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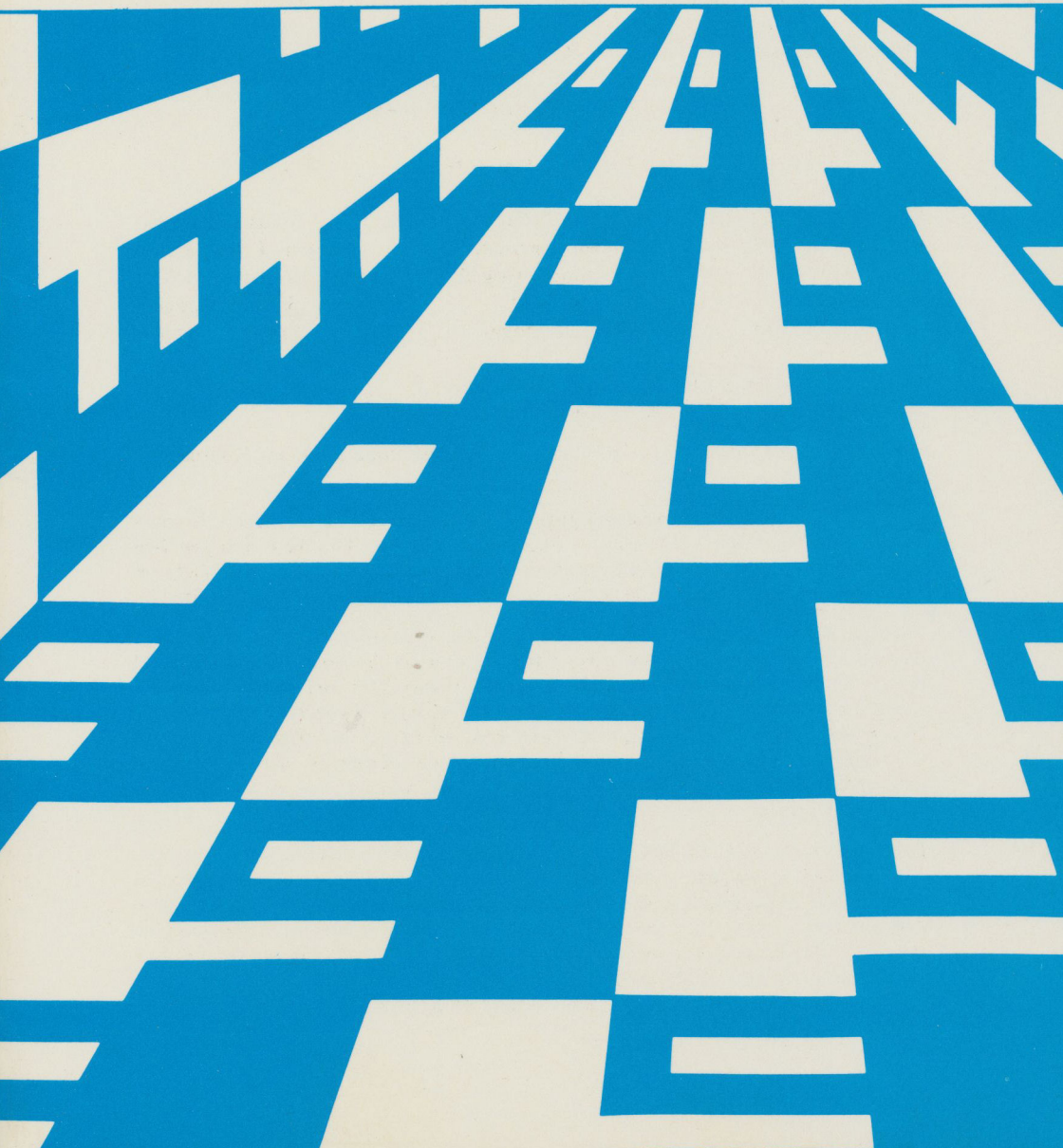
EXTRAPOLATION



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THE LAUNCHING PAD

■ The meeting at MLA this year will be on December 29. Its program number is 553, and it is scheduled from 7:15 to 8:30 P.M. in the Gibson Room of the Hilton. It will be a dialogue with Donald A. Wollheim of DAW books. I do not know the size of the room, but I suggest that for places you write to me either here at Wooster or at the Hilton. We will have to do some planning for future meetings.

Those of you who attended the SFRA meeting in Denver or have seen the *Newsletter* know that Sam Moskowitz received the Pilgrim Award this year. Finally. Of those who have received the Award none more richly deserves it, for Sam was teaching and writing about science fiction perhaps even before the MLA began its early seminar. One of my most pleasant memories is of my association with him as early as 1950–51 when he came to meetings of the Philadelphia Science Fiction Society. I am sure that no one knows the field more thoroughly than Sam, and I think I first suggested that he was a Pilgrim about 1971 or 1972. Certainly *Science Fiction by Gaslight* and *Under the Moons of Mars* mark high points in his career. Of equal importance, however, are the two volumes published by Donald M. Grant in 1980, *Science Fiction in Old San Francisco: History of the Movement From 1854 to 1890* and the accompanying anthology of stories by Robert Duncan Milne.

I much regret having missed the meeting, and I look forward to seeing Sam in November when I am on the east coast. So, belatedly—but certainly unintentionally—may I add my congratulations and best wishes. The best book will be his autobiography, if he ever takes time to write it.

I'm sure that some of you, like me, are so addicted to ERB that you went to the most recent Tarzan film. I believe that I have seen most

of them, beginning with Johnny Weissmuller and Maureen O'Sullivan. But I must admit that I never thought that I would see the story reduced to the level of an inferior Harlequin romance. Did you catch the line, "If only the girls at school could see me now," to say nothing of "I've never touched a man before" as Jane mauled him while he was lying unconscious on the sand? And I'm glad that all that white paint had an obvious function in pointing up the final action of the film. Oh well, much of the photography was excellent, and in that it well captured Sri Lanka, it reminded me of Arthur C. Clarke.

To be fashionable/"relevant" in 1981, one can certainly argue that the story is basically Jane's, but to reduce her to a heavy-breathing, junior-high-school-type pre-adolescent does seem absurd on a number of counts. Ironically, perhaps, this treatment does parallel a major theme which Burroughs developed through subsequent novels: the rejection of Western, industrialized civilization and its effete personalities in favor of a magnificent (if only imagined) barbarism and—from this approach—its strong masculine figure. This primitivism rebels against the codification of manners in Anglo-American society. Nevertheless, let's hope that no movie maker discovers Thuvia, Maid of Mars.

I learned during the summer that Gregory Benford's *Timescape* won the John W. Campbell Award as well as the Nebula. (Gene Wolfe's *The Shadow of the Torturer* finished third, and is, as I recall, one of the novels nominated for the World Fantasy Award.) I was most interested in Douglas Barbour's remarks about *Timescape* published in the Toronto newspaper the weekend of August 23–24: "Unlike much that is called science fiction, Gregory Benford's Timescape is truly about the life of science as it is lived by scientists. As Brian Aldiss says, 'not since C. P. Snow's The New Men, many years ago, have we been treated to such a truthful account of scientists at work.' " This is an intriguing judgment, and it brings to mind a number of debates that the original Campbell committee had when Leon Stover was secretary in the early 1970s. Indeed, among others, the debate involved both Jim Gunn's *The Listeners* and Robert Silverberg's *Dying Inside.* This is not the place to go into another matter of definition, but for some strange reason I have never considered "the life of science as it is lived by scientists" science fiction. I suppose the issue turns upon whether or not C. P. Snow's novels —and Sinclair Lewis's *Arrowsmith* —are science fiction. I remind you that long ago in *Extrapolation* several articles explored the difference between science fiction and science in fiction.

Perhaps that debate needs to be taken up again, especially when I read in the first issue of *Intertwine: A Journal of Science Fiction Criticism* (June 1981) that at Norwescon

(*continued on page 378*)

Comics as Literature: Plot Structure, Foreshadowing, and Irony in the Marvel Comics' *Avengers* "Cosmic Epic"

DONALD PALUMBO

■ The publications of the Marvel Comics Group warrant serious consideration as a legitimate narrative enterprise that is frequently both literate and technically and philosophically sophisticated. Marvel's output now consists almost exclusively of illustrated science fiction / fantasy narratives that can be analyzed as such. And, as in science fiction generally, frequently the most elaborate and interesting element in Marvel Comics stories—which sometimes develop over the space of a dozen or more issues and are often surprisingly complex—is plot. A particularly daring and artistically structured plot—which concerns time travel, teleportation, telepathy, transfiguration, extraterrestrial heroes and villains, and the threat of cosmic warfare—occurs in a relatively recent, ten-issue *Avengers* story-line, which its creators (chief among whom is Jim Shooter) refer to as their "Cosmic Epic." Within the confines of the story's beautifully orchestrated, skillfully balanced plot structure, one brief but dynamic scene in the second episode foreshadows both the two classic plot twists in the ninth and tenth episode climaxes and all three elements of the tenth episode resolution. Moreover, the story also contains numerous crucial ironies as well as resonant subplots, impressively articulated character development, and an intriguing use of metaphor, allusion, and graphic symbolism.

As Thor, Norse God of Thunder and sometimes Avenger, puzzles over the idea that "some mysterious force" may have thrice transported him through space and time so that he could offer needed aid to the other Avengers in their difficult encounters with their three most recent foes, a team of six superheroes from the thirty-first century, the Guardians of the

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Galaxy, appear in our present. Loosely allying themselves with the Avengers, who have investigated their arrival, the Guardians explain that their mission in our time is to protect the life of Vance Astro—a native of the twentieth century and now a youth, who will endure a thousand years of suspended animation finally to found and lead the Guardians ten centuries hence. The Guardians fear that an enemy they and Thor had defeated in their own era, Korvac, who is half man and half computer, has escaped to our century with the intention of altering the circumstances of his defeat by assassinating Astro before he can become an adult—thus insuring his own uncontested mastery of the thirty-first century by preventing the Guardians from ever having come into existence. The Guardians plan to locate and capture Korvac before he can harm young Astro, whom they intend also secretly to watch over. Meanwhile, in the midst of a skirmish a few other Avengers have with an easily subdued villain, and thus unnoticed, a silent, intense man enraptures with a glance a beautiful young woman, Carina, and literally disappears with her.[1]

Unexpectedly, as Thor had in the recent past, yet another of the Avengers also literally disappears. And concurrently, the most mysterious of the Guardians, Starhawk—whose power is cosmic awareness (he is "one who knows") and who is a dual personality, sharing his spiritual and physical existence with a woman, Aleta—perceives here in the twentieth century an awesome menace that makes his "original urgent mission in this backward time [the search for Korvac] seem almost insignificant now." Starhawk / Aleta confronts this menace—the silent man whose look had seduced Carina, who calls himself "Michael," and who introduces himself as "the hope of the universe"—in a quiet suburban home. There Michael transforms himself into "the gleaming, god-like presence of the Enemy" and thoroughly defeats Starhawk before the Guardian can even warn anyone of his existence. During their battle Starhawk notes, "Your strength is divided, evil one—for you must shield your woman [Carina] from the flailing psychic savagery of our conflict!" But the Enemy reduces Starhawk to dust, boasting: "Even divided my power is supreme. . . . You are two who are one, and in this you find strength. . . . At the core of your being I will strike down your love, your life . . . your strength! . . . I never feared your power—but in the oneness of your love . . . in the union of your souls lay strength to shake the heavens." Then, to forestall any repercussions and thus to insure his existence will yet remain a secret, the Enemy reconstructs Starhawk, as he tells him, "molecule by molecule . . . exactly as you were—but henceforth, you will not remember this incident, nor the fact of my existence . . . and never again shall your senses perceive me! Go now—aid your friends in their petty 'mission' in this era—reassure them that it is imperative."[2]

