

Moorcock and Ballard were always setting the trend. Moorcock, in particular, was producing a lot of material at this time, under various pen names, and although not all of it was as revolutionary as he might have liked, there was enough that was particularly memorable. Perhaps his most potent single story was 'Behold the Man' (*New Worlds*, September 1966), his Nebula award-winning story in which a time traveller returns to explore Christian ethics at the time of Christ, but is regarded as the Messiah and

11 'One of Those Days', *Science Fantasy* #68, December 1964.

becomes Christ, and is crucified. Moorcock expected a reaction to the story and in his editorial for that issue hoped that the stories 'will be accepted on their merits, on their own terms, and not regarded as "breakthrough" stories, or "controversial" stories'.<sup>12</sup> His subsequent comments summarize, to some degree, his perception of science fiction at the time: '[Their stories] are trying to cope with the job of analysing and interpreting various aspects of human existence, and they hope that in the process they succeed in entertaining you'.<sup>13</sup> In other words, in Moorcock's eyes sf and fantasy were only there as means to an end, not as ends in themselves.

Probably his most anarchic stories were those featuring Jerry Cornelius, which began with 'Preliminary Data' (*New Worlds*, August 1965). This had started life as a novel but when Moorcock was unable to find a publisher he broke it down into a series of stories. The first, about the creation of a new hermaphroditic messiah through the fusing of Cornelius and his 'business associate' Miss Brunner, playfully thumbed its nose at the conventions of science fiction but remained relatively sedate. As the stories developed they became more uninhibited and convoluted as Cornelius developed into yet another aspect of Moorcock's Eternal Champion, though with few virtues. The series as a whole, which Moorcock further embellished and which later had contributions by other writers, is a remarkable satire upon both the imagery and ideas of science fiction and society. When Moorcock began there was nowhere other than his own *New Worlds* that could publish the Cornelius stories, yet by the end of the sixties there were an increasing number of markets. These stories, and much else that Moorcock came to publish, were among the origins of what Bruce Sterling would later dub 'slipstream' fiction, stories which may be mainstream in construction but which borrow the images or devices of sf. Like Cornelius, Moorcock had split the sf continuum apart.

What Moorcock was doing in style and content, Ballard was starting to do in style and form, by developing the influences of William Burroughs. In 'You and Me and the Continuum' (*Impulse*, March 1966) and 'The Assassination Weapon' (*New Worlds*, April 1966) Ballard sought to explore reality through a variety of perceptions, often presented in a non-linear form. He termed these his 'condensed novels'. Some of them first surfaced in the small literary magazine *Ambit*<sup>14</sup> and were reprinted in *New Worlds*. These included his most controversial works, 'You: Coma: Marilyn Monroe'

12 Michael Moorcock, 'Why So Conservative?', *New Worlds SF* #166, September 1966, p. 156.

13 Moorcock, 'Why So Conservative?.'

14 *Ambit* was primarily a poetry magazine, published and edited by Martin Bax since 1959. It always pursued experimental means of expression and was a useful venue for Ballard's experiments.

(*Ambit* 27, 1966; *New Worlds*, June 1966) and 'The Assassination of John Fitzgerald Kennedy Considered as a Downhill Motor Race' (*Ambit* 29, 1966; *New Worlds*, March 1967). Neither of these works is classifiable as science fiction unless you accept them as distortions of perception and thereby an examination of alternative realities. In this respect they were only a few steps away from the direction that the fictions of Kurt Vonnegut and Philip K. Dick had been taking. Although challenging and difficult as fiction their strength lies in their ability to force the reader to test reality, which has to be one of the fundamental premises of all fiction, and especially science fiction.

Although Moorcock, Ballard and their British disciples were experimenting, it would be wrong to give the impression that *New Worlds* was given over to a complete overhaul of science fiction. Moorcock was always prepared to consider good-quality literary science fiction. He gave the first British publication to Arthur C. Clarke's 'Sunjammer' (March 1965), published the early stories of Scottish writer Richard Gordon, who later became better known as Stuart Gordon, and some excellent time-travel stories by David I. Masson. He resurrected Bob Shaw's career and published some of the earliest short stories by Terry Pratchett. He also allowed greater free expression to Brian W. Aldiss and John Brunner. And he was always happy to lampoon the science-fiction genre, no more so than in Harry Harrison's parody of Heinlein's *Starship Troopers*, 'Bill, the Galactic Hero' (August–October 1965).

What was increasingly evident was the number of American writers who found *New Worlds* a less restrictive market than the US magazines. Quite early Moorcock had published an atypical story by Jack Vance, 'Alfred's Ark' (May 1965), which wasn't sf at all, but a portrayal of humanity's willingness to believe in a deity when it suits. He also published the first story by Vernor Vinge, 'Apartness' (June 1965), about the discovery of an Antarctic colony that had survived global destruction, and how it was best ignored. Vinge was not a typical Moorcock writer; he was a computer scientist and mathematician. But nor was he a traditionalist, and some of his later work made him an honorary member of the cyberpunk movement. But the real American renaissance in *New Worlds* came with the works of Roger Zelazny and Thomas M. Disch, now robbed of their market at Ziff-Davis. Zelazny produced some beautifully crafted quasi-sf/fantasies, 'Love is an Imaginary Number' (January 1966), 'For a Breath I Tarry' (March 1966) and 'The Keys to December' (August 1966). Disch's work included 'Invaded by Love' (September 1966), 'The Squirrel Cage' (October 1966) and in particular the novel 'Echo Round His Bones' (December 1966–January 1967). This tells of experiments with a matter transmitter and the appearance of a fourth-dimensional 'echo' of

a man. It was a fairly straightforward sf idea, but Disch handled it with none of the standard sf gimmicks. When interviewed in 1968 Disch commented, 'I couldn't have published *Echo Round His Bones* in America, although my agent tried. This is a very straight and standard novel, perhaps too much so for the American magazines.'<sup>15</sup> Moorcock was finding much support from among the American writers: Judith Merrill, Norman Spinrad and Samuel Delany all voiced their belief that science fiction was at last coming of age. The phrase 'new wave' was ushered in during 1964 and 1965 to describe this movement, and it stuck.<sup>16</sup>

Alongside *New Worlds* was its companion *Science Fantasy*. Although less revolutionary than Moorcock, Bonfiglioli had his own quest. He was appalled at the poor quality of material he was receiving for the magazine. 'I have just read through a quarter of a million words of ms and half of it was so bad it made me blush. And I don't blush very easily,' he wrote in his first editorial. He stated his editorial watchword as 'Science Fiction for Grown-Ups!'.<sup>17</sup>

He was feeling his way in the first few issues, relying heavily on bottom-drawer material by Brian Aldiss which appeared under the pen names Jael Cracken and John Runciman – although 'No Moon Tonight' (July/August 1964), in which the Earth is plunged into total darkness, was an intriguing story.

Bonfiglioli had two key players, though, who would help shape the identity of *Science Fantasy*. One was the American author Thomas Burnett Swann, who had already started to make a reputation for himself in the Carnell issues with his historical fantasies set at the dawn of civilization. These continued. There was the novel 'The Blue Monkeys' (September/October 1964–January/February 1965), set in Crete at the time of the Minotaur; 'Vashti' (May 1965), set in ancient Persia; and 'The Weirwoods' (October–November 1965), set in ancient Etruria. Thereafter, Swann was rediscovered in his own country, but for a while his stories not only offered a sense of continuity from the Carnell days, but provided magical recreations of a mythical past in a mood not being found elsewhere in fantasy at that time.

15 'Disch on Disch', a recorded interview at the Second Brighton Arts Festival, May 1968, transcribed in *Vector* #51.

16 The precise origin of the phrase in relation to sf is uncertain. P. Schuyler Miller used it with reference to Carnell's work and the authors Tubb, Brunner, Aldiss and Bulmer in *Analogue* 68(3), November 1961, p. 167, though this was not appropriate to its later use. It was most probably originated by Charles Platt in his fanzine *Beyond* in 1964 and rapidly endorsed by Christopher Priest and Judith Merrill in their articles and reviews of the growing field.

17 Kyril Bonfiglioli, 'Editorial', *Science Fantasy* #65, June/July 1964, pp. 2–3.

The other central player was Keith Roberts. Roberts was really a discovery of Carnell, who had bought a few of his stories for *New Writings in SF*. But the bulk of Roberts' tales were unsuitable for that series. Carnell passed them to Bonfiglioli who immediately published them: four stories appeared in the third and fourth Bonfiglioli issues. The first of them introduced Roberts' teenage witch, Anita, whose adventures would continue through the remaining issues of *Science Fantasy*. Before long Roberts, and his alter ego Alistair Bevan, were appearing in every issue, as well as helping to design it, proofread it and provide the covers. *Science Fantasy* also ran his first novel, 'The Furies' (July–September 1965), set firmly in the English disaster mode. It concerns the world being devastated by earthquakes and Britain overrun by four-foot-long alien wasps. Roberts' work is typically English, full of fast cars and local pubs and tweed-jacketed lads with pretty young girlfriends, but once he had lulled you into this comfortable world he would shock you from time to time. 'Susan' (*Science Fantasy*, April 1965, as by Bevan), for instance, creeps up on you. Like the Anita series, but treated far more seriously, it's about a young girl coming to terms with her growing psychic abilities. Many of Roberts' stories are about girls and their latent powers.

In his search for high-quality fiction, Bonfiglioli did not go out of his way to acquire major writers. He would acquire material from newcomers provided it was good, and he was encouraging even in his rejections, preferring to write detailed letters of explanation rather than a rejection slip. On the downside, however, many have remarked upon Bonfiglioli's laziness, and he relied heavily upon first James Parkhill-Rathbone and subsequently Keith Roberts in carrying the lion's share of the workload. He would often take too long to make decisions, so his helpful letters of rejection were frequently last-minute compositions.

Among the authors whom Bonfiglioli can claim to have set on the road are Daphne Castell, with her slightly frivolous and untypical 'Dear Auntie' (July/August 1964); Josephine Saxton, with her eerie and bewildering fantasy 'The Wall' (November 1965); and Brian Stableford, whose pseudonymous collaboration with Craig Mackintosh, 'Beyond Time's Aegis' (November 1965), was a vision of a far future, a theme that fascinated him in his early writings. Bonfiglioli also published several clever vignettes by Johnny Byrne, who soon left the field to write mainstream novels. There were also the occasional contributors such as Philip Wordley, Robert Cheetham, Thom Keyes and Rob Sproat, and he attracted back to the field Robert Wells. Wells had been one of the finalists in the competition run by the *Observer* in 1954 on the theme of AD 2500 with his story 'The Machine That Was Lonely', but apart from a one-off sf/horror story, 'The Mine' in

the *London Mystery Magazine* (December 1957), Wells had disappeared from the sf scene. During those years he worked as a journalist both in newspapers and radio, and then suddenly resurfaced in *Science Fantasy* with 'Song of the Syren' (March 1965), a fine story about alien flora. Some years later Wells told me that he had at last found a 'sympathetic editor'.<sup>18</sup> He sold a few more stories to Bonfiglioli, on the strength of which Carnell became his agent, and over the next ten years Wells appeared in several magazines in both the UK and the US, and sold several novels.

Bonfiglioli's last two discoveries, Christopher Priest and Chris Boyce, appeared in *Science Fantasy's* next incarnation, *Impulse*. Right from the start Bonfiglioli had disliked the phrase 'science fantasy'. In his first editorial he had made the point that 'I don't believe there is any such genre as science-fantasy. It is either, at its best, off-beat science-fiction with a touch of poetry or, at its worst, degraded science-fiction, in which the author wriggles out of his plot-difficulties by introducing "mystic" or "transcendental" elements (and there's a pair of suspect words!)'.<sup>19</sup> He actually felt ashamed of the magazine's title, and felt it projected the wrong image – 'as though I were a curate buying the latest number of *Frilly Scanties*'.<sup>20</sup>

He discussed the problem with publisher David Warburton. Bonfiglioli liked the name *Caliban*, but Warburton did not, feeling that it suggested something deformed and malignant. They settled on *Impulse*, which took effect from the March 1966 issue. It was a strange choice of name. It did not immediately imply a fantasy or science fiction magazine, or indeed a fiction magazine at all. Furthermore, there was already a non-fiction magazine called *Impulse*,<sup>21</sup> and this led to confusion over distribution. To avoid this, the title was amended slightly to *sf Impulse* from the August 1966 issue, but by then most of the damage was done. The biggest mistake they made was in closing down *Science Fantasy* and starting *Impulse* as a new magazine, from Volume 1, Number 1. If they had phased the name over, as Street & Smith had done from *Astounding* to *Analog*, not only would they not have confused the casual reader, they would not have had to renegotiate the distribution contract with W. H. Smith, which ceased when *Science Fantasy* folded. By the time they had renegotiated the contract they had lost several vital months and sales had plummeted. The consequences were fatal, because the magazine never recovered its circulation.

18 Personal correspondence, Wells–Ashley, 19 March 1979.

19 Bonfiglioli, 'Editorial', *Science Fantasy* #65.

20 Bonfiglioli, 'Editorial', *Science Fantasy* #81, February 1966, p. 2.

21 This was the house magazine of the Home Sales Department of Automatic Telephone & Electric Co. Ltd and Communication System Ltd in London and had been running since 1954.



This was a tragedy for British science fiction, especially since *Impulse* was such a good magazine. It had increased in extent by 25 per cent (from 128 to 160 pages, with a corresponding price rise from 2/6d to 3/6d) and this gave Bonfiglioli scope to publish longer stories. Its first issue had an all-star cast with Brian W. Aldiss, Poul Anderson, J. G. Ballard, James Blish, Harry Harrison and Jack Vance, among others, several with stories written around the theme of sacrifice. It also published 'Pavane', the first story in Keith Roberts' much acclaimed series set in an alternative England in which the industrial revolution had never happened.

Bonfiglioli also encouraged John Brunner to resurrect his negentropic character, the Traveller in Black, who had previously appeared in just one story, 'Imprint of Chaos' in the August 1960 *Science Fantasy*. His return in the wonderfully apocalyptic 'Break the Door of Hell' (*Impulse*, April 1966) set Brunner on to continuing the series, regarded by many as among his best fantasies.

Christopher Priest made his professional debut with 'The Run' (May 1966), a comparatively undistinguished attack on the nuclear threat, typical of many stories by young writers at this time. There was little indication here of the master of style and vision who would later emerge. Like 'The Run', Chris Boyce's first appearance, 'George' (June 1966),<sup>22</sup> was another penned in the shadow of the Bomb, but Boyce rapidly explored a number of themes in *Impulse*. His best was 'The Rig' (September 1966), set on a North Sea oil-rig menaced by a giant plant. Boyce later won the 1976 *Sunday Times*/Gollancz SF novel competition.

With a feeling that he had established *Impulse*, Bonfiglioli took the opportunity to stand down as editor. He had managed to make a killing in the art world and could now retire and write. He went on to produce a highly regarded series of novels likened to P. G. Wodehouse meets Edgar Wallace, involving the roguish Charles Mortdecai, the first of which, *Don't Point That Thing at Me* (1972), won the Crime Writers' Association first John Creasey Memorial Award. Bonfiglioli died too young in 1985.

The editorial reins were taken over briefly by J. G. Ballard, but his ideals were completely out of synch with those of both the publisher and the assistant editor, Keith Roberts. Roberts declined the offer of becoming overall editor so the task was taken on by Harry Harrison. However, no sooner had he taken up his role than he found he had to leave for Italy, and then on to the United States, which foisted all the day-to-day work onto Roberts, who became managing editor. Harrison's latest novel, 'Make Room! Make Room!', a frightening depiction of future overpopulation, was the last novel Bonfiglioli had acquired before his departure, and concluded in Harrison's

<sup>22</sup> Boyce had sold one earlier story, 'Autodestruct', to the short-lived Liverpool-based magazine *International Storyteller* in 1964.

first issue (October 1966). The book is better known under the 1973 film title, *Soylent Green*. Editing long-distance from abroad was difficult, and Harrison was limited to commenting upon Roberts' short-list of selected contents and acquiring material from the big-name writers. Unfortunately little of this came to fruition, since the days were numbered for *Impulse*. Harrison's plans to make the magazine more personal did emerge. With his second issue Harrison instigated a letter column and book reviews, and encouraged other features.

There were just five issues to appear under the Harrison–Roberts control. The quality still remains high. Several items stand out as memorable. There was Michael Moorcock's serial 'The Ice Schooner' (November 1966–January 1967), set during the next Ice Age and reading a little like *Moby-Dick* on ice. There were several stories by Thomas M. Disch, all variations on nightmare themes, of which 'The Roaches' (November 1966) has often been reprinted. There was new writer Chris Hebron, who produced just three short stories, with 'The Bad Bush of Uzoro' (February 1967), based on his experiences in Africa, being the best.

Rather ironically the last story in the last issue was 'See Me Not' by Richard Wilson, a humorous, though increasingly nightmarish, story of a man turned invisible. Thereafter *sf Impulse* vanished. Its demise had been hastened by the fate of the magazine's distributor, Thorpe & Porter. They had once distributed many American magazines in Britain, often publishing their own editions, but the raising of import restrictions had hurt them financially and they went into receivership in July 1966. They owed Roberts & Vinter a considerable amount of money and this meant that the publisher decided to concentrate on the more lucrative 'girlie' magazines. Although both *New Worlds* and *Impulse* were making a profit, it was borderline.

By the autumn of 1966 the future of both magazines looked bleak. Brian Aldiss contacted the Arts Council in search of funding. Two of the objectives of this government body are 'to develop and improve the knowledge, understanding and practice of the arts' and 'to increase the accessibility of the arts to the public throughout Great Britain'. Aldiss was able to garner the support of such literary stalwarts as Kingsley Amis, Kenneth Allsop, Anthony Burgess, Marghanita Laski, Bruce Montgomery, J. B. Priestley and Angus Wilson. Wilson was the clincher, as he was chairman of the Literature Panel, and his support helped secure a grant of £150 per issue for the continued publication of *New Worlds*. Moorcock later acknowledged that 'without Brian Aldiss's initiative, there would almost certainly be no *New Worlds* at all this month'.<sup>23</sup>

23 Michael Moorcock, 'Changes Coming', *New Worlds* #171, March 1967, p. 2.

With the March 1967 issue *New Worlds* and *sf Impulse* were merged, although all aspects of *Impulse* were lost. With Roberts & Vinter now defunct, just two more issues were released by their sister company, Gold Star Publications, curiously both dated March though published four weeks apart. These were stopgap issues released while Warburton and Moorcock searched for a new publisher. Both issues are dominated by complete novels, so in that sense are not typical, and yet these two issues could be cited as the best examples yet of what Moorcock was striving to achieve. Premier among the contents was Aldiss's novel 'Report on Probability A', a surreal labyrinth of alternative perspectives of an introspective world through a series of observers. It was really an anti-novel weaving its thread from Heisenberg's Uncertainty Principle. It is a quite remarkable work, which Aldiss had written five years earlier but which had been rejected by Charles Monteith, Aldiss's editor at Faber. Monteith did eventually publish it in 1968.

Such was the change in attitude among book publishers during the sixties when society changed forever. The 'swinging sixties' ushered in social, sexual, religious and linguistic freedoms even though, at heart, people remained much the same. Prejudices took a lot longer to change. *New Worlds* had succeeded where every other sf magazine had failed. By challenging the status quo and championing a new literary tradition it had become accepted (albeit suspiciously) by the literary establishment. In so doing, however, it had moved away from being a science-fiction magazine, and it was attacked for this. If there is one prejudice which may be more dangerous than that of the literary establishment against sf, it is the prejudice of the sf fraternity against the wider literary world, because that prejudice denies the field its growth and maturity. Over the next few years as Moorcock fought this battle he became more and more isolated in Britain, and found that the prejudices remained on both sides.

Unable to find a new publisher, Moorcock created his own, operating out of his flat in Ladbroke Grove. The first new *New Worlds* was dated July 1967 and appeared at the end of June. Langdon Jones joined Moorcock as associate editor while Charles Platt became the designer, responsible for the layout and production of the new format. David Warburton continued to serve as co-publisher with Moorcock under the specially created company MagneList Publications.

At last Moorcock was able to produce the type of magazine he had envisaged four years before. The size was slightly smaller than A4 (20.5 cm \_ 27 cm), 64 pages, printed on coated stock, with plenty of scope for illustrated features. This was put to good effect in this issue by Platt's 'Expressing the Abstract', a review of the work of the Dutch graphic artist M. C. Escher,

which was also featured on the cover. Also clearly expressed on the cover was the new definition of sf. What had once been 'science fiction' was now 'speculative fiction', a far more liberal phrase that still remained enigmatic and hard to define.

The new serial that opened the issue was 'Camp Concentration' by Thomas M. Disch. It was a near-future thriller about enhancing the intelligence of political prisoners in America by the use of drugs that will also kill them. Disch had sold the outline for the novel to Berkley Books in America, but the publisher was not prepared to accept the final version, primarily because of the explicitness of the language used by the main character, a black man, Mordecai Washington. The new-found freedom was still too much for some to accept. As Disch recalled, 'The sequence that opens book two, where he describes his ravings; this is something that I might not have done but for knowing that *New Worlds* was there. I wanted to see how far I could force the language, until I had to break off and return to ordinary narrative.'<sup>24</sup>

Disch was joined in this issue by fellow Americans John Sladek, Roger Zelazny and Pamela Zoline. Zelazny's story, 'In the House of the Dead', was an outright fantasy, bringing to life the gods of ancient Egypt, and was an episode from his later novel *Creatures of Light and Darkness* (1969). Sladek's '1937 A.D.!' is a curiously understated time-travel spoof. Sladek was a relatively new writer, having first appeared in collaboration with Disch with an off-beat horror story 'The Way to a Man's Heart' in *Bizarre Mystery Magazine* (January 1966). He sold stories in rapid succession to Harlan Ellison, Frederik Pohl and Michael Moorcock, and became most closely associated with *New Worlds*. He also became co-editor, with Pamela Zoline (in 1968), of the short-lived poetry magazine *Ronald Reagan*. Zoline's story 'The Heat Death of the Universe' was her first sale and remains a remarkable experiment in applying the principle of entropy to the day-to-day life of an American housewife.

Over the next few issues Moorcock continued to attract stories from new writers, especially Americans, encouraged by the new forms of expression. Gene Wolfe, who had only just started to sell regularly to Damon Knight and Frederik Pohl, appeared with 'The Green Wall Said' (August 1967). James Sallis made his first sale to Moorcock, 'Kazoo' (August 1967), a hip-pified view of the end of the world.

The twenty-first anniversary issue in October 1967 could not have been further from the fledgling pulp that Carnell had issued in 1946. Despite names such as Brian Aldiss, Thomas Disch and Roger Zelazny, the contents were a quantum leap away from hard-core sf. The closest was 'An Age', the start of a new serial by Brian Aldiss (also known in book form as *Cryptozoic!*),

24 'Disch on Disch', in *Vector* #51.

which explores drug-induced mental time travelling against a background of time running backwards. Moorcock saw this issue as giving an indication of 'some of the directions' he hoped fiction would take in the next 21 years.

Moorcock's plans were temporarily thwarted when Warburton, seeing the poor sales figures, withdrew from the operation and left Moorcock in total ownership and control. The November 1967 issue could have been the last but Silvester Stein of Stonehart Publications came to the rescue, attracted in part by the publicity and interested to see what part he could play. *New Worlds* missed a few weeks in its schedule so combined the December 1967/January 1968 issues and then returned to monthly. The first Stonehart issue began serialization of Norman Spinrad's novel 'Bug Jack Barron', another that had failed to find a publisher in America. The story is actually a fairly conventional sf plot. It revolves around a successful TV programme of the future on which the public are allowed to air their grievances, not unlike the *Jerry Springer Show*. It centres on the complaint by a black man that he was not allowed to apply for immortality. With the third episode, in the March 1968 issue, W. H. Smith pulled the issue and decided not to stock it, arguing that the issue was obscene. Although there was little doubt that Spinrad pulled no punches in detailing the active sex life of Barron, there was nothing more gratuitous than in scores of other magazines and paperbacks on Smith's shelves. There were other aspects of the issue likely to irritate those with sensitivities. For instance, in Langdon Jones' trilogy of interrelated stories, 'The Eye of the Lens', there is a scene in which a girl argues with Christ on the cross.

Whatever Smith's concern, their ban of *New Worlds* was reported in the press, resulting in a question being asked in the House of Commons as to why the Arts Council was 'sponsoring filth'. Menzies also withdrew the issue from sale, and the Arts Council seriously considered stopping their grant. The magazine was also temporarily banned in South Africa, New Zealand and Australia. Apart from some small income from advertising, and a small core of subscribers, *New Worlds* survived by means of a few private donations and a lot of money from Moorcock, who was now writing at a furious pace to subsidize the magazine. Moorcock was finding it harder to spend time on editing the magazine and he gathered a group of assistants around him. James Sallis took over as fiction editor, followed subsequently by Charles Platt and later Graham Charnock. Grand plans to increase the size of the magazine and introduce colour came to nothing. With reducing circulation and rising controversy, Stonehart lost interest in the magazine and from issue 189 (April 1969) Moorcock was left to publish it himself.

In its final couple of years *New Worlds* published some excellent material. Some of the experimentation probably went too far, as is typical of a

publication striving to expand the boundaries. Unfortunately *New Worlds* was seen as a rebellious underground paper, linked with *The International Times* and *Oz* and even the comparatively innocuous *Private Eye*, all of which were testing the old establishment in the sixties and winning moral victories at enormous financial cost. The real message of *New Worlds* was lost on most people. It is important, therefore, to remember some of its achievements.

One such was the development of new authors. The November 1968 issue was a special edition for new writers, and three significant names emerged: Robert Holdstock, Graham Charnock and M. John Harrison. Harrison had sold one earlier story, 'Marina', to the last issue of *Science Fantasy* (February 1966), but 'Baa Baa Blocksheep', a disturbing account of a sentient killing machine, was something else entirely. Harrison was soon producing further Jerry Cornelius stories. His stories and subsequent novels reeked of decadence and a loss of soul. Holdstock was a more conventional writer who had been trying for several years to break into the magazines. His 'Pauper's Plot' is almost a machine version of *Animal Farm*, equally bleak and despondent. Its style was slightly forced for Holdstock, who would go on to produce some of the most imaginative fantasies of the next few decades. Of the three only Graham Charnock failed to fulfil his potential, though he was every bit as talented a writer. His stories became trapped in the whirlpool of *New Worlds* and never evolved. A year later would see the British debut of Ian Watson with 'Roof Garden under Saturn' (November 1969), which one could call an environmental fantasy, clearly inspired by Watson's time spent in Japan.

Other stories worth highlighting include 'Time Considered as a Helix of Semi-Precious Stones' by Samuel R. Delany (December 1968) and Harlan Ellison's 'A Boy and his Dog' (April 1969). It was only when these stories were given wider book publication that they received their due praise and went on to win Hugo and Nebula awards. *New Worlds* also published Brian Aldiss's series of 'acid-war' stories, later reworked as *Barefoot in the Head* (1969).

Although these stories may have been rooted in sf ideas, *New Worlds* was moving far away from its sf base with its new literary techniques and modes of expression. It serialized Jack Trevor Story's surreal but inconsequential story of life in the swinging sixties, 'The Wind in the Snottygobble Tree' (November 1969–February 1970). It presented some clever graphic poems, more in the nature of grids or flow-charts, of which 'Hospital of Transplanted Hearts' by D. M. Thomas (January 1969) and 'Alien Territory' by John Sladek (November 1969) are the most ingenious. But by this time *New Worlds* appeared to be running out of steam. Even a revolution needs constant freshness to sustain itself, and by the end of 1969 *New Worlds*

began to turn stale. It was a revolution running out of energy. In the summer of 1969 Moorcock discovered that about half of the 20,000 print-run was not being distributed but remained in boxes at the wholesalers. Printing debts were mounting and Platt and Moorcock were working themselves into the ground to keep the magazine going. By then the sf fraternity had virtually lost interest in the magazine, and Charles Platt affirmed the fact when he declared, '*New Worlds* is not a science-fiction magazine'.<sup>25</sup>

So what was it? Moorcock stated that '*New Worlds* was to be a magazine that could produce a worthwhile synthesis of post-war art, science and ideas presented in the form of fiction, chiefly, also poetry and graphics, running features that reflected current concerns in arts and sciences'.<sup>26</sup> In effect, *New Worlds* was a magazine of artistic and scientific comment and experiment, not too far removed from a literary review, but more avant-garde and with an emphasis on graphics. Had it started life as such it is doubtful if anyone would have commented, but because it was a science-fiction magazine that had endeavoured to come to terms with the world about it and challenge the state of the art, it was viewed as a renegade. As Campbell himself had remarked when *Astounding* changed its name to *Analog*, the one group of people you would think were wide open to change – the sf world – were in fact as narrow-minded as the rest.

Despite all these obstacles *New Worlds* reached its 200th issue in April 1970. It was a remarkable milestone. No other British magazine of science fiction (since we cannot call it a science-fiction magazine) had reached so exalted a number, and only three American sf magazines had – four if you include *Weird Tales*.<sup>27</sup> That issue published Philip José Farmer's ingenious 'The Jungle Rot Kid on the Nod', as if William Burroughs and not Edgar Rice Burroughs had created Tarzan. These items, while fun, did little to sustain the magazine. By now the debts were too high, Platt's health too poor and Moorcock's energies too depleted to continue. Moorcock put together a final issue (#201, March 1971) for distribution to subscribers only and cut his losses. The Arts Council grant was cancelled, and Moorcock concluded a deal for *New Worlds Quarterly* to appear as a pocketbook anthology. The future of *New Worlds* will continue in the third and final volume of this history.

The *New Worlds* venture might at first seem a failure. It was certainly misunderstood, with many critics convinced that writers had gone to extremes

25 Charles Platt, 'Lead In', *New Worlds* #193, August 1969, p. 1.

26 Michael Moorcock, in *SF Writers Bulletin*, BSFA, 1972.

27 As at April 1970 *Astounding/Analog* had published 473 issues, *Amazing Stories* 444, *Weird Tales* 279 and *F&SF* 231.

purely for effect and not for either artistic or literary reasons. Inevitably that may have happened, but it was the exception, not the norm. As a forum wherein writers could experiment with techniques and style, *New Worlds* had no equal, and there can be no doubt that as a result of *New Worlds*, and the freedom that it encouraged, science fiction and its allied forms gained significantly. In the short term those gains were as much in the new respectability that science fiction had within the literary establishment as it was in the greater diversity, technical freedom and literary standards that the fiction achieved. Looking back, Moorcock believed that *New Worlds* 'raised the expectation of what sf could be. What most authors have said – and it's surprising how many of them are "literary" writers not associated with sf – is that it gave them a sense of what was possible to do. I think we had as much influence on the non-sf world as the sf world.'<sup>28</sup> Moreover, much of the fiction published in *New Worlds* has lasted well, and almost improves with age, more so than much other writing from the period. Good examples are Disch's 'Camp Concentration', Spinrad's 'Bug Jack Barron', Ellison's 'A Boy and his Dog' and much of the work of Brian Aldiss.

*New Worlds* opened the eyes of book publishers more than it did magazine publishers to the possibilities of speculative fiction. To cite just one example, it is worth considering the work of Langdon Jones, one of the less remembered *New Worlds* authors. Jones' work had caused some problems at *New Worlds*. Moorcock had 'The Time Machine' lined up for the August 1967 issue but at the last minute the printer refused to print it. The story does contain an explicit, though relevant, love scene, but nothing exceptional. The irony of this is that the story was sold to Damon Knight in the United States and appeared in the fifth volume of his *Orbit* series in August 1969, with a British hardback edition in October 1970. Here was a story which a British printer decided was unacceptable in 1967 but which was acceptable for an American printer and publisher, and indeed for a British publisher three years later. Jones went on to compile his own anthology, *The New SF*, published by Hutchinson's as a hardback in November 1969. *The New SF* was not much different from an issue of *New Worlds*. It featured original stories by the same authors, but lacked the artwork and critical essays. The book was well received and attracted none of the controversy generated by *New Worlds*. What was not acceptable in magazines in 1967 was still not acceptable there in 1970, but what was allowed in books in 1970 had been

<sup>28</sup> Personal email, Moorcock–Ashley, 29 March 2000. David Pringle also told me that in discussion with Angela Carter in 1979, she remarked that by the late 1960s *New Worlds* represented the true avant-garde in British writing.



acceptable for years. Moorcock's decision to move *New Worlds* into the arena of books was certainly the right one, and it was a similar scene in the United States.

Having explored almost the entirety of British sf magazines during the 1960s, it is time to return to the United States. Now that *New Worlds* had set the revolutionary wheel turning, it was in America that the true merging of the new wave and sf would take place. Yet, at the same time, sf would be split asunder.

### Visions in Orbit

Throughout the early to mid-sixties, when Moorcock's revolution was gathering pace, American magazine publishers were far more cautious – in fact, even more cautious than their book publishing colleagues. Magazines relied on a steady readership and were wary of too many changes that might offend and lose readers. It was generally accepted that a high proportion of sf readers were young, or at most in their twenties, on average. The readership of *Analog* was slightly older, though there Campbell was his own voracious censor.<sup>29</sup> Although this perception of an innocent and gullible reader is not wholly correct, it prevailed among publishers, who had a general view that the sf magazines were little more than extensions of the comic-book field. The reverberations over the banning of horror comics in the early fifties still rang loud and clear in the memories of many and publishers did not want to resurrect that debate. Thus anything that tarnished the rockets-and-aliens image of magazines was not encouraged. Only one magazine was considered to be of sufficient literary quality to be above this stigma: *F&SF*, whose capable and sensible publisher, Joseph Ferman, allowed the magazine more scope in its fiction. Even when Frederik Pohl began to be more adventurous in *Galaxy*, he did it with great caution and a step at a time. Because most magazines did not accept anything of a 'hot' nature, therefore, few authors wrote it. It is interesting to see that those who had dared to press the danger buttons, such as Sturgeon and Farmer, had frequently had their work rejected. It is not surprising, therefore, that so many

29 Small fan surveys carried out in the mid-1950s showed that the average age of fans was in the mid-twenties. Curiously the average age of readers of *Amazing Stories* was higher than that of readers of *Analog*, but this may be because there were readers who had followed *Amazing* over many years. John Carnell's surveys in *New Worlds* in 1955 and 1957 showed the average reader age at about 30, and this is more likely to be representative of *Analog's* readers as well. See Harry Warner, Jr, *A Wealth of Fable* (Van Nuys: SCIFI Press, 1992), p. 25, and John Carnell, 'Survey Report . . . 1958', *New Worlds*, May 1959, p. 2.

writers turned to *New Worlds* for salvation when the opportunity came. A few tried to remedy the situation themselves.

Book publishing is different from magazine publishing. It matters less if an individual book is censored or banned – indeed, it's likely to increase sales. But the banning of one book does not disrupt the sales of others, as it would with a regular periodical. It's also easier for a publisher to change the image of a book, so that even a science-fiction book can be repackaged to look like something intended for adult readers.

So if changes were to be made, they were more likely to happen in the more liberated world of the hardback or even paperback book than they were in magazines. Certainly this was the case in such regular paperback series as *New World Writing*, edited by Vance Bourjaily since 1952, and *The Noble Savage*, started by Saul Bellow in 1960. These magazines masquerading as anthologies published a lot of original, unusual and challenging fiction – by Thomas Pynchon, Eugene Ionesco, Christopher Isherwood, Norman Mailer and others – of the type that *New Worlds* tried to encourage.

I have already mentioned the court case over the publication by Grove Press in New York of William Burroughs' *The Naked Lunch* (1962), and the decision to allow publication was a landmark in the emancipation of fiction. There were already a growing number of publishers producing pornographic or semi-pornographic fiction. I mentioned how, after Robert M. Guinn sold *Galaxy Science Fiction Novels* to Beacon Books, it was converted into a series of erotic-sf novels, most notable among which was *Flesh* by Philip José Farmer. Regency Books, based in Evanston, Illinois, published by William Hamling and with Algis Budrys and Harlan Ellison serving as editors at various times, also published a considerable amount of science fiction among its risqué titles. This included Lester del Rey's *The Eleventh Commandment* (1961) and Cordwainer Smith's first story collection, *You Will Never Be The Same* (1963). It was Regency that had endeavoured to publish a taboo-breaking anthology edited by Judith Merrill, *The Thin Edge*, as early as 1961, but Merrill and Ellison could not agree over contents.

Another Chicago publisher, Paul Neimark, who ran Novel Books, did issue such an anthology, *Taboo* (New Classics, 1964), its cover boldly declaring, 'seven short stories which no publisher would touch from seven leading writers'. The authors represented were Robert Bloch, Charles Beaumont, Nelson Algren, Harlan Ellison, Ray Russell, Fritz Leiber and Neimark himself. Beaumont's story had been published in his story collection *Night Ride and Other Journeys* (Bantam, 1960), though it had been rejected by various magazines, while Russell's story had been revised from an earlier abbreviated version published in the men's magazine *Tiger* in 1956. None of the

stories is traditional science fiction, though Bloch's wonderfully free-form 'Second Coming' would have been ideal for Moorcock's *New Worlds*. It tells, in a series of tabloid newspaper headlines, of Christ's second coming and how it is viewed. The stories were mostly dark thrillers, such as Ellison's 'Battle Without Banners', about a violent prison break-out. The fact remains, though, that some publishers were trying to produce more serious adult fiction, regardless of its genre trappings.

It would have come as no surprise that Ellison was involved with both *The Thin Edge* and *Taboo*. If there was any American writer determined to shake up the American sf scene it was Ellison. Although he had been absent from the sf magazines for a few years around the turn of the decade, he was coming back with a vengeance. Even the offbeat stories in *F&SF* and *Fantastic* did not prepare readers for the powerhouse stories that shouted at them from *Galaxy* and *If*: "'Repent, Harlequin!" Said the Ticktockman' (*Galaxy*, December 1965) and 'I Have No Mouth and I Must Scream' (*If*, March 1967), both award-winners. Despite some advances in magazines – Pohl at *Galaxy*, Goldsmith at *Amazing* and *Fantastic*, Davidson at *F&SF* – Ellison still felt that overall 'there is a constricting narrowness of mind on the part of many editors in the field'.<sup>30</sup> Urged on by Norman Spinrad and Robert Silverberg and having half-hooked Lawrence Ashmead, the editor at Doubleday, Ellison set about acquiring ground-breaking new stories for *Dangerous Visions*.

The history of books and magazines seeking to publish material that nowhere else would take is not new. In the general fiction field it goes back at least as far as *The Grim 13*, compiled by Frederick Stuart Greene in 1917. It has been a recurring theme in the sf magazines ever since David Lasser tried to turn round *Wonder Stories* in 1932, or when William Crawford tried to get *Marvel Tales* off the ground in 1933, and so on through many incarnations we have already discussed. The difference with Ellison's book is that he was commissioning all *new* stories, daring authors to break with conventions. That means that we will never know whether these stories would have been rejected by magazines or other editors. It's a fair bet that some of them would have found a home, but certainly not all. Many of the authors took the opportunity to write stories about subjects that were certainly taboo at the time. Norman Spinrad wrote about a Hell's Angel's attempt to combat cancer in 'Carcinoma Angels' written, incidentally, at the same time as he was working on 'Bug Jack Barron'. There was Theodore Sturgeon's story of incest, 'If All Men Were Brothers Would You Let One Marry Your Sister?'. There was humankind's confrontation with the

30 Harlan Ellison, *Dangerous Visions* #1, New York: Merkley Medallion edition, 1969, p. 24.

Almighty in Lester del Rey's 'Evensong'. Philip José Farmer produced the over-the-top but ideally suited artistic view of utopia, 'Riders of the Purple Wage'. The anthology and several of its stories attracted awards like a magnet. At the time it did feel, as Ellison said in his introduction, like 'a revolution'. The stories were not as extreme in either content or style as those Moorcock was publishing, but they were still challenging, different and refreshing.

Ellison was not alone in his endeavours. A year before the publication of *Dangerous Visions*, Damon Knight had published the first volume of his anthology series *Orbit* in hardback from Putnam. Knight had never had the opportunity to fully exercise his understanding of science fiction as a magazine editor. *Worlds Beyond* was whipped away after only three issues back in 1951, and he was able to compile only three issues of *If* before that changed hands. Throughout the fifties Knight's trenchant book reviews had demonstrated his strong views about standards in science fiction and *Orbit* was his first real opportunity to be put to the test. The result was impressive. *Orbit 1* was stronger on scientific fiction than one might expect, though later volumes of *Orbit* veered towards the unconventional. Nevertheless, at the outset Knight did an excellent job in encouraging authors to produce top-quality straight down-the-line sf. The stand-out story is Richard McKenna's other-dimensional 'The Secret Place', which won that year's Nebula award for best short story. There were two excellent stories of alien life-forms, 'How Beautiful with Banners' by James Blish and 'Kangaroo Court' by Virginia Kidd. The book generally received positive reviews, Judith Merrill acknowledging that at least two of the stories needed a book like this to achieve publication.<sup>31</sup> P. Schuyler Miller, writing in *Analog*, compared *Orbit* with Carnell's *New Writings in SF* and urged other publishers to consider such original anthology series.<sup>32</sup>

Carnell's *New Writings*, which had started in England in August 1964, was only just now appearing in the United States from Bantam Books in the autumn of 1966. His anthologies were more in keeping with the old *New Worlds* and relied heavily on a traditional treatment of science fiction. Although strong, reliable stories, they were never going to break down any barriers. Knight's *Orbit*, on the other hand, soon began to exercise some muscle. With the first volume a success, Knight allowed himself more freedom in the second, placing a greater stress on technique rather than on content. Laurels this time go to Kate Wilhelm for her satire on the television industry, 'Baby, You Were Great', to Ted Thomas for 'The Doctor', an

31 Judith Merrill, *F&SF* 31(3), September 1966, p. 18.

32 P. Schuyler Miller, 'The Reference Library', *Analog* 78(5), January 1967, p. 167.

intriguing story of a doctor trapped back in the Stone Age, and to Richard McKenna again, for his dream-world escapist story 'Fiddler's Green'. Significant from the point of view of new authors and originality were Gene Wolfe with 'Trip, Trap', R. A. Lafferty with 'The Hole on the Corner' and Joanna Russ with two stories about her feminist swordswoman, Alyx. P. Schuyler Miller commented that the stories would have made 'a fat, outstanding issue of a magazine like *Fantasy and Science Fiction*',<sup>33</sup> and indeed it was *F&SF* that *Orbit* most closely resembled. The difference was that Knight had a whole year in which to select good stories for his anthology, as opposed to *F&SF*'s monthly schedule. With *Orbit 3* (Putnam, 1968), the shift towards literary style was even more evident as shown in Philip José Farmer's 'Don't Wash the Carats', Gene Wolfe's 'The Changeling', and Richard Wilson's award-winning 'Mother to the World', a new treatment on the last-man-on-Earth theme.

*Orbit* would continue to publish excellent short fiction for thirteen years. Its success prompted other publishers to enter the original anthology field. The competition began in earnest in 1970, and is thus dealt with in detail in the final volume in this series.

The consecutive appearances of *Orbit*, *Dangerous Visions* and the slick-format *New Worlds* showed that by the mid-sixties the science-fiction field was striving for change. These three publications did not inspire each other. They each appeared spontaneously out of the need for science fiction to get its act together. Not only did sf need to improve its standards, it needed to align itself with other literary developments. The cry was for sf to get out of the ghetto and back into the mainstream. Not all sf devotees agreed with this, and there is no doubt that from the mid-sixties onwards sf split. There were those writers who sought to constantly improve sf, and to broaden its acceptance, while there were those who believed that it needed to remain as entertainment, sophisticated or otherwise.

There were two other factors that would have a significant impact on sf, and although that impact did not start to take effect until later in the sixties, and more strongly in the 1970s, they had their roots at the same time as *New Worlds* and *Dangerous Visions* and are therefore worth considering now.

33 P. Schuyler Miller, 'The Reference Library', *Analog* 80(6), February 1968, p. 167.

## Fantasy versus Reality

### Magic realism?

Science fiction has long had a close relationship with fantasy. By strict definition science fiction cannot be fantasy, because science fiction is an attempt to portray what could happen, given the appropriate scientific or social parameters, while fantasy explores what is beyond the realms of science, such as magic, and therefore cannot happen – at least, not in our world.

But therein lies the rub. Writing in 1962, Arthur C. Clarke set down three laws about technological advance. His third law states concisely: ‘Any sufficiently advanced technology is indistinguishable from magic’.<sup>1</sup> In a later speech given to the American Institute of Architects in May 1967, Clarke amplified on this third law, making the point that ‘the really exciting developments of the future are precisely those we can’t imagine’.<sup>2</sup> This allows anything that appears magical set either in the far future or on an alien world to be presented as advanced science. This was exactly what Clark Ashton Smith had done in the 1930s in his stories for *Weird Tales* set in Zothique, in the last days of Earth, or on Atlantis. Henry Kuttner had used the same approach for some of his adventure stories in *Startling Stories*, as had Jack Vance in *The Dying Earth* (Hillman, 1950), and it was Vance who best represented this approach in his planetary adventure stories in *Galaxy*.

There were further factors to consider. Campbell’s interest in alternative sciences and particularly in the powers of the mind had seen the growth of transcendental science fiction in *Astounding* in the 1940s. Campbell had, of course, also been the editor of *Unknown*, undoubtedly the best of all fantasy magazines, and he had applied the same unified scientific structure

1 Arthur C. Clarke, *Profiles of the Future* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1962).

2 Arthur C. Clarke, *Report on Planet Three* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1972), p. 147.

to the stories he published there as he had to those in *Astounding*. In other words, even if you create a fantastic world, it has to operate within its own rules. Heinlein had produced the definitive story along those lines for *Unknown*, 'The Devil Makes the Law' (September 1940; better known as *Magic, Inc.*), and it was also the guiding principle in L. Sprague de Camp and Fletcher Pratt's Harold Shea stories. Campbell let this thinking spill over into *Astounding*, driven to some extent by L. Ron Hubbard, Fritz Leiber and Henry Kuttner. By the 1950s stories of psychic and transcendental powers began to dominate *Astounding* and it was once again Jack Vance who came along with 'The Miracle Workers' (*Astounding*, July 1958), about a culture in which science is indistinguishable from magic. In fact it is pertinent to note that when Vance included the story in one of his collections the book was called *Eight Fantasms and Magics* (Macmillan, 1969), yet Robert Silverberg anthologized it in *The Arbor House Treasury of Great Science Fiction Short Novels* (Arbor House, 1980). Clearly one man's magic is another man's sf.

Once Campbell had let this lion out of the cage he could never again contain it. In fact he seemed to encourage it. Randall Garrett's Lord Darcy stories are further examples of an alternative world in which magic operates according to very strict laws. Frank Herbert's Dune series, the second part of which, 'The Prophet of Dune', ran in *Analog* from January to May 1965, although strong on science, is set in a culture that is almost medieval. The same mood would be found in 'Weyr Search' by Anne McCaffrey (*Analog*, October 1967), the first in what would become her highly successful series set on the planet Pern and involving the native telepathic and telekinetic dragons. Although the Pern series stories are actually fully rationalized science fiction, they have the ambience and iconography of the fantastic. As with Vance's work, this story has been reprinted in such volumes as *The Mammoth Book of New World Science Fiction* (Robinson, 1991) and *A Dragon-Lover's Treasury of the Fantastic* (Warner, 1994).

A third factor that distorted sf and fantasy was the new-wave approach of Moorcock and others. Once you accept that our vision of the world is purely as we perceive it through our senses, then anything that distorts those senses (whether our five physical senses or our sense of time and place or of continuity) will distort our perception of the world about us. Drug-induced illusions or distorted visions or invading other people's dream worlds can be every bit as fantastic as the weirdest of weird tales, and yet they can have their roots firmly in science fiction. Ballard's 'The Terminal Beach' was a fine example of this, and a perfect pre-Moorcock example is 'Shards' by Brian W. Aldiss (*F&SF*, April 1962), in which attempts to enhance the intelligence of fish give the observer a fish-eye view of its growing perception.

It is not a large step from these fantasies of perception to tales of magic realism which enhance our understanding of the world about us, and a few steps further take us into tales of the supernatural. As far back as the early 1900s Algernon Blackwood's stories such as 'A Psychological Invasion' or 'The Willows' showed that either experimentation with drugs or a closer affinity with nature will widen our perception of a spiritual world.

I mention all of this to show that by the mid-sixties it was becoming increasingly difficult – and perhaps also unnecessary – to divide science fiction from fantasy. What happened next, though, was something of a surprise. Fantasy had been out of favour for some twenty years, and certainly had never been seen as a separate publishing genre, like science fiction or mysteries or Westerns. Then came two major publishing events: the paperback edition of *The Lord of the Rings* and the paperback reprinting of Robert E. Howard's Conan stories.

By no stretch of the imagination is *The Lord of the Rings* by J. R. R. Tolkien intended as science fiction, unless you choose to treat it as an alternative world or as set in humankind's distant past at a time when other races, such as elves and orcs, inhabited Earth. Nevertheless the structured and omniscient way in which Tolkien created Middle-Earth, complete with its languages, religions, cultures and races, made it an exercise in mythography that can be equated with the creation of other alien worlds and life forms. Middle-Earth was created in much the same way as any alien science-fiction world and appealed to many of the same readers.

*The Lord of the Rings* had first appeared in three separate volumes in hardback during 1954 and 1955, simply because the book was too long to publish and market as a single volume. Ever since it has been referred to as a trilogy, when it is really a single novel in three parts. In 1965 Donald Wollheim discovered that, because of a loophole in the copyright regulations, the full work had not been copyrighted in the United States and was thus in the public domain. He chose to reprint the 'trilogy' in paperback in Ace Books, without the permission of Tolkien and without paying royalties. This caused an uproar from Houghton Mifflin, who were about to publish an authorized paperback edition in America under their Ballantine Books imprint. In order to regain copyright control, Tolkien had to make revisions to the book to allow it to be newly registered. In the end Wollheim did make a token payment to Tolkien and withdrew the Ace edition, but not before the furore had created media interest in the book. It soon became a favourite of the growing hippy movement and by 1966 Tolkien mania was sweeping Britain and America. *The Lord of the Rings* has gone on to be one of the best-selling fiction books in the world and was voted in 1997 the most popular book of the twentieth century in two separate polls.



At the same time Lancer Books began to issue a comprehensive series of books reprinting the stories of Conan the Barbarian by Robert E. Howard. The series was under the general editorship of L. Sprague de Camp, who, with Lin Carter and Bjorn Nyberg, added further stories to the series to fill in the gaps. The original Conan stories had first appeared in *Weird Tales* in the 1930s and had been published in book form before, but this time the Lancer editions caught the mood of a new generation. The first book, *Conan the Adventurer*, appeared in mid-1966 and others followed at the rate of three volumes per year over the next three years. Sales escalated, and Conan fever was close behind Tolkien mania.

All of this opened publishers' eyes to the commercial potential of fantasy. Every paperback publisher who could find a writer leaped onto the bandwagon. Ballantine were the most effective, inaugurating an Adult Fantasy series under the editorship of Lin Carter. This concentrated on bringing back into print neglected masterworks, such as those by William Morris and Lord Dunsany, but also began to publish new works, resulting in a resurrected career for Evangeline Walton and wider recognition for Peter S. Beagle. Lancer Books also extended their fantasy line. Michael Moorcock was able to ride the crest of this wave, not only with the publication of his stories of Elric of Melniboné in paperback, but with the creation of an entire Eternal Champion cycle. It was the money from the sales of these books which helped finance *New Worlds*.

With a new marketing genre, it became more profitable to promote some books as fantasy rather than science fiction. So it was that Roger Zelazny found his works being packaged as fantasy, such as *Lord of Light* (Doubleday, 1967), parts of which had run in *F&SF*, even though this is essentially a science-fiction novel set on a colonial world where a culture has grown based on the pantheon of the Hindu gods. When Anne McCaffrey's first Pern novel *Dragonflight* appeared in book form from Ballantine in 1968, it was still treated as science fiction, but the cover and packaging were designed to make it attractive to the fantasy readership.

All of this inevitably had an effect on the sf magazines. Although many of the stories creating this new fantasy genre had first appeared in the magazines, it was the book market that was setting the trends and the magazines following. The ones that should have benefited most were those that already had fantasy as a major part of their content, notably *Fantastic* and *F&SF*, but it didn't happen that way.

### Beyond Fantasy

It is ironic that just at the time when *Fantastic* should have been able to reap something of what it had sown, it was sold to a new publisher and plunged into darkness. Since 1960 *Fantastic* had almost single-handedly revived an interest in adventure fantasy fiction – a sub-genre that became dubbed heroic fantasy or sword-and-sorcery depending on your taste – and had published works by Fritz Leiber, John W. Jakes, Roger Zelazny, Michael Moorcock and others. Many of these works were finding their way into book form, but sales of *Fantastic* had steadily decreased with each year. By late 1964 they were down to 27,000 and dropping – and its companion *Amazing Stories* was only a few thousand higher. In March 1965 Ziff-Davis sold both magazines to Sol Cohen, who established the Ultimate Publishing Company, with partner Arthur Bernhard, in Flushing, New York.

Although Cele Lalli had the option to go with the magazines she stayed with Ziff-Davis. Cohen selected as his new editor Joseph Wrzos, at that time a full-time teacher of English. Cohen had met Wrzos only briefly a few months earlier when Wrzos called in at the offices of *Galaxy* to acquire the latest issue before it hit the stands in order to read Robert Sheckley's 'Mindswap'. Cohen was impressed by Wrzos's dedication and even more impressed when he learned that Wrzos had been an assistant editor at Gnome Press, working with Martin Greenberg in 1953–54. Wrzos jumped at the chance of editing both *Amazing* and *Fantastic*, even though he kept up his full-time work as a teacher. He adopted a simpler form of his name, Joseph Ross, to avoid possible printer error. His remit from Cohen was to fill both magazines entirely with reprints selected from the archives of *Amazing Stories*, *Fantastic* or their former companions. The package Cohen had bought when acquiring rights to the magazines from Ziff-Davis included the second serial rights to the stories, which Ziff-Davis had acquired when they first bought them. In some cases Ziff-Davis, or their predecessor, Teck Publications, may even have bought all rights. In the days before sf appeared regularly in books, and certainly in the pre-paperback days, authors never expected their stories to be reprinted at all, but magazine publishers routinely bought second serial rights to allow them to reprint the stories in any format. Whatever the arrangements, Cohen took this as a *carte blanche* arrangement to allow him to reprint stories without any further payment to their authors.

Wrzos insisted that the magazines carry at least one new story per issue. Cohen agreed, though, as Wrzos told me, it was 'an easy concession at the time since we had some unpublished manuscripts left over from the

Ziff-Davis files'.<sup>3</sup> This allowed Wrzos to include Fritz Leiber's new Grey Mouser story, 'Stardock', in the first Ultimate edition of *Fantastic*, dated September 1965, though on sale in the middle of July. It was the only short fiction from Cohen's magazines in the second half of the sixties to be nominated for a Hugo award. The remainder of that issue was filled with reprints, albeit a good selection. They included 'The Dark Room' by Theodore Sturgeon and 'Sally' by Isaac Asimov from the earliest issues of *Fantastic*, 'You'll Never Go Home Again' by Clifford D. Simak, from *Fantastic Adventures* of the same period (1951), and 'The Worm' by David H. Keller, the oldest story, from *Amazing Stories*, March 1929.

For the first year or so, Wrzos was able to select the cream of reprints from the magazines, together with rationing the new stories on hand. The reprints allowed many big names to be emblazoned on the magazines' covers, and since at that time all too few of the stories from either *Amazing* or *Fantastic* had been reprinted, the stories came as new and fresh to many readers. The letter columns of both magazines were filled with praise for keeping the magazines going and a plea that *Fantastic* be reserved for fantasy fiction and not made 'the seventh SF magazine'.<sup>4</sup>

*Fantastic* did manage to eke out some good new fantasy stories during this period. Starting in the November 1965 issue was serialization of Keith Laumer's 'Axe and Dragon', a good fantasy romp in the style of de Camp and Pratt, in which Lafayette O'Leary is transported to the alternative world of Artesia, where the industrial revolution was a bit late. Roger Zelazny's latest Dilvish the Damned story, 'The Bells of Shoredan', ran in the March 1966 issue, while that for May featured Avram Davidson's short novel depicting the Roman poet Virgil as the magician and necromancer depicted in later legend. Wrzos was particularly pleased at having first sight of Zelazny's 'For a Breath I Tarry', one of his most original new stories. Cohen still gave the final word on acceptance, and he delayed his decision. In the end the story ran first in *New Worlds* (March 1966). It was only then that Cohen was convinced and agreed to publish it. It eventually appeared in *Fantastic* in September 1966. Wrzos told me that 'I shall never forgive him his timidity at that time'.<sup>5</sup>

When the Conan boom erupted, Gerald W. Page, who had briefly been brought in as a freelance consultant editor, urged Cohen to reprint something by Howard and they ran 'The People of the Black Circle' from *Weird Tales* in the January 1967 issue. It was the only time Cohen went outside the *Amazing* family archives for a reprint.

3 Personal correspondence, Wrzos–Ashley, 27 March 1981.

4 See 'Letters', *Fantastic* 15(3), January 1966, p. 160.

5 Personal correspondence, Wrzos–Ashley, 27 March 1981.

Unfortunately the supply of new fantasy fiction soon began to run out. Wrzos was having similar problems at *Amazing Stories*. From the outset there he had also been allowed to use one new story (or serial episode) per issue, and initially had published some good material. This included Murray Leinster's novel 'Killer Ship' (October–December 1965), Cordwainer Smith's 'On the Sand Planet' (December 1965), Philip K. Dick's 'Your Appointment Will be Yesterday' (August 1966) and Jack Vance's 'The Man from Zodiac' (August 1967).

Wrzos had a good track record in developing new writers, especially considering the limited conditions under which he worked. Without doubt his best known discovery was Dean R. Koontz. However, the delay in being able to use new stories, and the time spent by Wrzos in helping Koontz whip 'A Darkness in My Soul' into shape meant that Koontz had already appeared elsewhere before this novelette appeared in the January 1968 *Fantastic* (on sale in November 1967). His first appearance in an sf magazine was with 'Soft Comes the Dragons' (*F&SF*, August 1967). Wrzos also bought the first story from Doris Piserchia, 'Rocket to Gehenna' (*Fantastic*, September 1966), and gave first US publication to Peter Tate with 'The Thinking Seat' (*Fantastic*, May 1967; previously run in *New Worlds*, November 1966).

However, by now Cohen was starting to milk the reprint potential of his magazines. In August 1965 he issued *Great Science Fiction from Amazing* on a quarterly basis. Although for the first six issues this title (and its contents) alternated with *Great Science Fiction from Fantastic*, it thereafter settled down as simply *Great Science Fiction*, drawing from both magazines. In January 1966 he released another all-reprint title, *The Most Thrilling Science Fiction Ever Told*, and in March 1967 appeared *Science Fiction Classics*. This last title selected old material from the earliest days of *Amazing Stories*. The contents for these magazines were selected and published entirely by Cohen himself, although Wrzos was at a loss to know what criteria he used since he never actually read any of the stories. In fact as the workload increased, and with Wrzos only ever able to work on *Amazing* and *Fantastic* on a part-time basis, Cohen brought in Herb Lehrman to help. It was Lehrman who suggested *Science Fiction Classics* and this magazine remained his to edit for all of its first incarnation.<sup>6</sup>

Cohen's practice of not paying for any of these reprints brought him into conflict with the Science Fiction Writers of America (SFWA). This professional organization had been established by Damon Knight in 1965 to advise and inform members and to assist them in their dealings with pub-

6 The bibliography of these reprint magazines became increasingly complicated over the next two to three years. It is not especially pertinent to this history but details are given in Appendix 2, together with details of the other reprint titles that Cohen issued through to 1971.

lishers and editors. Soon after its inauguration the SFWA began to receive letters from members complaining about Cohen's refusal to pay authors for stories he was reprinting and also about his failure to respond to requests for assignment of copyright back to the relevant authors. The SFWA asked its members to boycott the Ultimate magazines until such time as Cohen agreed to make a fair and reasonable payment. Only after a year did Cohen agree to make minor token payments, but these were flat fees, not based on a story's length, and it was not until August 1967 that a firm agreement was reached over graduated payments and the boycott withdrawn.<sup>7</sup>

Although Wrzos had continued to receive submissions during this period his scope was severely restricted. Cohen's argument that the new reprint magazines helped subsidize *Amazing* and *Fantastic* and, in effect, kept them alive had some mileage. There was no point in forcing those magazines out of business if Cohen was still prepared to publish occasional new stories and pay for those at a promised three cents a word, not too far off the average rate at that time.<sup>8</sup> In the circumstances Wrzos did a remarkable job, but by the end of two years his store of good-quality reprints was running out, and he was spending a long time with new authors developing new work. It was time to step aside.

The man who had served as go-between with Cohen and the SFWA was none other than Harry Harrison. Grateful for Harrison's help, Cohen asked if he would edit the magazines. With *sf Impulse* having folded in February 1967, Harrison was now available. Harrison agreed on the basis that all reprints would be phased out by the end of the year. Cohen agreed and Harrison began work in September 1967 on the December issue of *Amazing* and the January 1968 *Fantastic*, though at that time he was still using material acquired by Wrzos. Cohen also put Harrison's name as editor on the Spring and Summer 1968 issues of *Great SF*, even though they had been compiled by Lehrman and Cohen. Harrison agreed to this in the hope that the reprints would be phased out, but time passed and nothing happened.

By February 1968 Harrison was tired of Cohen's lack of cooperation. He resigned, recommending Barry Malzberg as his successor. Cohen had dealt with Malzberg, who worked at the Scott Meredith Literary Agency, and suspected (wrongly) that Malzberg might be more compliant over the matter of reprints than Harrison. Malzberg took over in April 1968, working on the September 1968 *Amazing*.

During Harrison's five months he had managed to instigate some changes in both magazines. He introduced a number of departments,

7 See details in the *SFWA Bulletin*, August 1967.

8 According to Barry Malzberg, however, Cohen rarely paid over two cents a word, and usually less. See 'Memoir from Grub Street' in *The Engines of the Night*, pp. 27–28.

including a regular science article in *Amazing* by Leon Stover, and managed to publish more new stories. Unfortunately most of these were brief vignettes, so the total wordage did not increase. Perhaps Harrison's best claim during this period was the discovery of the potent new talent of James Tiptree, Jr, whose first sf sale, 'Fault', appeared in the August 1968 *Fantastic*.<sup>9</sup> Just as with Wrzos and Koontz, Harrison was unable to get 'Fault' into print earlier, by which time Tiptree had appeared in *Analog* with 'Birth of a Salesman' (March 1968) and *If* with 'The Mother Ship' (June 1968). 'Fault' had an almost pulp mood to it, though it's a fascinating story about the discovery of an alien world whose inhabitants have the ability to knock people out of synch with time. Even so, these stories show Tiptree's strong characterization and the confidence of these early sales allowed her to move up a gear to produce the more solid stories of the next few years.

Malzberg's period at *Ultimate* was no better than Harrison's. Indeed, Malzberg regretted his decision almost from the start. He and Cohen were at loggerheads, with Malzberg striving to rid the magazines of the reprints and introduce some good-quality sf. Malzberg was in favour of the new experimentalism in sf and soon the names of John Sladek, Thomas M. Disch and James Sallis appeared. Malzberg was still a comparatively new writer. He had first appeared with 'We're Coming Through the Window' (*Galaxy*, August 1967) under the alias K. M. O'Donnell, but he soon made a considerable impact with his story 'Final War' (*F&SF*, April 1968), about a soldier trapped in a perpetual wargame. For a period he would not only be one of the most prolific contributors to science fiction but also one of the most acerbic, his stories cutting like knives at the underbelly of social and political conscience. He was a whirlwind of creative energy, and it may be fair to state that science fiction benefited from his return to full-time writing, but it is also tempting to consider how he might have shaken up the sf scene had he remained as an editor.

But this was not to be. Matters came to a head with Cohen in October 1968. Cohen refused to pay or use a specially commissioned cover. Malzberg declared that if Cohen did not use the cover then he would be honour bound to resign. At this point, unknown to Malzberg, Cohen asked the advice of Robert Silverberg, then president of the SFWA. Cohen told Silverberg that Malzberg had resigned although, at that stage, he had not. Unsuspecting, Silverberg recommended Ted White as an editor. Cohen contacted White, who readily accepted the challenge, and, having secured a new editor, Cohen promptly fired Malzberg.

<sup>9</sup> Under her real name, Alice Sheldon, Tiptree had sold her first story as far back as 1946 to the *New Yorker*.

This was a chaotic period in the history of *Amazing* and *Fantastic* and no one really benefited from it. Even the sales of both magazines started to decline. After a rapid increase in Wrzos's first year to just under 50,000 for *Amazing* and about 42,000 for *Fantastic* sales began to slide steadily down to 35,000 and 31,000 respectively at the start of White's editorship. The rot had set in so far as sales were concerned, and White was never able to reverse the trend despite the energy he put into converting both magazines into good-quality products. White's role and the fate of *Fantastic* and *Amazing* are explored in Volume III.

This period, with an emphasis on reprints and a rapid change of editors, allowed no time for a proper editor/author/reader relationship to become established. *Fantastic*, which had been the leading fantasy magazine in the early sixties, was now an also-ran, and gained no benefit from the rise in interest in fantasy fiction. Curiously *F&SF* did not benefit either, certainly not in terms of better sales, which held at around 50–51,000 throughout the late sixties. Where *F&SF* did benefit was in what it brought to the readers in terms of enhanced quality fiction.

By the mid-sixties, *F&SF* no longer felt like the sophisticated fantasy-digest equivalent of the *New Yorker* that Boucher and McComas had launched fifteen years earlier, but that was because much of the field was now catching up with it. The joy of *F&SF* throughout its life has been its consistency and open-mindedness, and until the mid-sixties you could almost guarantee that some stories would surface in *F&SF* that would never surface elsewhere. By the mid-sixties, though, the changes that Michael Moorcock was making at *New Worlds*, and to some degree those made by Kyril Bonfiglioli and Keith Roberts at *Science Fantasy/Impulse*, meant that more magazines were taking this expansive view, and this continued throughout the rest of the sixties. Although *F&SF* was never the same as its former close rivals *Galaxy* and *Analog*, it did start to face significant competition from *If* and the British magazines.

In January 1966 Edward Ferman formally took over as editor, a role he continued to play for the next 25 years. Although Ferman introduced several changes into the magazine, especially in new columns and features and in format, the quality of the stories remained high and there was always a pleasing and at times intriguing variety. During the first five years of his command *F&SF* underwent a transition as it took on the changes in the field. At the same time it managed to hold on to the best of the old. Thus, within a relatively short space of time you would find issues running John Christopher's almost outdated serial about miniaturization, 'The Little People' (January–March 1967), alongside Thomas Burnett Swann's sophisticated story of medievalism and mandrakes, 'The Manor of Roses'

(November 1966), alongside anarchic and often indefinable stories by R. A. Lafferty, Gahan Wilson, Harvey Jacobs and Gerald Jonas, alongside a celebration of Isaac Asimov (October 1966). There was a whole raft of stories by British writers (new wave and others), ranging from J. G. Ballard, Josephine Saxton, Peter Tate, Hilary Bailey and George Collyn to David Redd, D. F. Jones, John Brunner and even Fred Hoyle. There were new discoveries, such as Dean Koontz, Greg Benford, Gary Jennings and Leonard Tushnet, alongside the more slick-style fantasies of Reginald Bretnor or Ron Goulart. There were old reliables such as Jack Vance (a new Dying Earth series featuring Cugel the Clever), Zenna Henderson (with new People stories) and Brian W. Aldiss (his award-winning novella about invisibility, 'The Saliva Tree', September 1965).

And perhaps above all there was Roger Zelazny. Zelazny was at home in just about every magazine (except *Analog*) but there was something special about his association with *F&SF*. Not only did his stories there regularly win or receive nominations for the Hugo and Nebula awards, but they heralded his maturity as a writer. From his first appearance in *F&SF* ('A Rose for Ecclesiastes', November 1963) to his last ('Jack of Shadows', July–August 1971), Zelazny produced a tapestry of almost mystical science fiction and fantasy. 'The Doors of His Face, the Lamps of His Mouth' (March 1965) was a farewell to a watery Venus. '. . . And Call Me Conrad' (October–November 1965) was an almost Vancian far-future robinsonade. 'This Moment of the Storm' (June 1966) pits a strangely alien human against the forces of Nature. 'Dawn' (April 1967) and 'Death and the Executioner' (June 1967) were both extracts from *Lord of Light*, a Hindu-based science fantasy which was deeply in touch with the hippy fashion for Indian religions and meditative pursuits of the 'flower-power' era.

*F&SF*'s cover art also reflected the changing mood. Some covers, such as Mel Hunter's for the May 1966 issue or Chesley Bonestell's for February 1967, suggested a hard-science content, although none of the stories in those issue were anything like that. More appropriate were the covers by Ron Walotsky or Gray Morrow, which were in keeping with the psychedelic imagery of the late sixties.

It is quite difficult to define *F&SF* in the late sixties, and that is its strength. It remained unpredictable while still providing the best of the old and the new. It somehow remained aloof from most of the growing interest in heroic fantasy, unless one counts the highly individualistic Cugel stories by Jack Vance, or the post-civilization novel 'Sos the Rope' by Piers Anthony (July–September 1968), in which humanity strives to recover from the feudal state. This novel was the winner of a \$5,000 competition run jointly by *F&SF*, Pyramid Books and Irwin Allen. Anthony, although he was unhappy



about the terms of the competition, regarded this as 'one of my first big breaks as a writer'.<sup>10</sup> Although Anthony had debuted in *Fantastic* and sold several stories to the Ziff-Davis magazines, and later to John W. Campbell and Frederik Pohl, he was more of a book author than a magazine author, one of a growing breed. This was the second contest run in *F&SF* at this time which furthered a writer's career. In December 1964 *F&SF* had held the 'Univac and the Unicorn' competition. Doris Pitkin Buck had written a poem because she had yet to find a story in which both a unicorn and the all-intelligent Univac computer appeared. The contest was for stories of no more than 1,000 words and although the first prize of \$100 may seem minimal, ten cents a word was a remarkable payment from a digest magazine then (and even now!). The winner was Herb Lehrman with 'The Ancient Last'. Lehrman went on to work with Sol Cohen and his reprint magazines. Of more significance was the second prize winner, Greg Benford, with 'Stand-In' (June 1965). Suitably encouraged, Benford, who was still studying for his PhD in physics, sold two more stories to *F&SF*, 'Representative from Earth' (January 1966) and 'Flattop' (May 1966) – the latter a remarkable prediction of the rise and fall of the space programme. Benford was then silent for a few years as he completed his studies and established his research career, but he then came back strongly with 'Deeper than the Darkness' (*F&SF*, April 1969), a powerful novelette of an alien menace which established Benford as a name to watch.

*F&SF* remained a beacon in the late 1960s, while other magazines either struggled near the rocks (like *Amazing* and *Fantastic*) or found stillness in the deeper waters (like *Analogue*). But if neither *Fantastic* nor *F&SF* really reflected the fantasy boom of the late 1960s, what magazine did? Curiously, it was *If*. In fact *If* benefited from the best of both worlds, since it also reflected the return of interest in space adventure. To see how both of these avenues channelled into *If* and its companions we need to explore a new thread.

### Son of Space Opera

Although television had occasionally flirted with science fiction in the 1950s, the lack of a big enough budget to allow for proper costumes, scenery and special effects always made science fiction look weak and immature. The best remembered programmes had been produced in Britain by the BBC, especially the *Quatermass* series, scripted by Nigel Kneale, which ran

<sup>10</sup> Piers Anthony, *Bio of an Ogre* (New York: Ace Books, 1988), p. 191.

through three series in the fifties: *Quatermass* (18 July–22 August 1953), *Quatermass II* (22 October–26 November 1955) and *Quatermass and the Pit* (22 December 1958–22 January 1959).<sup>11</sup> The BBC followed this with *A for Andromeda* (3 October–14 November 1961) and its sequel, *The Andromeda Breakthrough* (28 June–2 August 1962), both scripted by John Elliott from a storyline by noted astronomer Fred Hoyle. All of these were serials, based on a single storyline. It was only in June 1962 that British commercial television started an anthology series, *Out of This World* (30 June–22 September 1962), with individual stories for each episode. Most of these drew upon a core of good-quality genre fiction, starting with 'Dumb Martian' by John Wyndham and including 'Little Lost Robot' by Isaac Asimov, 'The Cold Equations' by Tom Godwin, 'Impostor' by Philip K. Dick and 'Pictures Don't Lie' by Katherine Maclean. The series included several scripts by Terry Nation, including an original story by him, 'Botany Bay'. Nation would soon establish a memorable reputation in British television sf with his creation of the Daleks, a race of conquering aliens who live in robot bodies, for the series *Dr Who*, which started on 23 November 1963.

*Out of This World*, which was introduced by Boris Karloff, utilized the format of the highly successful American anthology series *The Twilight Zone*. This series, created and hosted by Rod Serling, who also wrote many of the scripts, had started on the CBS network in the United States on 2 October 1959 and ran through five seasons until September 1964. Richard Matheson and Charles Beaumont also contributed to the series, which was always slick, sophisticated and high-quality. It never pandered to the baser aspects of science fiction, but was really the television equivalent of radio's *X Minus 1*. It was a few years before an equivalent series came along to rival it, although *The Outer Limits*, which began on ABC on 16 September 1963, was never the equal of *The Twilight Zone*. Initially, it relied too heavily on monsters and make-up, which detracted from otherwise capable scripts. In the second season, Harlan Ellison contributed two original scripts, of which 'Demon with a Glass Hand', directed by Byron Haskin, won a Hugo award. Nevertheless *The Outer Limits* was closer to sf than *The Twilight Zone*, which often teetered on the edge of fantasy or the unknown.

Unfortunately, as other TV series came along, especially those produced by Irwin Allen, their quality deteriorated, the nadir being reached with *Lost in Space*, which began a three-season run from 15 September 1965. A space equivalent of *Swiss Family Robinson*, the basic idea was ruined by poor scripts, bad studio sets and pompous acting – the same flaws that ruined the BBC's *Dr Who* series (though this also seemed to make it compulsive viewing).

<sup>11</sup> A fourth series, *Quatermass*, did not appear until May 1984.

Compared to *Lost in Space*, the NBC series *Star Trek*, first broadcast on 8 September 1966, was invigorating. Indeed both Isaac Asimov and John W. Campbell, Jr, endorsed its values, Campbell calling it 'the first really adult, consistently high-level science-fiction show that's appeared on TV'.<sup>12</sup> Yet, no one could have perceived at the time what a significant influence *Star Trek* was to have; indeed, the series was going to be dropped after the first year because of low ratings and was only continued for three seasons because of an outcry by science-fiction fans. It was cancelled by NBC in 1969 because of low audience figures, with a high proportion of teenagers and children as viewers.

*Star Trek* was the brainchild of Gene Roddenberry, a former fighter pilot and police sergeant who turned TV scriptwriter in 1953. He wrote for a variety of shows including *Dragnet* and *The Naked City*, although he was best known for his Western scripts, especially for *Have Gun, Will Travel*, on which he was head writer. Indeed when Roddenberry came to conceive *Star Trek*, he thought of it as 'Wagon Train to the Stars'.<sup>13</sup> This comment was meant to reassure sceptics at MGM that *Star Trek* was a natural extension of other popular programmes, but the unfortunate links with the origins of space opera in the early thirties and its imagery as 'Wild West in space' are only too obvious, and show that *Star Trek* had its roots firmly in space opera. However, Roddenberry did take the matter seriously and was determined to make the series as technically accurate as possible, with adult scripts and plots. Roddenberry had first encountered science fiction at high school when he had read a copy of *Astounding Stories*, and he remained interested in the subject even if not a die-hard fan. Apparently he drew some of his inspiration from Arthur C. Clarke's *Profiles of the Future*.<sup>14</sup> He also took advice from John W. Campbell and other science-fictioneers. Roddenberry commissioned a number of sf writers to produce scripts, among them Richard Matheson, Robert Bloch, Theodore Sturgeon, Norman Spinrad and Harlan Ellison. Ellison's first episode, 'The City on the Edge of Forever' (1967), received a Hugo award. Fredric Brown's classic story 'Arena' was adapted for the series. David Gerrold was the first of several scriptwriters for the series who later went on to establish himself as an sf writer. His first sale was the episode 'The Trouble with Tribbles' (29 December 1967). When the

12 Campbell used this phrase in the introductory blurb to G. Harry Stine's article 'To Make a "Star Trek"', *Analog*, February 1968, p. 73, but he used almost the same wording in a letter to Gene Roddenberry on 23 January 1968. See Chapdelaine et al. (eds.), *The John W. Campbell Letters, Volume 1*, p. 525. Asimov's comments are summarized in *I. Asimov*, p. 369.

13 Stephen E. Whitfield and Gene Roddenberry, *The Making of Star Trek* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1968), p. 23.

14 See McAleer, *Odyssey*, p. 183.

scripts were adapted into stories for book publication the author commissioned by Bantam Books was no less than James Blish.

Moreover Roddenberry for once had a sufficiently large budget (\$300,000 for the second pilot in 1966) to make the special effects passable. Although previous television series had all had an effect on attracting people to science fiction, none had the same impact as *Star Trek*. It wasn't instant, and indeed the fans at the outset were not especially vocal. It was not until the series was cancelled in 1969 that NBC began to get shoals of letters seeking the revival of the series. A *Star Trek* fandom emerged which held its first convention in January 1972.

I mention all of this to show the continuing interaction between the sf community and television. In Volume III, I plot the divergence of television and film sf fans away from the core of sf – indeed there was less and less overlap between the two. Damon Knight reports a reader's comment when learning of James Blish's death in 1975:

On the day the news of Blish's death reached America, a fan at the Star Trek convention in Philadelphia picked up one of Blish's *Star Trek* books from a dealer's table and asked, 'Is this the guy that died?' When the dealer said yes, the fan asked, 'Is he going to be doing any more of these?'<sup>15</sup>

At the outset the popularity of these television series, but especially *Dr Who* and *Star Trek*, demonstrated that there was a significant readership for science fiction adventure with a more juvenile slant. This had once been catered for by the comics, and before that by some of the pulp magazines such as *Planet Stories*, but by the sixties the gap between the comics and sf magazines had grown too large. There was no intermediary sf magazine that met the needs of adolescent readers wanting to discover more about science fiction. Their interest in science fiction was also being fanned by the space race and America's plan to land a man on the moon before the end of the decade.

It was into that niche that *If* slipped – albeit not entirely, and not overnight. *If* still published adult sf, but it became far more adventure-orientated and was more approachable for younger readers than the other magazines, especially *Analog* or even *Galaxy*.

*If* was a slim magazine. It looked the smallest of all of them, though it ran to 160 pages, the same as *Amazing* and *Analog*, but was printed on a less bulky stock. But it looked cheap. The contents page was printed in black but with story titles in red (sometimes blue) which looked as though someone

15 Damon Knight, *The Futurians* (New York: John Day, 1977), p. 241.

had set them with a child's block printing kit. This practice was dropped from the May 1966 issue. It was one of the few magazines still to run a personalized, more fannish letter column. *Analog's* was always full of highly technical discussion, while neither *Galaxy* nor *F&SF* ran a column, and those in *Amazing* and *Fantastic* were sporadic and limited to a few brief comments on stories. The letters helped give *If* a friendly feel which encouraged younger readers. One reader commented on the matter: 'As of right now, I feel that *If* is the only reader-oriented sf magazine'.<sup>16</sup> Recognizing that *If* appealed to younger readers, Frederik Pohl instigated a new series, 'Our Man in Fandom', run by Lin Carter, which introduced readers to the many aspects of sf and fantasy fandom. The series ran from April 1966 to March 1968.

Above all, *If's* covers were far more juvenile-orientated. Richard McKenna's paintings in particular were often full of monsters or aliens. John Pedersen's cover for C. C. MacApp's 'Prisoners of the Sky' (February 1966) is especially alluring, showing an old-fashioned dirigible being attacked by a huge air serpent. Most showed action scenes. One could never accuse *If* of looking sophisticated, but it did look fun, and it did publish a wide range of enjoyable stories, many of which fell into the space opera category – none more so than 'Skylark DuQuesne' by the man who started it all, E. E. Smith. Originally scheduled as a three-part serial, this final romp in the Skylark series eventually spread out over five issues, from June to October 1965. *If* was full of stories by old-time writers. In addition to E. E. Smith there were Jack Williamson, Robert A. Heinlein, A. E. van Vogt, Murray Leinster, Robert Moore Williams, Hal Clement, Isaac Asimov, even Harl Vincent. It was not that any of these stories were old-fashioned; quite the contrary. But these were authors who used traditional story-telling techniques and who knew how to tell a strong, character-centred action story. There were plenty of new writers doing just the same, especially Keith Laumer, Larry Niven, C. C. MacApp and Fred Saberhagen, plus British authors such as Kenneth Bulmer and John Brunner.

Some serials in *If* were attuned to the teenage market. James Blish's 'The Hour Before Earthrise' (July–September 1966; published in book form as *Welcome to Mars!*, Putnam, 1967) has a teenager trying to invent an anti-gravity device who becomes stranded on Mars with his young girlfriend. *If* was the leading purveyor of new space opera in the late sixties. There are too many stories to list, but a few examples will suffice. With 'Edge of Night' (September–October 1966), A. Bertram Chandler's series about Commodore John Grimes moved to *If* in a fast-paced adventure in which Grimes encounters an alien spaceship that shows all the signs of being

<sup>16</sup> Jim Armstrong, letter in *If* 15(12), December 1965, p. 160.

created by Terrans, but is from an alternative universe. The Grimes series, also known as the Rimworlds series, has almost exactly the same premise as the *Star Trek* series and would certainly have been enjoyed by both sets of fans. There were also the Retief stories by Keith Laumer, the Gree stories by C. C. MacApp and the Berserker stories by Fred Saberhagen (in fact one could almost imagine the Berserkers as a prototype of the Borg in *Star Trek*). Piers Anthony began a new, humorous series about Dillingham, a dentist who had to come to terms with all kinds of alien teeth.