In this and subsequent issues Starhawk does mislead the other

Guardians into continuing the apparent red herring of their vigil over young Astro (assuring them that in this way they will encounter Korvac). Avengers continue to disappear and Ms. Marvel—sensing that they are "headed into great danger"—offers to assist the remaining Avengers, who are trying to discover what has become of their vanished comrades. As the story continues, it becomes obvious that Carina too, like the Enemy Michael, now her lover, is more than what she had seemed. While the Enemy (who has all this time been subtly altering "the fabric of the cosmos" to prepare it for his "proprietorship") assures himself that his existence is still unsuspected by the great entities of the universe, Carina begins to establish mental contact with some distant being . . . but stops, prevented by her growing love for Michael from betraying him. Meanwhile, all but four of the remaining Avengers disappear. Those who are left succeed in tracing their missing partners, however, and follow the trail to a transdimensional space station maintained by a being called the Collector, who welcomes them with the words, "You, my hapless friends, have just completed my collection!"[3]

But these last Avengers manage to defeat the Collector and free their captured comrades. The Collector, who notes, "I sense that my hour is at hand," then explains that he is one of the Elders of the universe, is cursed with the gift of prophecy, and had long foreseen that a dangerous power threatening universal destruction would eventually arise. He had for eons been collecting a sampling of the creatures of the universe to preserve them when, while kidnapping the Avengers as his last acquisitions, he finally "chose to interfere." Meanwhile, Carina confesses to the Enemy, who had sensed her attempted treachery but found in her heart only love, that she had taken human shape "in the image of his desire" to spy on him for her father—who had feared that, in his rash attempt to achieve universal sovereignty, the Enemy could cause a war between himself and the great powers of the cosmos that would obliterate all reality. Carina finally admits that her father is the Collector, just as the Collector acknowledges to the Avengers that he had commissioned his daughter to learn the Enemy's exact plans and to find in him some weakness. As Carina tearfully watches, the Enemy acts on her confession and disintegrates from afar her father—just as he is about to reveal to the Avengers the Enemy's true identity, by which, the Collector claims, he is already known to them.[4]

Through an investigation of what remains of the space station, the Avengers discover that the Collector had also been the "mysterious force" that had earlier transported Thor through time and space, so that Thor could assist in battles and thus help assure that the "complete set" would be intact for the Collector's acquisition. The Avengers then return to Earth and begin to seek out the Enemy. Meanwhile, in an attempt to create between them a bond of oneness like that he had witnessed, destroyed, and

recreated in defeating Starhawk / Aleta, the Enemy merges his being with Carina's during coitus. Carina's history is revealed to the Enemy, and his to her, in the elaborate, dual flashback that ensues. The Enemy experiences Carina's memory of having been sent to spy on him and of the resulting "emotions she never sought . . . emotions that caused her to waver when she should have betrayed her lover . . . and eventually caused her to betray her own father instead." Simultaneously, Carina discovers that Michael, the Enemy, had begun life as Korvac, a human who "had been turned into a living computer." She learns that on escaping to the twentieth century after his defeat at the hands of the Guardians, he had stumbled upon the star-sized command base of the supremely powerful being, Galactus. Seeking some means of revenge, Korvac, the machine-man, had plugged himself into Galactus' mammoth computers "only to find that knowledge is, indeed, power—and that he had underestimated the impact of absorbing knowledge as boundless as infinity! . . . He had begun to change . . . until at last he was neither man nor machine, but had become —a God!" He gave himself human form again and concluded, his evil having been obliterated with the influx of knowledge and reversion to manhood: "As a new-made god, his position was unique. As long as he concealed his presence from other near omnipotent beings he would be free to make subtle alterations in the fabric of reality, eventually taking control—and correcting the chaos, healing the injustice." After this merging, the Enemy informs Carina that, in seeking him, the Avengers have sought the help of Starhawk, "unaware that his senses can no longer perceive me! If they listen to him, they'll never find me!"[5]

Ironically, the unknowingly reconstructed Starhawk asserts, when the Avengers tell him of the Enemy, "I still believe the true enemy is Korvac." But he reluctantly agrees to help with the search. Later, however, the Avengers are surprised that Starhawk has found "nothing," while several of them, each "with lesser psychic abilities, at least came up with bits and pieces" of clues, which they feed into their computer hoping to isolate a "common denominator." But the Enemy again remembers his battle with Starhawk and again assures Carina, "Starhawk can no longer, in any manner, perceive me! And as long as the others listen to him, there should be no danger." However, the Avenger's computers triangulate, without Starhawk's assistance, the point of origin of all the subtle cosmic disturbances the others had noticed; and, while dubious, the Avengers go with Starhawk to the Enemy's Forest Hills Gardens home to investigate. None notice "the puzzlement in Starhawk's eyes, however," as the Enemy allows them to search his house. As the Enemy has now completely camouflaged his true nature, the results of the search are negative; and the Avengers, in consternation, are about to depart when Starhawk screams out, "Enough! I don't know what your game is, but no one makes a fool of Starhawk! For

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minutes you've been talking, probing, pretending to receive responses! But from whom? There's nobody there!" And the Avengers realize that they have found the one they seek—"the only being powerful enough" to have so fully deceived their most perceptive ally.[6]

Saddened, the Enemy laments, "I was going to be—your savior! . . . But you, with your stubborn determination to 'save' what you don't even comprehend, have discovered me—a revelation that, I know, will not go unnoticed! . . . As the Collector predicted, the other deities will soon rally against me—and though I realize that I can no longer save the future—I can save myself. So let the war begin here! Now! And know you, Avengers, that you've brought this upon yourselves!" In the extremely one-sided battle that follows this pronouncement, the Enemy, who remarks, "I do this only for my beloved Carina's sake," kills nearly all the Avengers, the Guardians, and their allies. But in the midst of the slaughter, a psychically gifted "goddess" and erstwhile Avenger, Moondragon, "stands transfixed, her eyes suddenly widening with horror" and cries, "I alone understand! I alone! Yet . . . there is nothing to be done! The hope is gone . . . dead."[7]

Relatively early in the melee, the Avengers hit on the tactic of fighting the invincible Enemy through capturing Carina, noting that "she is Michael's weak point." The Enemy is stunned that Carina makes no move to protect herself from capture, although he has endowed her with godlike powers in addition to those natural to her as an Elder. One of the Avengers even muses, "Strange . . . she's not even trying to break away! She seems terrified—but not of me! It's as if something inside was eating away at her!" Outraged, the Enemy himself saves Carina from capture and explains to

the falling Avengers as the battle rages: "Know this, as humble as you are, I would rather enter into death myself than slay you—were it not for Carina and what I have found with her! . . . How can I explain to you the essence of happiness? The meaning of love on a cosmic scale? Of all of you, only Starhawk could begin to understand—for it was from him and his beloved Aleta that I learned about the oneness two can possess! It is for Carina—for our love I fight! . . . Our love must go on at any cost!" At the conclusion of the battle, however, a very few surviving Avengers rally and take the Enemy offguard with a last, suicidal attack: "In his moment of trial and pain, Michael casts his gaze towards Carina, his beloved. . . . Her father sent her to Michael's side, that she might betray him—but when the moment came, she was torn, for she had grown to love Michael. And so, she hesitated—and in that moment caused the end of her father's life! Now Michael reaches out to her . . . for love . . . for respite . . . for strength to go on. And though she loves him beyond all earthly ken, the panorama of bloodshed before her and the dark prospect of cosmic war ahead have wrought turmoil in her soul. She is torn . . . and she hesitates —and in that moment ends the life of her beloved," the Enemy, who realizes that the "oneness" he had thought he shared with her is an illusion, that he has nothing after all that is worth preserving through the vehicle of that cataclysmic war he had been prepared to wage only in the name of their love.[8]

The last remaining Avengers decide, "It was not within our power to slay such a being! . . . Yet, he abandoned life . . . as if he suddenly had lost his reason to live!" They are about to guess that Carina is somehow responsible for Michael's suicide when she vehemently denies the as yet unspoken accusation and begins to obliterate them—in her anguish, guilt, and fury—with the same power the Enemy had wielded. When only Thor and Moondragon remain, Carina too commits suicide; and as she falls she reaches towards the Enemy but, in death, fails to touch his hand by only inches—graphically symbolizing the failure of the "oneness" of their love that alone had precipitated both their deaths. Finally, Moondragon explains to a puzzled Thor: "She wished only to die! I observed all! In the heat of battle I dared to walk the planes of Michael's mind! . . . He was not evil, Thor! He sought not to rule us . . . nor even to interfere with our madness! He wished only to free us from the capricious whims of eternity! . . . When Carina doubted him, and his heart was broken, he reached out with his last strength to these who lay dying and restored them . . . even those who had passed beyond what mortals believe to be death! There was no longer need for us to die!" Then Moondragon commands both Thor and the still unconscious but restored Avengers and Guardians to forget the details of this tragic mistake and to remember only that they had gained a

great triumph; and, the only one to know the burdensome truth, she departs.[9]

Even this partial plot outline leaves some of the more subtle intricacies of the plot's structure and the use of foreshadowing and irony less than obviously apparent. Actually, the three threads of the main plot—the riddle of Thor's previous appearances and the subsequent disappearances of the other Avengers, the Guardians' search for Korvac, and the fact of the Enemy's existence and nature of his relationship to Carina—are all introduced in episode one, which is merely an elaborate dramatic exposition. All three plot threads are finally woven together in episode eight—when the Avengers discover that Thor too had previously been manipulated by the Collector, when it is revealed to Carina that Korvac is the Enemy, and when Starhawk is enlisted in the Avengers' effort to track him down. And while these plot threads are each developed further in episode two—with the disappearance of the first Avenger and the Enemy's crucial battle with Starhawk—it is the Enemy / Starhawk conflict that completely in itself prepares through foreshadowing for both major climaxes (the Enemy's detection and self-destruction) which occur in episodes nine and ten, and for the startling, three-tiered denouement. Clearly, the seeds of his own detection are ironically sown when the Enemy, to protect his anonymity, reconstructs Starhawk with the alteration that Starhawk cannot perceive him, a detail of which we are specifically reminded twice more before the Enemy is identified precisely because Starhawk cannot perceive him. While this classic plot twist, resulting in the first climax, is especially satisfying due to its irony and artful simplicity, many of the accumulating elements of foreshadowing that conspire to prepare for the more problematical and even more ironic second climax are surprisingly complex and subtle.

Basically, the Enemy again engineers his own downfall in trying to create between himself and Carina, and in placing so much importance on, that "oneness" he had "learned" from Starhawk / Aleta, only to discover that it does not truly exist for him. During their battle, Starhawk had been unknowingly prophetic in having told the Enemy that his "strength is divided" by his concern for Carina (just as the Avengers had later been ignorantly accurate in having guessed that "she is Michael's weak point"). And the Enemy had been similarly and ironically prophetic in acknowledging to Starhawk / Aleta that "in the oneness of your love . . . in the union of your souls lay strength to shake the heavens," as it is actually the strength of the mere idea of this oneness, not the strength of its reality, which he successfully circumvents, that destroys him. The concept of Carina as loving betrayer is first introduced at the moment we learn she is more than what she seems, when she fails to contact her father after she has spied on the Enemy; in fact, her ambivalence here is a double treachery, as she first

betrays her lover in attempting to contact her father and then betrays her father in not being able to follow through in her initial intention.

This ambivalence, hesitancy due to divided loyalties, is Carina's fatal flaw. It is her final hesitation to fight in Michael's defense, because she doubts that their love is worth the waging of a cosmic war, that reveals to the Enemy that she is not truly at one with him. And just as the lacuna in Starhawk's perceptions is twice more alluded to after it is established, but prior to its emergence as the crucial plot device, so too is Carina's characteristic of fatal hesitation due to ambivalence reinforced, echoed, and then twice more specifically recalled before it too becomes the second major catalyst in this cunningly engineered plot. She mutely observes the Enemy destroy her father without warning him, a second hesitation that connects the already revealed trait of ambivalence to the effect of fatality. And the reader is twice reminded of both the first and second failures to act—once during the Enemy's and Carina's merging and again (at the moment of her fourth and final failure to act) during the remaining Avengers' last suicidal assault. The echo of Carina's fatal flaw occurs earlier in the battle when she does not defend herself from capture (her third failure to act), which is also a hesitation due to ambivalence and which immediately precedes and, in fact, prompts the Enemy's explanation that only the oneness of his love makes this and the prospect of future carnage and death worthwhile.