Frederik Pohl continued to encourage new writers in his 'If First' section. Gardner Dozois, who will feature heavily in Volume III of this history, made his first sale with a story of a deadly weapon, 'The Empty Man' (September 1966), before entering the army curtailed his writing for a few years. May 1967 saw the appearance of the enigmatic Burt K. Filer with the truth of humankind's origin in 'The Hole'. Other first appearances included Perry Chapdelaine, with a long tale about humankind's evolution, 'To Serve the Masters' (September 1967); Thomas J. Bassler (who became better known as T. J. Bass), a doctor who, not surprisingly, explored the medical issues of space exploration in 'Star Itch' (September 1968); George Scithers, long active in fandom and who would emerge as an important editor in the 1970s, with 'The Faithful Messenger' (March 1969), which served to emphasize the immensities of space; and Robert Weinberg, who would also become active in both fannish and professional circles in the next thirty years, with 'Destroyer' (May 1969).

Although not billed as an 'If First', one of Pohl's most significant discoveries was Gene Wolfe. Technically he had already appeared elsewhere: one of his fable-like tales, 'The Dead Man', had been sold to the men's magazine *Sir!* where it appeared in October 1965. But an earlier story, 'The Mountains are Mice', had been acquired by Pohl for *If*. An early example of Wolfe's cryptic story-lines, it tells of adapted humanity re-established on Mars but already, within a few generations, forgetting their origins. Pohl published it as 'Mountains Like Mice' in the May 1966 issue. Amusingly, Wolfe later recounted how he had first submitted the story to *Galaxy* where Pohl had rejected it. Wolfe then mailed it out again to *If*, not realizing that that was also edited by Pohl. Pohl bought it, saying, 'I feel the rewrite has improved it quite a bit!<sup>17</sup> It only shows what many of us have realized since: that you get even more out of one of Wolfe's stories on a second reading.

Two other discoveries are worthy of passing reference. 'The Edward Salant Letters' (April 1968) marks the only appearance in an sf magazine by Jerry Juhl, who subsequently became far better known as one of the

17 See Gene Wolfe, 'The Profession of Science Fiction', *Foundation* #18, January 1980, p. 5.

masterminds behind the highly successful television *Muppet Show*. 'Operation High Time' (January 1969) was the first professional sale by Jacqueline Lichtenberg and also the first in her Sime/Gen series about the relationship between two mutated species of humans. More pertinent to the issue at hand is that Lichtenberg, a long-time reader of sf, went on to become one of the primary writers of *Star Trek* fan fiction.

With the August 1967 issue *Worlds of Tomorrow* was merged with *If*. *Worlds of Tomorrow* was frequently maligned, classified by many as a reject magazine, with stories not suitable for *If* or *Galaxy*. In fact it had carried many good stories. These included, in its later issues, 'The Ultra Man' by A. E. van Vogt (May 1966), 'Seventy Light-Years from Sol' (November 1966), the first of the Stardust space-exploration series by Stephen Tall, and 'The Star-Pit' by Samuel Delany (February 1967). The magazine did in fact sell at a small profit. The sudden decision to discontinue it was not to do with sales but was a tactic employed by publisher Robert M. Guinn to allow Frederik Pohl to reinstate *Galaxy* on a monthly schedule. In fact that did not happen for another year. In the meantime, *Worlds of Tomorrow* was merged with *If*, with the result that *If* picked up some of its companion's features and series.

Of most importance here was Philip José Farmer's Riverworld series. Three episodes had already been run in *Worlds of Tomorrow* but now *If* ran the short novel 'The Felled Star' (July–August 1967). One could argue that Riverworld is only tenuously science fiction. It relies heavily on Clarke's Third Law, in that we have god-like aliens who have somehow created a planet with a million-mile-long river and have resurrected on this planet all the souls of everyone who has ever lived. It is, in fact, closer to fantasy than sf, and it is a good example of how *If* was now featuring the best of both worlds. Not only was it running space opera to appeal to the *Star Trek* fans and those enthused by the moon-landing programme, but it was also running stories closer to the weave of fantasy. *If* was able to boast publication of a new novella by Andre Norton, noted for her Witch World quasi-fantasy series. 'Wizard's World' (June 1967) was a rare magazine appearance by Norton at that time, and a one-off fantasy about a planet where psi-powers operated like magic. In subsequent issues Virgil Finlay's beautiful fantasy artwork enhanced many a borderline story to give them an aura of the fantastic, such as C. C. MacApp's 'Winter of the Llang's' (October 1967) and David Redd's exotic far-future tale 'Sunbeam Caress' (March 1968). The magazine also ran several episodes from Roger Zelazny's forthcoming novel drawing upon Egyptian myth, *Creatures of Light and Darkness*,<sup>18</sup> but perhaps its most blatant fantasy was the

18 'Creatures of Light' (November 1968), 'The Steel General' (January 1969) and 'Creatures of Darkness' (March 1969).

serialization of James Blish's 'Faust Aleph-Null' (August–October 1967). Later expanded as *Black Easter* (Doubleday, 1968), it tells of the magician Theron Ware, who literally allows all hell to break loose when he summons up all the demons. Blish's approach to the subject was entirely scientific, and many authorities on occult lore have commented upon the accuracy of his detailed descriptions, but it was fantasy nonetheless.

So popular was fantasy in *If* that Guinn was even able to put out a trial issue of a new magazine, *Worlds of Fantasy*, which appeared in September 1968. It was a way of testing the market and to relieve *If* of some of the build-up of fantasy submissions. Pohl did not feel his knowledge of fantasy was sufficient to compile the issue so it was edited by Lester del Rey. The issue was of good quality. There was a Brak story by John W. Jakes, a new Conan story by Lin Carter and L. Sprague de Camp, a previously unpublished story by Robert E. Howard, a feature on Tolkien, and stories by Robert Silverberg, Mack Reynolds, Robert Hoskins and others. It sold well, and might have become a regular magazine, but looming internal problems caused Guinn to shelve the magazine temporarily.<sup>19</sup>

*If*'s ability to reflect the readers' fascination with space adventure and fantastic fiction, much in the line of the old pulps *Planet Stories* and *Startling Stories*, won it the Hugo award for the best science-fiction magazine three years running, 1966 to 1968. In that same period several stories first published in *If* won Hugo awards. 'The Moon is a Harsh Mistress' (December 1965–April 1966), Robert A. Heinlein's parallel of the American War of Independence applied to the lunar colonies, won the award for the best novel in 1967. Larry Niven's 'Neutron Star' (October 1966), the first serious treatment of the likely impact on an astronaut of venturing too close to such a stellar object, won the award for best short story in 1967. Harlan Ellison's pyrotechnics of sentience and creation, 'I Have No Mouth and I Must Scream' (March 1967), won the short story award in 1968. Interestingly none of these stories won or were even nominated for the Nebula award, presented by the SFWA, suggesting that *If* received the more popular vote from the readers rather than the critical vote from the authors. During this same period *If*'s circulation rose steadily from around 64,000 to over 67,000, an increase of almost 5 per cent, beaten only by *Analog* (whose circulation rose by over 13 per cent).

Some of this same energy in *If* ran over into *Galaxy*. Despite the popularity of *If*, *Galaxy* continued to outsell it throughout the sixties, and it contained

19 In passing I should note that Guinn had also launched and then shelved another magazine, *International Science Fiction*, which saw just two issues in November 1967 and June 1968. It consisted entirely of translations of stories from all round the world, but sales were poor. Nevertheless it was at least a recognition that science fiction was appearing in other countries, and a full run-down of non-English-language sf magazines is given in Appendix 1.



superior stories. *Galaxy*, by the mid-sixties, bore little comparison with the *Galaxy* of ten years earlier. Science fiction was finding new forms, and *Galaxy* gave sf scope to broaden and explore without letting it run rampant as it was in *New Worlds*. It may not have been as exciting or as much fun as *If*, but there was a feeling of awe in *Galaxy* that here the future of sf was being channelled, capturing and taming the new-wave sparks spinning out of Britain and the anthologies.

Frederik Pohl's trump cards in *Galaxy* had been Cordwainer Smith and Jack Vance, but in fact he lost both of them in the mid-sixties. It was tragic that Cordwainer Smith died on 6 August 1966, aged only 53, and after an sf writing career of a little more than eight years. His last appearance was with 'Under Old Earth' (February 1966), one of the pivotal stories in the Instrumentality series. Smith's work had added a layer of intensity to science fiction in the early sixties which challenged readers and encouraged writers to develop more complex and far-thinking stories set in worlds different from ours yet believable because they have a past and a future. Jack Vance was another working in exactly the same vein, and the issue of *Galaxy* after Smith's swansong published his 'The Last Castle' (April 1966). This was another of his far-future quasi-fantasies with complex names and social structures. Pohl felt that it might be over the head of some readers so he commissioned Jack Gaughan to provide some explanatory artwork and included a chart to show the relationship between the various individuals. A year later, not only did 'The Last Castle' win both the Hugo and Nebula awards, but Gaughan also won the Hugo for best artist, primarily for his work in *Galaxy* and *If*. However, after 'The Last Castle', Vance worked in longer forms and sold predominantly to other markets, chiefly *F&SF* and *Amazing*. The last work Pohl was able to publish was 'The Palace of Love' (*Galaxy*, October 1966–February 1967), the last in the Demon Princes series which had started in *Galaxy* with 'The Star King' (December 1963–February 1964), and which followed Kirth Gersen (or Keith in the magazine version) across the galaxy in pursuit of the murderers of his parents.<sup>20</sup>

With Smith and Vance gone, Pohl needed to build up other mainstay authors. He missed out on developing Anne McCaffrey, and only secured the third of her Helva series about a sentient spaceship, 'The Ship Who Killed' (October 1966). The first of these stories had appeared in *F&SF* and the second in *Analog*, and it was in *Analog* that McCaffrey made her name with her Pern stories. Pohl did acquire one more Helva story, 'The Ship Who Disappeared', which he ran in *If* (March 1969). He published stories by a

<sup>20</sup> The second novel of the trilogy, *The Killing Machine*, was a paperback original (Berkley, 1964) and had no prior magazine serialization.

number of authors who, for a while, looked as though they might establish a greater reputation, but who faded before their full glory was seen. C. C. MacApp, Hayden Howard, H. H. Hollis, Sydney Van Scyoc and others all contributed regularly to *Galaxy* and became closely associated with the magazine, yet never made it into the big time.

Pohl did have occasional stories by Roger Zelazny, including one of his best, 'Damnation Alley' (October 1967). Subsequently novelized, and later filmed, this skilled piece of story-telling sustains the pace and excitement as Hell Tanner makes a death-defying 'Ghent-to-Aix' journey across a North America devastated by nuclear war. It appeared in *Galaxy's* seventeenth anniversary issue, which also included a rare new story by H. L. Gold, 'The Transmogrification of Wamba's Revenge', a quaintly old-fashioned story of diminutive humans, which was as much fantasy as it was sf. *Galaxy* did flirt with the fantasticality of sf at this time – Pohl was clearly receiving more stories than he could cope with at *If*, even with the new *Worlds of Fantasy*. The April 1968 issue saw the start of both Clifford D. Simak's fantasy-slanted serial 'Goblin Reservation' and Damon Knight's occasional series about the strange world of Thorinn, who sets out to explore his surroundings. Readers remained mystified for a long time since Knight's series remained incomplete until the publication of *The World and Thorinn* in 1981.

Pohl welcomed a few other old-timers to *Galaxy*, much as he had been doing in *If*. Ross Rocklynne reappeared after a hiatus of 14 years with a cluster of stories, starting with 'Touch of the Moon' (April 1968), which showed that the author had lost none of his old flair, even though it was an old-style story. Raymond F. Jones had one of his last stories, 'Subway to the Stars' (December 1968), about an inter-dimensional doorway, which would have been well at home in a 1950s' *Astounding*. John Wyndham made a rare magazine appearance with 'A Life Postponed' (December 1968). It dealt with the issue raised by Robert Ettinger in his *Worlds of Tomorrow* feature. A man goes into cold storage to escape to the future only to find that his wife follows him. It was a minor story but marked the last appearance by Wyndham, who died on 10 March 1969, aged only 65.

It was important, however, for Pohl to build up a new stable of regular, reliable contributors. One of his stars was Larry Niven, whom Pohl had discovered and first published in *If*. *If* remained Niven's primary territory, although Pohl started to shift him more to *Galaxy*. Virtually all of Niven's fiction here fitted into his generic Tales of Known Space sequence. These ranged from the relatively straightforward 'At the Bottom of a Hole' (December 1966), which depicts the predicament of a 'Belter' (a spaceman who works on the asteroid belt) trapped in the higher gravity of Mars, to

the highly complex 'The Adults' (June 1967; expanded in book form as *Protector*, 1973), which considers humankind's place in the Galaxy.

Poul Anderson became almost as regular a contributor to *Galaxy* at this time as he was to *Analog*. Like those of Niven, his stories were predominantly technological extravaganzas ideal for the devotee of hard-core science fiction. 'To Outlive Eternity' (June–August 1967; expanded in book form as *Tau Zero*, 1970) is a space opera on a grand scale in which a near light-speed ship accelerates uncontrollably until all on board outlive the universe and survive through the next Big Bang. Anderson also wrote a series of loosely connected stories at this time, all within the framework of his Technic Civilization, but set in the distant realms of space after the fall of the Terran Empire and the onset of what Anderson calls 'the Long Night'. These began with 'Outpost of Empire' (December 1967), chronicling one of the wars, and includes 'The Sharing of Flesh' (December 1968), a study of moral interplay between two races. This story won Anderson his third Hugo award.

Perhaps Pohl's most reliable author, however, was Robert Silverberg. Silverberg had moved away from science fiction at the end of the fifties, producing, in addition to a mass of pseudonymous erotic novels, a number of reference books, mostly for younger readers. He never lost touch with sf, although he ceased to produce stories at the conveyor-belt pace of the fifties. After a few years, however, he was keen to return to the field, this time with a more mature view. He made a gentleman's agreement that Pohl would get his work exclusively, provided that he bought all of his stories. The agreement could be cancelled at any time if Pohl disliked any particular story. The deal was a positive one on both sides, for during the decade starting in 1964, Silverberg's work was both potent and imaginative and made significant advances in the field, and *Galaxy* published virtually all of it.

The march began with 'Blue Fire' (June 1965) which ushered in Silverberg's Vorster series, later published as *To Open the Sky* (Ballantine, 1967). A new religion is established by Noel Vorst, drawing on people's inner powers, rather like Scientology. But Silverberg takes it further as, over a period of nearly a century, the Vorsters begin to adapt humans for immortality and for life on other worlds. In reviewing the book P. Schuyler Miller noted that the non-fiction books Silverberg had written on archaeology and history had given him a better perspective for a future history, allowing him to write this sequential book tracking cause and effect.

'Hawksbill Station' (August 1967) was a one-off novella set in a penal colony constructed on Earth two billion years in our past, and there was only a one-way ticket. Although this was more in the vogue of the traditional Silverberg, the story was nominated for both the Hugo and Nebula

awards and picked up by the 'Year's Best' selections. 'Going Down Smooth' (August 1968) is, in a strangely shallow way, a revolutionary story. It was written around the cover painting by Vaughn Bodé, showing a set of giant periscopes looking down on a battleship. Silverberg wanted to break the editorial taboo on obscene language – which had already been broken by anthologies and in *New Worlds* – and wrote a story about a computer's fascination with procreation. In the course of the story Silverberg converted the phrase 'fuck you' into the binary '10000110 you', without causing a ripple of concern among the magazine's readers. It doesn't seem much of a breakthrough today, but it was a delicious in-joke at the time.

'Nightwings' (September 1968) was the first in another series of novellas that made up the novel *Nightwings* (Avon, 1969), all of which appeared in *Galaxy*. Set on a far-future, dying Earth, which is conquered by aliens, the stories have a lyrical, almost fantastic aura about them, similar to the works of Vance. 'Nightwings' itself won the Hugo award for the best novella, and was runner-up for the Nebula.

At the end of the sixties and in the early seventies Silverberg produced a series of astonishing novels which remain among his best work. *Galaxy* published all but two of these, running through into 1972. Although they will be considered in more detail in Volume III, it is worth making reference to a few of them here, because it demonstrates the peak to which Silverberg was working at a time when a new editorial openness allowed him a greater freedom. His last two novels serialized in the sixties were 'Up the Line' (*Amazing Stories*, July–September 1969) and 'Downward to the Earth' (*Galaxy*, November 1969–March 1970). 'Up the Line' was acquired by *Amazing's* new editor, Ted White, while 'Downward to the Earth' was bought by *Galaxy's* new editor, Ejler Jakobsson. Both novels show the influence of new-wave techniques but, more importantly, both explore humanity's interference with other cultures. 'Up the Line' is a complex time-travel story with strains of new-age freedom. A time courier has to face the implications of trans-temporal incest and even temporal suicide in ancient Byzantium. 'Downward to the Earth' has a man return to a former colonial planet, now independent, only to discover his ability to empathize with the native intelligence. The novel, which explores humankind's hostility to other races, and how humankind is perceived by other races, is a crucially introspective work on guilt and repentance, and has been likened to Joseph Conrad's enigmatic 'Heart of Darkness'. Silverberg would be one of the heralds who took this new-found creativity in science fiction through into the seventies.

For *Galaxy* it was also a time of change and 1969 proved to be a watershed year. In March 1969 Robert M. Guinn finalized a deal to sell *Galaxy* to Arnold Abramson of Universal Publishing and Distributing Corporation

(UPD). The deal went through while Pohl was at an international film festival in Rio de Janeiro, so it took him a little by surprise, but it provoked him into an action he had long been considering. Rather than go with the magazine to the new publisher, Pohl resigned and decided to return to writing. From deep within the bowels of UPD's book department emerged Ejler Jakobsson. By one of those strange twists of fate Jakobsson had succeeded Pohl as editor of *Super Science Stories* over twenty years before. Jakobsson was keen to take on *Galaxy*. Lester del Rey, who had joined Guinn in 1968 as managing editor, stayed on as features editor, while his wife-to-be, Judy-Lynn Benjamin, became the new managing editor.

The change should have been effective from the June 1969 issue but printing problems caused a slippage and the June issue became the July issue. This issue was effectively still Pohl's. He wrote the editorial and had selected the stories. The coup for that issue was the start of Frank Herbert's serial 'Dune Messiah' (July–November 1969), the latest in the Dune saga, which was already starting to take on mythic proportions. The serial was too mystical for John W. Campbell, but ideal for *Galaxy*.

A few days after that issue went on sale *Galaxy* lost its most consistent contributor. Willy Ley, who had run the 'For Your Information' department since the March 1952 issue, died on 24 June 1969, at the age of only 62. Ley had been one of the driving forces behind the creation of the American space programme, and he had been one of the major players who had turned round public opinion, changing their fear of rockets as machines of war into their aspirations for the future. It was therefore doubly tragic that Ley died less than one month before Neil Armstrong and Edwin Aldrin stepped onto the moon on 20 July 1969. *Galaxy* never seemed quite the same without Ley. Indeed, for a while science fiction would not seem the same after the moon landing. To many science fiction had achieved one of its primary goals. What was left to be said?

The late 1960s was a turbulent time throughout the world, but especially in the United States. Only some of this was reflected in the science-fiction magazines, most obviously the new-found social freedoms. Sex, drugs, race, religion, war – all these things had become fair game for sf authors and the only real change in the sixties was the way in which these subjects were discussed, not what was discussed. One factor did seriously affect American attitudes, however, and that was the involvement in the war in Vietnam. In March 1968 Judith Merrill and Kate Wilhelm placed a series of advertisements in the sf magazines<sup>21</sup> listing all the authors who believed that the United States must remain in Vietnam to fulfil its responsibilities

21 The adverts appeared in the June 1968 issues.

to the people of that country, and all those who opposed the participation of the United States in the war in Vietnam. Both lists were long, though the number opposing the war slightly exceeded the pro-lobby by 82 to 72. Only one current editor appeared in the list and that was John W. Campbell, who, not surprisingly, appeared in the pro-Vietnam list. In fact it was clear how the list did divide, with the high-tech hard-sf mostly older writers being pro-Vietnam, and the softer, dare I say more literary younger side of sf being opposed. Names that were pro-Vietnam included Poul Anderson, Lloyd Biggle, Fredric Brown, Hal Clement, L. Sprague de Camp, Raymond Z. Gallun, Edmond Hamilton, Robert A. Heinlein, Dean Ing, P. Schuyler Miller, Larry Niven, Alan E. Nourse, Jerry Pournelle, Joe Poyer, E. Hoffmann Price, George O. Smith, G. Harry Stine, Jack Vance, Robert Moore Williams and Jack Williamson. Many of those names were closely associated with *Analog*. The anti-vote included Isaac Asimov, James Blish, Anthony Boucher, Ray Bradbury, Terry Carr, Samuel R. Delany, Lester del Rey, Philip K. Dick, Thomas M. Disch, Harlan Ellison, Harry Harrison, Damon Knight, Ursula Le Guin, Fritz Leiber, Barry Malzberg, Judith Merrill, Mack Reynolds, Robert Silverberg, Norman Spinrad and Donald A. Wollheim. With a few exceptions you could almost draw a line between the traditional form of sf and the new wave.

It was a mood that set *Analog* apart in the late sixties.

### **Analog Catalogue**

Throughout all the turbulence of the sixties one magazine carried on as if nothing had changed. It wasn't quite like that: after all, *Analog* had changed its name and its publisher and changed size twice, but John W. Campbell weathered all this as par for the course. Because of Campbell, *Analog's* contents scarcely changed during the sixties. Much remained a steady development from the fifties. In fact its contents of this period have been called 'moribund', and it is true that Campbell did little to take the magazine forward. But he was still the highest paying sf magazine market and *Analog* still had the highest circulation. Indeed it rose from around 86,000 in 1965 to almost 110,000 in 1970, the greatest increase of all the sf magazines, so Campbell must have been doing something right. In fact it was *Analog's* stability that recommended it to many readers. Campbell had no truck with the new wave movement. He had made his statement thirty years earlier and although he continued to encourage, cajole and berate writers into pursuing his ideas, they still enjoyed writing for him and exploring what the traditional form of hard science fiction had to offer.

The fantastication of sf also leached into *Analog*. I have already mentioned the Lord Darcy stories by Randall Garrett, and the August 1966 issue began serialization of the first of the Lord Darcy novels, *Too Many Magicians*, which remains a masterful exercise in alternative worlds and scientific magic. I have also mentioned the Pern series by Anne McCaffrey, which began with 'Weyr Search' (October 1967) and continued with 'Dragonrider' (December 1967–January 1968). In a similar vein was 'The Yngling' by John Dalmas, the pseudonym of US research ecologist John Robert Jones. Serialized in the October–November 1969 issues, the story is set against the background of a plague that has nearly wiped out the population at a time of a returning Ice Age in the twenty-ninth century. A young neoviking warrior, with burgeoning psi powers, endeavours to save his community. In 1992 when this novel and two sequels were reprinted as an omnibus edition it was given the title *The Orc Wars*, clearly selling the book as some kind of Tolkien clone. Even the third volume in Harry Harrison's Deathworld series, 'The Horse Barbarians' (February–April 1968) returns to a form of Mongolian nomadic world in which the hero, Jason dinAlt, has to disguise himself as a minstrel in order to infiltrate the tribesmen. There is plenty of science in the story, but the mood is very much one of a pre-scientific age. Harrison also wrote a fun romp, 'The Time-Machined Saga' (March–May 1967), about the cause and effect of going back in time to film the Viking discovery of America. James H. Schmitz, one of *Analog's* most popular writers, provided a delightful series about a young witch, Telzey, with psi powers.

Despite these examples, *Analog* remained the premier hard-sf magazine. At the 'hard' extreme were the contributions by Joe Poyer. Poyer is a good example of an author whose works were so close to the cutting edge of contemporary science that within a few years developments had caught up with him and his work was no longer classified as sf. With the publication of *North Cape* (1970) Poyer became highly regarded as a writer of high-tech spy novels, subsequently labelled techno-thrillers. Yet the origins of *North Cape*, which concerns the retrieval of a secret plane from within the Arctic Circle, lay in the short story 'Mission "Red Clash"', published in *Analog* (December 1965). Other stories by Poyer include 'Operation Malacca' (March 1966) about communications with dolphins and 'Pipeline' (December 1968) about channelling water to desert areas. These stories would have gladdened the heart of Hugo Gernsback.

One of the comforting factors about *Analog* was the consistent quality of stories by reliable regulars. Poul Anderson was a mainstay throughout the fifties and sixties. There was a neat relationship between two of his stories, 'The Ancient Gods' (June–July 1966) and 'Starfog' (August 1967). The first

depicts a world on the deserted edge of the galaxy, while the second explores the problems in being at the very heart of a galaxy full of stars. Both allowed the hallowed master of astronomical art, Chesley Bonestell, to bring the situations to life on the covers. Hal Clement's work was less regular; he was selling more to Frederik Pohl than to Campbell at this time. Even so, apart from 'The Mechanic' (September 1966), a rather less exciting story about bio-engineering, the big scoop was 'Star Light' (June–September 1970), which reintroduced the Mesklinites from Clement's classic *Mission of Gravity* (1953), this time to solve the enigma of the massive planet Dhrawn.

Two of the most regular contributors were Mack Reynolds and Christopher Anvil, and their work had many similarities. Both tended to portray macho-men intent on military operations and invasions, but both were also highly capable writers who avoided stereotypical situations. Reynolds produced several short novels and stories set in his United Planets scenario. 'Amazon Planet' (December 1966–February 1967) may be seen as a male chauvinist adventure – a man infiltrates a matriarchal society on the planet Amazon, seeking to overthrow it – but in fact it seriously considers female domination of men and is a rare example in *Analog* of depicting homosexuality (albeit off-stage). 'Computer War' (June–July 1967) shows how dangerous it is to allow computers to plot the probability of your winning a war. John Schoenherr's cover depicting a mighty tank surrendering to a lone man with a bow and arrow must have had resonances with the growing antipathy to the American involvement in Vietnam. 'Psi Assassin' (December 1967) shows that you can never dupe a telepath. Reynolds' stories are sf by setting and include all the right hardware, but by and large they are techno-thrillers with a token sf background. Many of his novels could easily have been transformed into present-day military stories with minimal changes. A typical example is 'The Five-Way Secret Agent' (April–May 1969), set in a future American meritocracy where the last private investigator struggles to make a living in a near crimeless society and so takes to espionage. With a few strokes of the pen this could easily have become another James Bond adventure.<sup>22</sup> In a more whimsical mood Reynolds, writing under the alias Guy McCord, provided an entertaining series starting

22 It is worth noting here that the interest in super-scientific spies had spawned two magazines. They arose out of the popularity of a television series, *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.*, starring Robert Vaughn and David McCallum, which had premiered in September 1964 and ran to January 1968, though it hit its peak during 1965–66. Leo Margulies obtained the licence to the title and issued *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* magazine in February 1966 followed by *The Girl from U.N.C.L.E.* in December 1966. Both magazines folded when the TV show was axed. They each featured a long lead story about the secret agents, with supporting short stories. The magazines were edited pseudonymously by Alden H. Norton. Because Margulies owned the title to *Weird Tales* he occasionally reprinted stories from there. The magazine was of borderline sf interest.



with 'Coup' (November 1967), telling of developments on a far distant colony which adopts as its holy books the works of Walter Scott and a treatise on the Native American Indians.

Christopher Anvil, the writing alias of former US military pilot Harry Crosby, remained perennially popular in *Analog*, and he hit a winning streak in the late sixties with a series which seemed straight out of *Star Trek*. Featuring the Interstellar Patrol, the series, which started with 'Strangers to Paradise' (October 1966) placed Captain Vaughan Roberts and his crew in a series of predicaments – whether technical, social or ecological – where they needed all their wits to succeed.

As well as old regulars Campbell still developed new talent. One of the major success stories of the period was 'Light of Other Days' (August 1966) by Irish author Bob Shaw. Shaw had started writing in the early fifties, but had stopped for a few years as he went through career changes and had only recently returned with a sale to *New Worlds*. 'Light of Other Days' introduced the concept of slow glass, a medium which slows light down so much that windows made of the material become time screens. Shaw's strength was in the way in which he explored the impact of this invention upon society, and his originality here came because he thought about the consequences of this idea for nearly two years. In fact the story took just four hours to write, but, 'against that four hours of actual writing,' Shaw later revealed, 'there were perhaps a hundred scattered hours of inventing, assessing and rejecting unworthy instruments'.<sup>23</sup> Needless to say Campbell loved the idea and an exchange of letters with Shaw produced a sequel, 'Burden of Proof' (May 1967).<sup>24</sup>

Jack Wodhams was a British writer who had emigrated to Australia in 1955, and became a regular contributor to *Analog* after his first sale to Campbell, 'There is a Crooked Man' (February 1967), a highly amusing look at the consequences of instantaneous travel. Wodhams' stories were often trademarked by his dark humour, but he was prepared to be challenging at times. 'Whosawhatsa?' (December 1967) set off some controversy in its depiction, albeit humorously, of sex change. Wodhams' contributions always enlightened what could sometimes become an overly set of technological stories.

Robert Chilson was a Campbell discovery. He first appeared with 'The Mind Reader' (June 1968), a story directly inspired by the Vietnam war, which considers the use of robot spies. Stephen Robinette, who chose to hide his early writings under the alias Tak Hallus, debuted with 'Minitalent'

23 Bob Shaw, 'Escape to Infinity', *Foundation* #10, June 1976, p. 18.

24 See letter, Campbell to Shaw, 30 March 1966, in Chapdelaine et al. (eds.), *The John W. Campbell Letters, Volume 1*, p. 472.

(March 1969), a clever story which is scarcely science fiction but shows how even the smallest psychic ability can be put to powerful use. The September 1968 *Analog* is important because it published the first story by the magazine's future editor, Stanley Schmidt. 'A Flash of Darkness' is a pure-bred *Analog* story of a prototype surveillance robot on Mars that has to think for itself to overcome a problem. He followed this with two connected stories in which planetary exploration reveals startling circumstances, 'The Reluctant Ambassadors' (December 1968) and '. . . And Comfort to the Enemy' (July 1969). The latter is an interesting transplantation to space of the European invasion of Native America, in which Schmidt explores how a planet with no technology can baffle the high-tech surveillance team.

*Star Trek* did not leave *Analog* unscathed. Harry Stine wrote a long article about the technology of the series, in 'To Make a *Star Trek*' (February 1968), which brought in a rapturous response from readers, all of whom claimed to be devoted fans. This included long-time writer George O. Smith, who called it 'our favourite space opera', while Campbell described it as 'the first science-fiction show that represents genuine science fiction!'.<sup>25</sup> Interestingly, there was another article about cinema technology that sparked a response. Will F. Jenkins was best known under his pseudonym Murray Leinster, under which he had been writing science fiction for nearly fifty years. He was affectionately known as the Dean of Science Fiction and his last story, 'Quarantine World', another in his Med Service series, had appeared in the November 1966 issue. A year later the November 1967 issue carried his article 'Applied Science Fiction' under his own name. It described how he had applied his thinking to the problem of back projection in films. He had been dissatisfied years before at the inadequacy of scenery or back projection when his story 'First Contact' had been adapted for the TV series *Out There* in 1951. The problem had gnawed away at his subconscious for all those years until he hit upon the idea of reflex reflection and invented the Front Projector. An enthused Arthur C. Clarke responded to the article, saying that this process was being used for the film *2001: A Space Odyssey*. Clarke had had no idea that Jenkins was the inventor. On first encountering the process he had commented: 'What crazy nut invented this? I might have guessed it would be a SF writer.'<sup>26</sup>

This was not the first the science-fiction world had heard about the Stanley Kubrick film based on Clarke's short story 'The Sentinel'. Kubrick had contacted Clarke as far back as February 1964 to start exchanging ideas, and there had been endless rumours and press releases in the ensuing four

25 See letters and comments in 'Brass Tacks', *Analog* 81(3), May 1968, pp. 172-74.

26 See Clarke's letter in 'Brass Tacks', *Analog* 81(1), March 1968, p. 170.

years. The world premiere of the film was on 2 April 1968, and though it left many people puzzled there was a wide feeling that this was the most profound science-fiction film yet made. Perhaps equally important was the degree of media attention it drew, raising questions about the meaning of the film and discussing its possibilities. At last here was an sf film to be proud of and one that raised the public awareness of the power of science fiction. There hadn't really been a film like this since Heinlein's *Destination Moon*, eighteen years previously.

### False Dawns

The upsurge in market interest in fantasy and the apparent increased interest in science fiction – or certainly space fiction – gave the impression in the late sixties that the magazines were flourishing, or at least on the verge of another boom. As a consequence, just as fifteen years earlier the early fifties had seen an increase in the number of titles available on the market, the same thing began to happen in the second half of the sixties.

The situation wasn't really the same, though. This time fewer publishers were involved, most of the magazines made no impact at all, and few of them survived more than a few issues. Many of them were reprint magazines, and a few were revivals of past titles. Nevertheless a few trends emerged, one of which would be extremely relevant to the development of the sf magazines in the seventies and eighties. But more of that in a moment.

Let me dispose in haste of the least of this batch of new titles, and those were the reprint magazines issued by Sol Cohen's Ultimate Publishing. His argument was that the sale of these titles helped sustain *Amazing Stories* and *Fantastic* and for that reason it was worth suffering them, but by the end of the sixties Cohen had used the best of the material from the parent magazines and he was reprinting material of lesser quality, mostly from the Palmer era. I have already mentioned the main titles. *Great Science Fiction* had appeared in December 1965 followed by *The Most Thrilling SF Ever Told*. *Great SF* became *S.F. Greats* from issue 13 at the start of 1969 and survived until Spring 1971. *Most Thrilling SF*, after a few variations, became *Thrilling SF* from Spring 1970. *Science Fiction Classics*, which had appeared in June 1967, went through mega-mutations at the start of 1969. After its eighth issue the magazine seemed to have folded, and transformed into *Strange Fantasy*, which appeared fully grown in March 1969 numbered issue 9. The original magazine then gasped out an issue or two as *Science Fiction Adventure Classics* before converting into *Space Adventures*, also starting from issue

9. *Science Fiction Adventure Classics* reappeared for a third time and survived its offspring. Along with *Thrilling SF*, it survived long enough into the 1970s that we shall meet it again in Volume III. All the other Ultimate reprint titles, including *Astounding Stories*, *Science Fantasy*, *The Strangest Stories Ever Told* and *Weird Mystery*, came and went during a peak period in 1970–71, before the tide receded.

There were other reprint magazines, somehow vying with the profusion of anthologies and yet retaining the personality of a magazine. The best of these, indeed the best of all the reprint magazines of the sixties, were those from Health Knowledge edited by Robert A. W. Lowndes. He had started with *Magazine of Horror* in 1963 and added *Startling Mystery Stories* in June 1966. More pertinent to the science-fiction field was *Famous Science Fiction*, which first appeared in December 1966 (dated Winter). This reprinted stories mostly from the old Gernsback *Wonder Stories* and the Clayton *Astounding Stories*. Lowndes had convinced Louis Elson it was worth issuing because the letters he was receiving at *Magazine of Horror* were supportive of the occasional sf stories he was reprinting in that magazine – such as Laurence Manning’s Stranger Club stories – but felt they were out of place there. *Famous SF* was a wonderful way of rediscovering old sf because Lowndes had good taste in fiction and provided much by way of background information. Alas, *Famous SF* only lasted nine issues, and never built up the sales of the other magazines. When it folded, Elson agreed that Lowndes could launch two other horror titles, which seemed to sell better. *Weird Terror Tales* appeared at the end of 1969 and *Bizarre Fantasy Tales* at the start of 1970. Lowndes also had two other non-sf magazines: *World Wide Adventure* (Winter 1967/68–Summer 1969) and *Thrilling Western Magazine* (Winter 1968/69–Fall 1970). Unfortunately in 1970 ACME, the parent company to Health Knowledge, was taken over by Countryside Publications, who saw no future in any of Lowndes’ magazines (even though they were making a small profit), and they were all axed. The last issue of *Magazine of Horror*, dated April 1971, appeared in February, almost thirty years to the day when Lowndes had first walked into the offices of Louis Silberkleit to begin his career as an sf editor on *Future Fiction*. Lowndes’ departure was a loss to the sf world. He went on to join Gernsback Publications working on their non-fiction magazines, primarily *Sexology*, but never again edited another sf magazine, even though he worked for the publisher who had started it all.

Of the magazines carrying new stories we can soon dispense with *Beyond Infinity*. This was a cheap-looking digest magazine, poorly printed, published by I. D. Publications in Hollywood in October 1967 (cover dated November/December). It was edited by Doug Stapleton, who had been an occasional pulp writer in the late forties and early fifties. He acquired what

stories he could, mostly from the Scott Meredith Literary Agency. All of the stories were bottom-drawer scrapings, so that despite such names as Ben Bova, John Brunner and John Christopher, the magazine contained nothing to excite. It evidently had poor distribution and minimal financial backing for it disappeared after its first and only issue.

Much more important was the revival of *Venture Science Fiction*, the companion to *F&SF*. Its first issue, dated May 1969, appeared in March. It was a 128-page digest, selling for 60 cents, and looked similar to *F&SF*. Publisher Joseph Ferman believed that there was an upturn in the market, further encouraged by the interest in *Star Trek, 2001* and the Apollo lunar programme, but to be cautious he issued it on a quarterly basis. The rivalry with paperbacks continued, even though it was a battle already lost by the magazines. Each issue ran a full-length novel supported by a few very short stories. Although this had been the plan with the original *Venture*, that ended up publishing longer short stories. In the revived *Venture*, they were mostly very short pieces. In this sense the magazine more closely resembled the original *Satellite SF* in its digest format. Unfortunately there was little to make *Venture* stand out. Few of the lead novels and hardly any of the stories were especially memorable. Harry Harrison's 'Plague Ship' (November 1969) and Dean R. Koontz's 'Beastchild' (August 1970) were the best of the novels, the last making that issue especially collectible these days, since Koontz became a highly popular novelist. But *Venture* showed that it was virtually impossible for a new magazine to make sufficient inroads into the market at that time, even when edited by Edward Ferman and tied in with *F&SF*'s distribution. The magazine folded after six issues in August 1970.

Another West Coast publisher, Camelot Publishing in Los Angeles, tried to infiltrate the interest in fantastic fiction with *Coven 13*. This was a very neat 144-page digest magazine, priced at 60 cents, edited by Arthur H. Landis. Landis was then editing a motorcycle trade journal and he interested his publisher in a high-quality magazine of supernatural fiction. The result was one of the more promising magazines of the period, yet it lasted only four bi-monthly issues. It was beautifully illustrated, mostly by William Stout, and it contained good-quality stories by Harlan Ellison, Alan Caillou, Ron Goulart, Arthur Jean Cox, Pauline C. Smith and Bill Pronzini. It also ran a serial, 'Let There Be Magick' by Landis himself under the alias James R. Keaveny. It's a mixture of sf and fantasy, being set on a planet where magic works, and it has a lot in common with Christopher Stasheff's *The Warlock in Spite of Himself* (Ace, 1969), which had just appeared at that time. Alas, *Coven 13*, which deserved a better fate, was killed by the distribution system. Landis believed sales were good, but soon discovered that the bulk of the 80,000 print run were staying in their boxes

and not being displayed. Suddenly the magazine was in debt and the publisher sold it off. It was acquired by William Crawford, who converted it into an entirely different magazine, *Witchcraft & Sorcery*, but that magazine's story belongs in Volume III.

Except for two points. Firstly, Crawford was a long-time enthusiast of science fiction who had launched the first genuine semi-professional science-fiction magazine, *Marvel Tales*, back in 1934. He had tried again in 1947 with *Fantasy Book*, which got marginally better distribution, and he tried again in 1953 with *Spaceway*. But he was always thwarted by lack of capital and inadequate distribution. *Spaceway* folded in 1955, and although Crawford kept his Fantasy Publishing Company (FPCI) alive, he turned to property for a living, and maintained some commercial printing in his spare time. In 1968, overcome by nostalgia, and with an eye to the improving market, Crawford revived *Spaceway*. It really was an anachronism. Still a 128-page digest, though saddle stapled rather than perfect bound, it continued where the original *Spaceway* had left off, regardless of the changes in the market. Crawford, for the most part, reprinted stories from the original series, or used up stories he had kept in his inventory for all those years, so a number of out-dated, old-fashioned stories appeared. He also re-started the serial 'The Radio Minds of Mars' by Ralph Milne Farley, which had begun in the last issue of *Spaceway*. The magazine was of some interest to nostalgia buffs, but not to many others. The best aspect of the issues was the excellent cover art by Morris Scott Dollens. The third issue, dated September/October 1969 but issued in July, was labelled as a special moon issue, to link in with the Apollo moon landing. It raises the question of why Crawford thought that fans of the real thing would want to read 'Monsters of the Moon' by Festus Pragnell and 'Lunar Lilliput' by William F. Temple, both thirty-year-old reprints from the British *Tales of Wonder*. In the same issue Crawford began serialization of Andre Norton's 'Garan of Yu-Lac'. Anyone who thinks that waiting a few months to see their story published is a long wait may well sympathize with Norton. This had been one of two stories that Norton had submitted to *Marvel Tales* in 1935, but that had folded before the stories saw print. One of them, 'People of the Crater', did appear in *Fantasy Book* but 'Garan' did not surface until now. Even then fate struck. Although it was planned as a three-part serial, Crawford only published two parts before he decided to cease *Spaceway* again in May 1970, and Norton had to wait until the book publication of *Garan the Eternal* in 1972, a total of 37 years for the whole story to finally see print. Crawford had even intimated that he might relaunch *Fantasy Book* but he soon realized that that was impractical. *Spaceway* foundered a second time, and that was when, convinced by Gerald W. Page, who had been assisting him, Crawford took over *Coven 13* and relaunched it as *Witchcraft & Sorcery*.