Finally, all the aspects of the denouement—which, like the second climax, is not the deus ex machina (excuse the pun) it at first appears to be—are also foreshadowed in the initial Starhawk / Enemy encounter. That the Enemy was not evil after all but was, indeed, "the hope of the universe" is suggested when Michael first introduces himself as such to Starhawk / Aleta as well as when he later repeatedly claims to want only peace, when Carina discovers that his metamorphosis had transformed his evil into an altruistic desire to heal the cosmos, and when he sadly announces to the Avengers that he had meant to be their "savior." (That Moondragon had discovered this truth is foreshadowed in her then unexplained tears and horror at the beginning of the battle.) That nearly all the Avengers should be killed is foretold in Starhawk's initial pulverization as well as in Ms. Marvel's precognition that they are "headed into great danger . . . a grisly battle under death's own shadow!" That the Avengers and Guardians would be resurrected from death by the Enemy is prepared for by the Enemy's initial resurrection of Starhawk as well as by an earlier statement that he "holds no enmity towards the Avengers, and it would be a pity indeed to destroy them."[10] And the Enemy's act of erasing any memory of their encounter from Starhawk's mind finds its concluding echo in Moondragon's erasing the memory of the circumstances behind their "victory" from the minds of the Guardians and Avengers.

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This simplified analysis shows that comics can be used to demonstrate the concepts of plot structure, climax and resolution, and the distinction between plot and story, as well as providing an example of the use of foreshadowing. These issues of *The Avengers* also use subplots to echo and foreshadow elements of the main plot. In this story-line, as in Marvel Comics in general, there are two types of subplots: those that take a great deal of time to resolve and progress more slowly than the main plot, and those that are wrapped up in one or two issues. While the former of these is an artistic elaboration that primarily contributes to a title's ongoing continuity, the latter is a structural necessity if a main plot is going to occupy ten issues or so before arriving at its climax, for some sort of climax is necessary in almost every issue of a series title to sustain it month from month. Many of those subplots that transcend the limits of this story involve character development and conflicts. For example, since he had recently rejoined the Avengers fifteen issues prior to the beginning of this story-line, Wonder-Man, who had long since been slain and then mysteriously raised from the dead by voodoo, has had a morbid fear of dying again and has habitually doubted his courage in the face of danger. Fear of death and cowardice plague him throughout this plot, and he only finally resolves these fears, just to be killed and resurrected again, in acting courageously during the final battle with the Enemy.[11]

Throughout this story a conflict simmers between Iron Man, the present Avengers' chairperson, and Captain America, former chairperson, who feels that Iron Man is careless, indecisive, and takes his responsibilities too lightly. The ill will results early in the story in a violent confrontation between the two, both of whom (like Wonder-Man) are oppressed by self-doubt. Meanwhile, another conflict has long been brewing between Quicksilver, a mutant member of the Avengers, and the Vision, an android member who has married Quicksilver's sister, the Scarlet Witch, another

mutant. Quicksilver is prejudiced (somewhat ironically) against the Vision because the latter is not human, a technicality that is a sore point with the android. Finally, the Avengers run afoul of Peter Gyrich, agent of the National Security Council in charge of Avengers' special privileges; Gyrich concludes that the Avengers are a security risk and hampers their activites by revoking their security clearances and other prerogatives. As one result among others, the Avengers rather absurdly arrive at their suburban confrontation with the Enemy via a commandeered MTA bus. All this self-doubt, dissension, and harassment, of course, serves to establish the tone of impending disaster that suffuses these episodes and that culminates in the Avengers being the unwitting vehicles of their potential savior's death.[12]

Also in the midst of the Enemy story-line, one intermittently reappearing plot (as well as two transitory subplots) is resolved and yet another main plot is begun. For quite some time the Avengers have been trying to contain the menace of Ultron, a renegade super-robot one of them had once constructed. (This time it is the Avengers who engineer their own difficulties.) In one issue, Ultron summons to him his robot bride, Jocasta, who had been inactive and in the possession of the Avengers, who follow her into an ambush sprung in a Catholic convent. However, it is Ultron who is finally demolished, in part by Jocasta's divided loyalties and consequent betrayal. Of course, this is but a prefiguration of the Enemy's relationship with Carina that has been worked into the subplot (just as Wonder-Man's pathological fear of death for twenty-five issues likewise foreshadows the coming slaughter). After he has seemingly defeated the Avengers, Ultron is told by Jocasta, "Though I desire with all my being to be one with you . . . I would first slay us both! I love you . . . and yet I know what you are! I

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must end your evil despite my desires!" In fact, the entire war Ultron wages here with the Avengers is an early echo of the climatic Enemy / Avengers conflict, not only in that Ultron too is apparently invincible, even in the face of a similar combined assault, and is only destroyed after his "bride" betrays him, but also in that the Avengers must first find him before they can fight him and that, in this battle too, Wonder-Man similarly (but temporarily) manages to overcome his fear and to act. Finally, a future story-line is foreshadowed by a brief vignette of a "silent old man who sits . . . meticulously carving a wooden image . . . an old man whose hidden eyes reflect the turbulence of gathering clouds—and give promise of a tempest soon to erupt"—just as the three mysterious and unexplained appearances of Thor that had preceded it had heralded the beginning of the Enemy story-line.[13]

Particularly striking is this brief vignette's use of metaphor to announce that its purpose is to foreshadow future difficulties for the Avengers. The Enemy later employs another apt metaphor to good effect in explaining to the Avengers one result of their having discovered him. He notes: "Eternity himself, the cosmic entity whose body is the very universe, has now detected me. Like a virus, to which a human body may eventually succumb, I was a mote unknown to eternity to which he might fall. Now he will resist." Earlier in the story, Iron Man, who has a gift for metaphor, "speaks words as cold and hard as the glittering armor he wears" in explaining that the vanishing Avengers are "popping out like soap bubbles . . . disappearing faster than snowballs on a Miami sidewalk." And later, after the Collector (whom he terms a "Galactic Noah") has been disintegrated, Iron Man notes that the Avengers are "fleas compared to a being—who can kill a god!"[14]

And there is at least one other revealing use of graphic symbolism in these issues—aside from the dying Carina's final failure to grasp the already dead Michael's outstretched hand. Psychologically, the seeds of the means of Michael / Korvac / the Enemy's self-destruction were sown long before he had ever met Carina, decades before, when he had been initially transformed into a machine-man, half human and half computer; for it was his lower half that had been the computer consol, cruelly depriving Korvac of his sexuality—"a circumstance that had twisted his mind, and filled his heart with a lust for power." Thus it was only to be expected that, when he had willfully regained a human form after becoming a god as a result of "plugging his tri-pronged electronic probe" into Galactus' computer output terminal, he would seek to take "as one of his comforts" a woman, Carina, and would place such overwhelming and tragic importance on their love and its "oneness." While the fact that Korvac absorbs his godhood through his "tri-pronged electronic probe," itself an obvious

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phallic substitute, probably could stand considerable looking into, it is more to the point to note the thrusting phallic symbol that obtrudes from Galactus' space station in the panel that depicts Korvac attaining again a human form. The huge metal phallus here boldly represents the human genitalia that are coyly obscured by the vapors accompanying the transformation—and subliminally suggest to the reader just what Korvac is regaining in regaining his manhood. Significantly, this entire flashback occurs during the occasion of Michael's and Carina's "merging totally for the first time."[15]

Of course, it is ironic that Korvac's triumph—in having attained at once both his new, godlike powers and the humanity of which he had been deprived—should thus be the circumstance that ultimately precipitates his self-inflicted defeat; but this plot abounds with ironies both trivial and pivotal. Numerous tangential, even playful ironies embellish the more significant ones. For example, the first of the Avengers to disappear, an unwilling refugee in our time from the nineteenth century, laments, "I don't have much choice but to stick arou—" at the instant he vanishes; and through his encounter with the Collector he is finally and gratefully returned to his own era. Similarly, the second Avenger to be snatched, Quicksilver, is telling a wife (who worries that his remaining with her "confines your spirit") that "you know I would never le—" the moment he too disappears.[16]

And these episodes contain much comic relief that depends on ironic juxtaposition for its effect. Not only is it ironic that the mighty Avengers must arrive at the Enemy's stronghold via a hijacked city bus, but that their most powerful foe, a threat to the continued existence of reality, actually resides in the suburbs and sports a wardrobe that seems to consist exclusively of tee-shirts and jogging shorts is also absurdly incongruous. When the commuters are thrown off the bus, one threatens to complain to Ann Landers; and on observing the Avengers' arrival, the lawn-tending suburbanites of Forest Hills Gardens fear that this portends imminent property damage, just when the mortgage has almost been paid off—until one of them hypothesizes that "they're probably just here to open a 7-Eleven or something." An even more gratuitous instance of comic relief involves Mack and Meyer, two furniture movers who—a cross between Laurel and Hardy, Norton and Cramden—deliver the crated and as yet deactivated Jocasta to Avengers' mansion. Mack fears the motionless robot, while nonchalant Meyer—who is unimpressed because he "moved Neil Sedaka's pianer once, y'know," feels that "yer Avengers are people just da same as us, 'cept for youse dat's gods an' androids an' what have ya," and, moreover, figures that "[ya] seen one [tin lady], ya seen 'em all"—accuses him of being "scared of the stachoos in the park, too" and advises

him to "stifle yerself an' push." Of course, their reactions are much more identical when Jocasta awakens and bursts from her crate.[17]

The various subplots also contain their ironies; for instance, the incident that first provokes Captain America's feud with Iron Man: the Avengers are summoned to rescue a space station that is threatened by the sudden appearance in its orbit of the Guardians' huge space-timecraft, but they must wait on Earth until a tardy Iron Man arrives to lead them. Iron Man is late, however, because he was already on board the space station in the guise of his alter ego, Tony Stark, when the crisis materialized, and he can thus offer no justification for his seeming dereliction of duty without jeopardizing the secret of his civilian identity. That Wonder-Man should finally resolve his fear of death only to be immediately slain once more and again resurrected is also ironic. Other subsidiary ironies include the fact that the Enemy, who gained his godhood from Galactus' computers, is finally located by the Avengers' computers, and the fact that the Guardians actually do save young Astro from death (being accidently crushed by a runaway freight truck) during their misguided vigil to protect him, although he never is threatened by Korvac.[18]

It is an attendant irony that Starhawk should dissuade the Guardians from searching for Korvac although he will later reluctantly be drawn into the Avengers' hunt for the Enemy, who is only the same old villain in a different metamorphosis and whom Starhawk should have been seeking all along. It is doubly ironic that the reconstructed Starhawk should later, although he knows not the literal truth (nor the ultimate falsehood) of his words, assert both that "the only enemy is Korvac" and that "the true enemy is Korvac." With similar irony both Starhawk and, much later, the Avengers guess, in ignorance of the full truth of their surmise, that the Enemy's weakness is Carina.[19]

And it is an ironic echo of his first having defeated Starhawk through having crushed Aleta that the Enemy is defeated through Carina. It is a further irony that Carina should only finally use her powers to avenge her lover's death, when it is too late, as the Enemy had abandoned life precisely as a result of her having twice previously refrained from using them to save either herself or him. And, in reference to having earlier caused her father's death through her inaction, Carina tells the Enemy she would "do it again,"[20] little guessing how ironically prophetic her words would be. It is a related irony that the Collector does not discover a weakness in the Enemy, as he had hoped to do, by sending his daughter to spy on him—but had instead inadvertently planted there the Enemy's fatal weakness and his own as well in the person of Carina. And in making the Avengers aware of the Enemy's existence through having bungled his attempt to acquire them, the Collector very nearly precipitates the very "cosmic war" (which the Enemy

is ironically prepared to wage in the name of "love") that he so fears—and from which he had been trying to preserve them in the first place.