The other point is that *Witchcraft & Sorcery* was really a semi-professional magazine. Crawford printed and published his magazines himself and gained minimal news-stand distribution. He relied heavily on subscriptions and sales through the gradually growing number of specialist bookshops. The late sixties began to see fans turning to producing their own semi-prozines. These aren't the same as fanzines, which were mostly produced for fun, with no intention of making a profit, and often including fannish chunterings and fun fan fiction. Some amateur magazines did make serious attempts at high-quality publication, such as Francis Laney's *The Acolyte* (Fall 1942–Spring 1946) or Manly Banister's *The Nekromantikon* (Spring 1950–Summer 1951), but they never had pretensions towards any aspect of professional production, however that may be determined.

Interestingly, at the outset most of these magazines concentrated on weird fiction, mostly because of the absence of a significant professional market, and the development of science-fiction semi-prozines came along much later. If there is a grandfather of all such modern-day semi-prozines it is probably *Macabre*, produced by Joseph Payne Brennan in New Haven, Connecticut. Although a slim digest-size magazine, seldom more than 24 pages – in fact it looked more like a pamphlet – it was neatly published and was a serious attempt to fill the gap left by the folding of *Weird Tales* and the virtual cessation of August Derleth's Arkham House, which hit a black period in the fifties. *Macabre* only appeared twice a year, and much of what it printed was by Brennan himself, though it published plenty of poems and the occasional story by other writers, such as Robert F. Young and Kit Reed. But Brennan kept it going for 13 years, though it dropped to an annual publication in 1964 and then every other year after 1966, until Brennan stopped in 1970.

As *Macabre* faltered so W. Paul Ganley, who had contributed to *Macabre*, and had been around in fandom since the early fifties, stepped in and issued his own *Weirdbook*, starting in April 1968, published out of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. The first few issues, though neatly printed by offset-litho, were quarto-sized and looked less professional than *Macabre*. The spirit of *Macabre* continued in the stories and poetry. *Weirdbook* also appeared just once a year at the outset, but Ganley kept it going and, as we shall see in Volume 3, his determination paid dividends as he became an example to all semi-professional publishers.

At the same time August Derleth decided to issue a small chapbook which served both as a magazine and as a newsletter for Arkham House. *The Arkham Collector* was arguably a professional magazine, since it paid for its fiction, but Arkham House was always only a one-man small press operation, and *The Arkham Collector* never had retail distribution. It also

appeared just twice yearly, starting in Summer 1967. It was usually only 24 or 36 pages and was filled with publishing news, poetry, short articles and the occasional short story. Even so the magazine published the first stories by Brian Lumley ('The Cyprus Shell', Summer 1968) and Alan Dean Foster ('Notes Concerning a Green Box', Summer 1971), plus early stories by James Wade and Gary Myers. The magazine folded with Derleth's death in July 1971, but it set a precedent and its successor, *Whispers*, alongside *Weird-book*, would revolutionize the magazine world over the next twenty years.

There was another small publication lurking in the background that, at the time, scarcely anyone noticed. *Space and Time*, published out of New York by Gordon Linzner and three fellow high-school students, was an octavo-sized mimeographed fanzine of 20 pages or so produced as and when time and money allowed. It was filled at the outset with run-of-the-mill fan fiction of little consequence, but in time Linzner became more determined and methodical in developing the magazine. With the fifth issue, dated Spring 1969, he dropped it to a digest-sized chapbook and gradually increased its pages. He also put it on a more regular quarterly schedule. It ran regular columns, stories and poems, including early work by Darrell Schweitzer, Janet Fox and Robert Weinberg. Linzner's persistence paid off because by 1974 *Space & Time* was firmly established in the cauldron of semi-prodom.

One other experiment at this time was less successful. In 1966, Charles Partington and Harry Nadler, two fans in Manchester, England, who had been producing their own fanzine *Alien* since 1963, tried to go upmarket. They sank a lot of money into producing a good-quality, slim digest magazine with full-colour interior artwork. *Alien Worlds* appeared in July 1966. It was an attractive magazine, years ahead of its time in appearance, with fiction of reasonable quality by Harry Harrison, Kenneth Bulmer and Ramsey Campbell. But it proved too costly to continue. Partington and Nadler ran a printing company and Partington later helped produce *New Worlds* in its last days as a magazine, as well as experimenting with another magazine called *Something Else* in 1980. These stirrings show that devotees' desire to produce magazines of their own was growing at the end of the sixties and would be a potent driving force over the next two decades.

Although *Alien Worlds* did not make a second issue, and *New Worlds* was catering for a very specialized readership by the late sixties, Britain did briefly have another magazine. Technically *Vision of Tomorrow* was an Australian magazine, as it was financed by publisher Ronald E. Graham, a successful New South Wales mining engineer and millionaire businessman and long-time collector of science fiction. He had Australia's premier collection of science fiction and one of the largest in the world. But the



magazine was edited and printed in Britain.<sup>27</sup> The editor was Philip J. Harbottle, in Wallsend, on Tyneside. He and Graham had come together because of a shared interest in the works of writer John Russell Fearn. *Vision* was originally planned as a pocketbook-format magazine to run alongside a series of pocketbook novels with an occasional short-story collection. Plans were already well advanced along these lines when Graham, on a short visit to England, changed everything following a meeting with the distributor, Transworld Publishing. Transworld convinced both Graham and Harbottle that, in order to gain adequate distribution through the stronghold of W. H. Smith, *Vision of Tomorrow* should be in the slick flat large-size format. This caused problems because the specialist book printer already engaged was not geared up for the change, and the first issue had already been set in type. Moreover, the printer failed to send Harbottle final proofs, so that when the first issue appeared, dated August 1969, it looked less than professional.

Nevertheless that first issue sold out its print run of 25,000 copies and all looked well when two problems hit Harbottle in quick succession. First Transworld pulled out of the distribution deal while the second issue was printing. Although they agreed to honour the existing arrangement in the short term, the onus was on Harbottle to find a new distributor. This he managed to do with New English Library, who were setting up a new magazine division, but this inevitably caused a hiatus in what was already a tight monthly schedule. No sooner had Harbottle surmounted this problem than he discovered that his printer had managed to print the second issue with every alternate page upside down! They seemed incapable of rectifying the

27 Although Australia had produced science-fiction magazines prior to 1969 none was of any consequence. *Thrills Incorporated*, which saw 23 undated issues between March 1950 and June 1952, contained original fiction but almost all of it was poorly written and mostly hidden under obscure pen names. It was no match for *New Worlds*, *Science Fantasy* or *Nebula*, all of which were regularly imported from Britain. Later efforts such as *American Science Fiction* (41 issues, May 1952–September 1955) and *Selected Science Fiction* (5 issues, May–September 1955) were entirely reprinted from US magazines and were slim pocketbook-size publications, more like anthologies than magazines since they had no editorial persona. The same may be said of *Future Science Fiction* and its companion *Popular Science Fiction* (both 6 issues, July 1953–March 1955), which also reprinted primarily from US pulps but did contain a few original stories, though again of little consequence. Only *Science Fiction Monthly* (18 issues, September 1955–February 1957) made any serious attempt at quality. It selected from a diversity of US magazines, so was again rather like an anthology, but it did contain a number of reader departments, including a regular 'Science Fiction Scene' column written by Graham Stone, book and film reviews and author interviews. As a result *Science Fiction Monthly* developed a following and helped serve as a focus for sf in Australia. It was even financially successful and only folded when the editor, Michael Cannon, left the firm, Atlas Publications in Melbourne, and no one was prepared to continue it.

problem and Harbottle found a new specialist magazine printer. The new printers proved their competence by managing to produce the third issue before the previous printer had completed the second issue. New English Library believed that the third issue, with its new cover painting and design by Eddie Jones, had a stronger impact than the second issue, which had at last been delivered. As a result, at their request, the third issue appeared first (dated November 1969), and the second issue followed in December, with a hastily overprinted cover date.

These teething troubles did not help the magazine's credibility, but it did settle down to a regular monthly schedule thereafter, with good production. Then came the next shock. Initially feedback from the distributor had suggested sales of around 12,000 – not on a par with the 25,000 of the first issue but still adequate. Plans were well under way to produce a companion fantasy magazine, *Sword and Sorcery* (edited by Kenneth Bulmer), and *Image of Tomorrow*, a magazine primarily of reprints, using long novels and a few short stories. Dummies for both magazines were prepared when, in May 1970, Harbottle learned that sales of *Vision* were as low as 5,000. This was because New English Library had been unable to secure distribution through W. H. Smith, and thousands of copies remained in the warehouse. It proved impossible to salvage the situation and, when sales failed to improve, it was agreed to suspend the magazine after its twelfth issue (dated September 1970). Once again W. H. Smith's stranglehold on distribution in Britain and its reluctance to run specialist fiction magazines had throttled another magazine. Harbottle's plan to reinstate the magazine as part of a new pocketbook series was never realized, despite arrangements moving ahead with Tandem Books, because of a disagreement with Ronald Graham over the choice of titles.

*Vision of Tomorrow* was a valiant venture, however, with much good material. Graham had placed an embargo on using any American material, so Harbottle had to rely on British writers (mostly from John Carnell's literary agency) and Australian writers. In fact the intention was for at least 40 per cent of *Vision's* contents to be by Australian writers. John Bangsund had been employed to act as Australian coordinator and obtain material for Harbottle, though this proved a less than satisfactory arrangement. Harbottle also brought in material from Europe and as a result published the first story by Polish writer Stanislaw Lem in an English-language sf magazine, 'Are You There, Mr Jones?' (August 1969). At one point Graham charged Harbottle with acquiring the English-language rights to the German Perry Rhodan series, but it was not possible to secure a satisfactory deal and the opportunity was passed over. It would rear its head again very soon, as we shall see.

As the only regular market for traditional science fiction in Britain, *Vision of Tomorrow* was not only an outlet for the older, established authors, such as E. C. Tubb, William F. Temple, Sydney J. Bounds, Philip E. High and Kenneth Bulmer – who between them provided most of the British contingent of stories – but also helped develop new writers. Chief among these was Michael G. Coney, who sold his first two stories to *Vision*, starting with ‘Sixth Sense’ (August 1969), a clever twist on the telepathy theme. Harbottle had been delighted when he received ‘Sixth Sense’ as it was exactly what he was after for *Vision* – a story about the human condition with no resemblance to the old-style pulp adventure.<sup>28</sup> Harbottle fed his views about the story back to Coney via Carnell’s agency. Coney takes up the story:

The consequences of that first sale were dramatic. For a couple of years I’d been writing all kinds of short stories and submitting them around, and getting rejection slips. I had no thought of *not* submitting them, but I assumed rejection was virtually automatic. And then came the acceptance and the fulsome praise. Suddenly it was a whole new ball game. I realized it was possible to actually *sell* stories. It made a big difference to everything I wrote after that. Now I knew that any story I wrote stood a chance, so I took much more care over them, thought the plots out carefully, aimed for a big climax, and added a touch of human interest. In short, I did the legwork before submitting, and to some extent I began to research the market too. I made a bonfire of all the old failures. They were appalling and I wanted no part of them any more. I now saw myself as a pro.<sup>29</sup>

Brian Stableford, Christopher Priest, Peter Cave, Richard Gordon and Eddy C. Bertin also made early sales to the magazine, but Coney was certainly Harbottle’s most important discovery.

On balance, however, it was the Australian writers who produced the better material. Initially Harbottle was having problem finding material of sufficient quality but, after the arrangement with John Bangsund was cancelled by Graham, Harbottle put considerable effort into contacting Australian authors directly, in particular Lee Harding, whom he gave cover-story commissions. Fired with enthusiasm for a regular market they were denied in Australia, reliables such as Lee Harding, Damien Broderick, Frank Bryning and Jack Wodhams appeared in most issues. Lee Harding’s ‘Dancing Gerontius’ (December 1969), a touching tale about the treatment of the

<sup>28</sup> I am grateful to Philip Harbottle, who provided me with extensive and as yet unpublished notes about his days as editor of *Vision*, upon which I have drawn for this section.

<sup>29</sup> Personal email, Coney to Ashley.

elderly in the near future, received the Australian Ditmar award as that year's best Australian fiction. *Vision of Tomorrow* also won the Ditmar that same year (1970) as the best professional magazine, beating *New Worlds* into second place and gaining twice as many votes as *F&SF* and *Analog*. One of the most memorable stories from *Vision* was 'The Bitter Pill' by A. Bertram Chandler (June 1970), a powerful and timely consideration of what would happen if youth revolted and took over government. This also won the Ditmar award in 1971 as the best Australian fiction. Four years later it was expanded into a novel, which has only seen Australian publication, and that version also won the Ditmar award. Australian readers apparently felt that *Vision* did not publish enough Australian fiction, yet in a recent assessment *Vision* has been listed among a few other publishing activities of the late 1960s as being 'a foundation that has been built upon ever since'.<sup>30</sup>

*Vision of Tomorrow* was an attractive magazine, its larger slick format allowing the greater use of photographs and artwork. Eddie Jones was brought in as art consultant, which gave him the first opportunity to spread his wings and helped open doors to a wider career. The noted astronomical artist David Hardy also first appeared with covers for *Vision* (March and April 1970). In one of those odd twists of fate, Harbottle had first discovered Hardy's work in a framed print he saw for sale in a department store while he was shopping for furniture for his impending marriage. Harbottle promptly contacted Hardy, resulting in Hardy's first sf magazine work.

*Vision of Tomorrow* was also fascinating for the insight it gave into the early days of British science fiction. Pioneer sf editor Walter Gillings was coaxed back out of retirement and updated his series 'The Clamorous Dreamers', which he had written for Michael Rosenblum's fanzine *The New Futurian* in the early fifties, into 'The Impatient Dreamers'. This was serialized in *Vision*, giving a complete personalized history from the 1920s to the 1940s. Supplements were provided by John Carnell and it was Harbottle's intention to carry the history through to the fifties, but the magazine folded before that was possible.<sup>31</sup>

*Vision of Tomorrow* deserved a better fate. It was a good magazine produced under trying circumstances, and in other days it would certainly have fared better. It was in stark contrast to the nouveau *New Worlds*, since *Vision* looked back as much as it looked forwards, and it still stands as a marker post of the transition that was reshaping science fiction at that time.

30 See Russell Blackford, Van Ikin and Sean McMullen, *Strange Constellations: A History of Australian Science Fiction* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999), p. 121.

31 These later essays were encapsulated in Philip Harbottle's study of British publishing from 1946 to 1956, which he completed with Stephen Holland: *Vultures of the Void*.

There is one last new development to consider. Soon after Harbottle's abortive attempt to acquire the English-language rights to the Perry Rhodan novels, Ace Books started to publish them in America from May 1969. The Perry Rhodan adventures comprise the longest series of books ever written in the sf field. The series had been created in Germany by Walter Ernsting and Karl-Herbert Scheer in 1961 (see Appendix 1) and had already passed through more than 400 weekly episodes before being translated into English. The US paperback editions, which often published two or more 'books' in one volume, were clearly packaged to attract the young readership yearning for *Star Trek*. Even the title of the first book in the series was translated as *Enterprise Stardust*. Although the galactic empire created in *Perry Rhodan* does not resemble the scenarios of *Star Trek*, the individual adventures often do. The novels were translated by Wendayne Ackerman, wife of Forrest J. Ackerman, and Forrest became the managing editor. It was not long before he stamped his personality on the series, making it into a club, and including new features and columns. The first few paperbacks were published sporadically, and the series really only took off from about volume 5 in 1971, but it was clearly a child of the sixties.

This variety of short-lived or nascent publications shows the fractured state of science fiction by the end of the sixties. Magazines that should have survived – *Venture*, *Coven 13*, *Vision of Tomorrow* – didn't. Other magazines either plundered the past, or turned to fantasy or space opera. Even as we draw this second part of this history to a close there were further short-lived revivals: *Worlds of Fantasy* and *Worlds of Tomorrow* both returned in 1970. And a beautifully published reprint magazine, *Forgotten Fantasy*, came and went in California, after just five issues in 1970–71. The sf magazine field resembled a battlefield, except that no one knew that there had been a battle.

## Aftermath

In 1970 it looked as though magazine science fiction was recovering, even though there was still a feeling of uncertainty. It was a boom period without the boom. *Analog* had a steadily rising circulation. *Amazing Stories* and *Fantastic* had a new editor, Ted White, who seemed able to handle Sol Cohen, and the magazines were starting to look fresh and exciting – and would indeed be vibrant during the early seventies. *Galaxy* and *If* had a new publisher and editor and changes were already appearing. *Worlds of Fantasy* and *Worlds of Tomorrow* had been revived. *F&SF* was holding its own.

But there were still plenty of questions. Were the magazines advancing sf in the way they had twenty years before – or even a few years before? And if they were, in what direction? What form was science fiction taking?

Sf, certainly in the American magazines, seemed to have come to a halt. Good fiction was still appearing, but was it the best of the old or the best of the new? Had it been overtaken by fantasy, or become a clone of *Star Trek*? And then there was that British ‘new wave’ which had completely devastated *New Worlds*. Not only had this gripped the British scene but it was taking a hold on the paperback anthologies *Orbit* and *Dangerous Visions* and others that started to appear in great quantities from 1970 on: *Quark* and *Nova* and *Universe* and *New Dimensions* and even the return of *Infinity*. By 1970 there was no longer any doubt that the paperback book was dominating the magazine, and that fact, together with poor magazine distribution, was forcing the sf magazine into a backwater. Was the gradual rise of small, semi-professional magazines such as *Weirdbook* and *Space and Time* going to be an answer to this, or did the future lie in the paperback?

And what about the slick magazine approach? *Science Fiction Plus*, *Analog*, *New Worlds*, *Vision of Tomorrow* – all had flirted with that size and format and failed. *Analog* reverted to the digest size while *New Worlds* metamorphosed

into paperbacks. Without advertising, could the sf magazine survive by subscription alone?

In the months after the moon landing the drive also went out of the Apollo programme. There were those who believed that there was nothing left for science fiction. Men had landed on the moon. So what? It had been one huge spectacle, but an expensive one. Money came out of the space programme, and the bubble burst.

There was also the feeling that while new doors might be opening others were closing. Too many promising magazines weren't getting beyond their first gasp of air. *Coven 13*, *Forgotten Fantasy* and *Vision of Tomorrow* all came and went, and in fact *Worlds of Fantasy* and *Worlds of Tomorrow* did not survive their second incarnation beyond a few issues.

Moreover, several of the people who had helped create the golden past were passing on. Hugo Gernsback, the founding father of the sf magazine, had died on 19 August 1967. Anthony Boucher, one of the driving forces behind *F&SF*, died on 29 April 1968. Virgil Finlay, in many people's eyes the greatest of the fantasy artists, died on 18 January 1971. August Derleth, the pioneer of the small press field, died on 4 July 1971. A week later John Campbell, the founder of modern science fiction, died. John Carnell, who had built up the British sf market, establishing so many of its writers, died on 23 March 1972. In a relatively short space of time so many of the shapers of the first generation of the sf and fantasy field had passed on. A whole new generation would take it into the seventies and beyond.

Yet, in the eyes of some, things were sparkling. The new worlds opened up by *Star Trek* and *2001* and other successful films of the late sixties, such as *Planet of the Apes*, *Fahrenheit 451* and *Fantastic Voyage*, showed that good-quality films could be made. As technology improved and budgets grew, so interest in science-fiction films blossomed. These merged with the techno-thriller to create science-fiction spectacles of such immensity that they blasted the written word out of the sky. How were the sf magazines supposed to cope with that?

Furthermore, science fiction was at least achieving academic respectability. Courses in science fiction were starting to appear. Although Sam Moskowitz had organized an evening course in sf for the City College of New York in 1953, the first course forming part of the official curriculum of a college was that established by Mark Hillegas at Colgate University (Hamilton, N.Y.) in 1961. At about the same time H. Bruce Franklin began his course at Stanford in California. Soon afterwards, Jack Williamson started his at Eastern New Mexico University and Thomas Clareson began his at Wooster College, Ohio. By the end of the decade there were over 60 universities in the USA offering such courses and this would increase

rapidly during the seventies. Serious academic journals also began to appear, the earliest being Thomas Clareson's *Extrapolation*, started in December 1959. Clareson, like James Gunn, had long campaigned for science fiction to be studied and treated seriously, and the academic acceptance of the genre is as much due to his long-standing efforts as to anyone else's. The seventies would see a dramatic increase in the analysis, interpretation and assessment of the very matter of science fiction and this in turn led to new disciplines within the field.

So as the swinging sixties closed and the post-party depression set in, it was evident that there was change everywhere. At the start of this period, in 1950, there had also been change. The pulps were dying. Comics, paperbacks, television were on the rise. Yet in that twenty years the digest magazines had boomed, died and risen again. Perhaps it was all cyclical and the next boom was just around the corner.

In fact the sixties were destined to be the last real Silver Age of the sf magazines. The Golden Age is usually attributed to the Campbell revolution at *Astounding* during 1939–42, but that was just the start. The real Golden Age had been the early fifties, mostly in *Galaxy* but also in many of the rival magazines, most of which, at one time or another, published some of the best sf ever written, and at a time when all the leading writers in the field were producing fiction like there was no tomorrow.

In the years after 1970 the sf magazines had to adopt and survive, and survive they would against an amazing variety of competition. The most popular sf films ever made – in fact the most financially successful films of all time – would change the public attitude to sf and usher in the media magazines. There was the punk revolution. There were attempts at audio-tape magazines; and cable television with the Sci-Fi Channel; and the internet with its e-zines. Computers and new technology were creating an ever-expanding science-fiction world within less than a generation.

And science fiction continued to mutate, changing with attitudes and society and the world about it. The new wave shifted into cyberpunk and slipstream, and with all these upheavals good old-fashioned hard-sf started to make a comeback. The science-fiction world would never be the same again after the sixties.

Just what positions the sf magazine took in all of this is covered in Volume III – *Gateways to Forever*.



## APPENDIX I

# Non-English-Language Science-Fiction Magazines

At the start of the 1950s there were few sf magazines outside the English-speaking world, and those that did exist mostly featured reprints from American or British sources. Yet by the end of the sixties there would be a thriving international sf community. This appendix plots, albeit briefly, the growth and development of the sf magazine around the world. For simplicity I shall follow it country by country, but I also wish to make connections between countries as sf developed. Consequently this appendix is not in alphabetical order by country, but follows an approximate chronological/geographical sequence.

Before following that thread, however, there is a pertinent question to consider. Although the dozen or so countries covered below have all developed a number of professional sf writers, few of those have become recognized beyond their own country. The writers who did begin to establish an international reputation, such as Stanislaw Lem and Boris and Arkady Strugatski, came from countries that did not develop a science-fiction tradition or have any significant sf magazines. This suggests that the argument levied against American and British sf – that the sf magazines ghettoized science fiction and thereby reduced its standing – has some grounding. As I have explored in these first two volumes, and will bring to a conclusion in the third, the answer is not as simple as that. In looking at sf in the former Soviet Union and Poland we are faced with quite different socio-political cultures from those of America and Britain. In fact it can be demonstrated that science fiction was developing in the Eastern Bloc in much the same way as it had developed under Gernsback in the United States, but varying factors, not least political oppression and the social status in these countries, limited writers' ability to develop.

Yet, when they had the opportunity, it was invariably to the scientific and technical journals that they turned. Stanislaw Lem's very first novel,

'Człowiek z Marsa' ('A Man from Mars'), was serialized in the Russian magazine *Nowy Świat Przygót* (*New World of Adventures*) in 1946. Russian science-fiction stories had appeared from time to time in such magazines as *Round the World*, *World Pathfinder* and *World of Adventures* before the revolution, and even in the comparatively enlightened twenties, *Krasnaja Nov* serialized the original version of Alexei Tolstoj's *Aelita* in 1922. With the dawn of the space age, and the launch of the first artificial satellite in 1957, Russian science fiction came alive. Ivan Yefremov's 'The Andromeda Nebula' had only just run in *Tekhnika Molodezhi* (*Technology for Youth*). The interest in the novel and the fascination with the space programme resulted in the first national conference of Soviet sf writers held in Moscow in 1958. The Strugatsky brothers' first story had also appeared in a technical magazine in 1957 and their first novel, *Strana Bagrovyykh tuch* (*The Land of Purple Clouds*) followed soon after. It was the technical magazines, especially those designed for younger readers, that ran these science-fiction stories, in exactly the same way that Gernsback had incorporated his gadget stories into *Modern Electrics* and its successors forty years earlier.

Russian and other Eastern Bloc writers were being allowed their say, and it was the specialist magazines that again catered for it. And when these writers began to emerge in the West, once again it was in the specialist magazines. The Strugatskys were the first post-war Soviet sf authors to be published in America when 'Initiative' appeared in the May 1959 *Amazing Stories*. Stanislaw Lem's first translated story, 'Are You There, Mr Jones?', appeared in *Vision of Tomorrow* (August 1969).

The Strugatskys were often outspoken and their views and comments against the state system occasionally caused problems. In 1968 the editors of *Baikal*, which serialized part of their novel *Ulitka na sklone* (*The Snail on the Slope*), were fired because of the story's anti-state message. Yet the Strugatskys remained among the bestselling Russian authors. In 1981, when the magazine *Uralsky Sledopyt*<sup>1</sup> inaugurated the Aelita award (the Soviet equivalent of the Hugo), the Strugatskys were the first recipients.

Interviewed in 1987, Arkady Strugatsky was vociferous about the value of a science-fiction magazine. He believed that as long as the stories were

1 *Uralsky Sledopyt* (which means *Ural Stalker*) had been founded in 1935 by the radical publisher V. A. Popov, who had been the organizer of the Boy Scout movement in Russia before the revolution and had also been the publisher of *Around the World*, which reprinted a lot of American and British sf and adventure stories. At that time he operated out of St Petersburg. In 1930 his magazines were closed down but in 1935 he re-established himself in Sverdlovsk in the Urals, where *Ural Stalker* became a very popular magazine. Popov continued to promote science fiction and imaginative literature until the authorities closed him down again in 1938 and he disappeared. In his honour the magazine was revived in 1958 and has continued to this day, frequently printing science fiction and becoming a focal point for local fans.

relegated to technical or children's magazines the field would not be taken seriously. 'Extreme measures are necessary in order to raise the artistic level of sf. Since the first all-Russian conference of sf writers in 1958 we have been talking about a magazine devoted entirely to science fiction. We need a magazine, oh how we need a magazine: then, perhaps, we'd have something to show the critics.'<sup>2</sup> Strugatsky saw the sf magazine as the medium for improving the quality of science fiction, not of relegating it to the ghetto. A similar view was expressed at about the same time by Danish writer Ellen Pedersen, who said: 'One sign of a healthy, commercial science fiction field is the existence of a magazine'.<sup>3</sup> Clearly, while the near suffocation of American sf by magazines in the 1950s had done the field as much harm as good, those countries which lacked a magazine yearned for it both as a focus for the field and as a route for improving its quality.

The following survey, consequently, can be sobering at times, as we see how the mistakes and lessons learned in American sf were reflected or ignored in developments in other countries.

### Mexico

The most regular non-English-language sf publication in 1950 was the Mexican *Los Cuentos Fantásticos*. It reprinted mostly from *Famous Fantastic Mysteries* and *Astounding*, almost entirely without permission, though some reprints were sanctioned through Forrest Ackerman's literary agency. It also ran some indigenous fiction, though not enough to establish any writers. It was pulp-sized but printed on book paper rather than pulp. Its publication was irregular but it usually sustained six issues a year, and continued for 44 issues from July 1948 to May 1953.

Thereafter Mexico had few remaining sf magazines during the fifties. *Enigmas*, a digest-sized magazine, which managed to run for 16 issues, starting in August 1955, reprinted chiefly from the Standard magazines, *Startling* and *Thrilling Wonder*, after the parent magazines had folded. Edited by Bernardino Diaz, *Enigmas* was monthly for its first year, but then became irregular, with a final, long-delayed sixteenth issue in May 1958. These later issues ran some limited original material.

Concurrent with *Enigmas* was *Ciencia y Fantasia*. This was one of a number of reprint editions of *The Magazine of Fantasy & Science Fiction* that began

2 Arkadi Strugatsky; interview first published in *Knizhnoe Obozrenie*, 27 February 1987 and translated by John Costello for *Locus* #321, October 1987.

3 Ellen M. Pedersen, 'The Micro-World of Danish SF', *Locus* #288, January 1985, p. 28.

to enliven sf around the world throughout the fifties. This series began in September 1955 with a pilot issue, and then ran monthly from December. It reprinted from a selection of issues, rather than on an issue-by-issue basis, and carried no original material. It was initially well received but sinking circulation and high costs were evident in the steady increase in cover price. It folded in December 1957 after 14 issues.

Only one other magazine appeared in Mexico in the 1950s, and that was *Fantasias del Futuro*, which saw a single issue in September 1958. It was a digest magazine that reprinted mostly from the Columbia magazines, *Future SF* and *Science Fiction Quarterly*. Its publisher, Editora Sol, also published a companion comic-book, *Fantastico*, which was more successful. Evidently the precedent set by *Los Cuentos Fantásticos* in the early fifties was not sustained in Mexico, where science-fiction fans probably either acquired the original American editions, or simply preferred the comic-books. By the sixties, any demand in Mexico for narrative science fiction was met by the flood of Spanish books which were regularly imported. It would not be until the 1980s that sf would find a separate identity in Mexico.

### Argentina<sup>4</sup>

The Latin American countries, especially Argentina, have always had a greater interest in fantasy and magic realism than in hard-core sf, as evidenced by the status of Jorge Luis Borges, Adolfo Bioy Casares, Julio Cortázar and others. Indeed the tradition of their work has overshadowed the emergence of science fiction, and also channelled it into more literary magazines and books. Although Argentina has perhaps the strongest tradition in science fiction of any South American country it was long regarded as a minority and very specialist interest.

Argentina's involvement with weird-fiction magazines goes back at least as far as 1939, with the appearance of the pulp *Narraciones Terrorificas*. It carried very little sf, reprinting a mixture of weird, horror and fantasy fiction, mostly from Popular Publications' pulps. It folded in January 1950 after 72 issues, and left little impact on the sf scene in Argentina.

Of greater importance was *Más Allá*. The name means *Beyond*, and early issues did include some reprints from that magazine, but it was chiefly an Argentine edition of *Galaxy*. The magazine was a neat digest of 128 pages, illustrated throughout. Its first issue was dated June 1953. Although it

4 Much of the background data for this section has been provided over the years by correspondence with and magazines kindly supplied by Hector R. Pessina, Sergio Logioco and Christian Vallini Lawson.

relied on *Galaxy* for most of its material it reprinted selected stories from other sources, and included some indigenous stories and features. One of the strengths of *Más Allá*, apart from its regular monthly publication, was its lively letter column, which helped establish a base of science-fiction fandom in Argentina that never quite faded away, even in the more oppressive periods of the country's history. The magazine also placed a strong emphasis on science, reprinting Willy Ley's column from *Galaxy* and having a science question-and-answer department. *Más Allá* reprinted many key works of American and British sf, including novels by Wyndham, Heinlein, Asimov and Bradbury, plus a growing number of local writers. The key author who emerged from this period was Héctor Oesterheld, regarded as the father of modern Argentinian sf. He even edited the final issues of *Más Allá* in 1957, taking over from founding editor Julio Portas. Oesterheld began a science-fiction novel in graphic format called *El Eternauta*, regarded as the start of Argentinian sf. Pablo Capanna was another who emerged via *Más Allá*, and in 1967 he produced the first Spanish study of science fiction, *El Sentido de la Ciencia Ficción*.

The significance of *Más Allá* cannot be overstated. It was read not only in Argentina, but throughout South America, and helped fans bond together. It demonstrated that there was a market for sf in South America and prompted Spanish emigré Francisco Porrúa to start Minotauro Press, the first specialist press in South America. Minotauro continued to keep science fiction alive in Argentina long after *Más Allá* folded in June 1957 after 48 issues. The magazine was apparently no longer financially viable without reducing the quality of its fiction, and Oesterheld would not compromise. The magazine was sadly missed. In 1984 Argentina's leading science-fiction society instituted the *Más Allá* award for best science fiction, named in its honour.

Just as *Más Allá* folded another magazine appeared, though it was not of the same quality. This was *Pistas del Espacio*, and may have been the type of magazine Oesterheld was alluding to in his final editorial. Strictly, *Pistas del Espacio* was a digest-format novel series, with occasional short story fillers, and in that sense was similar to the early issues of *Authentic* from which it reprinted some novels. It began in June 1957 and appeared monthly for the first ten issues before it began to miss issues. The last known issue, number 14, was dated April 1959.

In 1964 Porrúa's Minotauro Press launched an Argentine edition of *F&SF*, called *Minotauro*, edited by Porrúa under the alias of Ricardo Gossey. Stories were selected from various issues rather than a direct issue-by-issue reprint, and it found space for the occasional new story. Although of very high quality the magazine had problems reaching a wide enough readership.

It originally appeared bi-monthly, and Porrúa alternated issues with *Planete*, an Argentine edition of the French science-fiction magazine. *Planete* outlived *Minotauro*, which folded after ten issues, the last one long delayed in 1968, though it has since been reincarnated twice, and has become the symbol of the undying spirit of Argentine sf.

While Porrúa was struggling to make *Minotauro* survive, Oesterheld tried to revive *Más Allá* in a new format under the title of *Geminis*. Again in digest format and reprinting primarily from *Galaxy*, *Geminis* was conceived as twice monthly, but it succeeded in publishing only two issues in July 1965 before it folded through lack of funding. Nevertheless, thanks to Porrúa and Oesterheld, science fiction was taking a grip on the youth of Argentina, especially Hector Pessina, who helped organize the first Argentine sf convention in 1967 and brought together the first fan club in Argentina in 1969. Writers such as Alberto Vanasco and Eduardo Goligorsky, published by *Minotauro*, began to give a shape and identity to Argentine sf, sufficient that it would survive the political unrest that destabilized the country over the next ten to fifteen years.

### Spain<sup>5</sup>

Some of the Mexican and Argentine publications found their way into Spain, and were reprinted in the various sf paperback series that proliferated in Spain, as in most other continental European countries in the fifties. These series, with titles including *Futuro*, *Espacio* and *Luchadores del Espacio* (*Space Fighters*), have sometimes been confusingly regarded as sf magazines, but they all consisted of short novels. In the fifties most of these were adapted from British and American sources, and occasionally from France and Italy, but increasingly they were written by Spanish authors using Anglo-Saxon names. *Futuro* ran for 34 volumes during 1954 and 1955; *Luchadores del Espacio* ran for over 200 volumes from 1953 to 1963. Other series followed. The novels were mostly basic space opera. In time the best known of these authors was Pascual Usachs, who wrote as George H. White, and who in 1994, when 80 years old, received an award for his Aznar space family saga.

Spain's own political oppression of the fifties limited free expression through science fiction other than these basic adventure stories. It was not until the mid-sixties that Spain developed its own sf magazines. The leading force was writer Domingo Santos. Together with Luis Vigil he succeeded in

<sup>5</sup> My thanks to Miguel Martínez for the background data for this section.

launching Spain's first true sf magazine, *Anticipacion*, in October 1966. It was printed in both Barcelona and Buenos Aires in Argentina. Attractively produced, it presented mostly translations of French and American sf, but it did serve as a focus for science fiction in Spain. It survived just seven monthly issues, folding in April 1967, but served as the launching pad for Spain's next and most exciting venture, *Nueva Dimension*. Edited again by Santos, with the help of Luis Vigil and Sebastián Martínez, from Barcelona, the first issue appeared in January 1968. It was a very attractive magazine, slightly larger than digest, and featured stories, articles, news and reviews from around the world. Although it still relied heavily on translations of American sf, it began to publish some original Spanish stories. Generally the magazine selected the more unusual and avant-garde stories, whether by Americans such as Theodore Sturgeon or Avram Davidson, or French writers such as Boris Vian. It would occasionally produce special issues dedicated to the work of an individual writer, including Robert Sheckley, Harry Harrison and Domingo Santos himself. Generally *Nueva Dimension* remained apolitical, though in 1970 it fell foul of the state when it published a story by an Argentinian writer<sup>6</sup> which was interpreted as promoting Basque separatism. That issue, for June 1970, was immediately impounded. Nevertheless, *Nueva Dimension* struggled on, keeping as close to a monthly schedule as possible, and steadily becoming recognized as an important sf magazine not only in Spain but also in the rest of Europe. In 1972 it received a special Hugo plaque for excellence in magazine production. It became the heart of science fiction in Spain and, through its letter column and other editorial features, known colloquially as the 'green pages' because of the paper used, helped develop a lively fan movement. For a country which, at the time, was not known for its science fiction, Spain succeeded in producing what is still regarded as one of the world's best sf magazines. It would survive for 16 years and produce 148 issues before folding in December 1983.

### Italy<sup>7</sup>

Italy, even more than Spain, had a profusion of sf publications in the 1950s, but few were genuine magazines. The first specialist publication was *Scienza Fantastica* from Editrice Krator in Rome, edited by Lionello Torossi. It began in April 1952 as a monthly, selecting reprints from *Astounding* and *Galaxy*, but

6 'Gu ta gutarrak' by Moujan Otaño. The title loosely translates as 'We and Ours'. The story was subsequently reprinted in issue #114.

7 I am indebted to Gianfranco de Turres and Gianni Montanari for much of the background information for this section.

soon introduced some stories by Italian writers. Its schedule slipped and by March 1953, when the last number appeared, it had seen only seven issues.

That same year, however, the publishing house of Arnoldo Mondadori entered the sf field, under editor Giorgio Monicelli. It launched two sf series. *Urania* was a genuine magazine, in digest format, reprinting stories mostly from *Galaxy* but with occasional older reprints from *Astounding* and other magazines. It included a letter column and other departments, and helped stimulate a nascent fandom in Italy. However, it only survived for 14 monthly issues from November 1952 to December 1953. It clearly was not as successful as its companion, *I Romanzi di Urania*, which was a book series, issued in digest format. It appeared on a fairly regular fortnightly schedule. In most cases all of the books were novels, reprinted from American or British sources. Some issues had the occasional short story, comic strip or article to supplement the novel, and there were also occasional reprint anthologies, but none of these was a magazine in the formal sense. When I corresponded with the publisher in 1977 they remarked that they felt that 'contemporary sf is a strictly Anglo-American business; we don't know of any leading Italian sf writer', which made it clear that this series had never sought to develop any native talent. It was also a slight to the few Italian sf writers who were trying to establish themselves. The series continues as the main backbone of Italian sf publishing, but not of Italian sf.

Other attempts to issue Italian reprint magazines were thwarted throughout the fifties, partly because of lack of financial support, but more through lack of publishing commitment. *Galassia*, whose title might suggest an Italian edition of *Galaxy*, was another short novel series, reprinting British and American material. It had three issues between January and June 1953. A second *Galassia*, with a more balanced mix of novels and shorter fiction, ran for five issues between January and April 1957. This one also reprinted British and American material, in some cases pirating and heavily abridging British novels under British-sounding pseudonyms.

*Fantascienza*, an Italian edition of *F&SF* published in Milan, ran for seven issues from November 1954 to May 1955, but came to nothing. *Mondi Astrali* at least made an effort to look like an original magazine. It featured mostly short stories by Italian writers, though again using British pen names, but also included articles and a letter column. It was edited by Eggardo Beltrametti in Rome. However, it only ran for four monthly issues from January to April 1955, allowing no time to establish itself.

1957 saw a profusion of projects emerging. The first was *Alpha Tau*, or more properly *I Narratori dell' Alpha Tau*, published by Irsa Muraro in Rome. This was a fortnightly novel series featuring original Italian novels under British names. The novels were all mediocre space operas. The first issue



appeared on 12 January 1957, but the frequency soon began to slip to three-weekly, then four-weekly, changing editors with the fifth issue. It ceased publication after nine issues in June 1957, but was then reconstituted as *Cosmic*, selecting reprints from the earlier series. Two other reprint issues of *Cosmic* appeared in December 1957 and May 1958 before that project faded away.