Of course, the monumental plot irony here is that the Enemy, through the initial victory of defeating Starhawk, only doubly ensures his own downfall: once, as he is detected because Starhawk cannot perceive him, a precaution he had taken specifically to avoid discovery, and again, as he dies the victim of the failure of his tragically misconstrued love. However, the overshadowing irony of this daring plot is that the Enemy is not a villain at all—and in having set in motion and furthered the events that ultimately result in his self-destruction, all the other characters unknowingly precipitate the doom of their potential "savior."

Notes

1. *Avengers*, 167 (1978), 6, 22, 30–31.
2. *Avengers*, 168 (1978), 15–16, 22–23, 26, 30.
3. *Avengers*, 171 (1978), 7, 10; *Avengers*, 173 (1978), 10, 28–29.
4. *Avengers*, 174 (1978), 23, 27–28.
5. *Avengers*, 175 (1978), 14–17, 31.
6. *Avengers*, 176 (1978), 2, 14, 23, 26–27.
7. *Avengers*, 176 (1978), 30–31; *Avengers*, 177 (1978), 6, 21.
8. *Avengers*, 177 (1978), 10, 14, 21–22.
9. *Avengers*, 177 (1978), 22, 27.
10. *Avengers*, 175 (1978), 31.
11. Wonder-Man expresses his fears in *Avengers*, 167 (1978), 7; *Avengers*, 171 (1978), 11, 16–17; *Avengers*, 172 (1978). He conquers them in *Avengers*, 177 (1978), 19.
12. Iron Man and Captain America spar in *Avengers*, 167 (1978), 7, 14; *Avengers*, 168 (1978), 2–3, 10–11; and *Avengers*, 170 (1978), 1–6, where Captain America expresses his self-doubts. Iron Man voices his own self-doubts in *Avengers*, 175 (1978). The Vision and Quicksilver exchange hard words in *Avengers*, 175 (1978), 22–23; and *Avengers*, 175 (1978), 3. The Avengers first encounter Gyrich in *Avengers*, 168 (1978), 7–10; their privileges are revoked in *Avengers*, 172 (1978), 7.
13. *Avengers*, 167 (1978); *Avengers*, 170–71 (1978); *Avengers*, 171 (1978), 30; *Avengers*, 172 (1978); *Avengers*, 173 (1978), 20.
14. *Avengers*, 177 (1978), 2; *Avengers*, 173 (1978), 1, 4; *Avengers*, 174 (1978), 27, 29.
15. *Avengers*, 175 (1978), 15, 16, 17.
16. *Avengers*, 168 (1978), 14; *Avengers*, 170 (1978), 10.
17. *Avengers*, 176 (1978), 17, 22; *Avengers*, 170 (1978), 10–11.
18. *Avengers*, 167 (1978); *Avengers*, 170 (1978), 14.
19. *Avengers*, 170 (1978), 15; *Avengers*, 175 (1978), 31; *Avengers*, 176 (1978), 2.
20. *Avengers*, 175 (1978), 11.

Science Fiction: The Urgency of Style

RICHARD LAW

■ An extraordinary novel by one of today's most distinguished writers begins like this: "I'll make my report as if I told a story, for I was taught as a child on my homeworld that Truth is a matter of the Imagination. The soundest fact may fail or prevail in the style of its telling."[1] This initial emphasis on the efficacy of style is certainly germane to *The Left Hand of Darkness* since the novel addresses questions of human communication and compatibility. Of course, every novel or story by Ursula Le Guin reconfirms her dedication to style. And to be recognized as a master stylist in science fiction is more noteworthy now, I believe, than twenty or thirty years ago. This is by reason of the flourishing state of the art and the number of science fiction writers today who are acutely sensitive to the beauty of the word.

Obviously, writers have always been concerned with style, with how they get their stories into words. So the ascendance of style today, the many authors who are accomplished wordsmiths, does *not* mean that vintage science fiction writers were indifferent to style. Nor does it mean that basic elements of fiction, such as action, adventure, romance, or technological concepts and devices no longer obtain. In fact, plots, situations, character types, and themes or motifs are archetypal in science fiction just as they are in mainstream literature. Archetypal elements are permanent, timeless. Variations are played on them, and they are camouflaged in many ways. But the basic questions forever animate science fiction and all other imaginative writing: What happens in this imitation? To whom? When?

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Where? How and Why? Style or verbal artistry does not supersede action or character or setting. Style is inseparable from form or substance (although for critical analysis the organic nature of a piece of literature often is deferred while particular parts or elements are scrutinized). Style enhances the imitation because it affects the reader as a story or novel flows into his or her mind.

Style is vital because it stirs our sensibility. A writer's style arouses or expands our capacity for sensation, for feeling the imaginary or vicarious experience that a piece of fiction presents. Style makes the game of make-believe between writer and reader more vivid, graphic, sensuous, lively, and consequently more engaging. I do not mean to separate feelings and imagination from thoughts and intellect, although it is true that fictional discourse flows indirectly into the mind. That is, it energizes the imagination instead of arguing or appealing straight to the reader's judgment. Who would dispute Robert Scholes's statement that the ideal story affords "the greatest pleasure that fiction provides: sublimation and cognition"?[2] Surely, if a science fiction piece is rich in ideas and also has latent emotional or affective power, it will work right if the writer's style fuses and releases the thought and feeling. Many years ago, T. S. Eliot put it like this, defining the verbal mastery of early seventeenth-century English dramatic poets: they had "a direct sensuous apprehension of thought, a recreation of thought into feeling."[3] In science fiction, too, it is style that concentrates thought and feeling so that we receive "a direct sensuous apprehension of thought."

Perhaps this topic should be called "the urgency of stylistic analysis." Obviously, style is inevitable—whether fair or poor. But my thesis, or the main tenet in it, is this: that because of the consummate artistry of many science fiction writers, we owe it to them to attend to their style, and for us the reward will be to intensify our aesthetic pleasure. So, out of consideration for good writers and also in order to pursue the reading-pleasure principle, we ought to concentrate on stylistic analysis. And we who teach should instill a similar concern in our students. Judging by students in my science fiction classes, the popular conception of the genre is fostered by movies and television and random memories of children's adventure and fantasy books. Most students are pleasantly surprised to find that science fiction is literary and artful; in fact, they are delighted to learn that quality science fiction is every bit as mature and sophisticated as excellent mainstream writing. (To me this is more important than the fact that science fiction is more relevant than most other genres.) It is stylistic analysis, primarily, that induces the students' cultivation of reading taste and critical judgment. And in the long run, better readers will enlarge the special audience that science fiction writers rely upon.

From the standpoint of literary criticism, there is another important—if not urgent—reason for sharpening our own internal analyses. I am with all

those readers who acknowledge the accuracy of this impression, which is put most unequivocally by Joanna Russ: science fiction is "explicitly, deliberately, and baldly *didactic*."[4] Truly, science fiction does instruct or inform us about ourselves and the world. It tells us something new, or it presents old truths in forms that make them seem new or original. Who would doubt that a patently didactic form of literature had better be written in fine style? For a handy analogy, think for a minute of some teacher or lecturer who once taught you and was fascinating, even captivating. Now think of another teacher who was tedious or wearisome. Both of them could be eminent scholars, and both could have communicated valuable notes. What was the difference between the bewitching teacher and the boring one? Style comes to mind, does it not? I give you this syllogism: discourse of whatever kind which is homiletic or didactic needs persuasive or pleasing style to succeed. Science fiction characteristically is didactic and, therefore, needs a pleasing style. Here is Alexander Pope on the need to harmonize substance and style:

> Men must be taught as if you taught them not,
> And things unknown proposed as things forgot.
> Without Good Breeding, truth is disapproved;
> That only makes superior sense beloved.[5]

This neoclassical passage surely recalls the judgment made by the narrator of *The Left Hand of Darkness*: "The soundest fact may fail or prevail in the style of its telling."

And yet it should not appear that the didactic mode, being especially dependent on superior style, therefore handicaps science fiction. The didactic is not defective; categorically, it is not an inferior mode. And also, although science fiction overtly and unabashedly registers reactions to technology, science, the social sciences, and human behavior and values, the didactic mode nonetheless is not peculiar to it. One needs only to recall Greek drama for evidence. You may remember the chorus, as well as the tragic hero and the oracles and prophets, repeatedly admonishing people or declaring the significance of things. What about Shakespeare and other Elizabethan playwrights with their soliloquies and sententious passages? And great novelists like Fielding or Dickens or Hawthorne or Faulkner? All are critics or reformers to some degree. They reflect moral judgments of human conduct and react to major issues of their times. Let us agree then that science fiction writers certainly are not at fault in addressing themselves to social questions or technological problems and consequences. What matters to the sensitive and discriminating reader or critic is how eloquently or subtly or adroitly writers convey their impressions or comments. Again, the preeminent factor inducing our critical reaction is style—the way the science fiction writer articulates his or her vision. Whether we

like or dislike a writer's evident thesis or the subject matter in the story or novel, we still appreciate the work if it is written well. All other considerations notwithstanding, the writer's complex of words and phrases, his or her verbal expression, furnishes reading pleasure if it gives clarity and eloquence to the imitation. And besides furnishing aesthetic enjoyment, style serves the crucial strategic function of influencing our impression, even our interpretation, of the story or novel. We assimilate a text largely according to how its style of expression affects us. It is not much of an exaggeration to judge that what is presented in a narrative is no more important during the reading experience than how it is presented.

Admittedly, there is no supreme method of stylistic analysis—any more than there is a single correct interpretation of a story. Analysis, interpretation, and evaluation are all flexible registers, partly of the work being read and partly of the reader's subjective reactions to it. But there are certain general areas on which we can agree to construct our interpretations or analyses. For instance, we can clarify some impressions of style and its influence by comparing these parts of a text: the narration (the story-telling passages); the description (for example, what places and people look like or how something operates); the dialogue (what the characters say, just like actors in a play); and the commentary (the author's, the fictitious narrator's, or a key character's expressed judgments and reflections). The commentary obviously provides the main didactic thrust of a story or novel. How a reading is influenced by stylistic relationships between narration, description, commentary, and dialogue can be illustrated briefly with excerpts from Tom Godwin's "The Cold Equations" (1954), a story that James Gunn calls "the touchstone for hard-core science fiction."[6]

First, the narrative begins with the matter-of-fact declaration: "He was not alone. There was nothing to indicate the fact but the white hand of the tiny gauge on the board before him. . . . There was something in the supplies closet across the room, it was saying, some kind of a body that radiated heat."[7] Before the stowaway appears, there are several paragraphs of narration and commentary which assure us that doom is inescapable. For example, "It *was* too late. . . . The stowaway had signed his own death warrant when he concealed himself on the ship" (p. 545). But then Marilyn Lee Cross, just a teenager, comes out of hiding and unconcernedly says: "All right—I give up. Now what? . . . I'm guilty, so what happens to me now? Do I pay a fine, or what?" (p. 546).

Coming after several paragraphs that are very grave in tone, Marilyn's frivolous, flippant questions produce an unseemliness that underscores a pathetic ignorance of her position. As the truth dawns, her lines become childishly defensive: "They're waiting for you to kill me, aren't they? They want me dead, don't they? You and everybody on the cruiser wants me

dead, don't you? . . . Everybody wants me dead and I didn't *do* anything. I didn't hurt anyone—I only wanted to see my brother" (p. 552). The futility of her protest is emphasized by the pilot's technical explanation of precisely why Marilyn must be disposed of. Whether we judge her thoughts and words to be innocent and appealing or uncomfortably jejune, the point is that her pathetic lamenting registers true-to-life feelings that the ship's pilot, Barton, and also the readers respond to.

There are other stylistic signals. Colliding with the sentimentally designed dialogue between Marilyn and Barton is the completely dispassionate physics formula and comment: "A second physical law had decreed: *h amount of fuel will not power an EDS with a mass of m plus x safely to its destination.* EDS's obeyed only physical laws and no amount of human sympathy for her could alter the second law" (p. 556, italics Godwin's). The laws are mentioned again in the story, and their inflexibility is also represented by the instruments that seem to be working against Marilyn, such as the temperature gauge that detects her, the computers that determine how long she can remain on the ship, and the air lock (with lever-controlled doors) that ejects her.

The story articulates a lachrymose personal drama within a vast system that is totally indifferent to human feelings. Without some kind of relief, this dead-end dramatic narrative could lose its hold on readers. But Godwin makes a rhetorical shift that transforms an isolated sad episode into a parable about fate—the same inexorable fate that is magnified by Sophocles in *Oedipus the King* and *Antigone.* Although not so profound as classical tragedy, "The Cold Equations" briefly evokes grand tragic significance, thanks to Tom Godwin's wholly authoritative rhetoric. Read, for instance, his judgment of the tornado that struck the survey team's camp on the planet Woden: "But for all its deadliness, it had destroyed with neither malice nor intent. It had been a blind and mindless force, obeying the laws of nature, and it would have followed the same course with the same fury had men never existed" (p. 559). This pessimistic determinism echoes, as it were, Thomas Hardy's, and it is followed by a distinct, explicit directive to ponder with feeling the implacable cosmos: "The men of the frontier had long ago learned the bitter futility of cursing the forces that would destroy them for the forces were blind and deaf . . . laws that knew neither hatred nor compassion. The men of the frontier knew—but how was a girl from Earth to fully understand? . . . To Barton and her brother and parents she was a sweet-faced girl in her teens; to the laws of nature she was *x*, the unwanted factor in a cold equation" (p. 559). This sentence fuses the imcompatible elements of human feeling and perception and the indifferent operations of the physical universe. And later, to assure that we will not be unaffected by Marilyn's awful doom, Godwin describes her imagin-

ing herself with "insides all ruptured and exploded and lungs out between [her] teeth" (p. 565). We admire her when she enters the air lock bravely and says her very last words, "I'm ready." Barton, too, envisions the consequences of jettisoning Marilyn. Her view is gruesome; his is haunting: "Something shapeless and ugly was hurrying ahead of him, going to Woden where its brother was waiting through the night" (p. 569). Observe that Marilyn now is referred to by the pronoun "its."

Godwin's style, especially the contrast between dialogue that reminds us of adolescent disillusionment—and the authorial narration with commentary so decisive—intensifies the imitation of human confrontation with inscrutable destiny. One more note: it is not coincidental that Marilyn's crushed remains are "hurrying ahead to Woden." Woden is the name of the Scandinavian deity, father of the world and ruler of gods and men. This is another sign of the story's emphasis on dominant male figures. Also, Woden is symbolic in a way similar to the classical god, Zeus, when Antigone is sealed in her destined tomb—after she had defied Creon by giving her brother burial rites. "The Cold Equations" memorably projects Tom Godwin's vision of tragedy.

For another view of stylistic analysis, a splendid example is the 1972 Nebula award story, "When It Changed," by Joanna Russ. In this case, narration, commentary, and dialogue are consistent rather than in contrast. The technical control is the first-person point of view. The main character, Janet, herself tells the story, and her style governs the effects and also registers her values and fears by means of the confessional mode, which preserves intimacy and poignancy.

After a plague had annihilated the male population on Whileaway six hundred years in the past, the surviving women adapted capably and learned to merge ova for propagation. Janet and Katy and their offspring belong to a self-reliant, versatile female generation that conducts a progressive society characterized by orderly domestic and public affairs. But when four men from Earth arrive to declare Earth's intention to begin colonizing Whileaway, Janet concludes, "All good things must come to an end."[8] Yet the story is more troubling than this understandable regret over the loss of a chosen way of life. It is a metaphor about human conflict, about inevitable power struggles that have to end always with winners and with losers. Janet's reflections in the story are like the presentiments of the classical Cassandra.

Insistently, power is on Janet's mind. She is thrilled by Katy's daredevil driving at 120 kilometers over twisting roads. She assumes that her twelve-year-old daughter asleep is dreaming "of love and war" (p. 577). She foresees that the girl some day soon will assert herself by killing a cougar or a bear in raw combat. Janet herself is proud of having fought three duels to

the death. She has misgivings because Katy will not handle firearms. Regarding the suspicious politician, Phyllis Helgason Spet, Janet calmly resolves "someday" to kill her.

With power as such a prominent criterion, Janet at age thirty-four and sensing the coming of men to Whileaway, confesses, "I am afraid of far, far too much. I'm getting old" (p. 577). She observes how much bigger and broader the four men are: "I can only say they were apes with human faces" (p. 578). She recognizes that they are naturally presumptuous and domineering. During the uncomfortable conversation with the arrogant leader (who either does not know or does not care how insulting he is), Janet reflects on his bearing and reveals her own fear of being displaced: "He went on, low and urbane, not mocking me, I think, but with the self-confidence of someone who has always had money and strength to spare, who doesn't know what it is to be second-class or provincial. Which is very odd, because the day before, I would have said that was an exact description of me" (p. 582). Her being made to "feel small" by these men is called a "neurotic reaction," and this may be true. But Janet's temporary humiliation, her acute insecurity, her chagrin, and above all, her fears for herself and Katy and their daughters are produced by accurate perceptions of the state of affairs that will most likely prevail once the men migrate to Whileaway. Significantly, Janet's view that the women will be "cheated of their full humanity" is diametrically opposite the male leader's view: "You know it intellectually, of course. There is only half a species here. Men must come back to Whileaway" (p. 583). So here is the question that is made inescapable and disturbing by means of Janet's nervous reflections: if men and women live together as a complete species, must it be at the expense of the equal rights and dignity of women?

To me, the evidence in the story, especially the men's manner and expressed views, validates the reactions of Janet (which does not imply that any other person's reactions would be unsound). Observe, too, that Katy, who is averse to using firearms, had been so provoked by the male leader that she aims a rifle at him. Janet prevents the homicide and immediately afterwards confesses what could be the most unanswerable meditation in the story: "Katy was right, of course; we should have burned them down where they stood. Men are coming to Whileaway. When one culture has the big guns and the other has none, there is a certain predictability about the outcome" (p. 583). It seems that, at this moment, the Whileaway episode signifies both the issue of equality between the sexes and the comprehensive Hobbesian theme of the dismal history of tribes and city-states, kingdoms and nation-states: "When one culture has the big guns and the other has none, there is a certain predictability about the outcome."

Janet's final thoughts bring "When It Changed" to its melancholy con-

clusion: "What's around the corner now is a duel so big that I don't think I have the guts for it. . . . Take my life but don't take away the meaning of my life" (pp. 584-85). Janet has the bravery and dignity, and also the legitimate fears, such as those exhibited by the noble victims in Euripides' "The Trojan Women"—and like that tragedy, Joanna Russ's story as told by the disheartened realist, Janet, raises somber reflections on the fundamental nature of humankind.

I propose that Janet's style is the key to the power of "When It Changed." Her meditative or confessional rendition manifests absolute conviction and honest feelings. She reveals her pride in combat, respect for sheer power, even a tendency to violence—along with her nervous misgivings. Her demonstrated prowess and leadership, along with her accurate observations and clear convincing pronouncements, make Janet impressive. We trust her word. Consequently, the insecurity and fears she experiences, and her near resignation to the inevitable end of independence, elicit our sympathy. We also regret what she foresees. Her perception of a competitive, combative, potentially violent human system in which there always will be winners and losers, masters and subordinates, is a concept for her melancholy reflection, and ours. Janet's lucid, yet apprehensive, pessimistic discourse is moving. By means of the complex narrator, Joanna Russ's story does indeed produce "a direct sensuous apprehension of thought, a recreation of thought into feeling."

Before concluding, I would like to offer one more example, very briefly, of the efficacy of style, returning to *The Left Hand of Darkness*. The first four thousand words or so of Genly Ai's report describe the parade where Ai met Estraven and conversed with him and then with Tibe, the insipid and deceitful cousin of the king. The main impression made by narration, description, and dialogue is that Genly Ai is an alien in a land that is eccentric, sinister, paranoid, latently savage, and generally unpredictable and threatening. Subsequently, Ai meets privately with Estraven in the "Corner Red Dwelling" that has a gruesome past history. Estraven tells him that from now on Genly Ai is on his own as a foreign ambassador and that the king of Karhide regards him as a threat.

In order to reinforce the whole effect of the parade scene and the private-meeting scene, the text includes a clear, straightforward summary by Genly Ai. It serves to intensify his sense of danger and to transmit it to us *af*fectively. See how precisely he describes the situation and his distinct perception of it: "There had been a servant to attend our meal, but Karhiders, having no institutions of slavery or personal bondage, hire services not people, and the servants had all gone off to their own homes by now. Such a man as Estraven must have guards about him somewhere, for assassination is a lively institution in Karhide, but I had seen no guard, heard none. We were alone."[9]

The next sentence begins with "I was alone." The pronoun shift from "We" to "I" stresses the narrator's isolation even from Estraven. Genly Ai's assessment has a built-in dramatic structure with rising action as it moves from the singular pronoun to the final term, "alien world." He relates, "I was alone, with a stranger, inside the walls of a dark palace, in a strange snow-changed city, in the heart of the Ice Age of an alien world." The deliberate series of phrases has incremental force. Genly Ai's exact declaration, directional and unrelenting, transmits his sense of absolute strangeness, confinement, darkness, and icy cold. This climactic commentary draws us into the account so that we not only see Genly Ai as a character in the dramatic narrative but also share his feelings, just as we would if he were genuinely confiding his experiences to us. Genly Ai's style makes our reading more responsive.

Acknowledging the goodly number of expert stylists writing science fiction these days, we owe it to them and to ourselves to heighten our awareness of style. Science fiction short stories and novellas, and many novels, can withstand rigorous internal analysis. By applying ourselves to deliberate stylistic analysis, we will gain a more extensive and accurate comprehension of the beauty, the complexity, the subtlety of the fine works of science fiction. Conscientious consideration of how writers employ language artfully in narration, description, commentary, and dialogue will enrich our imaginative reading. Sensitivity to the style of a science fiction piece will enhance our perceptions and understanding and, equally important, our feelings. The style of fictional discourse, the way the story is told, critically affects every reader's impressions and reactions.

Notes

1. Ursula K. Le Guin, *The Left Hand of Darkness* (New York: Ace Books, 1969), p. 1. All further citations are from this text.
2. Robert Scholes, *Structural Fabulation: An Essay on Fiction of the Future* (Notre Dame, Ind.: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1975), p. 44.
3. T. S. Eliot, "The Metaphysical Poets," in *Selected Essays*, new edn. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1960), p. 246.
4. Joanna Russ, "Towards an Aesthetic of Science Fiction," *Science-Fiction Studies*, 2 (1975), 113. Emphasis in original.
5. "An Essay on Criticism," III, 574-77, in *Alexander Pope: Selected Poetry and Prose*, ed. William K. Wimsatt, 2nd edn. (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1972), p. 84.
6. James Gunn, ed., *The Road to Science Fiction #3: From Heinlein to Here* (New York: New American Library, 1979), p. 244.
7. Tom Godwin, "The Cold Equations," in *The Science Fiction Hall of Fame*, ed. Robert Silverberg (New York: Avon Books, 1970), I, 543. All further citations are from this text.
8. Joanna Russ, "When It Changed," in *The Road to Science Fiction #3*, p. 585. All further citations are from this text.
9. *The Left Hand of Darkness*, p. 18.