Giorgio Monicelli briefly moonlighted from his work at Mondadori and, under the pen name Tom Arno, helped another Milan publisher launch another long-lived novel series, *I Romanzi del Cosmo*. This was considerably inferior to *Urania*, with poorly translated British, American and French novels, and some equally badly written Italian novels, again under British names. After the first ten issues, Monicelli handed the series over to a succession of other editors, none of whom brought any improvements. Nevertheless the series would survive for over ten years, with books appearing on a fortnightly schedule, sometimes slipping to monthly.

*Cronache del Futuro* was more of the same, though this time from Edizione Periodici Kappa in Rome. The same squad of Italian writers produced stories and short novels under English pen names. The series lasted for 24 fortnightly issues from August 1957 to August 1958 before editor Salvatore Cappadonia took it to a new publisher, Editrice Maya in Rome. Eleven more issues appeared from December 1958 to June 1959 before it folded.

Within all of this mediocrity *Oltre il Cielo* came as something of a relief. Issued in September 1957, at the dawn of the space age, the magazine was really a science magazine featuring space-orientated material with occasional filler stories, but at least it was a genuine magazine with genuine home-grown fiction. For most of its run it was a large-format tabloid, although very slim. It survived for 154 issues, until January 1970. With better financial backing it might have presaged *Omni*. It had its own imitator in *Corriere dello Spazio*, which began in April 1959 and which lasted until May 1963, with 51 issues.

If we briefly pass over *Astroman*, a small magazine of translated stories with only two issues in December 1957 and January 1958, we come to *Galaxy*. This was a genuine Italian edition of *Galaxy*, launched in June 1958 by World Editions, of Milan, the original publisher of the American edition. However, after ten issues it was sold to Casa Editrice La Tribuna in Piacenza, and from then on began to include a mixture of reprint material and Italian fiction. Under the editorship of Mario Vitali and later Roberta Rambelli, both *Galaxy* and its companion title *Galassia*, which appeared in January 1961, began to establish a regular forum for science fiction. Although they were still heavily slanted towards American and British sf they published an increasing amount of French, German, Russian and Italian sf. *Galaxy*

was to fold in May 1964 are 70 issues, but *Galassia* went from strength to strength and survived until February 1978, publishing 230 issues.

By the early sixties several important Italian sf writers were starting to emerge, of whom the most significant was Lino Aldani. Although not prolific, Aldani did much to encourage the development of indigenous science fiction. He produced a study of the genre, *La fantascienza* (1962), and followed this by launching the first sf magazine to be devoted predominantly to Italian authors. *Futuro* first appeared in May 1963 on a bi-monthly schedule, but soon became irregular, folding after eight issues in November 1964. Although it was a valiant effort, Aldani found it difficult to sustain a high enough circulation and to acquire top-quality material from Italian writers. He was forced to include translations of works by Jorge Luis Borges, Stanislaw Lem and others.

For most of the sixties *Oltre il Cielo* and *Galassia* remained the primary Italian sf magazines, though in May 1967 Libra Editrice, in Bologna, entered the fray with the highly attractive *Nova*. Edited by Ugo Malaguti, this provided the usual blend of translated and original stories, suitably balanced with news, features and reviews. It struggled to maintain much more than a quarterly schedule, but was always a good-quality production.

These three magazines, despite the space given to translations, were sufficient to develop a body of Italian writers, including Gianni Montanari, Luigi Cozzi, Sandro Sandrelli, Roberto Vacca and Vittorio Curtoni, in addition to Lino Aldani, who took sf forward into the 1970s and became the core of a rejuvenated Italian sf scene.

## France

For three years (March 1958 to February 1961), *Oltre il Cielo* had a French edition, *Au Delà du Ciel*, published concurrently in Rome with its parent edition, though not always featuring the same stories. This edition placed a heavier emphasis on fiction, because the French had a much greater respect and interest in genuine science fiction than the Italians seemed to possess.

France's earlier attempts at professional sf magazines had been short-lived (see Volume I for details). In 1951, the publisher Hachette launched its specialist science-fiction paperback series, *Le Rayon Fantastique*, under the editorial guidance of Georges Gallet. Gallet was a devotee of old-style adventure science fiction, though his selection avoided the amateurish space opera novels that were blighting British sf at the time, and would later dominate Italian sf. Nevertheless it would be some years before (with a change of editor and publisher) *Le Rayon Fantastique* began to recognize more modern sf.

In the meantime, in 1953, two new magazines appeared. Editions OPTA launched a French edition of *F&SF* as *Fiction* while Nuit de Jours issued the French *Galaxy* as *Galaxie*. Unfortunately the editorial team at *Galaxie* lacked professionalism, producing poorly translated stories that were also often edited and abridged. The magazine nevertheless ran for 65 issues until declining sales caused it to fold in April 1959.

*Fiction*, on the other hand, firstly under Maurice Renault and thereafter (from 1958) for the rest of its life under the eminently capable editorial guidance of Alain Dorémieux, went from strength to strength. After three bi-monthly issues between October 1953 and February 1954, *Fiction* went monthly in March 1954 and remained so thereafter. Although it continued to offer sensibly translated reprints from *F&SF* it began to introduce new material by French writers which sometimes accounted for up to a third of each issue. *Fiction* would go on to be the longest lived of all European sf magazines, surviving for 412 issues until eventually folding in February 1990. It remained the dominant voice of science fiction in France for nearly forty years and was especially important in the sixties, an otherwise lean period in French sf. It became the home for many leading sf writers and critics, especially Philippe Curval, Gérard Klein, Charles Henneberg, Stefan Wul, Jacques Bergier, Michel Demuth, Roland Topor and Daniel Walther, as well as establishing a solid following in France for such authors as Philip K. Dick, J. G. Ballard, Harlan Ellison, Theodore Sturgeon and Fritz Leiber, who in turn influenced French writers. The significance of *Fiction* and the role of Dorémieux, who was almost the French equivalent of John W. Campbell or, more appropriately, Horace Gold, cannot be underestimated. Thanks to Damon Knight, the parent magazine reprinted English translations of some of the French stories, including ones by Charles Henneberg, Claude Veillot and Gerard Klein, some of which Knight then collected as *13 French Science-Fiction Stories* (Bantam, 1965).

In 1964 Dorémieux also launched *Galaxie*, the French edition of *Galaxy*, though this was almost entirely full of translations and incorporated little original French sf until 1974.

The only other French magazine of importance during this period was *Satellite*, launched in January 1958. It was published by the Editions Scientifiques et Littéraires in Paris and was edited by Hervé Calixte. Although it strove to imitate *Fiction*, it lacked the strong base of *F&SF*, and instead drew upon earlier pulp fiction from *Astonishing Stories* and *Comet*. It also tried to secure original French fiction, publishing material by Philippe Curval, Michel Demuth, Francis Carsac and others, but was poorly edited (it once translated the same story twice under different titles) and poorly produced and looked second-rate in comparison. It nevertheless survived for four years, folding in December 1962.

### Germany<sup>8</sup>

Despite a strong science-fiction tradition in Germany, the country rarely supported a regular or long-lasting science-fiction magazine. The emphasis was on book series, as in Italy and Spain, of which the most popular was *Utopia*. In 1955 the publisher, Erich Pabel, at the urging of writer Walter Ernsting, decided to issue an occasional magazine called, not surprisingly, *Utopia Sonderband* (*Utopia* 'special volume'). It began as a quarterly magazine in December 1955 and changed its title more formally to *Utopia Magazin* with issue 3. Ernsting edited the first two issues and then handed the reins over to Norbert Wolff. It was evidently successful at the outset, selling around 20,000 copies, and its schedule was increased to six-weekly with the seventh issue in June 1957. However, the size and quality of the magazine began to reduce, sales tailed off, and the magazine eventually folded in August 1959 after 26 issues. Part of the problem was that the magazine lacked a focus. It reprinted a mish-mash of stories from a variety of American and British magazines, not always of high quality, interspersed with an assortment of original German articles and fillers. It always felt like a supplement rather than a real magazine.

*Galaxis* was of a better quality. This was the German edition of *Galaxy*, published by Arthur Moewig in Munich, publisher of the highly successful Terra series of novels. Edited by Lothar Heinecke, the first issue appeared in March 1958. Although it selected from a variety of issues, it tended to parallel the parent magazine and published many excellent stories by Robert Sheckley, Philip K. Dick, Clifford Simak, James Blish, Algis Budrys and others, with no original German material. Surprisingly the magazine was unsuccessful and folded after only 15 issues in May 1959.

It has been suggested that German readers were not ready for the more satirical fiction of *Galaxy*, as they appreciated the hardcore sf of *Astounding*, some of which had been reprinted in *Utopia*. There is probably some degree of truth in this, as much of the history of German sf has been heavily technocentric, and both readers and writers were more interested in scientific discovery and space exploration than in future satires. Thus it came as no surprise when Walter Ernsting launched the regular Perry Rhodan novel series, and met with overwhelming success. In 1961, Ernsting put forward the idea of a universe-spanning series featuring Perry Rhodan, commander of the Solar Empire, and his adventures within a vast Galactic Empire. The

<sup>8</sup> My thanks to Uwe Luserke for his help with information on German sf magazines and publications. I am also indebted to the *Lexikon der Science Fiction Literatur* compiled by Hans-Joachim Alpers, Werner Fuchs, Ronald M. Hahn and Wolfgang Jeschke (Heyne, 1980).

series was taken up by Arthur Moewig and the first of the weekly booklets appeared in September 1961. The sales were phenomenal and a team of writers, headed by Ernsting and Karl H. Scheer, were assigned to produce the series. Ernsting had originally proposed the idea to Erich Pabel who, believing the series was too juvenile, had turned it down. Faced with its success, Pabel instantly launched a rival series featuring Mark Powers, Hero of the Universe, while more imitations burst from other publishers. These imitations briefly flowered and died while Perry Rhodan continued, and still continues to this day, passing the 1,900-volume mark in 2000. There have been translations and editions all over the world, most significantly in the United States, which was one of the factors in the stagnation of science fiction in the early seventies. The success of these novelette booklets compared to magazines virtually sounded the death-knell for the regular magazine in Germany and although a few managed to appear during the 1970s and 1980s (which I will cover in Volume III) none of them lasted long.

### Scandinavia<sup>9</sup>

Sweden can lay claim to one of the first identifiable sf magazines, *Hugin*, which appeared in 1916. During the forties Sweden also saw the long-running *Jules Verne Magasinet*, which lasted for nearly seven years and 332 issues. Towards the end of its life it became more of a general adventure magazine running a number of comic strips.

The real story of Swedish sf, and the magazine that started Swedish sf fandom, revolves around *Häpna!*. It was never a financially sound magazine and was really only a step or two above a fan magazine. It was published by two brothers, Kurt and Karl-Gustaf Kindberg, and edited by Kjell Ekström. Not only did he select and translate many of the stories from US and UK magazines but he also encouraged new writers, such as Sam Lundwall and Sture Lönnestrand. It regularly reprinted stories and covers from *New Worlds* and Carnell even reciprocated, running Lönnestrand's 'Meeting Mr Ipusido' in *Science Fantasy* in February 1957. *Häpna!* maintained a monthly schedule, despite the financial problems, producing a combined double number each year. That meant that when it finally folded in January 1966, as a result of Kurt Kindberg's illness, the last issue was numbered 137 but there had been 119 actual issues. In order to keep ownership of the name, in 1969 Sam Lundwall issued four single-sheet issues of *Häpna!* with items reprinted from the original series.

<sup>9</sup> My thanks to Sam Lundwall for his information on the Scandinavian magazines in particular and for background on other European sf magazines.

In 1958 Lundwall had planned a reprint magazine, *Alpha*, which had all but appeared when the financier backed down. Soon afterwards another publisher launched a Swedish edition of *Galaxy*, also called *Galaxy*. Editor Henrik Rabe managed to include the occasional original story as well as a letter column, but it did not receive the same following as *Häpna!*. It folded after 19 issues in June 1960.

*Galaxy* had spawned two other Scandinavian editions. Norway's version was *Tempo*, edited by Arne Ernst, which only lasted five issues from November 1953 to March 1954. Finland's version, *Aikamme*, did no better, also seeing just five issues from August to December 1958. If this suggests that, as in Germany, *Galaxy*'s rather sophisticated sf may not have been suited to northern climes, it is also worth noting that Denmark's *Planet*, which reprinted primarily from *Astounding*, only managed one better, with six issues from January to June 1958. Although later years would see other Scandinavian magazines they were almost all short-lived.

### The Netherlands<sup>10</sup>

*Galaxy* failed to make an impact in the Netherlands either, where *Galaxis* made only five issues from October 1966 to February 1967. These stories were apparently poorly translated, despite the efforts of editor Theo Kemp, and it is more likely that the subtlety of much of the satire in *Galaxy* was difficult to translate into another idiom. Even though the Netherlands is a small country with a small population it has a strong core of science-fiction fans. However, a survey run in 1989 by the Dutch fan magazine *Holland-SF* showed that 80 per cent of Dutch fans read their sf in English, which reduced the demand for translated works. Perhaps it is as a consequence of this that so few Dutch sf magazines have lasted for very long – starting with *Fantasie in Wetenschap* in December 1948, which saw just four issues, and *Planeet*, which made just one issue in January 1953, reprinting mostly from *Authentic*. By the same token, however, the strong core of fans avidly reads its own fan magazine, *Holland-SF*, which first appeared in 1966, inspired by Forrest Ackerman's visit to Amsterdam after the 1965 World SF Convention in London. *Holland-SF* continues to this day.

<sup>10</sup> I am indebted to Jaap Boekestein and Eddy C. Bertin for background information for this section and the next.

### Belgium

I am not aware of a similar survey in Belgium to that undertaken in Holland, but I would surmise that although it is less likely that the Belgian fans read their sf primarily in English, they are more likely to read it in French or, for the northern half of the country, in Dutch. In fact Belgium does not have a tradition of narrative science fiction, being far more interested in graphic books and comic strips, of which the most famous is Hergé's Tintin. Only three sf magazines appeared in the period after the Second World War up until 1970. *Anticipations*, which began in September 1945 and lasted for 14 issues, mostly twice a month, until May 1946, reprinted primarily from the British *Tales of Wonder* and was the most successful, even though the poor translation and poor presentation made the magazine of minor interest. *Club* was a general fiction magazine which published special theme issues, rotating science fiction with Westerns and thrillers. There were 15 science-fiction issues scattered over three years between 1958 and 1961. Issues usually consisted of a novel translated either from the American or the German plus a short story or comic strip as a filler. Finally, in January 1966, Michael Grayn elevated his fan magazine *Atlanta* to professional status. Lacking a solid financial backing, it remained a slim, digest-sized magazine of around 28 pages, publishing very short stories in French. It lasted for twelve bi-monthly issues until December 1967.

### Romania

Perhaps surprisingly, Eastern Europe published a regular science-fiction magazine for more issues than any else in Western Europe. *Colectia Povestiri S-F*, which means simply 'The Collection of SF Stories', was really a supplement to the weekly technical magazine *Știință și Tehnică*. It was edited by Adrian Rogoz, one of the longest serving of all sf editors. Each issue consisted of either a novella or a long episode of a serial, plus a filler short story or feature. Stories were mostly but not exclusively American or British in origin, as Rogoz sought material from all over the world. More importantly he encouraged local writers, of whom the best known outside Romania is Vladimir Colin. Ion Hobana, who also found his voice through *Colectia Povestiri*, later became the main focus in Romania for science fiction, as writer, editor and promoter. The supplement ran for nearly 19 years, mostly on a bi-monthly schedule, and was eventually stopped by the Communist authorities in April 1974 after 466 issues. Delightfully, it was revived in 1990, under the title *Anticipatia* (with issue #467), reaching its 500th issue in June 1993.

### Yugoslavia

As in Romania, the only sf magazine in Yugoslavia was a supplement. *Kozmoplov* was an occasional supplement to the entertainment magazine *Duga* and ran for just 24 issues between March 1969 and June 1970. Moreover, not all of the magazine's content was science fiction, but leant heavily towards popular science. It would not be until the appearance of *Sirius* in 1976 that Yugoslavia could claim a real sf magazine.

### Japan<sup>11</sup>

Apart from the short-lived Israeli magazine *Cosmos*, which saw four issues in 1958, only one other country had a regular sf magazine during the period of this history, and that was Japan. Japan has had a long and avid interest in science fiction. Starting in April 1950 Seibundo Shinkosha in Tokyo issued a Japanese edition of *Amazing Stories*. It was as much an anthology series as a magazine, with seven issues published in the space of three months, reprinting stories from the American *Amazing* and *Fantastic Adventures*.

Hopes were high for *Seiun* (which means 'nebula'), which appeared at the end of 1954 (issue dated January 1955), but it folded after just one issue. It came from a small publishing company that lacked the financial backing and distribution. It was a mixture of original Japanese stories and translations, including one story from Russia.

In 1957 Takumi Shibano, Japan's leading science-fiction fan, provided a focus for fandom through his fanzine *Uchujin* (or *Cosmic Dust*). It started small with a circulation of about 200, but would eventually peak at around 1,000 in the mid-seventies. Shibano managed to maintain almost a monthly schedule for 15 years and 171 issues before, by 1973, it became just an occasional publication. It was through *Uchujin* that Shibano was able to develop a new generation of science-fiction writers, who were thus ideally placed when Hayakawa decided to publish *SF Magazine* in 1959. The first issue, dated February 1960, appeared in December 1959. It was started as a Japanese edition of *F&SF*, but gradually more space was given to works by Japanese writers. Published monthly, along with regular supplements and special issues, *SF Magazine* was the ideal forum for developing new writers. The initial editor was Masami Fukushima, a hard-headed businessman who was not interested in fandom, but was nevertheless dedicated to

<sup>11</sup> My thanks to Takumi Shibano for his detailed and very helpful correspondence over the years in providing details on the Japanese sf scene.



science fiction. He ensured that the magazine had a sound policy and published good-quality material before developing it as a market for indigenous writers. It was with the fourth issue that it began to introduce Japanese material, which included fiction by Kobo Abé, perhaps the best known writer outside Japan. With the August 1961 issue Fukushima inaugurated the Hayakawa SF short-story competition, which has continued regularly ever since and has been a fertile source of new authors. Shibano told me that most Japanese writers, including major authors, owe their start to the sf magazines. 'It was impossible, and is still difficult, for a would-be writer to publish a book under contract.' The route was always through the magazines. Once sufficient stories were published the author would seek a contract for a collection and that would in turn lead to a contract for a novel or a further collection. 'This is the usual way for a new writer to appear.' In fact even as late as 1980, *Uchujin* was still regarded as a crucial stepping stone for new writers into the professional world.<sup>12</sup>

As time progressed the leading writers were able to move on into the more literary magazines, so that *SF Magazine* and its later competitors in the seventies, especially *Kiso-Tengai*, became stepping stones to the literary establishment. It appears that, as in the West, there is a division between the literary and science fiction worlds, although this was not the case at the outset. When sf first began to appear in magazines it was understood by the Japanese as a sideline of surrealism and was thus highly regarded. Interestingly, this is also how it had been perceived in Argentina. It was only as sf developed as a distinct genre, with the inevitable emphasis on space adventure, that the divide occurred, just as in the United States. Nevertheless it was the magazines that allowed writers to establish their reputations. The leading writers, Shin'ichi Hoshi (sometimes referred to as the Japanese Ray Bradbury) and Sakyo Komatsu (the Japanese Heinlein), were as highly regarded by the literary establishment as by the sf fraternity. Hoshi was Japan's first full-time sf writer. His first story, published in Shibano's *Uchujin* in 1957, was sold on to a professional literary magazine that same year. He became the first Japanese sf writer to be published in the West when 'Bokko-chan' was translated for *F&SF* (June 1963). By 1984 he had written over a thousand short stories and did much to encourage new writers. Komatsu sold his first story to *SF Magazine* in 1961 and went on to become Japan's best-selling sf author, primarily through his disaster novel *Nippon Chinbotsu* (1973). Komatsu has done much to promote Japanese sf beyond Japan and to encourage links with the international community. He organized the International SF Symposium in 1970, the first worldwide

12 See David Lewis, 'Science Fiction in Japan', *Foundation* #19, June 1980.

gathering of sf authors. After a cautious start, Frederik Pohl regarded the whole meeting as a resounding success. 'I've seldom enjoyed myself more,' he commented, adding, 'We left Japan in a golden glow.'<sup>13</sup> This forum was ahead of its time, but sowed the seeds for the formation of World SF in Dublin in September 1976 as an international association of science-fiction professionals.

It took Japan, with its enthusiasm and ability to organize, to move science fiction onto the international plane. Although it is still a highly Westernized (especially American) medium, by 1970 science fiction was being regularly published throughout the world.

\* \* \*

The foregoing shows that most countries underwent the same problems as the United States and Britain in trying to establish a focal point for science fiction. The desire was there, in most countries, to produce something on a regular basis that allowed new authors to develop. It worked well in Argentina, France, Spain and Japan, and was moderately successful in Sweden, Romania and even Italy, despite the lack of support from the book publishing trade. In fact it is clear that the emphasis in Italy and Germany was on books and novels rather than short stories and magazines. The success of Perry Rhodan shows that although this approach may be commercially successful, it has added nothing to the artistic development of sf, and has probably served only to emphasize its more juvenile qualities. As Arkadi Strugatsky opined, a science-fiction magazine is needed in order to nurture and enhance science fiction. Without it sf rapidly sinks to the level of mediocrity. Although the sf magazines may not always be prevalent or commercially viable, they remain demonstrably the cauldron in which the field develops.

By 1970 science fiction was spreading across the international stage and the next volume shows how it continued to grow outside the United States and Britain.

13 Pohl, *The Way the Future Was*, pp. 285–87.

## APPENDIX 2

# Summary of Science-Fiction Magazines

The following lists all English-language science-fiction magazines covered by this volume together with issue and editorial details. It also covers strongly associational titles. Magazine titles are listed in alphabetical order of first issue. Individual issues are listed for each year together with a cumulative total at the end of each column. The cumulative total includes issues detailed in Volume I. Dates shown are cover dates. The list continues from Volume I and thus starts in January 1951, though first issues are shown if the magazine commenced in 1950. The cut-off date for this volume is December 1970, though magazines that folded in 1971 are shown to their final issue. Issues continuing beyond that date are covered in Volume III. Combined months are shown thus: May/Jun means a single issue with the cover date May/June. Months are abbreviated to their first three characters. Seasonal dates are shown thus: Spr = Spring; Sum = Summer; Aut or Fall = Autumn or Fall; Win = Winter. Seasonal and undated issues are shown in the column corresponding to the month of sale. Reprint editions are not listed unless their contents vary significantly.

### **Alien Worlds**

Publisher: Partington & Nadler, Manchester

Editors: Charles Partington and Harry Nadler

1966: #1 (1)

### **Amazing Science Stories**

Publisher: Pemberton's, Manchester

Editors: not named; possibly Stafford Pemberton

1951: #1, #2 (2)

### **Amazing Stories**

*First issued in April 1926; see Volume I for details prior to 1951.*

Publisher: Ziff-Davis, Chicago (relocated to New York from March 1951), April

1938–June 1965; Ultimate Publishing, New York, August 1965–February 1979.

Editor-in-Chief: Howard Browne, January 1950–August 1956; Paul W. Fairman, September 1956–November 1958; Norman Lobsenz, December 1958–June 1965; Sol Cohen, August 1965–November 1969.

Managing Editor: William L. Hamling, March 1947–February 1951; Lila E. Shaffer, March 1951–March 1953; Paul W. Fairman, April/May 1953–November 1954; Howard Browne, January 1955–May 1956; Paul W. Fairman, June 1956–November 1958; Cele Goldsmith [Lalli], December 1958–June 1965; Joseph Ross, August 1965–October 1967; Harry Harrison, December 1967–September 1968; Barry N. Malzberg, November 1968–March 1969; Ted White, May 1969–February 1979.

1951:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(269)
1952:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(281)
1953:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr/May		Jun/Jul		Aug/Sep		Oct/Nov	Dec/		(289)
1954:	Jan		Mar		May		Jul		Sep		Nov		(294)
1955:	Jan		Mar		May		Jul		Sep		Nov	Dec	(301)
1956:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(313)
1957:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(325)
1958:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(337)
1959:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(349)
1960:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(361)
1961:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(373)
1962:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(385)
1963:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(397)
1964:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(409)
1965:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun		Aug		Oct		Dec	(418)
1966:		Feb		Apr		Jun		Aug		Oct		Dec	(424)
1967:		Feb		Apr		Jun		Aug		Oct		Dec	(430)
1968:		Feb		Apr			Jul		Sep		Nov		(435)
1969:	Jan		Mar		May		Jul		Sep		Nov		(441)
1969:	Jan		Mar		May		Jul		Sep		Nov		(447)
1970:	Jan		Mar		May		Jul		Sep		Nov		(453)

*[continues in Volume III]*

### **American Science Fiction**

*A reprint booklet issued monthly in digest format, unnumbered and undated.*

Publisher: Malian Press, Sydney, Australia.

Editor: not known.

1952:					May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(8)
1953:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(20)
1954:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(32)
1955:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep				(41)

### **Analog**

*First issued in January 1930; magazine was entitled Astounding Stories and then Astounding Science Fiction until September 1960. See Volume I for details prior to 1951.*

Publisher: Street & Smith, New York, October 1933–January 1961; Condé Nast Pub-

lications, February 1961–August 1980.

Editor: John W. Campbell, Jr, December 1937–December 1971.

1951:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(253)
1952:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(265)
1953:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(277)
1954:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(289)
1955:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(301)
1956:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(313)
1957:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(325)
1958:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(337)
1959:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(349)
1960:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(361)
1961:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(373)
1962:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(385)
1963:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(397)
1964:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(409)
1965:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(421)
1966:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(433)
1967:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(445)
1968:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(457)
1969:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(469)
1970:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(481)

*[continues in Volume III]*

### **The Arkham Collector**

Publisher: Arkham House, Sauk City, WI

Editor: August W. Derleth

1967:		Sum	Win	(2)
1968:		Sum	Win	(4)
1969:		Sum	Win	(6)
1970:		Sum	Win	(8)
1971:	Spr	Sum		(10)

**Astounding Science Fiction** see *Analogue*

**Astounding Stories Yearbook** (second issue was retitled *Astounding SF*)

Publisher: Ultimate Publishing, New York.

Editor: Sol Cohen.

1970:	#1	Fall	(2)
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### **Authentic Science Fiction**

*Entitled Science Fiction Fortnightly from issue 3 and Science Fiction Monthly from issue 9, reverting to Authentic SF from #13 (September 1951). There were two issues a month (released on 1st and 15th) from January to April 1951.*

Publisher: Hamilton & Co., London.

Editor: Gordon Landsborough (as 'L. G. Holmes'), 1 January 1951–November 1952; H. J. Campbell, December 1952–January 1956; E. C. Tubb, February 1956–October

1957.

1951:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(16)
1952:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(28)
1953:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(40)
1954:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(52)
1955:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(64)
1956:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep		Nov	Dec	(75)
1957:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct.			(85)

**Avon Fantasy Reader***First issued in February 1947; see Volume I for details prior to 1951.*

Publisher: Avon Publishing, New York.

Editor: Donald A. Wollheim, all issues.

1951:		#15		#16		#17		(17)
1952:		#18						(18)

**Avon Science Fiction and Fantasy Reader**

Publisher: Avon Publishing, New York.

Editor: Sol Cohen, all issues.

1953:	Jan		Apr					(2)
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**Avon Science Fiction Reader**

Publisher: Avon Publishing, New York.

Editor: Donald A. Wollheim, all issues.

1951:		#1		#2				(2)
1952:	#3							(3)

**Beyond Fantasy Fiction**

Publisher: Galaxy Publishing, New York.

Editor: Horace L. Gold, all issues.

1953:				Jul		Sep		Nov		(3)	
1954:	Jan		Mar		May	Jul		Sep		#9	(9)
1955:	#10										(10)

**Beyond Infinity**

Publisher: I. D. Publications, Hollywood.

Editor: Doug Stapleton.

1967:								Nov/Dec		(1)
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**Bizarre Fantasy Tales**

Publisher: Health Knowledge, Inc., New York.

Editor: Robert A. W. Lowndes.

1970:							Fall			(1)
1971:		Mar								(2)

**Book of Weird Tales**

Publisher: Veevers &amp; Hensman, Burnley, England.

Editor: Cliff Lawton.

1960:						#1				(1)
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**British Science Fiction Magazine** see *Vargo Statten Science Fiction Magazine*

**British Space Fiction Magazine** see *Vargo Statten Science Fiction Magazine*

**Cosmos Science Fiction and Fantasy Magazine**

Publisher: Star Publications, New York.

Editor: L. B. Cole (though Laurence M. Janifer compiled the issues).

1953: Sep Nov (2)

1954: Mar Jul (4)

**Coven 13**

Publisher: Camelot Publishing, Los Angeles.

Editor: Arthur H. Landis.

1969: Sep Nov (2)

1970: Jan Mar (4)

*[continues in Volume III as Witchcraft & Sorcery]*

**Dream World**

Publisher: Ziff-Davis, New York.

Editor: Paul W. Fairman.

1957: Feb May Aug (3)

**Dynamic Science Fiction**

Publisher: Columbia Publications, New York.

Editor: Robert A. W. Lowndes.

1952: Dec (1)

1953: Mar Jun Aug Oct (5)

1954: Jan (6)

**Famous Fantastic Mysteries**

*First issued in September 1939; see Volume I for details prior to 1951.*

Publisher: All Fiction Field, a subsidiary of Popular Publications, New York, March 1943–June 1953.

Editor: Mary Gnaedinger.

1951: Jan Mar May Jul Oct Dec (72)

1952: Feb Apr Jun Aug Oct Dec (78)

1953: Feb Apr Jun (81)

**Famous Science Fiction**

Publisher: Health Knowledge, Inc., New York.

Editor: Robert A. W. Lowndes.

1966: Win (1)

1967: Spr Sum Fall Win (5)

1968: Spr Sum Fall (8)

1969: Spr (9)

**Fantastic**

Publisher: Ziff-Davis, New York, Summer 1952–June 1965; Ultimate Publishing, New York, August 1965–October 1980.

Editor: Howard Browne, Summer 1952–August 1956; Paul W. Fairman, October 1956–November 1958; Cele Goldsmith [Lalli], December 1958–June 1965; Joseph Ross, September 1965–November 1967; Harry Harrison, January–October 1968; Barry N. Malzberg, December 1968–April 1969; Ted White, June 1969–January 1979.

1952:				Sum				Fall		Nov/Dec	(3)	
1953:	Jan / Feb	Mar/Apr		May/June	Jul/Aug			Sep/Oct		Nov/Dec	(9)	
1954:	Jan / Feb	Apr		Jun	Aug			Oct		Dec	(15)	
1955:	Feb	Apr		Jun	Aug			Oct		Dec	(21)	
1956:	Feb	Apr		Jun	Aug			Oct		Dec	(27)	
1957:	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec (38)	
1958:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec (50)
1959:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec (62)
1960:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec (74)
1961:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec (86)
1962:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec (98)
1963:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec (110)
1964:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec (122)
1965:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun			Sep	Nov		(130)
1966:	Jan		Mar		May		Jul		Sep	Nov		(136)
1967:	Jan		Mar		May		Jul		Sep	Nov		(142)
1968:	Jan		Mar		May			Aug	Oct	Dec		(148)
1969:	Feb			Apr		Jun		Aug	Oct	Dec		(154)
1970:	Feb			Apr		Jun		Aug	Oct	Dec		(160)

*[continues in Volume III]*

### **Fantastic Adventures**

*First issued in May 1939; see Volume I for details prior to 1951.*

Publisher: Ziff-Davis, Chicago/New York, May 1939–March 1953.

Editor-in-Chief: Howard Browne, January 1950–March 1953.

Managing Editor: William L. Hamling, November 1947–February 1951; Lila E. Shaffer, March 1951–March 1953.

1951:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(114)
1952:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(126)
1953:	Jan	Feb	Mar										(129)

### **Fantastic Adventures Yearbook**

Publisher: Ultimate Publishing, New York.

Editor: Sol Cohen.

1970:													(1)
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### **Fantastic Novels**

*First issued in July 1940; see Volume I for details prior to 1951.*

Publisher: New Publications, a subsidiary of Popular Publications, New York, March 1948–June 1951.



Editor: Mary Gnaedinger.

1951: Jan Apr Jun (25)

### **Fantastic Science Fiction**

Publisher: Charlton Publishing, Derby, CT.

Editor: Walter Gibson.

1952: Aug Dec (2)

### **Fantastic Story Magazine** (entitled *Fantastic Story Quarterly* until Winter 1951)

Publisher: Best Books, a subsidiary of Standard Magazines, New York.

Editor: Sam Merwin, Spring 1950–Fall 1951; Samuel Mines, Winter 1952–Fall 1954;

Alexander Samalman, Winter–Spring 1955.

1950: Spr Sum Fall (3)

1951: Win Spr Sum Fall (7)

1952: Win Spr Sum Sep/Fall Nov (12)

1953: Jan Mar May Jul Sep (17)

1954: Win Spr Sum Fall (21)

1955: Win Spr (23)

### **Fantastic Universe**

Publisher: King-Size Publications, New York, June/July 1953–July 1959; Great American Publications, New York, September 1959–March 1960.

Editor: Sam Merwin, June/July–October/November 1953; Beatrice Jones, January–March 1954; Leo Margulies, May 1954–August 1956; Hans Stefan Santesson, September 1956–March 1960.

1953: Jun/Jul Aug/Sep Oct/Nov (3)

1954: Jan Mar May Jul Sep Oct Nov Dec (11)

1955: Jan Feb Mar Apr May Jun Jul Aug Sep Oct Nov Dec (23)

1956: Jan Feb Mar Apr May Jun Jul Aug Sep Oct Nov Dec (35)

1957: Jan Feb Mar Apr May Jun Jul Aug Sep Oct Nov Dec (47)

1958: Jan Feb Mar Apr May Jun Jul Aug Sep Oct Nov (58)

1959: Jan Mar May Jul Sep Oct Nov Dec (66)

1960: Jan Feb Mar (69)

**Fantasy and Science Fiction** see *Magazine of Fantasy and Science Fiction*

### **Fantasy Book**

*Not to be confused with the semi-professional magazine issued in 1981.*

Publisher: Fantasy Publishing Company, Los Angeles, CA.

Editor: 'Garret Ford' (alias for William and Margaret Crawford).

1950: #6 #7 (7)

1951: #8 (8)

### **Fantasy Fiction** (first issue entitled *Fantasy Magazine*)

Publisher: Future Publications, New York.

Editor: Lester del Rey.

1953: Feb/Mar Jun Aug Nov (4)



1954:	#14	#15	(title suspended)	(15)
1958:	#16			(18)

### Galaxy Science Fiction

*The magazine was variously titled Galaxy, Galaxy Science Fiction or Galaxy Magazine during its existence.*

Publisher: World Editions, New York, October 1950–September 1951; Galaxy Publishing, New York, October 1951–June 1969; Universal Publishing, New York, July 1969–Sep/Oct 1979.

Editor: Horace L. Gold, October 1950–October 1961; Frederik Pohl, December 1961–June 1969; Ejler Jakobsson, July 1969–May 1974.

1950:										Oct	Nov	Dec	(3)
1951:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(15)
1952:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(27)
1953:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(39)
1954:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(51)
1955:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov		(62)
1956:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep		Nov	Dec	(74)
1957:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(86)
1958:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(98)
1959:		Feb		Apr		Jun		Aug		Oct		Dec	(104)
1960:		Feb		Apr		Jun		Aug		Oct		Dec	(110)
1961:		Feb		Apr		Jun		Aug		Oct		Dec	(116)
1962:		Feb		Apr		Jun		Aug		Oct		Dec	(122)
1963:		Feb		Apr		Jun		Aug		Oct		Dec	(128)
1964:		Feb		Apr		Jun		Aug		Oct		Dec	(134)
1965:		Feb		Apr		Jun		Aug		Oct		Dec	(140)
1966:		Feb		Apr		Jun		Aug		Oct		Dec	(146)
1967:		Feb		Apr		Jun		Aug		Oct		Dec	(152)
1968:		Feb		Apr		Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(161)
1969:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May		Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(172)
1970:		Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug		Oct		Dec	(181)

[continues in Volume III]

### Gamma

Publisher: Star Press, Inc., Hollywood.

Editor: William F. Nolan, #1–3; Charles E. Fritch and Jack Matcha, February–September 1965.

1963:					#1					#2			(2)
1964:					#3								(3)
1965:		Feb							Sep				(6)

### The Girl from U.N.C.L.E. Magazine

Publisher: Leo Margulies Corporation, New York.

Editor: Alden H. Norton.

1966:											Dec		(1)
1967:		Feb		Apr		Jun		Aug		Oct		Dec	(7)

**Great Science Fiction** (retitled *S.F. Greats* from #13, Winter 1969)

Publisher: Ultimate Publishing, New York.

Editor: Sol Cohen.

1965:						#1	(1)
1966:	#2		#3		#4	#5	(5)
1967:	#6		#7		Fall		(8)
1968:	Win		Spr		Sum	Fall	(12)
1969:	Win		Spr		Sum		(16)
1970:		Spr		Sum		Fall	(20)
1971:		Spr					(21)

**Great Science Fiction Stories** see *Treasury of Great Science Fiction Stories***If***The magazine was originally If Worlds of Science Fiction but during the 1960s it became increasingly presented as Worlds of If which became its unofficial title from 1972.*

Publisher: Quinn Publishing, March 1952–February 1959; Galaxy Publishing, July 1959–May 1969; Universal Publishing, July 1969–November/December 1974.

Editor: Paul W. Fairman, March–September 1952; James L. Quinn, November 1952–August 1958; Damon Knight, October 1958–February 1959; Horace L. Gold, July 1959–September 1961; Frederik Pohl, November 1961–May 1969; Ejler Jakobsson, July 1969–January/February 1974.

1952:		Mar		May		Jul		Sep		Nov		(5)
1953:	Jan	Mar		May		Jul		Sep		Nov		(11)
1954:	Jan	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(22)
1955:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun		Aug		Oct		Dec (31)
1956:	Feb			Apr		Jun		Aug		Oct		Dec (37)
1957:		Feb		Apr		Jun		Aug		Oct		Dec (43)
1958:		Feb		Apr		Jun		Aug		Oct		Dec (49)
1959:		Feb					Jul		Sep		Nov	(53)
1960:	Jan		Mar		May		Jul		Sep		Nov	(59)
1961:	Jan		Mar		May		Jul		Sep		Nov	(65)
1962:	Jan		Mar		May		Jul		Sep		Nov	(71)
1963:	Jan		Mar		May		Jul		Sep		Nov	(77)
1964:	Jan	Mar		May		Jul	Aug		Oct	Nov	Dec	(85)
1965:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec (97)
1966:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec (109)
1967:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec (121)
1968:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec (133)
1969:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May		Jul		Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec (143)
1970:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May		Jul		Sep		Nov	(151)

*[continues in Volume III]***Imagination**

Publisher: Clark Publishing, Evanston, IL, October–December 1950; Greenleaf Publishing, Evanston, IL, February 1951–October 1958.

Editor: Beatrice Mahaffey, October–December 1950; William L. Hamling, February 1951–October 1958.

1950:								Oct	Dec	(2)			
1951:	Feb		Apr		Jun			Sep	Nov	(7)			
1952:	Jan	Mar		May	Jul			Sep	Oct	Dec	(14)		
1953:	Jan	Feb		Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(25)
1954:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(37)
1955:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul			Oct	Dec	(46)	
1956:		Feb		Apr		Jun		Aug		Oct	Dec	(52)	
1957:		Feb		Apr		Jun,		Aug		Oct	Dec	(58)	
1958:		Feb		Apr		Jun		Aug		Oct		(63)	

### **Imaginative Tales** (retitled *Space Travel* for last three issues)

Publisher: Greenleaf Publishing, Evanston, IL, all issues.

Editor: William L. Hamling.

1954:								Sep	Nov	(2)
1955:	Jan	Mar		May	Jul			Sep	Nov	(8)
1956:	Jan	Mar		May	Jul			Sep	Nov	(14)
1957:	Jan	Mar		May	Jul			Sep	Nov	(20)
1958:	Jan	Mar		May	Jul			Sep	Nov	(26)

### **Impulse**

*A continuation of Science Fantasy but relaunched as a new magazine. Became sf Impulse from September 1966.*

Publisher: Roberts & Vinter, London.

Editor: Kyril Bonfiglioli, March–September 1966; Harry Harrison, October 1966–February 1967.

1966:		Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(10)
1967:	Jan	Feb										(12)

### **Infinity Science Fiction**

Publisher: Royal Publications, New York.

Editor: Larry T. Shaw.

1955:										Nov	(1)
1956:		Feb			Jun		Aug		Oct	Dec	(6)
1957:		Feb		Apr	Jun	Jul		Sep	Oct	Nov	(13)
1958:	Jan	Mar	Apr		Jun		Aug		Oct	Nov	(20)

*The magazine was revived as an anthology series in 1970.*

1970:										#1	(1)
										[continues in Volume III]	

### **International Science Fiction**

Publisher: Galaxy Publishing, New York.

Editor: Frederik Pohl.

1967:										Nov	(1)
1968:					Jun						(2)

**Jungle Stories**

*First issued Winter 1939; see Volume I for details prior to 1951.*

Publisher: Fiction House, New York.

Editor: Jerome Bixby, Spring 1949–Spring 1951; Jack O'Sullivan, Fall 1951–Spring 1954.

1951:	Spr	Fall	Win*	(52)
1952:	Spr	Fall	Win*	(55)
1953:	Spr	Fall	Win*	(58)
1954:	Spr			(59)

\*All Winter issues appeared in December but are dated the following year, i.e. Winter 1952 appeared in December 1951.

**Macabre**

*Small-press little magazine.*

Publisher: Macabre House.

Editor: Joseph Payne Brennan.

1957:	Jun	Win	(2)
1958:	Sum	Win	(4)
1959:	Sum	Win	(6)
1960:	Sum	Win	(8)
1961:	Sum	Win	(10)
1962:	Sum	Win	(12)
1963:	Sum	Win	(14)
1964:	Sum	Win	(16)
1965:	Sum	Win	(18)
1966:	Sum		(19)
1968:	#20		(20)
1970:	#21		(21)

[only two further issues, #22, 1973 and #23, 1976]

**The Magazine of Fantasy and Science Fiction**

Publisher: Fantasy House, a subsidiary of Mercury Press, New York, Fall 1949–February 1958; Mercury Press, Inc., New York, March 1958–present (moved to Cornwall, CT, from February 1971).

Editors: Anthony Boucher and J. Francis McComas, Fall 1949–August 1954; Anthony Boucher alone, September 1954–August 1958; Robert P. Mills, September 1958–March 1962; Avram Davidson, April 1962–November 1964; Joseph W. Ferman, December 1964–December 1965; Edward L. Ferman, January 1966–June 1991.

1949:					Fall					(1)			
1950:	Win/Spr				Sum	Fall	Dec			(5)			
1951:	Feb	Apr	Jun	Aug	Oct	Dec				(11)			
1952:	Feb	Apr	Jun	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec		(19)			
1953:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(31)
1954:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(43)
1955:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(55)



**Monster Parade**

Publisher: Magnum Publications, Canton, OH.

Editor: Larry T. Shaw.

1958: Sep Nov Dec (3)  
 1959: Mar (4)

**Monsters and Things**

Publisher: Magnum Publications, Canton, OH.

Editor: Larry T. Shaw.

1959: Jan Apr (2)

**The Most Thrilling Science Fiction Ever Told**

*Retitled Thrilling SF Adventures from Fall 1969 and Thrilling Science Fiction from Spring 1970.*

Publisher: Ultimate Publishing, New York.

Editor: Sol Cohen.

1966: #1 #2 #3 3)  
 1967: #4 #5 Fall Win (7)  
 1968: Spr Sum Fall Win (11)  
 1969: Spr Sum Fall (14)  
 1970: Spr Sum Fall Win (18)

*[continues in Volume III]*

**The Mysterious Traveler Magazine**

Publisher: Grace Publishing, New York.

Editor: Robert Arthur.

1951: Nov (1)  
 1952: Jan Mar Jun #5 (5)

**Mystic**

*After February 1955 the content was mostly non-fiction, and went all non-fiction with title change to Search in September 1956.*

Publisher: Palmer Publications, Evanston, IL.

Editor: Raymond A. Palmer.

1953: Nov (1)  
 1954: Jan Mar May Aug Oct Dec (7)  
 1955: Feb Apr Jun Aug Oct (12)  
 1956: Jan Mar May Jul (became *Search*) (16)

**Nebula Science Fiction**

Publisher: Crownpoint Publications, Glasgow.

Editor: Peter Hamilton.

1952: Aut (1)  
 1953: Spr Sum Aut Sep Dec (6)  
 1954: Feb Apr Aug Oct Dec (11)  
 1955: Apr Sep Nov (14)  
 1956: Jan Mar Jul Nov Dec (19)



1957:		Mar		May		Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct			(25)	
1958:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(37)
1959:	Jan		Mar		May	Jun							(41)

### New Worlds

*First issued in 1946; see Volume I for details prior to 1951.*

Publisher: Pendulum Publications, London, first three issues; Nova Publications, London, #4–April 1964; Roberts & Vinter, May/June 1964–March 1967; MagneList Publications, July–November 1967; Stonehart Publications, December 1967–July 1968; New Worlds Publishing, October 1968–March 1971.

Editor: John Carnell, #1–April 1964; Michael Moorcock, May/June 1964–Winter 1978 (with occasional guest editors).

1951:			Spr			Sum			Fall		Win	(12)	
1952:	Jan		Mar		May	Jul		Sep		Nov		(18)	
1953:	Jan		Mar			Jun						(21)	
1954:				#22	May	Jun	Jul	Aug,	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(30)
1955:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(42)
1956:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(54)
1957:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(66)
1958:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(78)
1959:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug		Oct	Nov	Dec	(89)
1960:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(101)
1961:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(113)
1962:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(125)
1963:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(137)
1964:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May/	Jun	Jul/Aug		Sep/Oct		Nov/Dec		(145)
1965:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(157)
1966:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(169)
1967:	Jan	Feb	Mar				Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(178)
1968:	Feb	Mar		Apr			Jul			Oct	Nov	Dec	(185)
1969:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep/Oct		Nov	Dec	(196)
1970:	Jan	Feb	Mar	200									(200)

*[continues in Volume III]*

### New Worlds Science Fiction

*An American edition of the British New Worlds but reprinted some material from other publications.*

Publisher: Great American Publications, New York.

Editor: Hans Stefan Santesson.

1960:		Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul							(5)
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### New Writings in S.F.

*An anthology series which was to a large extent an evolution of the original Nova New Worlds.*

Publisher: Corgi Books, London (paperback); Dobson Books, London (hardback).

Editor: John Carnell, volumes 1–21

1964:							#1		#2				(2)
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1965:	#3	#4	#5	#6	(6)
1966:	#7	#8	#9		(9)
1967:			#10	#11	(11)
1968:		#12		#13	(13)
1969:	#14		#15		(15)
1970:	#16	#17			(17)

[continues in Volume III]

**Orbit**

Publisher: Hanro Corporation, New York.

Editor: Jules Saltman (although Donald A. Wollheim compiled the issues).

1953:		#1		(1)
1954:	#2		Jul/Aug Sep/Oct Nov/Dec	(5)

**Orbit**

*An original anthology series.*

Publisher: G. P. Putnam, New York.

Editor: Damon Knight.

1966:		#1		(1)
1967:	#2			(2)
1968:	#3		#4	(4)
1969:			#5	(5)
1970:	#6	#7	#8	(8)

[continues in Volume III]

**The Original Science Fiction Stories** see *Science Fiction Stories*

**Other Worlds Science Stories**

*The magazine was suspended after July 1953 and two new magazines appeared, Science Stories and Universe (see separate entries). When Universe folded, Other Worlds was relaunched as a continuation of Universe. In June 1957 Palmer began to convert Other Worlds into a magazine about flying saucers and the fiction content rapidly decreased. From August 1958 the magazine was retitled Flying Saucers and was all non-fiction.*

Publisher: Clark Publishing, Evanston, IL, November 1949–July 1953; Palmer Publications, Evanston, IL, May 1955–May 1958.

Editor-in-Chief: Raymond A. Palmer, all issues, assisted by Bea Mahaffey, May 1950–November 1955.

1949:								Nov	(1)	
1950:	Jan	Mar	May	Jul	Sep	Oct	Nov		(8)	
1951:	Jan	Mar	May	Jun	Sep	Oct	Dec		(15)	
1952:	Jan	Mar	Apr	Jun	Jul	Aug	Oct	Nov	Dec	(24)
1953:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul			(31)
1955:				May	Jun	Jul	Sep	Nov		(35)
1956:		Feb	Apr		Jun		Sep	Nov		(40)
1957:	Jan	Mar	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep/	Oct		(47)
1958:	Jan	Feb	May							(50)

**Out of this World**

Publisher: John Spencer & Co., London.

Editor: Samuel Assael.

1954:		#1	(1)
1955:	#2		(2)

**Perry Rhodan**

*Separate American publication of a German series. The US edition took on a separate identity.*

Publisher: Ace Books, New York, May 1969–January 1978.

Editor: Forrest J. Ackerman.

1969:		#1	#2	#3	(3)
1970:	#4	#5			(5)

*[continues in Volume III]*

**Phantom**

Publisher: Dalrow Publications, Bolton; became Pennine Publications, Bolton, from April 1958.

Editor: Leslie Syddall.

1957:		#1	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(9)
1958:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul				(16)

**Planet Stories**

*First issued in Winter 1939; see Volume I for details prior to 1951.*

Publisher: Love Romances, New York.

Editor-in-Chief: Malcolm Reiss, all issues.

Editor: Jerome Bixby, Summer 1950–July 1951; Jack O'Sullivan, March 1952–Summer 1955.

1951:	Jan	Mar	May	Jul	Sep	Nov	(51)
1952:	Jan	Mar	May	Jul	Sep	Nov	(57)
1953:	Jan	Mar	May	Jul	Sep	Nov	(63)
1954:	Jan	Mar	May	Sum	Fall	Win	(69)
1955:		Spr		Sum			(71)

**Popular Science Fiction**

Publisher: Blue Diamond Publishing, Sydney, Australia.

Editorial Director: Ronald Forster.

1953:		#1	#2	(2)
1954:	#3	#4	#5	(5)
1955:	#6			(6)

**Prize Ghost Stories**

Publisher: League Publications, New York.

Editor: Helen Gardiner.

1963:		#1	(1)
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**Rocket Stories**

Publisher: Space Publications, New York.

Editor: Lester del Rey, April–July 1953; Harry Harrison, September 1953.

1953:	Apr	Jul	Sep	(3)
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**Satellite Science Fiction**

Publisher: Renown Publications, New York.

Editor: Samuel Merwin, October–December 1956; Leo Margulies, February 1957–December 1958; Frank Belknap Long, February–May 1959.

1956:					Oct	Dec	(2)
1957:	Feb	Apr	Jun	Aug	Oct	Dec	(8)
1958:	Feb	Apr	Jun	Aug	Oct	Dec	(14)
1959:	Feb	Mar	Apr	May			(18)

**Saturn**

*With the August 1958 issue it became Saturn Web Detective Stories and from August 1962 to June 1965 was entitled Web Terror Stories.*

Publisher: Candar Publishing, New York.

Editor: Robert C. Sproul, though Donald A. Wollheim compiled the first five issues.

1957:		Mar	May	Jul	Oct		(4)
1958:		Mar			Aug	Oct	(7)
1959:	Feb		Apr		Sep	Dec	(11)
1960:	Feb		May		Aug	Oct	(15)
1961:							
1962:				Aug			(19)
1963:		Mar				Nov	(21)
1964:			Apr		Aug	Nov	(24)
1965:	Feb			Jun			(26)

**Science-Fantasy**

*The hyphen in the title was dropped from #7 onwards. It was relaunched as Impulse in March 1966.*

Publisher: Nova Publications, London, Summer 1950–April 1964; Roberts & Vinter, London, June/July 1964–February 1966.

Editor: Walter Gillings, Summer–Winter 1950; John Carnell, Winter 1951–April 1964; Kyril Bonfiglioli, June/July 1964–February 1966.

1950:				Sum		Win	(2)
1951:						Win	(3)
1952:		Spr			Aut		(5)
1953:		Spr					(6)
1954:		#7	May	Jul	Sep	Dec	(11)
1955:	Feb	Apr	Jun		Sep	Nov	(16)
1956:	Feb		May		Aug	Dec	(20)
1957:	Feb	Apr	Jun		Aug	Oct	Dec (26)
1958:	Feb	Apr	Jun		Aug	Oct	Dec (32)
1959:	Feb	Apr	Jun		Aug	Nov	Dec (38)
1960:	Feb	Apr	Jun		Aug	Oct	Dec (44)
1961:	Feb	Apr	Jun		Aug	Oct	Dec (50)
1962:	Feb	Apr	Jun		Aug	Oct	Dec (56)
1963:	Feb	Apr	Jun		Aug	Oct	Dec (62)
1964:	Feb	Apr	Jun	Jul/Aug	Sep/Oct	Dec	(68)

1965: Jan/Feb Mar Apr, May Jun Jul Aug Sep Oct Nov Dec (79)  
 1966: Jan Feb (81)

**Science Fantasy Yearbook** (retitled *Science Fantasy* from second issue)

Publisher: Ultimate Publishing, New York.

Editor: Sol Cohen.

1970: #1 Fall (2)  
 1971: Win Spr (4)

**Science Fiction Adventure Classics** see *Science Fiction Classics*

**Science Fiction Adventures**

Publisher: Science-Fiction Publications, New York.

Editor: Lester del Rey, November 1952–September 1953; Harry Harrison, December 1953–May 1954.

1952: Nov (1)  
 1953: Feb Mar May Jul Sep Dec (7)  
 1954: Feb / Mar May (9)

**Science Fiction Adventures**

Publisher: Royal Publications, New York.

Editor: Larry T. Shaw, all issues.

1956: Dec (1)  
 1957: Feb Apr Jun Aug Sep Oct Dec (8)  
 1958: Jan Mar Apr Jun (12)

**Science Fiction Adventures**

*Originally a British edition of the US magazine but from January 1959 issue published original material.*

Publisher: Nova Publications, London.

Editor: John Carnell, all issues, with Larry T. Shaw as US editor of first five issues.

1958: Mar May Jul Sep Nov (5)  
 1959: Jan Mar May Jul Oct Nov Dec (12)  
 1960: Feb May Jul Sep Nov (17)  
 1961: Jan Mar May Jul Sep Nov (23)  
 1962: Jan Mar May Jul Sep Nov (29)  
 1963: Jan Mar May (32)

**Science Fiction Adventures Yearbook**

Publisher: Ultimate Publishing, New York.

Editor: Sol Cohen.

1970: (1) (1)

**Science Fiction Classics**

*Retitled Science Fiction Adventure Classics Winter 1969–November 1972; Science Fiction Adventures, January–May 1973 and September 1974–November 1974. Issues #9–#11 (Winter–Summer 1970 marked \*) were retitled Space Adventures (Classics) which later became a separate magazine.*

Publisher: Ultimate Publishing, New York.

Editor: Sol Cohen.

1967:		#1	Fall	Win	(3)
1968:	Spr	Sum	Fall		(6)
1969:	Win		Fall		(8)
1970:	*	*		Win	(9)

[continues in Volume III as Science Fiction Adventure Classics]

### Science Fiction Classics Annual

Publisher: Ultimate Publishing, New York.

Editor: Sol Cohen.

1970:		X			(1)
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### Science Fiction Digest

Publisher: Specific Fiction Corps, New York

Editor: Chester Whitehorn

1954:	#1	#2			(2)
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**Science Fiction Fortnightly** see *Authentic Science Fiction*

**Science Fiction Greats/S.F. Greats** see *Great Science Fiction*

### Science Fiction Library

Publisher: Gerald G. Swan, London.

Editor: Gerald G. Swan.

1960:	#1	#2	#3		(3)
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**Science Fiction Monthly** see *Authentic Science Fiction*

### Science-Fiction Monthly

Publisher: Atlas Publications, Melbourne, Australia.

Editor: Michael Cannon.

1955:				#1	#2	#3	#4	(4)					
1956:	#5	#6	#7	#8	#9	#10	#11	#12	#13	#14	#15	#16	(16)
1957:	#17	#18											(18)

### Science Fiction Plus

Publisher: Gernsback Publications, New York.

Editor: Sam Moskowitz.

1953:	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Aug	Oct	Dec	(7)
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### Science Fiction Quarterly (Second Series)

See Volume I for details of first series.

Publisher: Columbia Publications, New York.

Editor: Robert A. W. Lowndes, May 1951–February 1958.

1951:		May	Aug	Nov	(3)
1952:	Feb	May	Aug	Nov	(7)
1953:	Feb	May	Aug	Nov	(11)
1954:	Feb	May	Aug	Nov	(15)

1955:	Feb	May	Aug	Nov	(19)
1956:	Feb	May	Aug	Nov	(23)
1957:	Feb	May	Aug	Nov	(27)
1958:	Feb				(28)

### Science Fiction Stories (Second Series)

*See Volume I for details of first series. Technically a revival of Science Fiction which was suspended in September 1941, this magazine became a continuation of Future Science Fiction after two trial issues. It became known as The Original Science Fiction Stories from September 1955.*

Publisher: Columbia Publications, New York.

Editor: Robert A. W. Lowndes.

1953:			#1					(1)	
1954:			#2					(2)	
1955:	Jan	Mar	May	Jul	Sep	Nov		(8)	
1956:	Jan	Mar	May	Jul	Sep	Nov		(14)	
1957:	Jan	Mar	May	Jul	Sep	Nov		(20)	
1958:	Jan	Mar	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Nov	(28)
1959:	Jan	Feb	Mar	May	Jul	Sep	Nov	(35)	
1960:	Jan	Mar	May					(38)	

### Science Fiction Yearbook

*A continuation of Treasury of Great Science Fiction.*

Publisher: Popular Library, New York.

Editor: Helen Tono, #1–#3; Sharon Moore, #4; Anne Keffer, #5.

1967:					#1	(1)
1968:					#2	(2)
1969:					#3	(3)
1970:					#4	(4)
1971:					#5	(5)

### Science Stories

*Technically a continuation of Other Worlds.*

Publisher: Bell Publications, Chicago, October 1953; Palmer Publications, Evanston, IL, December 1953–April 1954.

Editor: Raymond A. Palmer.

1953:				Oct	Dec	(2)
1954:	Feb	Apr				(4)

### Screen Chills and Macabre Stories

Publisher: Pep Publishers, Croydon, England.

Editor: Leslie Syddall.

1957:				#1	(1)
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**Search** see *Mystic*

### Selected Science Fiction

Publisher: Malian Press, Sydney, Australia.

Editor: not known.

1955: #1 #2 #3 #4 #5 (5)

**S.F. Greats** see *Great Science Fiction*

**sf Impulse** see *Impulse*

**Sheena, Queen of the Jungle**

Publisher: Glen-Kel Publishing, a subsidiary of Fiction House, New York.

Editor: Malcolm Reiss.

1951: Spr (1)

**Shock**

Publisher: Winston Publications, New York.

Editor: not known.

1960: May Jul Sep (3)

**Shock Mystery Tales**

*The title to Shock was bought by Pontiac and continued as a horror/crime magazine.*

Publisher: Pontiac Publishing, New York.

Editor: Bart Anders.

1961: Dec (1)

1962: Mar May Jul Oct Dec (6)

1963: Feb (7)

**Shock Tales**

*This magazine may subsequently have been retitled Suspense Tales.*

Publisher: M. F. Enterprises, New York.

Editor: Myron Fass.

1959: Jan (1)

**Space Adventures**

*First appeared as a continuation of Science Fiction Adventure Classics Winter–Summer 1970, and then launched separately as its own magazine. Issues are numbered #9–#14.*

Publisher: Ultimate Publishing, New York.

Editor: Sol Cohen.

1970: Win Spr Sum Win (4)

1971: Spr Sum (6)

**Space and Time**

*A small-press amateur magazine that later became semi-professional.*

Publisher: Gordon Linzner, New York.

Editor: Gordon Linzner.

μ1966: Spr (1)

1967: Fall (2)

1968: Spr Win (4)

1969: Spr Sum Aug (7)

1970: Feb Jul (9)

[continues in Volume III]



**Space Fact and Fiction**

Publisher: Gerald G. Swan, London.

Editor: Gerald G. Swan.

1954: Mar Apr May Jun Jul Aug #7 #8 (8)

**Space Science Fiction**

Publisher: Space Publications, New York.

Editor: Lester del Rey, all issues.

1952: May Sep Nov (3)

1953: Feb Mar May Jul Sep (8)

**Space Science Fiction Magazine**

Publisher: Republic Features Syndicate, New York.

Editor: Michael Avallone.

1957: Spr Aug (2)

**Space Stories**

Publisher: Standard Magazines, New York.

Editor: Samuel Mines.

1952: Oct Dec (2)

1953: Feb Apr Jun (5)

**Space Travel** see *Imaginative Tales***Spaceway Science Fiction**

Publisher: Fantasy Publishing Co. Inc., Alhambra, CA.

Editor: William L. Crawford.

1953: Dec (1)

1954: Feb Apr Jun Dec (5)

1955: Feb Apr Jun (*publication suspended*) (8)

1969: Jan Jun Oct (11)

1970: Jun (12)

**Star Science Fiction**

*An original anthology series of which the January 1958 issue was converted into a magazine.*

Publisher: Ballantine Books, New York.

Editor: Frederik Pohl.

1953: #1 (1)

1954: #2 #3 (3)

1958: Jan #4 (5)

1959: #5 #6 (7)

**Startling Mystery Stories**

Publisher: Health Knowledge, Inc., New York.

Editor: Robert A. W. Lowndes.

1966: Sum Fall Win (3)

1967: Spr Sum Fall Win (7)

1968: Spr Sum Fall Win (11)

1969:	Spr		Sum		Win	(14)
1970:	Spr		Sum		Fall	(17)
1971:	Mar					(18)

**Startling Stories**

*First issued in January 1939; see Volume I for details prior to 1951.*

Publisher: Better Publications, a subsidiary of Standard Magazines, January 1939–Fall 1955.

Editor: Samuel Merwin, Winter 1945–September 1951; Samuel Mines, November 1951–Fall 1954; Theron Raines, Winter–Spring 1955; Herbert D. Kastle, Summer–Fall 1955.

1951:	Jan	Mar		May	Jul	Sep	Nov	(71)					
1952:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(83)
1953:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun		Aug		Oct			(91)
1954:	Jan			Spr			Sum			Fall			(95)
1955:	Win			Spr			Sum			Fall			(99)

**Strange Fantasy**

*Continued the issue numbering of Science Fiction Adventure Classics so begins with #8.*

Publisher: Ultimate Publishing, New York.

Editor: Sol Cohen.

1969:	Spr		Sum		Fall	(3)
1970:	Spr		Sum		Fall	(6)

**The Strangest Stories Ever Told**

Publisher: Ultimate Publishing, New York.

Editor: Sol Cohen.

1970:			#1			(1)
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**Super-Science Fiction**

Publisher: Headline Publications, New York.

Editor: W. W. Scott.

1956:						Dec	(1)		
1957:	Feb		Apr		Jun	Aug	Oct	Dec	(7)
1958:	Feb		Apr		Jun	Aug	Oct	Dec	(13)
1959:	Feb		Apr		Jun	Aug	Oct		(18)

**Super Science Stories (Second Series)**

*First issued in March 1940; see Volume I for details of first series.*

Publisher: Popular Publications, New York, January 1949–August 1951.

Editor-in-Chief: Alden H. Norton, January 1949–August 1951.

Editor: Ejler Jakobsson, January 1949–August 1951.

1949:	Jan		Apr		Jul	Sep	Nov	(21)
1950:	Jan	Mar		May	Jul	Sep	Nov	(27)
1951:	Jan		Apr		Jun	Aug		(31)

**Supernatural Stories**

*Although this began as a magazine (albeit with contents written mostly by one author) it later became a pocketbook series featuring a novel and companion story collection. The full series ran*

to 109 volumes of which 38 were novels. The last volume appeared in June 1967. Only the magazine issues are listed below, up to #9. Thereafter it should be regarded as a book series.

Publisher: John Spencer & Co., London.

Editors: Samuel Assael and Maurice Nahum.

1954:			#1	#2	#3	#4	(4)
1955:	#5	#6,	#7		#8		(8)
1956:							(8)
1957:		#9					(9)

### Suspense Magazine

Publisher: Farrell Publishing, New York.

Editor: Theodore Irwin.

1951:	Spr		Sum		Fall		(3)
1952:	Win						(4)

### Suspense Tales

*This magazine may have been a continuation of Shock Tales.*

Publisher: Suspense Publications, New York.

Editor: Christopher Plumberton.

1959:					Sep		(1)
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### Tales of Terror from Beyond

Publisher: Charlton Publications, Derby, CT.

Editor: Patrick Masulli.

1964:			Sum				(1)
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### Tales of the Frightened

Publisher: Republic Features Syndicate, New York.

Editor: Michael Avallone.

1957:	Spr				Aug		(2)
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### Tales of Tomorrow

Publisher: John Spencer & Co., London.

Editor: Samuel Assael.

1950:					#1		(1)
1951:	#2	#3					(3)
1952:				#4	#5		(5)
1953:	#6	#7		#8	#9		(9)
1954:	#10		#11				(11)

### Ten Story Fantasy

Publisher: Avon Periodicals, New York.

Editor: Donald A. Wollheim.

1951:	Spr						(1)
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### Thriller

Publisher: Tempest Publications, New York.

Editor: Harry Schreiner.

1962:	Feb		May		Jul		(3)
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**Thrilling Science Fiction** see *The Most Thrilling Science Fiction Ever Told***Thrilling Wonder Stories**

*First issued in June 1929 as Science Wonder Stories, retitled Wonder Stories from June 1930 and Thrilling Wonder Stories from August 1936. See Volume I for details prior to 1951. Two reprint annuals were issued in 1957 and 1963 as Wonder Stories. See also Treasury of Great Science Fiction Stories and Science Fiction Yearbook.*

Publisher: Standard Magazines, New York, August 1936–Winter 1955.

Editor: Samuel Merwin, Winter 1945–October 1951; Samuel Mines, December 1951–Summer 1954; Alexander Samalman, Fall 1954–Winter 1955.

1951:	Feb	Apr	Jun	Aug	Oct	Dec	(173)
1952:	Feb	Apr	Jun	Aug	Oct	Dec	(179)
1953:	Feb	Apr	Jun	Aug		Nov	(184)
1954:	Win	Spr	Sum		Fall		(188)
1955:	Win						(189)

**Thrills Incorporated**

Publisher: Associated General Publications (later Transport Publishing), Sydney.

Editor: uncredited, but probably Alister Innes.

1950:	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8	#9	(9)
1951:	#10	#11	#12	#13	#14	#15	#16	#17		(17)
1952:	#18	#19	#20	#21	#22	#23				(23)

**Tops in Science Fiction**

Publisher: Love Romances Publishing Co., New York.

Editor: Malcolm Reiss, both issues.

1953:	Spr				Fall					(2)
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**Treasury of Great Science Fiction Stories**

*Continuation of Wonder Stories. Third issue was entitled Great Science Fiction Stories. Series was continued by Science Fiction Yearbook.*

Publisher: Popular Library, New York.

Editor: James B. Hendryx, Jr.

1964:	#1									(1)
1965:	#2									(2)
1966:						#3				(3)

**True Twilight Tales**

Publisher: League Publications, New York.

Editor: Helen Gardiner, first issue; John M. Williams, second issue.

1963:					Fall					(1)
1964:	Spr									(2)

**Two Complete Science-Adventure Books**

Publisher: Wings Publishing, a subsidiary of Fiction House, New York.

Editor: Malcolm Reiss, all issues, assisted by Jerome Bixby, Winter 1950–Summer 1951; Katherine Daffron, Winter 1953–Spring 1954.

1950:				Win	(1)
1951:	Spr		Sum	Win	(4)
1952:	Spr		Sum	Win	(7)
1953:	Spr		Sum	Win	(10)
1954:	Spr				(11)

### Universe Science Fiction

Publisher: Bell Publications, Chicago, June–September 1953; Palmer Publications, Evanston, IL, December 1953–March 1955.

Editor: Raymond A. Palmer and Beatrice Mahaffey

1953:			Jun	Sep	Dec	(3)	
1954:	Mar		May	Jul	Sep	Nov	(8)
1955:	Jan		Mar				(10)

### Vanguard Science Fiction

Publisher: Vanguard Science Fiction Inc., New York.

Editor: James Blish.

1958:			Jun				(1)
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### Vargo Statten Science Fiction Magazine

*Retitled The British Science Fiction Magazine from September 1954 and The British Space Fiction Magazine from June 1955.*

Publisher: Scion Ltd, London, January–November 1954; Dragon Publications, Luton, December 1954–February 1956.

Editor: Alistair Paterson, January–November 1954; John Russell Fearn, December 1954–February 1956.

1954:	Jan	Feb,	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8	(8)		
1955:	#9	#10	#11	#12	#13	#14	#15	#16	#17	#18	(18)
1956:		#19									(19)

### Venture Science Fiction

*Magazine suspended publication between July 1958 and May 1969.*

Publisher: Fantasy House, New York, January 1957–March 1958; Mercury Press, New York, May 1958–August 1970.

Editor: Robert P. Mills, first series; Edward L. Ferman, second series.

1957:	Jan	Mar	May	Jul	Sep	Nov	(6)
1958:	Jan	Mar	May	Jul			(10)
1969:			May	Aug	Nov		(13)
1970:	Feb		May	Aug			(16)

### Venture Science Fiction

*British reprint magazine drawing material from the US Venture and F&SF.*

Publisher: Atlas Publishing, London.

Editor: Ronald R. Wickers.

1963:					Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(4)				
1964:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(16)
1965:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	(28)

**Vision of Tomorrow***Australian-financed magazine edited and printed in Britain.*

Publisher: Ronald E. Graham, Yagoona, Australia.

Editor: Philip Harbottle.

1969:									Aug			Nov	Dec	(3)
1970:	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep					(12)

**Vortex Science Fiction**

Publisher: Specific Fiction Corps, New York.

Editor: Chester Whitehorn, both issues.

1953:										#1			#2	(2)
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**Web Terror Stories see Saturn****Weird and Occult Library**

Publisher: Gerald G. Swan, London.

Editor: Gerald G. Swan.

1960:										#1			#2			#3	(3)
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**Weirdbook***Amateur magazine that became semi-professional.*

Publisher: Weirdbook Press, Buffalo, NY.

Editor: W. Paul Ganley.

1968:													#1	(1)
1969:													#2	(2)
1970:													#3	(3)

*[continues in Volume III]***Weird Mystery**

Publisher: Ultimate Publishing, New York.

Editor: Sol Cohen.

1970:												Fall		Win	(2)	
1971:												Spr			Sum	(4)

**Weird Tales***First issued in March 1923; see Volume I for details prior to 1951.*

Publisher: Weird Tales, Inc., a subsidiary of Short Stories, Inc., New York, November 1938–September 1954.

Editor: Dorothy McIlwraith, May 1940–September 1954.

1951:	Jan	Mar	May	Jul	Sep	Nov	(262)
1952:	Jan	Mar	May	Jul	Sep	Nov	(268)
1953:	Jan	Mar	May	Jul	Sep	Nov	(274)
1954:	Jan	Mar	May	Jul	Sep	(279)	

*[continues in Volume III]***Weird Terror Tales**

Publisher: Health Knowledge, Inc., New York.

Editor: Robert A. W. Lowndes.

1969:													Win	(1)	
1970:												Sum		Fall	(3)

**Weird World**

Publisher: Gannet Press, Birkenhead, England.

Editor: possibly B. Z. Emmanuel.

1955:	#1	(1)
1956: #2		(2)

**Wonder Stories**

*See Thrilling Wonder Stories for the magazine which began under this title. The following are two reprint issues published to protect copyright on the magazine title.*

1957:	#1	(1)
1963: #2		(2)

**Wonder Story Annual**

Publisher: Better Publications, a subsidiary of Standard Magazines, New York.

Editor: Sam Merwin, 1950–1951; Samuel Mines, 1952–1953.

1950:	#1	(1)
1951:	#2	(2)
1952: #3		(3)
1953: #4		(4)

**Wonders of the Spaceways**

Publisher: John Spencer & Co., London.

Editor: Samuel Assael.

1951: #1					(1)
1952: #2	#3	#4	#5		(5)
1953: #6		#7	#8		(8)
1954: #9	#10				(10)

**Worlds Beyond**

Publisher: Hillman Periodicals, New York.

Editor: Damon Knight.

1950:		Dec	(1)
1951: Jan Feb			(3)

**Worlds of Fantasy**

Publisher: John Spencer & Co., London.

Editor: Samuel Assael.

1950:	#1	#2			(2)
1951: #3			#4		(4)
1952:	#5	#6	#7	#8	(8)
1953: #9	#10	#11			(11)
1954: #12	#13	#14			(14)

**Worlds of Fantasy**

Publisher: Galaxy Publishing, New York, September 1968; thereafter Universal Publishing, New York.

Editor: Lester del Rey, first two issues; thereafter Ejler Jakobsson.

1968:		#1		(1)
1970:		#2	Win	(3)
1971:	Spr			(4)

**Worlds of If** see *If***Worlds of the Universe**

Publisher: Gould Light, London.

Editor: probably Norman Light.

1953:		#1?		(1)
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**Worlds of Tomorrow**

*Magazine suspended between May 1967 and Summer 1970.*

Publisher: Galaxy Publishing, New York, April 1963–May 1967; Universal Publishing, New York, Summer 1970–Spring 1971.

Editor: Frederik Pohl, April 1963–May 1967; Ejler Jakobsson, Summer 1970–Spring 1971.

1963:		Apr	Jun	Aug	Oct	Dec	(5)
1964:	Feb	Apr	Jun	Aug		Nov	(10)
1965:	Jan	Mar	May	Jul	Sep	Nov	(16)
1966:	Jan	Mar	May		Aug	Nov	(21)
1967:	Feb		May				(23)
1970:			#24			Win	(25)
1971:	Spr						(26)



## APPENDIX 3

# Directory of Magazine Editors and Publishers

The following lists all of the editors and publishers of the science-fiction magazines covered by this volume. The cut-off date is December 1970, though where magazines continue beyond that date the last issue of the individual's tenure is given.

**Ackerman, Forrest J.**

Associate Editor: *A Book of Weird Tales*, #1, 1960.

Managing Editor: *Perry Rhodan*, April 1969–January 1978 (118 issues).

**Adris, Ralph** see Lehrman, Herb

**Anders, Bart**

Editor: *Shock Mystery Tales*, December 1961–February 1963 (7 issues).

**Arthur, Robert**

Managing Editor: *The Mysterious Traveler Magazine*, November 1951–August 1952 (5 issues).

**Assael, Samuel**

Co-publisher and Editor: *Futuristic Science Stories*, 1950–1958 (16 issues); *Worlds of Fantasy*, 1950–1954 (14 issues); *Tales of Tomorrow*, 1950–1954 (11 issues); *Wonders of the Spaceways*, 1951–1954 (10 issues); *Supernatural Stories*, 1954–1967 (109 issues); *Out of This World*, 1954–1955 (2 issues).

**Avallone, Michael**

Editor: *Space SF Magazine*, Spring–August 1957 (2 issues); *Tales of the Frightened*, Spring–August 1957 (2 issues).

**Baker, W. Howard**

Assistant Editor: *Authentic SF*, February–October 1954 (9 issues).

**Bell, George** see Palmer, Raymond A.

**Benjamin, Judy-Lynn** (as Judy-Lynn del Rey from 21 March 1971)

Associate Editor: *Galaxy*, June 1966–May 1969 (24 issues); *If*, June 1966–May 1969 (36 issues); *International SF*, November 1967–June 1968 (2 issues); *Worlds of Fantasy*, September 1968 (1 issue).

Managing Editor: *Galaxy*, July 1969–July 1973 (33 issues); *If*, July 1969–June 1973 (28 issues); *Worlds of Tomorrow*, Summer 1970–Spring 1971 (3 issues); *Worlds of Fantasy*, Fall 1970–Spring 1971 (3 issues).

**Bixby, Jerome**

Editor: *Jungle Stories*, Fall 1949–Spring 1951 (7 issues); *Planet Stories*, Summer 1950–July 1951 (7 issues); 2 *Complete Science Adventure Books*, Winter 1950–Summer 1951 (3 issues); *Sheena, Queen of the Jungle*, Spring 1951 (1 issue).

**Blish, James**

Editor: *Vanguard*, June 1958 (1 issue).

**Bonfiglioli, Kyril**

Editor: *Science Fantasy*, June/July 1964–February 1966 (17 issues); (*sf*) *Impulse*, March–September 1966 (7 issues).

**Boucher, Anthony**

Editor: *Magazine of Fantasy and Science Fiction*, Fall 1949–August 1958 (87 issues – joint with J. Francis McComas until August 1954).

**Brennan, Joseph Payne**

Publisher/Editor: *Macabre*, June 1957–1976 (23 issues).

**Browne, Howard**

Editor: *Amazing Stories*, January 1950–August 1956 (64 issues); *Fantastic Adventures*, January 1950–March 1953 (39 issues); *Fantastic*, Summer 1952–August 1956 (25 issues).

**Budwig, Marge Saunders**

Associate Editor: *Other Worlds*, May 1950–June 1951 (9 issues).

**Campbell, H. J.**

Editor: *Authentic SF*, December 1952–January 1956 (38 issues).

**Campbell, John W., Jr**

Editor: *Astounding SF* (later *Analog*), December 1937–December 1971 (409 issues).

**Carnell, Edward John**

Editor: *New Worlds SF*, [July] 1946–April 1964 (141 issues); *Science Fantasy*, Winter 1951–April 1964 (62 issues); *Science Fiction Adventures*, March 1958–May 1963 (32 issues); *New Writings in SF*, 1964–1971 (21 volumes).

**Chapman, G. Ken**

Assistant Editor: *Science Fantasy*, Spring 1952–Spring 1953 (3 issues).

**Charnock, Graham**

Assistant Editor: *New Worlds*, April–July 1969 (4 issues).

Associate Editor: *New Worlds*, August 1969–April 1970 (7 issues).

Co-editor: *New Worlds*, December 1969 (1 issue).

**Cirrito, Jean W.**

Assistant Editor: *Coven 13*, September–November 1969 (2 issues).

**Cohen, Sol**

Publisher: *Amazing Stories*, August 1965–February 1979 (77 issues); *Fantastic*, September 1965–January 1979 (73 issues); *Galaxy*, December 1962–April 1965 (15 issues); *If*, November 1962–May 1965 (20 issues); *Worlds of Tomorrow*, April 1963–May 1965 (13 issues).

Editor: *Avon SF & Fantasy Reader*, January–April 1953 (2 issues); *Amazing Stories*, August 1965–November 1969 (26 issues); *Fantastic*, September 1965–December 1969 (26 issues).

Publisher and Editor: *Great SF/SF Greats*, Winter 1965–Spring 1971 (21 issues); *The Most Thrilling SF Ever Told/Thrilling SF*, Summer 1966–July 1975 (42 issues); *Science Fiction Classics*, Summer 1967–November 1974 (30 issues); *Strange Fantasy*, Spring 1969–Fall 1970 (6 issues); *Space Adventures*, Winter 1970–Summer 1971 (6 issues); *Astounding Stories*, Summer–Fall 1970 (2 issues); *The Strangest Stories Ever Told*, Summer 1970 (1 issue); *Science Fantasy*, Summer 1970–Spring 1971 (4 issues); *Weird Mystery*, Fall 1970–Summer 1971 (4 issues).

**Cole, L. B.**

Editor (of record): *Cosmos SF & Fantasy Magazine*, September 1953–July 1954 (4 issues), though issues actually compiled by Laurence M. Janifer.

**Crawford, William L.**

Publisher and Editor: *Spaceway*, December 1953–June 1955 and January 1969–May/June 1970 (12 issues).

**Daffron, Katherine**

Editor: *2 Complete Science Adventure Books*, Winter 1953–Spring 1954 (2 issues).

**Davidson, Avram**

Executive Editor: *F&SF*, April 1962–November 1964 (32 issues).

**del Rey, Judy-Lynn** see Benjamin, Judy-Lynn

**del Rey, Lester**

Editor: *Space SF*, May 1952–September 1953 (8 issues); *Science Fiction Adventures* (as Philip St John), November 1952–September 1953 (6 issues); *Fantasy Fiction*, March–November 1953 (4 issues), last issue as Cameron Hall; *Rocket Stories* (as Wade Kaempfert), April–July 1953 (2 issues); *Worlds of Fantasy*, September 1968–Fall 1970 (2 issues).

Associate Editor: *Worlds of Fantasy*, Winter 1970–Spring 1971 (2 issues).

Managing Editor: *Galaxy*, June 1968–May 1969 (12 issues); *If*, June 1968–May 1969 (12 issues).

**Derleth, August W.**

Publisher and Editor: *The Arkham Collector*, Summer 1967–Summer 1971 (10 issues).

**Ellsworth, Fanny**

Managing/Executive Editor: *Startling Stories*, September 1952–October 1953 (12 issues); *Thrilling Wonder Stories*, October 1952–November 1953 (7 issues); *Fantastic Story Magazine*, September 1952–Winter 1954 (8 issues); *Space Stories*, October 1952–June 1953 (5 issues).

**Emmanuel, B. Z.**

Probable editor of *Weird World*, October 1955–January 1956 (2 issues).

**Engel, Lyle Kenyon**

Editorial Director: *Space SF Magazine*, Spring–August 1957 (2 issues); *Tales of the Frightened*, Spring–August 1957 (2 issues).