Pasts That Might Have Been: An Annotated Bibliography of Alternate History

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■ All of us have sometimes wondered what might have happened if we had made some choice other than we did in our past lives. Only a small step divides that kind of personal speculation from questions about the possible alternative outcomes of larger historical events. Over the past four decades, science fiction has offered a congenial milieu for plumbing pasts that might have been, but such speculations antedate the rise of the genre and many still find other outlets. Much of it is by popular historians and belletrists. Most professional historians scorn speculation—what sources can be adduced for an event that never happened?—but some do it anyway, although more likely than not in essays published nonprofessionally. In recent years, the growing use of science fiction in the classroom has also touched history, prompting suggestions that students might benefit from, as well as enjoy, thinking about past choices and paths not taken. And a new school of economic historians, practitioners of what has sometimes been called "cliometrics," has tried to raise "counterfactual hypotheses"—history that did not happen—to the status of a valid and useful tool in the quantitative analysis of historical data. Not surprisingly, this effort has provoked controversy among both historians and philosophers of history. Although all these groups—science fiction writers, belletrists, cliometricians—have treated alternative pasts, none seem to know much about the others, and indeed they might not care if they did. Yet few will deny the intrinsic fascination in speculating about pasts that might have been, and a bibliography that spans the several discrete areas may have some value in its own right.

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Our coverage of the cliometric literature is intended to be suggestive rather than comprehensive. Although little more than two decades old, the field has grown very large and much of the work is so technical that its value for our purposes becomes obscure. We have, however, made a special point of listing several up-to-date and well-documented surveys, which should serve to guide the interested reader to works we have not cited. For science fiction and belles lettres, in contrast, we have sought to list everything of relevance. Our notion of relevance is fundamentally historical: to count as alternate history, a work must explore the consequences of an effective change in human history as we know it. This means that certain stories and essays that might otherwise seem to deal with alternative pasts do not appear here. We have excluded those works in which: (1) the change is abortive and history remains in, or returns to, its proper course: examples include Mark Twain, *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889); Ralph Milne Farley, "I Killed Hitler," *Weird Tales* (1941); William Golding, "Envoy Extraordinary," in Golding et al., *Sometime, Never* (1957); Ronald W. Clark, *Queen Victoria's Bomb* (1967); and a host of stories in which time travelers intervene to set things right; (2) the change produces history as we know it, or was part of history all along; for example: Manley Wade Wellman, *Twice in Time* (1958); Harry Harrison, *The Technicolor Time Machine* (1967); and Michael Moorcock, *Behold the Man* (1969); (3) the change affects only the personal lives of fictitious or historical characters, with no mention of consequences for larger historical events: examples are Stanley G. Weinbaum, "The Worlds of If," *Wonder Stories* (1935); Isaac Asimov, "What If . . . ?" *Fantastic* (1952); Bob Shaw, *The Two Timers* (1968); and Roland Puccetti, *The Death of the Führer* (1972); the last title may stand for a large class of stories which explore the secret afterlives of once powerful figures—Napoleon and Hitler have been particular favorites—with no hint of public consequences; (4) the change occurs in future history, prehistory, or some other setting wholly outside of known history. Examples include Guy Dent, *Emperor of the If* (1926); David R. Daniels, "The Branches of Time," *Wonder Stories* (1935); Jack Williamson, *The Legion of Time* (1938); Fritz Leiber, *Destiny Times Three* (1945); Rog Phillips, *Worlds of If* (1951); Andre Norton, *Operation Time Search* (1967); Brian W. Aldiss, *The Malacia Tapestry* (1977); and Thomas F. Monteleone, *The Secret Sea* (1979).

We have also excluded works in which the effects of change are merely alluded to, mentioned in passing, or otherwise left largely undeveloped. Without this limit, most time-travel stories and a fair share of all the history ever written would have to be listed. For similar reasons—to avoid listing most historical novels and certain purely frivolous pieces—we have excluded works in which past actors are merely assigned modern motives or concerns with no other change. Each class presents difficult decisions.

We have no doubt included some titles that others would judge marginal and perhaps omitted some that should have been listed. In general, we have preferred to err on the side of inclusiveness.

Despite these limits, the field remains broad. We have deliberately eschewed posing any standards of historical sophistication or literary merit. No matter how improbable the change or its results, how well or badly written, if story or essay touches significantly an alteration in known history we have tried to list it. With the rare exceptions noted, we have seen everything we list, but we clearly have not seen everything. In particular, we have not examined the full back files of all science fiction magazines, and some unanthologized stories have no doubt eluded our grasp. Our coverage of works in languages other than English is also spotty, partly for the inaccessibility of the sources, partly for lack of bibliographical guidance. For all its shortcomings, however, this bibliography is the first to attempt a view of the whole field. We nonetheless eagerly await comments, corrections, and—best of all—further citations.

Annotated Bibliography of Alternate History

ADAMS, Robert. *Castaways in Time.* Virginia Beach, Va.: Donning, 1979. Adventure in a theocratic seventeenth-century Europe that originated in a Nestorian victory at the Council of Ephesus in the fifth century.

ALDISS, Brian W. "Matrix." *Science Fantasy*, Oct. 1962. Reprinted as "Danger: Religion!" in Tom Boardman, Jr., ed., *The Unfriendly Future* (London: FSB, 1965); Aldiss, *The Saliva Tree, and Other Strange Growths* (London: Faber & Faber, 1966); Mervyn Peake, J. G. Ballard, and Aldiss, *The Inner Landscape* (London: Allison & Busby, 1969; London: Corgi, 1970; New York: Paperback Library, 1971); and Aldiss, *Neanderthal Planet* (New York: Avon, 1970). A crosstime adventure set mainly in the world where the medieval Church survived the rise of nation-states to achieve universal political hegemony; one protagonist is a soldier from the world in which Constantine's assassination obviated the Christianization of the Roman Empire, which instead adopted Mithraism and survived as a major power.

ALLEN, Louis. "If I Had Been . . . Hideki Tojo in 1941: How I Would Have Avoided Bombing Pearl Harbor." In SNOWMAN, ed., *If I Had Been.*

AMIS, Kingsley. *The Alteration.* London: Jonathan Cape, 1976; New York: Viking, 1977; Frogmore, St Albans, Herts.: Panther, 1978. Church policy threatens a young singer with castration to preserve his voice in the twentieth-century London of a world in which the Reformation never occurred.

ANDERSON, Poul. "Delenda est." *Fantasy and Science Fiction*, Dec. 1955. Reprinted in Anderson, *Guardians of Time* (New York: Ballantine, 1960); and SILVERBERG, ed., *Worlds of Maybe.* Finding a backward Celto-Punic city where they expected twentieth-century New York, time patrolmen trace the

source to time-traveling filibusters who killed the two Scipios during the confusion of the Roman defeat at Ticinus in 218 B.C. obviating Rome's ultimate victory in the Punic wars and leaving Carthage to dominate Western development. Other Time Patrol stories, all in *Fantasy and Science Fiction*—"Time Patrol" (May 1955), "Brave to be a King" (Aug. 1959), "The Only Game in Town" (Jan. 1960), and "Gibraltar Falls" (Oct. 1975), the first three also reprinted in *Guardians of Time*—merely imply alternate history, i.e., the Time Patrol prevents the past from being altered.

———. *A Midsummer Tempest.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1974; New York: Ballantine, 1975. The adventures of Prince Rupert in the English Civil War as it might have been fought in the world where everything Shakespeare wrote was history, not poetry, and the industrial revolution was coming two centuries early.

———. "Operation Afreet." *Fantasy and Science Fiction*, Sept. 1956. Reprinted in Anderson, *Operation Chaos* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1971; New York: Lancer, n.d.). An adventure in the World War II where military technology applies magic rather than science. In the book-length fix-up, which includes three other stories also first published in *Fantasy and Science Fiction*—"Operation Salamander" (Jan. 1957), "Operation Incubus" (Oct. 1959), and "Operation Changeling" (May-June 1969)—Anderson explicitly frames the setting as alternate history without specifying a point of divergence.

ANDREANO, Ralph L., ed. *The New Economic History: Recent Papers on Methodology.* New York: Wiley, 1970. See especially papers by DAVIS, GREEN, and REDLICH.

ANVIL, Christopher. "Apron Chains." *Analog*, Dec. 1970. How the premature development of wireless communication long delayed the discovery of America.

ARMSTRONG, Anthony, and Bruce Graeme (pseuds. of George A. A. Willis and Graham M. Jeffries). *When the Bells Rang.* London: Harrap, 1943. How the Nazi invasion of England in 1940 was defeated, according to NICHOLLS, ed., *Science Fiction Encyclopedia*, pp. 26, 41.

ARNOUX, Alexandre. *Faut-il brûler Jeanne?* [Must Joan burn?] Paris: Gallimard, 1954. Importuned by his saints, the Almighty allows Joan of Arc's French supporters to save her from the stake, much to her own ultimate disillusionment.

ARON, Robert. *Victoire à Waterloo.* [Victory at Waterloo] Paris: Andre Sabatier, 1937; Paris: Plon, 1964. Napoleon wins, but suffers an identity crisis on the battlefield and abdicates. A Spanish edition, Eduardo Blanco trans., *Napoleón venció en Waterloo* (Buenos Aires: Sur, 1939), includes a "Prefacio" by André Maurois (pp. 9–11) defending alternate history against its imputed frivolity by likening it to nonmilitary war gaming.

ASH, Brian, ed. *The Visual Encyclopedia of Science Fiction.* New York: Harmony, 1977; London: Pan, 1978. Includes sections, all with bibliographies, on alternate history (pp. 116, 121–23), parallel worlds (pp. 142–44), and time travel (pp. 145–54).

ASIMOV, Isaac. "Fair Exchange?" *Asimov's SF Adventure Magazine*, Fall 1978. A Gilbert and Sullivan fan's time trip to recover the lost score of *Thespis* produces personal tragedy but also some public consequences.

AUTHORSHIP UNKNOWN. "An Englishman's Castle." An ad in the *Los Angeles Times*, 16 Sept. 1979, sec. 1, p. 35, announced the premiere that night of a TV drama based on a Nazi victory in World War II, "a chilling spy trilogy that examines what life is like in an England that exists as a slave state to the Third Reich—and what role television plays in controlling the masses."

AUTHORSHIP UNKNOWN. "The Trial of Lee Harvey Oswald." Television movie produced by Worldvision, premiered on ABC-TV, 30 Sept. 1977. What really happened in Dallas, as revealed in the trial that would have been held if Oswald had survived. Reviewed in the *New York Times*, 30 Sept. 1977, sec. 3, p. 26, among many other places.

AVALON HILL GAME CO. *Invasion of Malta—1942.* Baltimore, 1978. A war simulation game based on a German invasion that never happened, packaged with *Air Assault on Crete*, an invasion that did; for a description, see the editors of *Consumer Guide*, with Jon Freeman, *The Complete Book of Wargames* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1980), p. 168.

BAILEY, Hilary. "The Fall of Frenchy Steiner." *New Worlds*, July-Aug. 1964. Reprinted in Michael Moorcock, ed., *The Best of New Worlds* (London: Compact, 1965); Judith Merril, ed., *SF 12* (New York: Delacorte, 1968; New York: Dell, 1969); and Moorcock, ed., *Best SF Stories from New Worlds 8* (Frogmore, St Albans, Herts.: Panther, 1974). Life in 1954 Nazi-occupied London in the world where Hitler was smart enough to stay out of Russia.

BARBET, Pierre. *L'Empire du Baphomet.* [Baphomet's empire] Paris: Editions Fleuve Noir, 1972. Trans. Bernard Kay as *Baphomet's Meteor* (New York: DAW, 1972). Provided by an alien castaway with such exotic weapons as nuclear grenades, the Knights Templar in 1118 set out to conquer the world. A sequel presents the crusaders with new worlds to conquer, literally; see Barbet, *Croisade stellaire* (Paris: Editions Fleuve Noir, 1974), trans. C. J. Cherryh as *Stellar Crusade* in Barbet, *Cosmic Crusaders* (New York: DAW, 1980), which also reprints *Baphomet's Meteor.*

BARBIER, J.-B. *Si Napoléon avait pris Londres.* [If Napoleon had taken London] Paris: Libraire Francais, 1970. Despite the title, this book is mainly about what he was trying to do, not what might have happened had he done it.

BARING, Maurice. "The Alternative." *London Mercury*, 7 (Nov. 1922), 26–35. Reprinted in Baring, *Half a Minute's Silence* (London: Heinemann, 1925; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1925; Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1970); and Philip Van Doren Stern, ed., *Travelers in Time: Strange Tales of Man's Journeyings into the Past and the Future* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1947). Glimpses into the world that might have been had Napoleon's father sent him to the British navy rather than the French army.