**Erisman, Robert O.**

Editor: *Marvel (Science) Stories*, August 1938–May 1952 (15 issues).

**Fairman, Paul W.**

Associate Editor: *Amazing Stories*, August 1952–March 1953 (8 issues); *Fantastic*, Fall 1952–March 1953 (4 issues); *Fantastic Adventures*, August 1952–March 1953 (8 issues).

Managing Editor: *Amazing Stories*, April/May 1953–November 1954 and April–August 1956 (15 issues); *Fantastic*, May/June 1953–October 1954, August 1956 (10 issues).

Editor: *If*, March–September 1952 (4 issues); *Amazing Stories*, September 1956–November 1958 (27 issues); *Fantastic*, October 1956–November 1958 (24 issues); *Dream World*, February–August 1957 (3 issues).

**Farren, Phyllis**

Associate Editor: *Cosmos Sf & Fantasy Magazine*, September 1953–July 1954 (4 issues).

**Fass, Myron**

Publisher/Editor: *Shock Tales* and *Suspense Tales*, January–September 1959 (2 issues).

**Fearn, John Russell**

Editor: *The British Science Fiction/Space Fiction Magazine*, December 1954–February 1956 (10 issues).

**Ferman, Edward L.**

Editorial Assistant: *F&SF*, November 1958–January 1959 (3 issues).

Managing Editor: *F&SF*, April 1962–December 1965 (45 issues).

Editor: *F&SF*, January 1966–June 1991 (306 issues); *Venture*, May 1969–August 1970 (6 issues).

Publisher: *F&SF*, November 1970–Jan 2001 (353 issues).

**Ferman, Joseph W.**

Publisher: *F&SF*, August 1954–October 1970 (195 issues); *Venture*, January 1957–August 1970 (16 issues).

Editor: *F&SF*, December 1964–December 1965 (13 issues).

**Flood, Leslie**

Assistant Editor: *Science Fantasy*, [Spring] 1954 (1 issue).

**Forster, Ronald**

Editorial Director: *Future SF* [Australia], 1953–1955 (6 issues); *Popular SF* [Australia], 1953–1955 (6 issues).

**Fritch, Charles E.**

Co-publisher/Editor: *Gamma*, [Summer] 1963–September 1965 (5 issues).

**Ganley, W. Paul**

Publisher/Editor: *Weirdbook*, 1968–Spring 1997 (30 issues).

**Gardiner, Helen**

Editor: *Prize Ghost Stories*, 1963 (1 issue); *True Twilight Tales*, Fall 1963 (1 issue).

**Gernsback, Hugo**

Publisher/Editor-in-Chief: *Science Fiction Plus*, March–December 1953 (7 issues).

**Gernsback, M. Harvey**

Executive Editor: *Science Fiction Plus*, March–December 1953 (7 issues).

**Gibson, Walter**

Editor: *Fantastic SF*, August–December 1952 (2 issues).

**Gillings, Walter H.**

Editor: *Science-Fantasy*, Summer–Winter 1950 (2 issues).

**Gnaedinger, Mary**

Editor: *Famous Fantastic Mysteries*, September/October 1939–June 1953 (81 issues); *Fantastic Novels*, July 1940–June 1951 (25 issues).

**Gold, Horace L.**

Editor: *Galaxy*, October 1950–October 1961 (115 issues); *Beyond*, July 1953–Winter 1955 (10 issues); *If*, July 1959–September 1961 (14 issues).

**Goldsmith, Cele** (as Cele G. Lalli from August 1964)

Assistant Editor: *Amazing Stories*, September 1956–February 1957 (6 issues); *Fantastic*, October 1956–March 1957 (4 issues); *Dream World*, February 1957 (1 issue).

Managing Editor: *Amazing Stories*, March 1957–November 1958 (21 issues); *Fantastic*, April 1957–November 1958 (20 issues); *Dream World*, May–August 1957 (2 issues).

Editor: *Amazing Stories*, December 1958–June 1965 (79 issues); *Fantastic*, December 1958–June 1965 (79 issues).

**Graham, Ronald E.**

Publisher: *Vision of Tomorrow*, August 1969–September 1970 (12 issues).

**Guinn, Robert M.**

Publisher: *Galaxy*, November 1952–October 1962 and June 1965–May 1969 (126 issues); *Beyond*, July 1953–Winter 1955 (10 issues); *If*, March 1961–September 1962 and June 1965–May 1969 (58 issues); *Worlds of Tomorrow*, July 1965–May 1967 (10 issues); *International SF*, November 1967–June 1968 (2 issues); *Worlds of Fantasy*, September 1968 (1 issue).

**Hall, Cameron** see Lester del Rey

**Hall, Graham**

Assistant Editor: *New Worlds*, July–October 1968 (2 issues).

Co-editor: *New Worlds*, December 1969 (1 issue).

**Hamilton, Peter**

Publisher and Editor: *Nebula SF*, Autumn 1952–June 1959 (41 issues).

**Hamling, William L.**

Publisher and Editor: *Imagination*, February 1951–October 1958 (63 issues); *Imaginative Tales/Space Travel*, September 1954–November 1958 (26 issues).

Assistant/Managing Editor: *Amazing Stories*, March 1947–February 1951 (48 issues); *Fantastic Adventures*, November 1947–February 1951 (40 issues).

**Harbottle, Philip**

Editor: *Vision of Tomorrow*, August 1969–September 1970 (12 issues).

**Harrison, Harry**

Editor: *Science Fiction Adventures*, December 1953–May 1954 (3 issues); *Rocket Stories* (as Wade Kaempfert), September 1953 (1 issue); *Impulse*, October 1966–February 1967 (5 issues); *Amazing Stories*, December 1967–September 1968 (5 issues); *Fantastic*, January–October 1968 (5 issues).

Associate Editor: *Amazing Stories*, November 1968 (1 issue); *Fantastic*, December 1968 (1 issue).

**Hendryx, Jim, Jr**

Editor: *Wonder Stories*, 1957 and 1963 (2 issues); *Treasury of Great SF*, 1964–1966 (3 issues).

**Hill, Douglas**

Assistant Editor: *New Worlds*, August–December 1967 (5 issues).

Associate Editor: *New Worlds*, February 1968–September/October 1969 (16 issues).

**Hoffman, Lee**

Assistant Editor: *Infinity*, October 1956–November 1958 (16 issues); *Science Fiction Adventures*, December 1956–June 1958 (12 issues).

**Howard, Monty**

Associate Editor: *Infinity*, November 1957–June 1958 (5 issues); *Science Fiction Adventures*, December 1957–June 1958 (5 issues).

**Innes, Alister**

Probable editor of *Thrills Incorporated* [Australia], 1950–1952 (23 issues).

**Irwin, Theodore**

Editor: *Suspense Magazine*, Spring 1951–Winter 1952 (4 issues).

**Jakobssen, Ejler**

Editor: *Super Science Stories*, January 1949–August 1951 (15 issues); *Galaxy*, July 1969–May 1974 (42 issues); *If*, July 1969–February 1974 (32 issues); *Worlds of*

*Tomorrow*, Summer 1970–Spring 1971 (3 issues); *Worlds of Fantasy*, Winter 1970–Spring 1971 (2 issues).

Associate Editor: *Worlds of Fantasy*, Fall 1970 (1 issue).

**Janifer, Laurence M.**

Editor (incognito): *Cosmos SF & Fantasy Magazine*, September 1953–July 1954 (4 issues).

Associate Editor: *Amazing Stories*, March–May 1969 (2 issues); *Fantastic*, June 1969 (1 issue).

**Jones, Beatrice**

Editor: *Fantastic Universe*, January–March 1954 (2 issues).

**Jones, Langdon**

Assistant Editor: *New Worlds*, January 1965–March 1967 (27 issues).

Associate Editor: *New Worlds*, July–December 1967 (6 issues).

Editor: *New Worlds*, April–July 1969 (4 issues).

**Jones, Pat**

Assistant Editor: *Startling Stories*, January–Spring 1954 (2 issues); *Thrilling Wonder Stories*, Winter–Spring 1954 (2 issues); *Fantastic Story Magazine*, Spring 1954 (1 issue).

**Jones, Richard Glyn**

Co-editor: *New Worlds*, November 1969 (1 issue).

**Kaempfert, Wade** see del Rey, Lester and Harrison, Harry

**Kagan, Michael**

Assistant Editor: *Amazing Stories*, April/May–October/November 1953 (4 issues); *Fantastic*, May–November 1953 (4 issues).

**Kastle, Herbert D.**

Editor: *Startling Stories*, Summer–Fall 1955 (2 issues).

**Katz, Arnie**

Associate Editor: *Amazing Stories*, January 1970–March 1972 (14 issues); *Fantastic*, February 1970–February 1972 (13 issues).

**Keyes, Daniel**

Editorial Associate: *Marvel (Science) Stories*, February–November 1951 (4 issues).

**Kleinman, Cylvia** [Mrs Leo Margulies]

Managing Editor/Editorial Director: *Satellite SF*, October 1956–May 1959 (18 issues); *The Man from U.N.C.L.E. Magazine*, February 1966–January 1968 (24 issues); *The Girl from U.N.C.L.E. Magazine*, December 1966–December 1967 (7 issues).

**Knight, Damon**

Assistant Editor: *Super Science Stories*, January–August 1951 (4 issues).

Editor: *Worlds Beyond*, December 1950–February 1951 (3 issues); *If*, October 1958–February 1959 (3 issues); *Orbit*, 1966–1978 (21 volumes).

**Lalli, Cele G.** see Goldsmith, Cele

**Landis, Arthur H.**

Editor: *Coven 13*, September 1969–March 1970 (4 issues).

**Landsborough, Gordon**

Editor-in-Chief (as L. G. Holmes): *Authentic SF*, January 1951–November 1952 (27 issues).

**Lane, Arthur**

Editorial Associate/Associate Editor, *Marvel (Science) Stories*, November 1950–May 1952 (6 issues).

**Lawton, Cliff**

Editor: *Book of Weird Tales*, 1960 (1 issue).

**Lehrman, Herb**

Assistant/Associate Editor: *Amazing Stories*, April 1966–October 1967 (10 issues); *Fantastic*, May 1966–November 1967 (10 issues).

Managing Editor: *Amazing Stories*, December 1967–September 1968 (5 issues); *Science Fiction Classics* (as Ralph Adris), Summer 1967–Winter 1969 (7 issues).

**Lester, Jack**

Listed as Publisher/Editor: *SF Classics*, Summer 1967–Winter 1969, but the name is an alias for Sol Cohen.

**Levitas, Gloria**

Assistant Editor: *F&SF*, March 1954–May 1956 (27 issues).

**Light, Norman**

Publisher/Editor: *Worlds of the Universe*, 1953 (1 issue).

**Linzner, Gordon**

Publisher/Editor: *Space & Time*, Spring 1966–present.

**Lobsenz, Norman**

Editorial Director: *Amazing Stories*, December 1958–June 1965 (79 issues); *Fantastic*, December 1958–June 1965 (79 issues).

**Long, Frank Belknap**

Editor: *Satellite SF*, February–May 1959 (4 issues).

**Lowndes, Robert A. W.**

Editor, *Future SF*, April 1941–April 1960 (61 issues); *Science Fiction Quarterly*, Spring 1941–February 1958 (36 issues); *Dynamic SF*, December 1952–January 1954 (6 issues); *Science Fiction (Stories)*, Winter 1953–May 1960 (38 issues); *Magazine of Horror*, August 1963–April 1971 (36 issues); *Famous SF*, Winter 1966–Spring 1969 (9 issues); *Startling Mystery Stories*, Summer 1966–March 1971 (18 issues); *Bizarre Fantasy Tales*, Fall 1970–March 1971 (2 issues); *Weird Terror Tales*, Winter 1969–Fall 1970 (3 issues).



**McComas, J. Francis**

Co-editor: *F&SF*, Fall 1949–August 1954 (39 issues).

**McIlwraith, Dorothy**

Editor: *Weird Tales*, May 1940–September 1954 (87 issues).

**Mahaffey, Beatrice**

Managing Editor: *Other Worlds*, March 1950–October 1952 (20 issues); *Imagination*, October–December 1950 (3 issues).

Editor: *Other Worlds*, November 1952–July 1953 and May–November 1955 (13 issues); *Science Stories*, October 1953–April 1954 (4 issues); *Universe*, December 1953–March 1955 (8 issues); *Mystic*, November 1953–October 1955 (12 issues).

**Malzberg, Barry N.**

Associate Editor: *Amazing Stories*, September 1968 (1 issue); *Fantastic*, October 1968 (1 issue).

Editor: *Amazing Stories*, November 1968–March 1969 (3 issues); *Fantastic*, December 1968–April 1969 (3 issues).

**Manning, John Spencer** – editorial alias for Samuel Assael and Maurice Nahum

**Margulies, Leo**

Editorial Director: *Thrilling Wonder Stories*, August 1936–August 1952 (99 issues); *Startling Stories*, January 1939–August 1952 (79 issues); *Fantastic Story Magazine*, Spring 1950–Summer 1952 (10 issues); *Wonder Story Annual*, 1950–1953 (4 issues); *Fantastic Universe*, June 1953–August 1956 (31 issues); *Satellite SF*, October 1956–May 1959 (18 issues).

Publisher: *Fantastic Universe*, June/July 1953–July 1959 (62 issues); *Satellite SF*, October 1956–May 1959 (18 issues); *The Man from U.N.C.L.E. Magazine*, February 1966–January 1968 (24 issues); *The Girl from U.N.C.L.E. Magazine*, December 1966–December 1967 (7 issues).

**Marx, Joseph L.**

Editor: *Fear*, May–July 1960 (2 issues).

**Masulli, Patrick**

Editor: *Tales of Terror from the Beyond*, Summer 1964 (1 issue).

**Matcha, Jack**

Executive Editor: [Summer] 1963–September 1965 (5 issues).

**Menville, Douglas**

Editor: *Forgotten Fantasy*, October 1970–June 1971 (5 issues).

**Merwin, Samuel**

Editor: *Thrilling Wonder Stories*, Winter 1945–October 1951 (38 issues); *Startling Stories*, Winter 1945–September 1951 (38 issues); *Fantastic Story Magazine*, Spring 1950–Fall 1951 (7 issues); *Wonder Story Annual*, 1950–1951 (2 issues); *Fantastic Universe*, June–October 1953 (3 issues); *Satellite SF*, October–December 1956 (2 issues).

Associate Editor: *Galaxy*, December 1953–September 1954 (10 issues); *Beyond*, January–September 1954 (5 issues).

**Mills, Robert P.**

Managing Editor: *F&SF*, Fall 1949–August 1958 (87 issues).

Editor: *Venture*, January 1957–July 1958 (10 issues); *F&SF*, September 1958–March 1962 (43 issues).

**Mines, Samuel**

Editor: *Thrilling Wonder Stories*, December 1951–Summer 1954 (15 issues); *Startling Stories*, November 1951–Fall 1954 (25 issues); *Fantastic Story Magazine*, Winter 1952–Fall 1954 (13 issues); *Space Stories*, October 1952–June 1953 (5 issues); *Wonder Story Annual*, 1952–1953 (2 issues).

**Moorcock, Michael**

Editor: *New Worlds*, May/June 1964–Winter 1978 (73 issues), with many associates and co-editors from October 1968 on.

Publisher: *New Worlds*, July 1967–March 1971.

**Moore, Sharon**

Editor: *Science Fiction Yearbook*, 1970 (1 issue).

**Moskowitz, Sam**

Managing Editor: *Science Fiction Plus*, March–December 1953 (7 issues).

**Muhlberg, Hope**

Associate Editor: *Infinity*, October–November 1958 (2 issues); *Monster Parade*, September–December 1958 (3 issues).

**Nadler, Harry**

Co-publisher and Co-editor: *Alien Worlds* #1, 1966.

**Nahum, Maurice**

Co-publisher with Samuel Assael (see for details)

**Nolan, William F.**

Managing Editor: *Gamma*, Spring 1963–Summer 1964 (3 issues).

**Norton, Alden H.**

Associate Editor (as H. N. Alden and Holmes Taylor): *The Man from U.N.C.L.E. Magazine*, February 1966–January 1968 (24 issues); *The Girl from U.N.C.L.E. Magazine*, December 1966–December 1967 (7 issues).

**O'Sullivan, Jack**

Editor: *Jungle Stories*, Fall 1951–Spring 1954 (9 issues); *Planet Stories*, March 1952–Summer 1955 (19 issues); *Tops in SF*, Spring 1953 (1 issue).

**Page, Gerald W.**

Consultant Editor: *Fantastic*, November 1967 (1 issue).

**Paige, Evelyn**

Assistant Editor: *Galaxy*, October 1951–November 1953 (26 issues); *Beyond*, July–November 1953 (3 issues).

Managing Editor: *Galaxy*, December 1953–September 1956 (33 issues); *Beyond*, January 1954–Winter 1955 (7 issues).

**Palmer, Raymond A.**

Editor: *Other Worlds*, November 1949–May 1958 (50 issues); *Imagination*, October–November 1950 (2 issues); *Science Stories*, October 1953–April 1954 (4 issues); *Universe*, June 1953–March 1955 (10 issues), first two as George Bell; *Mystic*, November 1952–July 1956 (16 issues); *The Hidden World*, Spring 1961–Winter 1964 (16 issues). Also editor of non-fiction *Fate*, *Search* and *Flying Saucers*.

**Park, Marie A.**

Associate Editor: *Future SF*, June 1954–September 1956 (6 issues); *Science Fiction Stories*, January 1955–May 1960 (36 issues); *Science Fiction Quarterly*, February 1955–November 1956 (8 issues).

**Parkhill-Rathbone, James**

Associate Editor: *Science Fantasy*, March 1965–January 1966 (11 issues).

**Partington, Charles**

Co-publisher and Co-editor: *Alien Worlds* #1, 1966.

**Paterson, Alistair**

Editor: *Vargo Statten SF Magazine*, January–November 1954 (7 issues).

**Pemberton, Stafford**

Publisher and probable editor: *Amazing Science Stories*, #1–#2, 1951.

**Phillips, Evan**

Associate Editor: *Venture*, May 1969–August 1970 (6 issues).

**Platt, Charles**

Associate Editor: *New Worlds*, December 1968–March 1969 (4 issues).

Editor: *New Worlds*, August 1969–April 1970 (8 issues).

**Plumberton, Christopher**

Editor: *Suspense Tales*, September 1959 (1 issue).

**Pohl, Frederik**

Editor: *Star SF*, 1953–1959 and January 1958 (7 issues); *Galaxy*, August 1962–May 1969 (47 issues); *If*, September 1962–May 1969 (69 issues); *Worlds of Tomorrow*, April 1963–May 1967 (23 issues); *International SF*, November 1967–June 1968 (2 issues). Managing Editor: *Galaxy*, June 1961–June 1962 (7 issues); *If*, May 1961–July 1962 (8 issues); *Worlds of Fantasy*, September 1968 (1 issue).

**Porter, Andrew**

Assistant Editor: *F&SF*, April 1967–October 1974 (91 issues); *Venture*, February–August 1970 (3 issues).

**Quinn, James L.**

Publisher: *If*, March 1952–February 1959 (50 issues).

Editor: *If*, November 1952–August 1958 (43 issues).

**Raines, Theron**

Editor: *Startling Stories*, Winter–Spring 1955 (2 issues).

**Reginald, Robert**

Associate Editor: *Forgotten Fantasy*, October 1970–June 1971 (5 issues).

**Reiss, Malcolm**

Editor-in-Chief: *Jungle Stories*, Winter 1938–Spring 1954 (59 issues); *Planet Stories*, Winter 1939–Summer 1955 (71 issues); 2 *Complete Science Adventure Books*, Winter 1950–Spring 1954 (11 issues); *Sheena, Queen of the Jungle*, Spring 1951 (1 issue); *Tops in SF*, Spring–Fall 1953 (2 issues).

**Roberts, Henry**

Listed as Associate Editor of *Science Fiction Classics*, Summer 1967–Winter 1969, but the name is an alias for Herb Lehrman.

**Roberts, Keith**

Associate Editor: *Science Fantasy*, February 1966; (*sf*) *Impulse*, March–September 1966 (7 issues).

Managing Editor: (*sf*) *Impulse*, October 1966–February 1967 (5 issues).

**Ross, Joseph** (pseudonym of Joseph Wrzos)

Managing Editor: *Amazing Stories*, August 1965–October 1967 (14 issues); *Fantastic*, September 1965–November 1967 (14 issues).

**Rowles, Derrick**

Editor: *Authentic SF*, February–June 1952 (5 issues).

**Sallis, James**

Associate Editor/Editor: *New Worlds*, February 1968–February 1969 (9 issues).

Assistant Editor: *New Worlds*, April–August 1969 (5 issues).

**Saltman, Jules**

Editor: *Orbit SF*, Summer 1953–November 1954 (5 issues).

**Samalman, Alexander**

Editor: *Thrilling Wonder Stories*, Fall 1954–Winter 1955 (2 issues); *Fantastic Story Magazine*, Winter–Spring 1955 (2 issues).

**Santesson, Hans Stefan**

Editor: *Fantastic Universe*, September 1956–March 1960 (38 issues); *New Worlds* [US edition], March–July 1960 (5 issues).

**Schreiner, Harry**

Editor: *Thriller*, February–July 1962 (3 issues).

**Scott, W. W.**

Editor: *Super-Science Fiction*, December 1956–October 1959 (18 issues).

**Seador, Dorothy B.**

Associate Editor: *Future SF*, Spring 1955–April 1960 (21 issues); *Science Fiction Stories*, January 1955–May 1960 (36 issues); *Science Fiction Quarterly*, February 1955–November 1956 (8 issues).

**Shaffer, Lila E.**

Associate Editor: *Amazing Stories*, October 1948–February 1951 (29 issues); *Fantastic Adventures*, October 1948–February 1951 (29 issues).

Managing Editor: *Amazing Stories*, March 1951–March 1953 (25 issues); *Fantastic Adventures*, March 1951–March 1953 (25 issues); *Fantastic*, Summer 1952–March 1953 (5 issues).

**Shapiro, M. J.**

Editor: *Monster Parade*, September 1958–March 1959 (4 issues).

Managing Editor: *Monsters & Things*, January–April 1959 (2 issues).

**Shaw, Alan**

Assistant/Associate Editor: *Amazing Stories*, July 1970–September 1972 (14 issues); *Fantastic*, August 1970–August 1972 (13 issues).

**Shaw, Larry T.**

Associate Editor: *If*, May 1953–March 1954 (6 issues).

Editor: *Infinity*, November 1955–November 1958 (20 issues); *Science Fiction Adventures*, December 1956–June 1958 (12 issues); *Monsters and Things*, January–April 1959 (2 issues).

Managing Editor: *Monster Parade*, September 1958–March 1959 (4 issues).

**Silberkleit, Louis H.**

Publisher of all Columbia pulps and digests including *Future SF*, *Science Fiction (Stories)*, *Dynamic SF*, *Science Fiction Quarterly*.

**Silverberg, Robert**

Associate Editor: *Amazing Stories*, January 1969 (1 issue); *Fantastic*, February–April 1969 (2 issues).

**Sproul, Robert C.**

Publisher and Editor: *Saturn*, March 1957–March 1958 (5 issues), and continuation as detective magazine and *Web Terror Stories*.

**Stapleton, Doug**

Editor: *Beyond Infinity*, November 1967 (1 issue).

**Steeger, Henry**

Publisher of all Popular Publications magazines, including *Famous Fantastic Mysteries*, *Fantastic Novels* and *Super Science Stories*.

**Stein, Irwin**

Publisher all issues of *Infinity SF*, *Science Fiction Adventures* (1956–1958), *Monster Parade* and *Monsters and Things*.

**Sullivan, Diane**

Associate Editor: *Worlds of Tomorrow*, June 1964–January 1966 (10 issues); *Galaxy*, August 1964–December 1965 (9 issues); *If*, August 1964–January 1966 (17 issues).

**Swan, Gerald G.**

Publisher/Editor: *Space Fact and Fiction*, March–October 1954 (8 issues); *Science Fiction Library*, 1960 (3 issues); *Weird and Occult Library*, 1960 (3 issues).

**Syddall, Leslie**

Editor: *Phantom*, April 1957–July 1958 (16 issues); *Screen Chills and Macabre Stories*, 1957 (1 issue).

**Tarrant, Kay**

Assistant Editor: *Astounding* (later *Analog*), March 1938–February 1972 and May–October 1973 (414 issues); *Unknown (Worlds)*, March 1939–October 1943 (39 issues).

**Tono, Helen**

Editor: *Science Fiction Yearbook*, 1967–1969 (3 issues).

**Tubb, E. C.**

Editor: *Authentic SF*, February 1956–October 1957 (20 issues).

**Wax, Sheldon**

Editorial Director: *Fantastic Universe*, October 1959–March 1960 (6 issues); *Fear*, May–July 1960 (2 issues).

**White, Ted**

Assistant/Associate Editor: *F&SF*, November 1963–May 1968 (55 issues).

Managing Editor: *Amazing Stories*, May–November 1969 (4 issues); *Fantastic*, June–December 1969 (4 issues).

Editor: *Amazing Stories*, January 1970–February 1979 (48 issues); *Fantastic*, February 1970–January 1979 (47 issues).

**Whitehorn, Chester**

Editor: *Vortex SF*, Summer–Fall 1953 (2 issues); *Science Fiction Digest*, Spring–Fall 1954 (2 issues).

**Wickers, Ronald R.**

Editor: *Venture SF* [UK], September 1963–December 1965 (28 issues).

**Williams, John M.**

Editor: *True Twilight Tales*, Spring 1964 (1 issue).

**Wollheim, Donald A.**

Editor: *Avon Fantasy Reader*, February 1947–January 1952 (18 issues); *Out of this World Adventures*, July–December 1950 (2 issues); *Ten Story Fantasy*, Spring 1951 (1 issue); *Avon Science Fiction Reader*, Spring 1951–Winter 1952 (3 issues); *Orbit* (uncredited), Summer 1953–November 1954 (5 issues); *Saturn*, March 1957–March 1958 (5 issues).

**Wrzos, Joseph** see Ross, Joseph

**Wulff, Eve P.**

Assistant Editor: *Jf*, May 1954–April 1958 (31 issues).

## APPENDIX 4

# Directory of Magazine Cover Artists

The cover artists are the unsung heroes of the sf magazines, for it was their covers that attracted the reader in the first place, and their work often became symbolic of the nature and style of science fiction. Frequently their work was not credited. The following seeks to identify so far as possible all cover artists for the magazines listed in Appendix 2 with news-stand distribution. If an attribution is uncertain it is followed by (?). Where artists collaborate the cover is noted as (joint). Covers reprinted on later magazines are excluded. Where magazine dates are bi-monthly (e.g. Jun/Jul) the first month only is shown.

### **Adkins, Dan**

*Galaxy*

1969: Jul.

*If*

1966: Oct, Nov.

1969: Apr.

### **Adragna, Robert**

*Amazing Stories*

1964: Sep Dec.

*Fantastic*

1962: Dec.

1964: Jun, Sep.

**Alejandro** see Canedo, Alejandro

### **Ames, Lee J.**

*Marvel SF*

1952: May.

### **Anderson, Allen**

*Planet Stories*

1951: Jan, Mar, May, Jul, Sep,

Nov.

1952: Jan, Mar, May, Jul, Nov.

1953: Jan, Mar, May.

*2 Complete Science Adventure Books*

1951: Spr, Sum, Win.

1952: Spr, Sum, Win.

### **Andre, Sam**

*Astounding SF*

1953: Nov.

### **Arbib, Richard**

*Galaxy*

1951: Oct.

1952: Mar.

### **Arfstrom, Jon**

*Weird Tales*

1952: Jan, Jul.

1953: Sep.

### **Arndt, Michael**

*Amazing Stories*

1965: Jan.



**Baer, Austin R.**

*Astounding SF*  
1953: May.

**Baker, William**

*Fantastic*  
1969: Feb.

**Bama, James**

*Avon Fantasy Reader*  
1951: #15.  
*Ten Story Fantasy*  
1951: Spr.

**Barr, George**

*Fantastic*  
1962: Apr, Jun.  
*Forgotten Fantasy*  
1970: Dec.

**Barr, Kenneth J.**

*Nebula*  
1958: Aug, Oct.  
1959: Jun.

**Barth, Ernest K.**

*Fantastic*  
1954: Oct.

**Bayley, John**

*New Worlds*  
1969: Nov.

**Belarski, Rudolph**

*Future SF*  
1955: #28.  
*Science Fiction Stories*  
1960: Jan.  
*Wonder Story Annual*  
1951

**Bergey, Earle K.**

*Avon Science Fiction Reader*  
1951: #3.  
*Fantastic Story Magazine*  
1951: Win, Spr, Sum.  
1952: Nov.  
1953: Jan.

*Science Fiction Adventures*

1953: Feb.  
*Space SF*  
1952: Sep, Nov.  
*Space Stories*  
1952: Dec.  
*Startling Stories*

1951: Jan, Mar, May, Sep.  
1952: Jan, Feb, Mar, Jun, Aug.  
*Thrilling Wonder Stories*  
1951: Jun, Aug.  
1952: Feb, Jun, Oct.

**Berry, D. Bruce**

*Imaginative Tales*  
1958: May.

**Berry, Phil**

*Amazing Stories*  
1959: Feb.  
*Fantastic*  
1959: Jan.  
*If*  
1961: Nov.

**Birmingham, Lloyd**

*Amazing Stories*  
1961: Dec.  
1962: Mar, Apr, Jul, Sep.  
1963: Jan, Mar, Aug, Sep, Oct.  
*Analog*  
1962: Jan, Feb.  
*Fantastic*  
1961: Nov, Dec.  
1962: Jan, Mar, Sep, Nov.  
1963: Feb.  
1964: Dec.

**Blair, Jacquelyn R.**

*Fantastic*  
1963: Jul.

**Blaisdell, Paul**

*FøSF*  
1957: Jan.  
*Other Worlds*  
1956: Sep.

- 1957: Jan, Mar.  
*Spaceway*  
 1954: Jun, Dec.  
 1955: Feb, Apr, Jun.
- Blandford, E. L.**  
*Authentic SF*  
 1956: Apr, Jun, Aug, Sep, Nov.  
 1957: Jan, Feb, Apr.
- Bodé, Vaughn**  
*Galaxy*  
 1968: Feb, Aug.  
 1969: May.  
*If*  
 1967: Nov.  
 1968: Feb, Apr, Jun, Nov.  
 1969: Feb.
- Bok, Hannes**  
*Fantastic Universe*  
 1956: Oct, Nov, Dec.  
 1957: Jan.  
*FøSF*  
 1963: Nov.  
*Fantasy Fiction*  
 1953: Feb, Jun, Aug, Nov.  
*If*  
 1968: Dec.  
*Imagination*  
 1951: Jun.  
*Marvel SF*  
 1951: Aug, Nov.  
*Mystic*  
 1956: Jul.  
*Other Worlds*  
 1951: May.  
 1953: Jun.  
 1956: Feb (from back cover of  
 Mar 53 issue).  
*Science Stories*  
 1953: Oct.  
*Space SF*  
 1953: Mar.
- Bonestell, Chesley**  
*Astounding*
- 1951: Nov.  
 1954: Dec.  
 1966: Jun.  
 1967: Jan, Aug.  
 1968: May.  
*FøSF*  
 1951: Aug.  
 1952: Feb, Oct, Dec.  
 1953: Mar.  
 1954: Feb, Oct, Nov, Dec.  
 1955: Apr, Sep, Dec.  
 1956: Feb, Apr, Jul.  
 1957: Sep.  
 1959: Feb.  
 1960: Oct.  
 1961: Oct.  
 1962: Dec.  
 1963: Oct.  
 1964: Oct.  
 1965: Oct.  
 1966: Jul.  
 1967: Feb, Oct.  
 1968: Sep.  
 1969: Sep.  
 1970: Apr, Oct.  
*Galaxy*  
 1951: Feb, May.
- Bowman, William R.**  
*Science Fiction Adventures*  
 1957: Feb.
- Bradshaw, M.**  
*New Worlds*  
 1955: Apr, Aug, Oct, Nov.  
 1956: Feb.  
*Science Fiction Adventures* [UK]  
 1958: Sep.  
 1959: Jan.
- Brand, T.**  
*Thrills Incorporated*  
 1951: #10.
- Braun, Robert**  
*Satellite SF*  
 1958: Jun.

**Bruno, Frank***Fantastic*

1963: Apr.

1964: Apr.

*Worlds of Tomorrow*

1963: Dec.

**Bull, Reina M.***New Worlds*

1951: Aut.

1952: Nov.

*Science Fantasy*

1951: Win.

1952: Spr.

**Bunch, John***Galaxy*

1951: Jan, Apr.

**Burns***If*

1962: Jul.

**Canedo, Alejandro***Astounding SF*

1952: Sep.

1954: Jul.

**Carlson, Richard***Fantastic Universe*

1959: Sep.

**Carrington, Hereward***Mystic*

1956: Mar.

**Carter, Hubert***Magazine of Horror*

1966: Win.

**Casler, Charles***If*

1955: Apr.

**Castellon, Hector***Amazing Stories*

1965: Dec.

*F&SF*

1966: Jun.

*If*

1966: Mar.

1967: Oct.

**Castenir, Ralph***Amazing Stories*

1954: Sep.

*Fantastic*

1954: Dec.

**Cavanaugh, Ray T.***Thrills Incorporated*

1951: #17.

**Cawthorn, Jim***New Worlds*

1964: May, Jul.

*Science Fantasy*

1962: Oct.

1964: Feb.

**Chaffee, Douglas***Galaxy*

1967: Apr.

1968: Oct.

1969: Mar.

*If*

1967: Dec.

1968: Aug, Oct.

1969: Jan, Sep.

*Worlds of Tomorrow*

1967: May.

**Civilitti/Civillitti***Rocket Stories*

1953: Sep.

*Space SF*

1953: Sep.

**Clewell, Robert***Magazine of Horror*

1970: May, Sum.

*Startling Mystery Stories*

1970: Spr.

**Clothier, Robert***Nebula*

1953: Sum, Aut.

1954: Feb, Aug, Oct.

- 1955: Apr.  
*New Worlds*  
1951: Spr, Sum, Win.  
1952: Mar, Jul.  
1953: Mar.
- Cobb, Ronald**  
*F&SF*  
1959: Jul.
- Coggins, Jack**  
*Fantastic Story Magazine*  
1954: Spr, Fall.  
*F&SF*  
1953: May, Aug, Sep.  
1954: May.  
*Galaxy*  
1952: May, Jul, Sep, Nov.  
1956: Jul, Sep.  
1957: Feb, Apr, Aug.  
*Science Fiction Quarterly*  
1953: Nov.  
*Science Fiction Yearbook*  
1967: #1.  
*Startling Stories*  
1952: Oct.  
*Thrilling Wonder Stories*  
1953: Feb, Apr, Aug.  
1954: Win, Sum, Fall.
- Conlan, Bill**  
*Amazing Stories*  
1962: Oct.
- Conrad, Rupert**  
*Beyond*  
1954: Jan.  
1955: #10.  
*Fantastic*  
1953: Jul.
- Coquette, Heidi**  
*Fantastic*  
1965: Feb.
- Corben, Richard**  
*F&SF*  
1967: Sep.
- Cornwall, Roy**  
*New Worlds*  
1970: Feb.
- Coye, Lee Brown**  
*Fantastic*  
1963: Jun.  
*Weird Tales*  
1951: May, Sep.
- Crowl, R.**  
*Avon Fantasy Reader*  
1951: #16.  
*Avon Science Fiction Reader*  
1951: #1.
- Cullen, Kevin**  
*Vision of Tomorrow*  
1970: May.
- Davidson**  
*Thrills Incorporated*  
1952: #18, #19.
- Davies, Gordon C.**  
*Authentic*  
1952: May, Jun, Jul, Aug, Nov.  
*Futuristic Science Stories*  
1953: #9, #12.  
*Tales of Tomorrow*  
1953: #8, #9.  
1954: #10, #11.  
*Wonders of the Spaceways*  
1952: #4, #5  
*Worlds of Fantasy*  
1953: #10.  
1954: #13.
- Davis** see Richards, John
- Davis, Jack**  
*Shock*  
1960: May, Jul, Sep.
- Davis, Roger**  
*Weird World*  
1955: #1.  
1956: #2.

**de Soto, Rafael***Fantastic Novels*

1951: Jan.

**Dean, Mal***New Worlds*

1968: Oct.

1969: Jun, Jul, Sep.

**Dember, Sol***Galaxy*

1958: Mar, Apr, Jul, Sep, Oct.

1961: Dec.

1962: Dec.

1963: Oct.

1964: Apr.

1966: Oct.

1967: Aug.

1968: Nov.

*If*

1961: Jul.

*Worlds of Tomorrow*

1963: Aug.

1966: Nov.

**Di Fate, Vincent***Analog*

1969: Nov.

**Di Giannurio, Anthony***Weird Tales*

1952: Nov.

**D. L. W.***Authentic SF*1951: #1, #2, #3, #4, #5, #6,  
#7, #8, Sep, Oct, Nov, Dec.

1952: Jan, Feb, Mar.

**Docktop (?)***Suspense*

1951: Sum, Fall.

**Dollens, Maurice Scott***Fantastic*

1959: Nov.

*F&SF*

1957: Nov.

*Gamma*

1963: #1, #2

1964: #3.

*Spaceway*

1969: Jan, May, Sep.

1970: May.

*Venture*

1958: May.

**Doore, Clarence***Amazing Stories*

1954: Mar, Jul.

*Fantastic Universe*

1954: Mar, May.

*Science Fiction Adventures*

1954: May.

**Duillo, John***Fantastic*

1960: May, Sep.

**Dwoskin, Stephen***New Worlds*

1968: Apr, Jul.

**Ebel, Alex***Fantastic Story Magazine*

1954: Win.

*Space SF*

1953: Feb, May.

**Eberle, Joseph***Weird Tales*

1952: Mar.

1953: May.

**Eddie** see Jones, Eddie**Edwards***New Worlds*

1959: Feb.

**Elton***New Worlds*

1957: May.

**Embleton, Ron***Futuristic Science Stories*

1953: #13.

- 1954: #15.  
*Worlds of Fantasy*  
 1954: #12.
- Emshwiller, Ed** (signed thus or as Emsh or Willer\*)  
*Amazing Stories*  
 1960: Nov.  
 1961: Aug.  
 1962: Jan.  
 1963: Jun, Jul, Dec.  
 1964: Mar, May, Jul, Oct.
- Astounding*  
 1955: Oct.  
 1956: Mar, Aug.  
 1957: May, Oct.  
 1958: Jun, Dec.  
 1959: Mar.
- Fantastic*  
 1961: Apr.  
 1962: Jul, Oct.  
 1963: Oct.  
 1964: Jan, Feb, May, Jul, Aug.  
 1965: Jan.
- Fantastic Universe*  
 1956: Jan, May, Jun.  
 1959: Dec.  
 1960: Mar.
- Fantastic Story Magazine*  
 1952: Sep.  
 1953: May.
- F&SF*  
 1952: Jun, Sep, Nov.  
 1953: Apr, Jul, Oct, Dec.  
 1954: Apr.  
 1955: Aug, Nov.  
 1956: May.  
 1957: Feb, Oct.  
 1958: Feb, May, Aug Sep Oct Dec.  
 1959: Jan, Mar, Apr, Jun, Aug, Oct, Nov.  
 1960: Jan, Feb, Apr, Jun, Aug, Sep, Nov.  
 1961: Jan, Feb, Apr, May, Jul, Sep, Nov, Dec.
- 1962: Feb, Apr, May, Jun, Aug, Sep, Oct, Nov.  
 1963: Jan, Mar, Apr, Jun, Jul, Aug, Sep, Dec.  
 1964: Jan, May, Jun, Jul, Nov.  
 1965: Mar.  
 1966: Oct.  
 1968: Jan.  
 1969: Jul, Dec.
- Future SF*  
 1954: Jun.  
 1956: #30, Win.  
 1957: Spr, Fall.  
 1958: Feb, Apr[collage], Jun, Aug, Oct, Dec.  
 1959: Feb, Apr, Aug, Oct, Dec.  
 1960: Apr.
- Galaxy*  
 1951: Jun, Jul\*, Aug, Dec.  
 1952: Jun, Aug, Oct.  
 1953: Jan, Jul, Sep, Oct, Nov, Dec.  
 1954: Feb, Mar, Apr, May, Jun, Sep, Nov, Dec.  
 1955: Jan, Feb, Apr, Sep, Nov.  
 1956: Jan, Feb, Mar, Apr, Jun, Oct, Nov.  
 1957: Jan.  
 1958: Jan.  
 1959: Jun, Dec.  
 1960: Feb, Apr, Jun, Aug, Dec.  
 1961: Aug.  
 1963: Apr, Dec.  
 1964: Feb.
- If*  
 1958: Apr, Aug, Dec.  
 1960: Jan.  
 1963: Jul.  
 1964: Nov.
- Infinity*  
 1956: Feb, Jun, Aug, Oct, Dec.  
 1957: Feb, Apr, Jun, Jul, Sep, Oct, Nov.  
 1958: Jan, Mar, Apr, Jun, Aug, Oct, Nov.

- Rocket Stories*  
1953: Apr.
- Satellite SF*  
1956: Oct.  
1957: Apr.
- Science Fiction Adventures* [1]  
1953: Mar.
- Science Fiction Adventures* [2]  
1956: Dec.  
1957: Apr, Jun, Sep, Dec.  
1958: Mar, Apr, Jun.
- Science Fiction Adventures* [UK]  
1958: Nov.
- Science Fiction Quarterly*  
1955: May, Aug.  
1956: May, Aug, Nov.  
1957: Feb, May, Aug, Nov.  
1958: Feb.
- Science Fiction Stories*  
1955: Jan, Mar, May, Jul, Sep.  
1956: Mar, May, Jul, Sep, Nov.  
1957: Jan, Mar, May, Sep, Nov.  
1958: Jan, May, Jul, Sep, Nov.  
1959: Jan, Feb, Mar[collage],  
May, Sep.
- Space Stories*  
1952: Oct.  
1953: Feb, Jun.
- Startling Stories*  
1952: Dec.  
1953: Feb, Apr, Jun.  
1954: Sum.  
1955: Spr, Sum, Fall.
- Super-Science Fiction*  
1957: Feb, Jun, Dec.  
1958: Apr, Oct.  
1959: Feb, Apr, Aug, Oct.
- Suspense*  
1952: Win(?).
- Thrilling Wonder Stories*  
1952: Apr, Aug.  
1955: Win.
- Vanguard*  
1958: Jun.
- Venture*  
1957: Jan, May, Jul, Sep, Nov.  
1958: Jan, Mar, Jul.  
*Wonder Story Annual*  
1953.
- Engle, Robert V.**  
*Infinity*  
1955: Nov.  
*Science Fiction Adventures*  
1957: Aug.
- Enrique**  
*New Worlds*  
1962: May.
- Facey, Gerald**  
*Futuristic Science Stories*  
1950: #1, #2, #3.  
1951: #4, #5.  
1952: #6.  
*Supernatural Stories*  
1954: #3, #4.  
1955: #5, #7.  
*Tales of Tomorrow*  
1950: #1.  
1951: #2.  
*Wonders of the Spaceways*  
1951: #1.  
1952: #2.  
*Worlds of Fantasy*  
1950: #1, #2.  
1951: #3, #4.  
1952: #5.
- Fagg, Kenneth**  
*If*  
1953: Mar, May, Jul, Sep, Nov.  
1954: Jan, Mar, Apr, Jun, Jul, Aug.  
1955: May.
- Faragasso, Jack**  
*Fantastic*  
1960: Apr.
- Farley, G. M.**  
*Weirdbook*  
1969: #2.  
1970: #3.

**Fetterly**

*If*

1964: Aug.

**Finlay, Virgil**

*Amazing Stories*

1957: Dec.

1963: Apr.

*Fantastic Universe*

1957: Mar, Apr, May, Jun, Jul,  
Aug, Sep, Oct, Nov, Dec.

1958: Jan, Feb, Mar, Apr, May,  
Jun, Jul, Aug, Sep, Oct.

1959: Jan, Mar, Jul, Oct, Nov.

*Future SF*

1952: Mar.

1959: Jun.

*Galaxy*

1956: Aug, Dec.

1957: Sep.

1961: Oct.

1962: Oct.

1966: Feb.

*If*

1960: May.

1962: Nov.

1963: Mar.

*Other Worlds*

1955: May.

1956: Apr, Jun (reprints).

*Science Fiction Stories*

1959: Mar [collage].

*Science Fiction Yearbook*

1969: #3.

1970: #4.

*Science Stories*

1953: Dec.

*Universe SF*

1955: #10.

*Weird Tales*

1952: May, Sep.

1953: Mar.

1954: Sep.

*Worlds of Tomorrow*

1963: Oct.

1965: Nov.

**FitzGerald, Russell**

*F&SF*

1968: May.

1969: Feb.

**Frame, Paul**

*Fantastic*

1960: Mar.

**Francis, Richard D.**

*If*

1962: Jan.

**Frank[enberg], Robert**

*Amazing Stories*

1953: Feb.

*Fantastic*

1953: Jan.

**Freas, Frank Kelly**

*Amazing Stories*

1965: Oct.

*Astounding SF/Analog*

1953: Oct.

1954: Feb, Mar, Apr, Jun, Aug,  
Sep, Nov.

1955: Jan, Feb, Apr, Jun, Jul, Aug,  
Sep, Dec.

1956: Feb, Apr, Jun, Sep, Nov.

1957: Feb, Apr, Jul, Aug, Nov,  
Dec.

1958: Jan, Mar, Apr, Jul, Oct.

1959: Jan, Feb, Apr, Jul, Sep, Oct.

1960: Apr.

1964: Jul.

1965: Aug, Sep, Nov, Dec.

1966: Jan, Feb, Apr, Sep, Nov,  
Dec.

1967: Feb, May, Sep, Nov.

1968: Feb, Mar, Apr, Jun, Jul,  
Aug, Oct, Nov, Dec.

1969: Jan, Feb, Mar, Apr, May,  
Jul, Aug, Sep, Oct, Dec.

1970: Feb, Mar, Apr, May, Jun,  
Aug, Sep, Oct, Nov, Dec.

*Fantastic Universe*

1955: Apr, Jun, Aug, Oct.



- 1956: Feb, Apr.  
 1957: Feb.  
*FøSF*  
 1955: Feb.  
 1956: Sep, Oct, Nov, Dec.  
 1957: Mar, May, Dec.  
 1958: Apr.  
*Future SF*  
 1954: Aug, Oct.  
 1956: #29.  
 1957: Sum.  
*If*  
 1955: Jun, Dec.  
 1956: Apr.  
 1959: Feb.  
*Planet Stories*  
 1953: Jul, Sep, Nov.  
 1954: Jan, Mar, May, Sum, Fall,  
 Win.  
 1955: Spr, Sum.  
*Satellite SF*  
 1956: Dec.  
*Science Fiction Quarterly*  
 1954: Aug, Nov.  
 1955: Feb, Nov.  
 1956: Feb.  
*Science Fiction Stories*  
 1955: Nov.  
 1956: Jan.  
 1957: Jul.  
 1958: Mar, Jun, Aug.  
 1959: Jul, Sep [collage].  
 1960: May.  
*Super-Science Fiction*  
 1956: Dec.  
 1957: Apr, Aug, Oct.  
 1958: Feb, Jun, Aug, Dec.  
 1959: Jun.  
*Tops in SF*  
 1953: Fall.  
*2 Complete Science Adventure Books*  
 1953: Spr, Sum, Win.  
 1954: Spr.
- Weird Tales*  
 1951: Nov.  
 1953: Jan.
- Gaughan, Jack**  
*Fantastic*  
 1963: Mar.  
*FøSF*  
 1964: Feb, Apr, Dec.  
 1965: Feb, Jul.  
 1966: Jan, Apr, Sep.  
 1967: Mar, Jul, Dec.  
 1968: Jul, Dec.  
 1969: May, Nov.  
 1970: Jun, Nov.  
*Galaxy*  
 1957: Jul, Dec.  
 1958: Dec.  
 1962: Feb, Apr, Aug.  
 1963: Feb.  
 1966: Apr.  
 1967: Feb.  
 1968: Jul, Sep.  
 1969: Nov, Dec.  
 1970: Feb, Mar, Apr, May, Jun,  
 Jul, Aug, Oct, Dec.  
*If*  
 1960: Mar.  
 1961: May.  
 1963: Nov.  
 1965: Aug, Oct.  
 1966: Dec.  
 1967: May, Jul.  
 1969: Mar, Oct, Nov, Dec.  
 1970: Jan, Feb, Apr, May, Jul, Sep,  
 Nov.  
*International SF*  
 1967: Nov.  
 1968: Jun.  
*Worlds of Fantasy*  
 1968: Sep.  
 1970: #2, Win.  
*Worlds of Tomorrow*  
 1970: #24, Win.

**Gibbons, George**

*F&SF*

1952: Aug.

1953: Feb, Jun.

**Gilbert, Mike**

*If*

1970: Mar.

*F&SF*

1970: Feb.

**Gray, Harrel**

*Amazing Stories*

1960: Jul.

**Green, P. R.**

*Authentic*

1957: Oct.

**Hall, Ralph A.**

*Analog*

1964: Jan.

**Hamilton, Richard**

*New Worlds*

1967: Oct.

**Harbottle, Philip J.** [as 'James']

*Vision of Tomorrow*

1969: Aug.

**Hardy, David A.**

*Vision of Tomorrow*

1970: Mar, Apr.

**'Haro'**

*Science Fantasy*

1964: Dec.

**Harris, Roger**

*Science Fantasy*

1964: Jun, Jul, Sep(?).

**Healey, John**

*Gamma*

1965: Feb, Sep.

**Hinge, Mike**

*Amazing Stories*

1970: Nov.

**Hinton, Walter**

*Fantastic Adventures*

1951: Jun.

*Imagination*

1951: Sep.

**Hortens, Walter**

*Analog*

1965: Feb.

**Hughes, Bill**

*Forgotten Fantasy*

1970: Oct.

**Hunter, Alan**

*Nebula*

1952: Aut.

1953: Spr.

**Hunter, Mel**

*Amazing Stories*

1953: Dec.

1954: May.

*Fantastic Universe*

1955: May, Jul, Sep, Nov, Dec.

1956: Mar, Sep.

*F&SF*

1953: Nov.

1954: Aug.

1955: Oct.

1957: Jul.

1958: Jan, Mar, Jun.

1959: Sep, Dec.

1960: Mar, May, Jul, Dec.

1961: Mar, Jun, Aug.

1962: Jan, Mar, Jul.

1964: Mar, Sep.

1965: Jan, May.

1966: May.

1970: Jan, May, Sep, Dec.

*Galaxy*

1953: Feb, May, Jun, Aug.

1954: Jan, Jul, Oct.

1955: Mar, May, Jul.

1960: Oct.

1961: Apr.

- If*  
 1955: Mar.  
 1956: Feb, Jun, Aug, Oct, Dec.  
 1957: Feb, Apr, Jun, Aug, Oct, Dec.  
 1958: Feb, Jun.  
 1960: Nov.
- Satellite SF*  
 1957: Aug.  
 1958: Apr, Aug.
- Science Fiction Adventures*  
 1954: Feb.
- Spaceway*  
 1953: Dec.  
 1954: Feb, Apr.
- Universe*  
 1953: Dec [joint].
- Hutchings, Gordon**  
*Science Fiction Adventures*  
 1959: Oct.
- Jais, Safone**  
*American SF*  
 1952: Jul, Sep.
- Jakubowicz**  
*New Worlds*  
 1964: Sep.  
 1965: Feb.
- James** see Harbottle, Philip J.
- Jarr** see Maloney, Terry
- Joiner, Ralph**  
*If*  
 1952: May, Sep, Nov.
- Jones, Eddie**  
*Alien Worlds*  
 1966: #1.  
*Nebula*  
 1958: Nov.  
 1959: Jan, May.  
*Vision of Tomorrow*  
 1969: Nov.  
 1970: Jan, Jun, Aug.
- Jones, Henry**  
*If*  
 1952: Jul.
- Jones, Jeff**  
*Amazing Stories*  
 1970: Sep.  
*Fantastic*  
 1970: Apr, Aug.
- Jones, Langdon**  
*New Worlds*  
 1967: Jan.
- Jones, Richard Glyn**  
*New Worlds*  
 1970: Jan.
- Jones, Robert Gibson**  
*Amazing Stories*  
 1951: Jan, Feb, Mar, Apr, May, Jun, Aug, Sep, Oct, Dec.  
*Fantastic Adventures*  
 1951: Jan, Mar, May, Jul, Aug, Sep, Dec.  
 1952: Nov, Dec.  
*The Hidden World*  
 1963: Spr.  
*Mystic*  
 1954: Jan.  
*Other Worlds*  
 1952: Nov.  
 1953: Mar, Apr, Jul.  
 1955: Jul.  
 1957: Sep.  
*Science Stories*  
 1954: Apr.  
*Universe*  
 1953: Sep.  
 1954: Mar, May, Jul.
- Jordan, Sydney**  
*New Worlds*  
 1961: Jan, Apr, Aug.
- Kalfus, Ray**  
*Amazing Stories*  
 1963: May.

**Kaluta, Michael W.**

*Fantastic*  
1970: Dec.

**Keith, Gabe**

*Amazing Stories*  
1959: Jan.  
*Fantastic*  
1958: Oct, Nov, Dec.  
1959: Feb.

**Kennedy, Charles A.**

*Weird Tales*  
1951: Jan, Jul.

**Key, Martin**

*If*  
1952: Mar.

**Kidwell, Carl**

*Magazine of Horror*  
1965: Aug, Nov.  
*Startling Mystery Stories*  
1966: Fall.

**Kinnear, J.**

*New Worlds*  
1954: Apr.

**Kirberger, Fred**

*F&SF*  
1954: Jan, Mar, Jun, Jul.  
*Galaxy*  
1955: Jun, Aug.  
1957: Mar, Jun.

**Kirby, Josh**

*Authentic SF*  
1955: Sep.  
1957: Mar, May, Jun, Jul, Aug,  
Sep.

**Kohn, Arnold**

*Amazing Stories*  
1953: Jan.  
*Fantastic Adventures*  
1951: Feb.

**Kramer, Vernon**

*Amazing Stories*  
1963: Feb.  
*Fantastic*  
1953: Nov.  
1954: Jan.  
1961: May, Jul.  
1962: Aug.  
1963: Jan, May, Aug.

**Krupa, Julian**

*Amazing Stories*  
1951: Nov [joint].

**Krusz, Arthur**

*Beyond*  
1954: May, Sep.

**Kurka, Anton**

*If*  
1953: Jan.  
1954: Dec.  
1955: Jan.

**Lanyon, Andrew**

*New Worlds*  
1969: Dec.  
1970: Apr.

**Lawrence** see Stevens, Lawrence S.

**Lawrence, Judith-Ann**

*Impulse*  
1966: Mar.

**Lehr, Paul**

*Satellite SF*  
1959: May.

**Levey, Harris**

*Amazing Stories*  
1953: Mar.

**Lewis, Brian**

*New Worlds*  
1957: Jul, Oct, Nov, Dec.  
1958: Mar, Apr, May, Jun, Jul,  
Aug, Sep, Oct, Nov, Dec.

- 1959: Jan, Mar, Apr, May, Jun, Jul, Aug, Oct, Nov, Dec.  
 1960: Jan, Feb, Mar, Jul, Sep, Nov.  
 1961: Feb, Mar, May, Jun, Jul, Oct, Dec.  
 1962: Feb, Apr, Jun.
- Science Fantasy*  
 1957: Dec.  
 1958: Feb, Apr, Jun, Aug, Oct, Dec.  
 1959: Feb, Apr, Jun, Aug, Nov, Dec.  
 1960: Apr, Jun, Aug, Oct.  
 1961: Feb, Apr, Jun, Aug.
- Science Fiction Adventures*  
 1958: Jul.  
 1959: Mar, May, Jul, Nov, Dec.  
 1960: Feb, May, Sep.  
 1961: Jan, Mar, May, Jul, Sep, Nov.  
 1962: Jan, Mar, May, Jul.
- Lief, Burt**  
*Fantastic Universe*  
 1954: Oct.
- Light, Norman** [also as 'Marcus'\*]  
*Futuristic Science Stories*  
 1952: #8.  
 1953: #10, #11.
- Tales of Tomorrow*  
 1952: #5.  
 1953: #7.
- Wonders of the Spaceways*  
 1953: #6, #7.
- Worlds of Fantasy*  
 1952: #6, #8.  
 1953: #9.
- Worlds of the Universe*  
 1953: Nov\*.
- Loehle, Richard**  
*Imagination*  
 1955: Feb.
- Luros, Milton**  
*Dynamic SF*  
 1953: Mar, Jun.  
 1954: Jan.
- Future SF*  
 1951: Jan, Mar, Jul, Sep.  
 1952: Jan, May.  
 1953: Jan, Mar, Jul, Sep.
- Science Fiction Quarterly*  
 1951: May, Nov.  
 1952: Feb, May, Aug, Nov.  
 1953: May.  
 1954: Feb.
- McCauley, Harold**  
*Fantastic Adventures*  
 1951: Apr.
- Imagination*  
 1952: Jul, Sep.  
 1953: Jan, May, Aug.  
 1954: Feb, May, Jul, Oct, Dec.  
 1955: Jan, Mar, Apr, May, Jun.
- Imaginative Tales*  
 1954: Sep, Nov.  
 1955: Jan, Mar, May, Jul, Sep.  
 1956: Jan.
- Other Worlds*  
 1951: Mar, Jun, Oct.  
 1952: Jan.  
 1953: Jan.
- McDevitt, James A.**  
*Treasury of Great SF*  
 1965: #2.
- McIntyre, Ken**  
*Nebula*  
 1953: Aut.  
 1954: Apr.  
 1955: Nov.  
 1957: Oct.
- McKenna, Richard**  
*Amazing Stories*  
 1964: Aug.
- Galaxy*  
 1963: Jun.  
 1964: Jun, Dec.

*If*

1964: Jan.  
 1965: Feb, Mar, Apr, Jul, Sep.  
 1966: Jun, Aug.  
 1967: Mar.  
 1968: Sep.  
*Worlds of Tomorrow*  
 1964: Feb.

**McKeown, D.**

*Nebula*  
 1958: Feb, May, Jun.  
 1959: Feb.

**McLane, Paula**

*Amazing Stories*  
 1965: Feb, Apr.  
*Fantastic*  
 1963: Sep.  
 1964: Mar.  
*Worlds of Tomorrow*  
 1966: Jan.

**Maloney, Terry** [also as Jarr, Jose Rubios and Terry]

*New Worlds*  
 1956: Mar, Jun, Aug, Oct, Nov.  
 1957: Jan, Feb, Mar, Apr, Jun, Aug, Sep.  
 1958: Jan, Feb.  
 1960: Apr, May, Jun, Aug, Oct.  
*Science Fantasy*  
 1956: May  
 1957: Apr, Jun, Aug, Oct.  
 1960: Feb, Dec.  
*Science Fiction Adventures*  
 1958: Mar, May.  
 1960: Jul, Nov.

**Manso, Leo**

*Avon SF & Fantasy Reader*  
 1953: Jan, Apr.

**Marcus** see Light, Norman

**Marin, Augusto**

*Fantastic*  
 1954: Apr.

**Mars, W. T.**

*Fantastic*  
 1953: May.

**Martin, Chester**

*Science Fiction Digest*  
 1954: #1.  
*Vortex*  
 1953: #1, #2.

**Martinez, John**

*Astounding SF*  
 1958: Sep.

**Meltzoff, Stanley**

*F&SF*  
 1955: May.

**Menzel, Donald H.**

*Galaxy*  
 1969: Sep.

**Miller, H. Eugene**

*Other Worlds*  
 1956: Nov.

**Miller, Walt**

*Astounding SF*  
 1951: Feb.  
 1953: Jul, Sep.

**Morales, Lou**

*Fantastic SF*  
 1952: Aug.

**Morey, Leo**

*Future SF*  
 1951: May.  
*Science Fiction Quarterly*  
 1951: Aug.  
*Super Science Stories*  
 1951: Aug.

**Moritz, Ed**

*Fantastic Universe*  
 1956: Jul, Aug.

**Morol, Agosta**

*Science Fantasy*  
 1965: Mar, Oct.

*Impulse*

1967: Feb.

**Morrow, Gray***Amazing Stories*

1965: Mar, May, Jun.

*Fantastic*

1965: Mar, Apr, May, Jun.

1970: Jun, Oct.

*F&SF*

1965: Nov.

1966: Mar, Aug.

1967: Jan, Apr, Nov.

1968: Nov.

1969: Jun.

*Galaxy*

1965: Aug.

1966: Jun, Aug.

1967: Jun, Oct, Dec.

1968: Apr.

1969: Jan, Oct.

*If*

1964: Jul, Dec.

1965: Jan, Nov, Dec.

1966: Jan, Apr, Jul, Sep.

1967: Jan, Apr, Aug, Sep.

1968: Jul.

*Magazine of Horror*

1965: Win.

*Perry Rhodan*

1969: #1, #2, #3.

1970: #4, #5.

*Worlds of Tomorrow*

1964: Jun, Aug.

1966: Mar, May.

1967: Feb.

**Mortimer, John***Authentic*

1956: Mar, May, Jul, Dec.

**Mott, Stan***Amazing Stories*

1961: Jun.

**Mugnaini, Joe***F&SF*

1963: May.

**Nappi, Rudy***Tales of the Frightened*

1957: Spr.

**Nasemann, Gabi***New Worlds*

1968: Nov, Dec.

1969: Jan, Feb, Mar, May.

**Nodel, Norman***If*

1964: Mar.

**Novarro, Frank***Fantastic Adventures*

1953: Jan, Mar.

**Nuetzell, Albert A.***Amazing Stories*

1959: Mar, Jul, Sep.

1960: Mar, Apr, Sep.

1961: Jul.

*Fantastic*

1960: Jan, Aug.

*F&SF*

1957: Apr.

*Science Stories*

1954: Feb.

**Orban, Paul***Astounding SF*

1951: Mar.

*Future SF*

1959: Apr [collage].

1960: Feb.

*Science Fiction Stories*

1959: Mar [collage].

*Space SF*

1952: May.

**Oughton, Taylor***Amazing Stories*

1959: Jun.

*Fantastic*

1959: Sep.

**Page, Al**

*Fantastic SF*  
1952: Dec.

**Parker, John**

*Dream World*  
1957: May.

**Partridge, Norman**

*Science Fantasy*  
1954: Sep.

**Paul, Frank R.**

*Amazing Stories*  
1961: Apr.  
*Satellite SF*  
1957: Dec.  
*Science Fiction Plus*  
1953: May, Aug, Oct, Dec.

**Pawelka, G.**

*Astounding SF*  
1952: Mar, Jul.  
1953: Jan, Mar.

**Peake, Mervyn**

*New Worlds*  
1969: Apr.

**Pederson, John, Jr**

*Amazing Stories*  
1970: May, Jul.  
*F&SF*  
1957: Jun.  
1958: Nov.  
1963: Feb.  
*Galaxy*  
1957: May, Nov.  
1958: Feb, May, Jun.  
1963: Aug.  
1964: Aug.  
1965: Oct, Dec.  
1968: Dec.  
1969: Feb, Aug.  
*If*  
1959: Jul, Sep, Nov.  
1960: Jul, Sep.  
1962: Mar.

1963: May.  
1964: May.  
1965: Jun.  
1966: Feb.  
1968: Jan, May.  
*Worlds of Tomorrow*  
1963: Apr.  
1965: Jul.

**Phillips, Barye**

*Amazing Stories*  
1952: Mar, Apr.  
1953: Apr, Jun.  
*Fantastic*  
1952: Sum [joint], Nov.

**Phillips, Peter**

*New Worlds*  
1967: Sep.

**Phillips, Ralph Rayburn**

*Weirdbook*  
1968: #1.

**Pioch, Ray**

*Satellite SF*  
1959: Mar, Apr.

**Pitt, Stanley**

*American SF*  
1952: May, Jun, Aug, Oct, Nov, Dec.  
1953: Feb, Mar, Apr, May, Aug, Sep, Nov, Dec.  
1954: Jan, Mar, Apr, Jun, Jul, Aug, Sep, Nov, Dec.  
1955: Jan, Feb, Mar, Apr, May, Jun, Jul, Aug, Sep.  
*Selected SF*  
1955: #1, #2, #3, #4, #5.  
*Thrills Inc.*  
1952: #21, #23.  
*Vision of Tomorrow*  
1970: Jul, Sep.

**Platt, Charles**

*New Worlds*  
1967: Dec [joint].



- 1969: Aug.  
1970: Mar.
- Pollack, J.**  
*Authentic SF*  
1952: Sep, Oct.
- Popp, Walter**  
*Amazing Stories*  
1952: Jun, Aug, Sep, Oct, Nov.  
*Fantastic Adventures*  
1952: Jun, Jul, Aug, Sep, Oct.  
*Fantastic Story Magazine*  
1953: Jul.  
1954: Sum.  
*Space Stories*  
1953: Apr.  
*Startling Stories*  
1952: Sep, Nov.  
1953: Mar, May, Aug.  
1954: Jan.  
*Thrilling Wonder Stories*  
1952: Dec.  
1953: Jun, Nov.  
1954: Spr.
- Poulton, Peter**  
*Future SF*  
1951: Nov.  
1952: Sep.
- Powell, Frederic**  
*Science Fantasy*  
1950: Sum.
- Powers, Richard M.**  
*Beyond*  
1953: Jul, Sep.  
*Fantastic*  
1953: Mar.  
*Galaxy*  
1952: Feb, Apr.  
*Star SF*  
1958: Jan.  
*Wonder Stories*  
1957: #1
- Price-Sims, G.**  
*New Worlds*  
1966: Dec.
- Probert, Mark**  
*Mystic*  
1954: Aug.
- Purcell, Howard**  
*F&SF*  
1966: Dec.
- Quinn, Gerard A.**  
*Nebula*  
1958: Apr, Sep, Dec.  
*New Worlds*  
1952: Jan, May, Sep.  
1953: Jan, Jun.  
1954: May, Jun, Jul, Aug, Sep,  
Oct, Nov, Dec.  
1955: Jan, Feb, Mar, May, Jun,  
Jul, Sep, Dec.  
1956: Jan, Apr, May, Jul, Sep,  
Dec.  
1961: Sep, Nov.  
1962: Jan, Mar.  
*Science Fantasy*  
1952: Aut.  
1953: Spr.  
1954: Spr, May, Jul, Dec.  
1955: Feb, Apr, Jun, Sep, Nov.  
1956: Feb, Aug, Dec.  
1957: Feb.  
1961: Oct, Dec.  
1962: Feb, Apr, Jun, Aug.  
1963: Feb, Jun, Aug.  
*Science Fiction Adventures*  
1962: Sep.  
1963: Mar, May.  
*Vision of Tomorrow*  
1969: Dec.  
1970: Feb.
- Ratcliffe, George**  
*Authentic SF Monthly*  
1951: May, Jun, Jul, Aug.

**Rattigan, James**

*Nebula*

1954: Dec.  
1955: Sep.  
1956: Mar.  
1957: Mar, Sep.  
1958: Mar.

**Reach, Max**

*If*

1954: Sep.

**Reese**

*Galaxy*

1969: Apr.

**Rembach, William see Valigursky, Ed**

**Rice, Ken**

*Suspense*

1951: Spr.

**Richards, Joe**

*Fantastic Universe*

1954: Jan.

**Richards, John** [also as Davis]

*Authentic*

1953: Feb, Mar, Apr, May, Jun,  
Jul, Aug, Sep, Oct, Nov, Dec.  
1954: Jan, Feb, Mar, Apr, May,  
Jun, Jul, Aug, Sep, Oct, Nov,  
Dec.  
1955: Jan, Feb, Mar, May.  
*Vargo Statten/British SF Magazine*  
1954: Feb, Apr, Sep, Nov.

**Rimsky, Feodor**

*Analog*

1963: May.

**Ritter, Bob**

*Galaxy*

1961: Feb.

*If*

1961: Jan.

**Roberts, Keith**

*Science Fantasy*

1965: Jan, May, Jun, Jul, Aug, Nov.  
1966: Jan?, Feb.

*Impulse*

1966: Apr, May, Jun?, Jul, Aug,  
Sep, Oct, Nov.  
1967: Jan.

*New Worlds*

1966: Jun, Aug, Sep, Oct, Nov.  
1967: Mar.

**Rogers, Hubert**

*Astounding SF*

1951: Jan, Apr, May, Jun, Jul,  
Sep, Dec.  
1952: Jan, Apr.

**Rognan, Lloyd**

*Imagination*

1955: Dec.  
1956: Feb, Oct, Dec.  
1957: Feb, Apr, Jun, Oct.

*Imaginative Tales*

1955: Nov.  
1956: May, Jul, Sep, Nov.  
1957: May, Sep, Nov.  
1958: Jan, Mar.

**Ross, A. Leslie**

*Dynamic SF*

1952: Dec.

*Future SF*

1952: Jul, Nov.  
1953: May.  
*Science Fiction Quarterly*  
1953: Feb, Aug.

**Rossi, Kenneth**

*If*

1955: Aug.

**Roth, James**

*F&SF*

1964: Aug.  
1965: Jun.

**Rubios, Jose** see Maloney, Terry

**R. W. S.** see Smethurst, Ronald W.

**Ryan, Tom**

*Space SF Magazine*  
1957: Spr, Aug.

**Safran, B.**

*Cosmos*  
1953: Nov.  
1954: Mar, Jul.

**St John, J. Allen**

*Mystic*  
1953: Nov.  
*Other Worlds*  
1955: Nov.

**Salter, George**

*F&SF*  
1951: Apr, Oct, Dec.  
1952: Apr.  
1955: Jun.  
1966: Feb.

**Saunders, Norman**

*Amazing Stories*  
1952: Jan.  
*Famous Fantastic Mysteries*  
1952: Aug.  
1953: Feb.  
*Marvel Science Stories*  
1951: Feb, May.  
*Mysterious Traveler*  
1951: Nov.  
1952: Jan, Mar, Jun, #5.

**Schelling, George L.**

*Amazing Stories*  
1962: May, Nov.  
*Fantastic*  
1962: May.  
1964: Oct, Nov.  
*Galaxy*  
1964: Oct.  
1965: Apr, Jun.  
*If*  
1963: Jan.  
1965: May.  
1966: May.

*Worlds of Tomorrow*

1964: Nov.  
1965: Jan, Mar, May, Sep.

**Schmand, Richard**

*Magazine of Horror*  
1969: Jul, Dec.  
*Startling Mystery Stories*  
1969: Sum.  
1970: Sum, Fall.  
*Weird Terror Tales*  
1970: Fall.

**Schneeman, Charles**

*Astounding SF*  
1952: Nov.

**Schoenherr, John**

*Astounding/Analog*  
1960: Jun, Aug, Dec.  
1961: Mar, May, Jun, Aug, Oct,  
Nov.  
1962: Mar, Apr, May, Jun, Jul,  
Oct, Nov, Dec.  
1963: Jan, Feb, Apr, Jun, Jul, Aug,  
Oct, Nov, Dec.  
1964: Feb, Mar, May, Jun, Aug,  
Sep, Nov.  
1965: Jan, Mar, Apr, May, Jul,  
Oct.  
1966: Mar, May, Jul, Oct.  
1967: Mar, Apr, Jun, Jul, Oct, Dec.  
1968: Sep.  
*Science Fiction Adventures*  
1958: Jan.

**Schomburg, Alex**

*Amazing Stories*  
1960: Oct, Dec.  
1961: Feb, May, Sep, Oct, Nov.  
1962: Feb, Jun, Aug, Dec.  
1963: Nov.  
1964: Jan, Feb, Apr, Jun, Nov.  
1965: Aug.  
*Dynamic SF*  
1953: Aug, Oct.  
*Fantastic*  
1960: Nov.

- 1961: Jan, Mar, Jun, Sep, Oct.  
 1963: Nov.  
*Fantastic Story Magazine*  
 1951: Fall.  
 1952: Spr, Sum.  
 1953: Mar, Sep.  
 1955: Win, Spr.  
*Fantastic Universe*  
 1953: Jun, Aug, Oct.  
 1954: Jul, Sep, Nov, Dec.  
 1955: Jan, Feb, Mar.  
*F&SF*  
 1953: Jan.  
*Future SF*  
 1953: Nov.  
 1954: Jan, Mar.  
*Galaxy*  
 1953: Apr.  
*Rocket Stories*  
 1953: Jul.  
*Satellite SF*  
 1957: Feb, Jun, Oct.  
 1958: Feb, Oct.  
 1959: Feb.  
*Science Fiction Adventures*  
 1953: Jul, Dec.  
*Science Fiction Plus*  
 1953: Mar, Apr, Jun.  
*Science Fiction Quarterly*  
 1954: May.  
*Science Fiction Stories*  
 1953: #1.  
*Startling Stories*  
 1951: Nov.  
 1952: Apr, May, Jul.  
 1953: Jan, Oct.  
 1954: Spr, Fall.  
*Thrilling Wonder Stories*  
 1951: Oct.  
*Wonder Story Annual*  
 1952.
- Schroeder, Ernest**  
*Fantastic*  
 1954: Jun.
- Seitz, J. Russell**  
*Analog*  
 1970: Jan.
- Settles, James B.**  
*Other Worlds*  
 1951: Jan, Sep.
- Sharp, Henry**  
*Fantastic*  
 1955: Feb.
- Shelton, Richard T.**  
*F&SF*  
 1956: Jun, Aug.  
*Venture*  
 1957: Mar.
- Shonberg, Burt**  
*Fantastic*  
 1960: Jun.
- Sibley, Don**  
 1951: Mar, Sep.  
 1952: Jan.
- Siegel, Norman**  
*Fantastic Universe*  
 1958: Nov.  
 1959: May.
- Silvey, W. H.**  
*Weird Tales*  
 1953: Jul.  
 1954: Jan, May.
- Singer, Evan**  
*Weird Tales*  
 1954: Mar.
- Singleton**  
*Science Fiction Adventures*  
 1962: Nov.  
 1963: Jan.
- Slade, William**  
*Fantastic Adventures*  
 1953: Feb.

**Slater***Authentic SF*

1955: Aug.

**Smethurst, R. W.***Phantom*1957: Apr, May, Jun, Jul, Aug,  
Sep, Oct, Nov, Dec.1958: Jan, Feb, Mar, Apr, May,  
Jun, Jul.**Smith, Malcolm H.***Imagination*

1951: Feb, Apr, Nov.

1952: Mar, May, Dec.

1953: Jun, Jul, Sep, Oct, Dec.

1954: Jun.

1956: Apr, Jun.

1957: Aug, Dec.

1958: Feb, Apr, Jun, Aug, Oct.

*Imaginative Tales/Space Travel*

1956: Mar.

1957: Jan, Mar, Jul.

1958: Jul.

*Mystic*

1954: Mar, May.

1956: Jan.

*Other Worlds*

1951: Dec.

1952: Mar, Apr, Jun, Jul, Aug,  
Oct, Dec.

1953: Feb, May.

1955: Sep (from Dec 52 issue).

1957: Jul (from Dec 51 issue).

*Universe*

1953: Jun, Dec [joint].

1954: Sep.

**Solonevich***Analog*

1962: Sep.

**Solovioff, Nicholas***F&SF*

1954: Sep.

1955: Jan, Mar, Jul.

1956: Jan, Mar.

**Stark, James***Nebula*

1956: Jan, Jul, Nov, Dec.

1957: May, Jul, Aug.

1958: Jan, Jul.

**Stevens, Lawrence Stern***Amazing Stories*

1952: Feb, May, Jul.

*Famous Fantastic Mysteries*

1951: May, Jul, Oct, Dec.

1952: Feb, Apr, Jun, Oct, Dec.

1953: Apr, Jun.

*Fantastic Novels*

1951: Apr, Jun.

*Super Science Stories*

1951: Jan, Apr.

**Stewart, John***Authentic SF*

1955: Apr, Jun, Jul.

**Stout, William***Coven 13*

1969: Sep, Nov.

1970: Jan, Mar.

**Stowe, D. A.***Authentic SF*

1955: Oct, Nov, Dec.

**Styga, John***Satellite SF*

1958: Dec.

**Summers, Leo Ramon***Amazing Stories*

1952: Dec.

1959: Aug, Oct, Nov, Dec.

1960: Jun, Aug.

1961: Mar.

*Analog*

1969: Jun.

1970: Jul.

*Fantastic*

1952: Sum [joint], Fall.

1953: Sep.

1957: Jul.

- 1958: Mar, Apr, Jul, Aug.  
 1959: Jul.  
 1960: Feb, Jul, Oct, Dec.  
 1961: Feb, Aug.  
 1962: Feb.  
*Fantastic Adventures*  
 1952: Feb, Mar [joint], Apr, May.  
*Saturn*  
 1957: Mar.
- Sussman, Arthur T.**  
*Amazing Stories*  
 1953: Oct.
- Swanson, Robert**  
*Analog*  
 1964: Oct, Dec.  
*If*  
 1954: Oct.
- Swiatek, Ed**  
*Amazing Stories*  
 1951: Nov (joint).
- Tanner, Bert**  
*F&SF*  
 1965: Apr, Aug, Sep, Dec.  
 1966: Nov.  
 1967: Jun.  
 1968: Apr.  
 1969: Apr.  
 1970: Aug.  
*Venture*  
 1969: May, Aug, Nov?.  
 1970: Feb, May, Aug.
- Templar, Scott**  
*Beyond*  
 1954: Mar.
- Terry** see Maloney, Terry
- Terry, William E.**  
*Imagination*  
 1952: Jan, Oct.  
 1953: Feb, Apr, Nov.  
 1954: Jan, Mar, Apr, Aug, Sep, Nov.  
 1955: Jul, Oct.  
 1956: Aug.
- Thayer, Jed**  
*Fantastic*  
 1959: May.
- Theobald, Ray**  
*Futuristic Science Stories*  
 1954: #14.  
 1958: #16.  
*Out of This World*  
 1954: #1.  
*Supernatural Stories*  
 1954: #1, #2.  
 1955: #8.  
 1957: #9.  
*Wonders of the Spaceways*  
 1953: #8.  
 1954: #9, #10.  
*Worlds of Fantasy*  
 1953: #11.  
 1954: #14.
- Thomas, Gene**  
*Analog*  
 1961: Jul, Dec.
- Tilley, Robert J.**  
*New Worlds*  
 1964: Nov.  
 1965: Jan, Apr, May, Jul(?).
- Tillotson, Joseph W.**  
*Amazing Stories*  
 1951: Jul.  
*Fantastic Adventures*  
 1951: Oct.
- Tocchet**  
*Galaxy*  
 1956: May.
- Trembath**  
*Galaxy*  
 1962: Jun.
- Turner, Harry**  
*Science Fantasy*  
 1950: Win.

**Turner, Ronald***Futuristic Science Stories*

1952: #7.

*Out of This World*

1954: #2.

*Supernatural Stories*

1955: #6.

*Tales of Tomorrow*

1951: #3.

1952: #4.

1953: #6.

*Vargo Statten SF/British SF[Space Fiction] Magazine*

1954: Jan, May, Jul.

1955: Feb, Mar, Apr, Jun, Jul.

[note: covers Jul 55–Feb 56 were identical]

*Wonders of the Spaceways*

1952: #3.

*Worlds of Fantasy*

1952: #7.

**Valigursky, Ed** [also as William Rembach\*]*Amazing Stories*

1954: Nov\*.

1955: Jan\*, Mar, May, Jul, Sep, Nov, Dec.

1956: Jan, Feb, Mar, Apr, May, Jun, Jul, Aug, Sep, Oct, Nov, Dec.

1957: Jan, Feb, Mar, Apr, May, Jun, Jul, Aug, Sep, Oct, Nov.

1958: Jan, Feb, Mar, Apr, May, Jun, Jul, Aug, Sep, Oct, Nov, Dec.

1959: Apr, May.

1960: Jan, Feb, May.

1961: Jan.

*Dream World*

1957: Feb, Aug.

*Fantastic*

1955: Apr, Jun, Aug, Dec.

1956: Feb, Apr, Jun, Aug, Oct, Dec.

1957: Feb, Mar, Apr, May, Jun, Aug, Sep, Oct, Nov, Dec.

1958: Jan, Feb, May, Jun, Sep.

1959: Mar, Apr, Jun, Aug, Oct, Dec.

*Fantastic Adventures*

1951: Nov.

1952: Jan, Mar [joint].

*If*

1954: May.

1955: Oct.

1958: Oct.

*Startling Stories*

1955: Win.

**Van Dongen, H. R.***Astounding/Analog*

1951: Aug, Oct.

1952: Feb, May, Jun, Aug, Oct.

1953: Feb, Apr, Aug, Dec.

1954: Jan, May, Oct.

1955: Mar, Nov.

1956: Jan, May, Jul, Oct, Dec.

1957: Jan, Mar, Jun, Sep.

1958: Feb, May, Aug, Nov.

1959: May, Jun, Aug, Nov, Dec.

1960: Jan, Mar, May, Jul, Sep, Nov.

1961: Jan, Feb, Apr, Sep.

*Science Fiction Adventures*

1952: Nov.

1953: May, Sep.

*Space SF*

1953: Jul.

*Super Science Stories*

1951: Jun.

*Worlds Beyond*

1951: Jan, Feb.

**Vann***Authentic SF*

1952: Apr, Dec.

1953: Jan.

**Vestal, Herman***Planet Stories*

1952: Sep.

**Vidmer, René***Beyond*

1953: Nov.

1954: Jul, #9.

*Galaxy*  
1954: Aug.

**Waldman, Barry**

*F&SF*  
1957: Aug.  
1958: Jul.  
*Science Fiction Adventures*  
1957: Oct.

**Walotsky, Ronald**

*F&SF*  
1967: May, Aug.  
1968: Feb, Jun, Oct.  
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