BARRETT, Neal, Jr. *The Leaves of Time.* New York: Lancer, 1971. Much of the action in this tale of alien invasion takes place in modern Vinaskaland, the

latter-day New World resulting from the survival of Leif Ericsson's Vinland colony.

BASIL, Otto. *Wenn das der Führer wüsste.* [If the Fuhrer knew] Vienna and Munich: Fritz Molden, 1966. Trans. and slightly abridged by Thomas Weyr as *The Twilight Men* (New York: Meredith, 1968). The struggle for succession after Hitler's death in the Nazi Germany that won World War II with the first atomic bomb.

BEAR, Greg. "Scattershot." In Terry Carr, ed., *Universe 8* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1978; New York: Popular Library, 1978). Reprinted in Donald A. Wollheim, ed., *The 1979 Annual World's Best SF* (New York: DAW, 1979). Much of the action in this tale of the mysterious crewing of a disabled space battleship in Earth orbit derives from the conflict between characters shaped by alternate histories, one of which saw the rise of a French-speaking Indian nation in North America with a strongly patriarchal culture.

BELLOC, Hilaire. "If Drouet's Cart Had Stuck." In SQUIRE, ed., *If*, all edns. With a clear road, Louis XVI escapes and then returns with an army to suppress the revolution, and the twentieth century sees a Europe technologically backward and divided between hostile British and Habsburg empires.

BENÉT, Stephen Vincent. "The Curfew Tolls." *Saturday Evening Post*, 5 Oct. 1935. Reprinted in Benét, *Thirteen O'Clock: Stories of Several Worlds* (New York and Toronto: Farrar & Rinehart, 1937; Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1971); Benét, *Selected Works*, vol. 2: *Prose* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1942); Benét, *25 Short Stories* (Garden City, N.Y.: Sun Dial Press, 1943); Philip Van Doren Stern, ed., *The Moonlight Traveler* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1943; reprinted as *Great Tales of Fantasy and Imagination* [New York: Pocket Books, 1954]); and Robert Van Gelder, ed., *The Stephen Vincent Benet Pocket Book* (New York: Pocket Books, 1946). Home view of Napoleon in the obscurity that might have been his had he been born in 1737 instead of 1769, a generation too early.

BENSEN, Donald R. *And Having Writ . . .* Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1978; New York: Ace, 1979. Aliens shipwrecked on Earth in 1908 drastically alter subsequent events, first by engineering Edison's election as president, then by curing the ailments of three European rulers and averting World War I, and then . . .

BESTER, Alfred. "The Men Who Murdered Mohammed." *Fantasy and Science Fiction*, Oct. 1958. Reprinted in Anthony Boucher, ed., *The Best from Fantasy and Science Fiction: Eighth Series* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1959; New York: Ace, n.d.); Bester, *The Dark Side of Earth* (New York: Signet, 1964); Christopher Cerf, ed., *The Vintage Anthology of Science Fiction* (New York: Vintage, 1966); Robert Silverberg, ed., *Voyagers in Time* (New York: Meredith, 1967); Joe W. Haldeman, ed., *Cosmic Laughter* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1974); Charles W. Sullivan, ed., *As Tomorrow Becomes Today* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974); Bester, *The Light Fantastic* (New York: Berkley/Putnam, 1976); and idem, *Starlight: The Great*

Short Fiction of Alfred Bester (Garden City, N.Y.: Nelson Doubleday, 1976; New York: Berkley Medallion, 1977). History conceived as the sum of individual pasts; changing history affects only the changer in the present.

BIER, Jesse. "Father and Son." In Bier, *A Hole in the Lead Apron* (New York: Harcourt, 1964). A post-Nazi government in 1945 Germany imposes literal decimation on its citizenry to atone for the Holocaust.

BIXBY, Jerome. "One Way Street." *Amazing Stories*, Dec. 1953-Jan. 1954. Reprinted in T. E. Dikty, ed., *The Best Science-Fiction Stories and Novels: 1955* (New York: Fell, 1955); and Bixby, *Space by the Tail* (New York: Ballantine, 1964). Inadvertent crosstime traveler finds history altered but is not able to account for the changes.

BLAKEMORE, Harold. "If I Had Been . . . Salvador Allende in 1972–3: How I Would Have Stayed in Power in Chile." In SNOWMAN, ed., *If I Had Been*.

BLISH, James. See ELLISON, Harlan.

BÖHME, Gernot, Wolfgang van den Daele, and Wolfgang Krohn. "Alternativen in der Wissenschaft." [Alternatives in science] *Zeitschrift für Soziologie*, 1 (1972), 302-16. Trans. E. G. H. Joffe, *International Journal of Sociology*, 8 (1978), 70–94. In discussing contingent factors in the historical development of science, the authors briefly wonder what might have happened if a chemical rather than a mechanical worldview had prevailed at the outset of the Scientific Revolution.

BON, Frédéric, and Michel-Antoine Burnier. *Si mai avait gagné: facétie politique.* [If May had won: a political pleasantry] Paris: Jean-Jacques Pauvert, 1968. The May 1968 riots against de Gaulle produce a socialist revolution instead of a conservative backlash.

BOPP, Léon. *Liaisons du monde.* [Life's conjunctions] Vol. 1, Paris: Gallimard, 1938; vols. 2-4, Geneva: Editions du Dialogue, 1941–44. New edn., 2 vols., Paris: Gallimard, 1949. Detailed history of France as it might have been had the 1936 Popular Front government produced a leftist revolution.

BORDEN, Morton. "1759: What If Canada Had Remained French?" In BORDEN and GRAHAM, *Speculations*. The consequences of a French victory at the Battle of Quebec.

———. "1784: What If Slavery Had Been Geographically Confined?" In BORDEN and GRAHAM, *Speculations*. Had Jefferson's proposed ordinance to bar slavery from all states beyond the original thirteen been adopted.

———. "1789: Could the Articles of Confederation Have Worked?" In BORDEN and GRAHAM, *Speculations*. If the states had not ratified the U.S. Constitution.

———. "1801: Would Aaron Burr Have Been a Great President?" In BORDEN and GRAHAM, *Speculations*. Had the tied electoral vote between Jefferson and Burr been resolved in favor of Burr.

———. "1832: What If the Second Bank Had Been Rechartered?" In BORDEN and GRAHAM, *Speculations*. If Biddle had not sought charter renewal prematurely.

———. "1850: What If the Compromise of 1850 Had Been Defeated?" In BORDEN and GRAHAM, *Speculations.* Without President Taylor's untimely death, the Civil War might have been fought a decade earlier at far smaller cost.

———, and Otis L. Graham, Jr. *Speculations on American History.* Lexington, Mass., and Toronto: Heath, 1977. Six essays each by BORDEN and GRAHAM, listed separately.

BORGES, Jorge Luis. "El jardín de senderos que se bifurcan." [The garden of forking paths] In Borges, *El jardín de senderos que se bifurcan* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Sur, 1941). Reprinted in Borges, *Ficciones (1935–44)* (Buenos Aires: Emece Editores, 1944; reprinted by the same publisher as vol. 5 of Borges, *Obras completas*, 1956). Trans. Helen Temple and Ruthven Todd, in Borges, *Ficciones*, ed. Anthony Kerrigan (New York: Grove Press, 1962; London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1962; London: John Calder, 1965). Reprinted in Michael Moorcock, ed., *The Traps of Time* (London: Rapp & Whiting, 1968). A speculation on the philosophy of alternate history as alternative routes to the same end. Several other pieces in *Ficciones*, e.g., "The Tower of Babel," also bear on the theme. Borges is a much-discussed writer; two recent studies, which also provide references to other work, are John Sturrock, *Paper Tigers: The Ideal Fictions of Jorge Luis Borges* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977); and Emir Rodriguez Monegal, *Jorge Luis Borges: A Literary Biography* (New York: Dutton, 1978; Toronto and Vancouver: Clarke, Irwin, 1978). Also see Robert M. Philmus, "Wells and Borges and the Labyrinth of Time," *Science-Fiction Studies*, 1 (1974), 237–48; and RABKIN.

BOYD, John. *The Last Starship from Earth.* New York: Weybright & Talley, 1968; New York: Berkley Medallion, 1969; New York: Penguin, 1978. How the twentieth century might look had Jesus died at the age of seventy leading the final Christian storming of Rome, among other complexities. See Jane Hipolito, "The Last and First Starship from Earth," in Thomas D. Clareson, ed., *SF: The Other Side of Realism: Essays on Modern Fantasy and Science Fiction* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green Univ. Popular Press, 1971), pp. 186–92; and KETTERER.

BRENNERT, Alan. "Nostalgia Tripping." In Robert Hoskins, ed., *Infinity Five* (New York: Lancer, 1973). However good or bad alternate 1949s may be, they all look better than any 2003.

BRETNOR, R. "Old Uncle Tom Cobleigh and All." *Fantasy and Science Fiction*, Oct. 1973. Reprinted in Edward L. Ferman, ed., *The Best from Fantasy and Science Fiction: 22nd Series* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1977; New York: Ace, 1978). After certain misadventures, an Indian student's reinvention of Roger Bacon's speculum allows him to alter history to perpetuate the British Raj.

BROSNAN, John. See NICHOLLS, Peter.

BROWN, Frederic. *What Mad Universe.* New York: Dutton, 1949; New York: Bantam, 1950. One of the factors making this mid-twentieth century world of an adolescent science fiction fan's dreams different from ours is historical: an

American scientist tinkering with sewing machines in 1903 invented a space-warp drive.

BROWNLOW, Kevin, and Andrew Mollo (Authors, Producers, and Directors). *It Happened Here.* British film, Rath Films / Long Distance Films (distrib. United Artists), 1966. Discussed in Brownlow, *How It Happened Here* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1968), with stills from the film. The British resistance movement in 1944, after the successful Nazi invasion of July 1940.

BRUNNER, John. *Times without Number.* New York: Ace, 1969. A shorter version appeared in an Ace Double, 1962, as a fix-up of three stories first published in *Science Fiction Adventures* (London) in 1962: "Spoil of Yesterday" (Mar.), "The Word Not Written" (June), and "The Fullness of Time" (July). One world that the victory of the Spanish Armada made.

BUCHAN, John. *The Causal and the Casual in History.* The Rede Lecture, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1929. Reprinted in Buchan, *Men and Deeds* (London: Davies, 1935; Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1969), pp. 1–20. A discussion of the problem of alternate history, with five brief studies: Prince Henry lives to become king of England instead of Charles I, Marlborough captures Paris, Napoleon's coup of 19 Brumaire fails, Stonewall Jackson survives to help win the battle of Gettysburg, and the British naval attack on the Dardanelles in 1915 succeeds.

BURNIER, Michel-Antoine. See BON, Frédéric.

BURY, J. B. "Cleopatra's Nose." *R. P. A. Annual,* (1916), 16–23. Reprinted in Bury, *Selected Essays,* ed. Harold Temperley (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1930), pp. 60–69. On contingency and causation in history, especially why some things might well have happened differently; the title derives from Blaise Pascal's famous aphorism: "Le nez de Cléopâtre: s'il eût été plus court, toute la face de la terre aurait changé" (*Pensées* 1:29).

BUSBY, F. M. "Play It Again, Sam." In Robin Scott Wilson, ed., *Clarion III: An Anthology of Speculative Fiction and Criticism* (New York: Signet, 1973). Fictionalized speculations on alternate history.

BYRNE, Robert. *The Tunnel.* New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977; New York: Dell, 1977. Work on a channel tunnel authorized by the 1973 treaty between France and the United Kingdom is almost complete when terrorists strike.

CAILLOIS, Roger. *Ponce Pilate: récit.* [Pontius Pilate: a story] Paris: Gallimard, 1961. Pilate finds Jesus innocent and releases him, so aborting Christianity.

CALVERT, Peter. "If I Had Been . . . Benito Juárez in 1867: How I Would Have Pardoned the Emperor Maximilian—And, Perhaps, Have Saved Mexico from Decades of Political and Social Turmoil." In SNOWMAN, ed., *If I Had Been.*

CARON, Carlos María. "La Victoria de Napoleón." [Napoleon's victory] In Eduardo Goligorsky, ed., *Los Argentinos en la luna* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones de la Flor, 1968). Franco-American astronauts reach a distant planet where

they use an alien science to observe Earth's past, but what they see includes Napoleon's entry into London, a Chinese invasion of Europe, and worse.

CARROLL, Tod. See O'ROURKE, P. J.

CARTER, Paul A. *The Creation of Tomorrow: Fifty Years of Magazine Science Fiction.* New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1977. See especially the discussion of alternate histories (pp. 109–13) and of Nazi victories in World War II (pp. 132–38).

CHADBOURNE, Billie Niles. See JOHNSON, Robert B.

CHALKER, Jack L. "Dance Band on the Titanic." *Isaac Asimov's Science Fiction Magazine*, July-Aug. 1978. Reprinted in *Isaac Asimov's Science Fiction Anthology*, vol. 1 (New York: Davis, 1978); and Donald A. Wollheim, ed., *The 1979 Annual World's Best SF* (New York: DAW, 1979). A Maine ferry plies the waters between several alternate worlds, among them a Portuguese North America and a surviving Vinland.

CHAMBERS, Edward J., and Donald F. Gordon. "Primary Products and Economic Growth: an Empirical Measurement." *Journal of Political Economy*, 74 (Aug. 1966), 315–32. Canadian development without the 1901–11 boom in wheat exports.

CHANDLER, A. Bertram. "Grimes at Glenrowan." *Isaac Asimov's Science Fiction Magazine*, Mar.-Apr. 1978. Reprinted in George Scithers, ed., *Asimov's Choice: Comets & Computers* (New York: Davis, 1978). Instead of being captured at Glenrowan, Australian bushranger Ned Kelly wins the 1880 skirmish and sparks an Irish proletarian revolution.

CHARMATZ, Al. "Sailing through Program Management." *Analog*, Jan. 1981. Bureaucracy stifles further exploration after Columbus returns from his first voyage to the Indies.

CHESNOFF, Richard Z., Edward Klein, and Robert Littell. *If Israel Lost the War.* New York: Coward-McCann, 1969. The results of a successful preemptive air strike by the Arabs against Israel in the 1967 war.

CHESTERTON, G. K. "If Don John of Austria Had Married Mary Queen of Scots." In SQUIRE, ed., *If*, all edns. Also published in *London Mercury*, 23 (Jan. 1931), 328–42; and reprinted in Chesterton, *The Common Man* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1950). How romance might have been sustained in the world, and England have channeled its energies into war against the Turk.

CHILSON, Robert. "The Devil and the Deep Blue Sky." In LEY, ed., *Beyond Time.* Congressional hearings on the proposed introduction of the internal combustion engine to meet the oil crisis caused by rising demand for the kerosene used by steam-powered autos.

CHURCHILL, Winston S. "If Lee Had Not Won the Battle of Gettysburg." In SQUIRE, ed., *If*, all edns. Also published in *Scribner's*, 88 (Dec. 1930), 587–97. How the reunification of the English-speaking peoples might have been thwarted, and the peaceful resolution of the 1914 European crisis unrealized.

CLAGETT, John. *A World Unknown.* New York: Popular Library, 1975. Classical Latin civilization in the southern California of a world where Jesus never existed and Constantine first reorganized, then peacefully dissolved, the Roman Empire in the fourth century.

CLARK, Ronald W. *The Bomb That Failed.* New York: Morrow, 1969. Published as *The Last Year of the Old World* in London: Jonathan Cape, 1969. Klaus Fuchs sabotages Trinity, the first test of an atomic bomb at Alamogordo in July 1945, and the bomb's absence sharply alters the subsequent course of World War II.

CLIMO, T. A., and P. G. A. Howells. "Possible Worlds in Historical Explanation." *History and Theory*, 15 (1976), 1–20. A philosophical analysis of the logic of counterfactuals in history. Cf. B. C. Hurst, "A Comment on the Possible Worlds of Climo and Howells," *History and Theory*, 18 (1979), 52–60.

COLLYN, George. "Unification Day." *New Worlds*, May 1966. Reprinted in Michael Moorcock, ed., *The Traps of Time* (London: Rapp & Whiting, 1968). Life in England on the 150th anniversary of its incorporation into the French Empire after Napoleon's victory at Waterloo.

COMPTON, Karl T. "If the Atomic Bomb Had Not Been Used." *Atlantic*, Dec. 1946, pp. 54–56. One of the movers of the Manhattan Project defends using the bomb on Japan by pondering the possible consequences of having failed to do so.

COOPER, B. Lee. "Beyond Flash Gordon and 'Star Wars': Science Fiction and History Instruction." *Social Education*, 42 (1978), 392–97. A discussion of alternative history, among other matters, with references. Much the same material is dealt with in two other papers by Cooper: "Folk History, Alternative History, and Future History," *Teaching History*, 2 (1977), 58–62; and "Science Fiction: A New Frontier for History Teachers," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, San Francisco, 27–30 Dec. 1978.

COOPER, Edmund. "Jupiter Laughs." In LEY, ed., *Beyond Time.* The slaying of Jesus by Herod's troops, with an epilog on Queen Victoria as Roman satrap.

CORES, Lucy. "Hail to the Chief." In LEY, ed., *Beyond Time.* America at the end of the twentieth century had the Watergate break-in not been reported.

CORLEY, Edwin. *The Jesus Factor.* New York: Paperback Library, 1970. A determined reporter learns that the nuclear arms race is a hoax stemming from the faked atom bombing of Japan in 1945 after the discovery that a moving a-bomb would not explode, although a stationary device would.

CORVO, Baron. See ROLFE, Frederick William.

COULSON, Juanita. "Unscheduled Flight." In LEY, ed., *Beyond Time.* The Bermuda Triangle is a one-way gate to the world where the Americas were colonized by Vikings and English buccaneers.

COULSON, Robert. "Soy la libertad." In LEY, ed., *Beyond Time.* Chicanos in a balkanized America originally discovered by Magellan react to the terrorist assassination of President of Texas Lyndon Johnson.

COUPLING, J. J. "Mr. Kinkaid's Pasts." *Fantasy and Science Fiction*, Aug. 1953. Reprinted in Judith Merril, ed., *Beyond the Barriers of Space and Time* (New York: Random House, 1954). A time traveler can never return to the same past because the present may have derived from an infinite number of alternate pasts, the so-called principle of historical indeterminacy.

COX, Richard, ed. *Operation Sea Lion.* London: Thornton Cox, 1975; San Rafael, Cal.: Presidio Press, 1977. Blow-by-blow account of the 1940 Nazi invasion of England, based on a 1974 war game between British and German officers.

CRONIN, Philip M. "If Britain Had Suppressed America's War for Independence." *Harvard Magazine*, July-Aug. 1976, pp. 44–47. What several historians interviewed by the author thought the later course of American history might have been.

CROSBY, Ernest. "If the South Had Been Allowed to Go." *North American Review*, 177 (Dec. 1903), 867–71. Slavery would have died naturally, the nation would have reunited, and much evil would have been avoided.

DABNEY, Virginius. "If the South Had Won the War." *American Mercury*, Oct. 1936, pp. 199–205. A Menckenish look at Huey Long's C.S.A. as wool-hat utopia, if Pickett's charge had succeeded and Vicksburg had held.

DAVID, P. A. See FOGEL, Robert W., *Railways.*

DAVIDSON, Avram. "O Brave Old World." In LEY, ed., *Beyond Time.* Events leading to the English declaration of independence from American tyranny in the early nineteenth century. See also GOLDSTONE, Cynthia.

DAVIS, F. C. *Atlantica.* U.S. war game distributed in the U.K. by Albion. "A 'Diplomacy' variant, set in 1872, bringing in the Confederate States, the Union, and Canada," according to G. I. Gibbs, *Handbook of Games and Simulation Exercises*, 3rd edn. (Beverly Hills, Cal.: Sage Publications, 1974).

DAVIS, Lance E. " 'And It Will Never Be Literature'—The New Economic History: A Critique." *Explorations in Entrepreneurial History*, 2nd ser., 6 (1968), 75–92. Reprinted in Robert P. Swierenga, ed., *Quantification in American History: Theory and Research* (New York: Atheneum, 1970); and ANDREANO, ed., *New Economic History.* See especially part 3, "The Counterfactual." Cf. GREEN, George.

DEAN, William. "A Passage In Italics." *Fantasy and Science Fiction*, May 1972. A glimpse of occupied New York after Italy won World War II with the first atomic bomb.

DE CAMP, L. Sprague. "Aristotle and the Gun." *Astounding*, Feb. 1958. Reprinted in de Camp, *A Gun for Dinosaur, and Other Imaginative Tales* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1963; New York: Modern Literary Editions, 1963); and Robert Silverberg, ed., *Alpha 3* (New York: Ballantine, 1972). A time traveler's attempt to teach Aristotle proper scientific method backfires, and he returns to find the Scientific Revolution long delayed.

———. *Lest Darkness Fall.* New York: Henry Holt, 1941; rev. edn., 1949; New York: Ballantine, 1974. A shorter version appeared in *Unknown*, Dec. 1939. A

twentieth-century time traveler introduces a number of modest technological innovations to sixth-century Rome which promise to avert the Dark Ages.

———. "The Wheels of If." *Unknown*, Oct. 1940. Reprinted in de Camp, *The Wheels of If* (Chicago: Shasta, 1948; New York: Berkley Medallion, 1970); and de Camp, *The Virgin & The Wheels* (New York: Popular Library, 1976). The twentieth-century North America derived from colonization by a Celtic-Norse coalition formed after Celtic Christianity split from Rome in the seventh century. The background, based on TOYNBEE's appendixes to *A Study of History*, is discussed in de Camp, "The Science of Whithering," *Astounding*, July-Aug. 1940.

DEIGHTON, Len. *SS-GB: Nazi-Occupied Britain, 1941.* London: Jonathan Cape, 1978; New York: Knopf, 1979; New York: Ballantine, 1980. A Scotland Yard inspector joins the underground in raiding a secret Nazi atomic research lab in Britain.

DELISLE DE SALES, Jean Claude Izouard. *Ma république.* [My republic] Paris, 1791. Chapter 21 of this multivolume work outlines an alternate course for the French Revolution had Louis XVI been firmer with the nobility, according to VERSINS, *Encyclopédie*, p. 904.

DELORIA, Vine, Jr. "Why the U.S. Never Fought the Indians." *Christian Century*, 7–14 Jan. 1976, pp. 9–12. A bicentennial commentary on the course of American history since 1815, when Adams and Jefferson emerged briefly from retirement to plead for a moral Indian policy and Tecumseh succeeded in founding a viable Indian Nation. With HILL and WENTZ, part of a series, "What If . . . ?—Rewriting U.S. History."

DEVAUX, Pierre, and Henry-Gérard Viot. *La Conquête d'Alméríade.* [The conquest of Almeriada] Paris: Magnard, 1954. The novel offers time travel but no alternate history, and in a postface Devaux explains why, referring to MAUROIS: readers will already know from their textbooks how things really came out.

DeWITT, Bryce S. "Quantum Mechanics and Reality: Could the Solution to the Dilemma of Indeterminism be a Universe in Which All Possible Outcomes of an Experiment Actually Occur?" *Physics Today*, 23 (Sept. 1970), 30–35. Sums up, with bibliography, the "Everett-Wheeler-Graham interpretation of quantum mechanics," according to which "this universe is constantly splitting into a stupendous number of branches"; cf. EVERETT.

DICK, Philip K. *The Man in the High Castle.* New York: Putnam's, 1962; New York: Berkley Medallion, 1974. Life in Japanese-occupied California and elsewhere in the partitioned U.S. that resulted from FDR's 1933 assassination. See Patricia Warrick, "The Encounter of Taoism and Fascism in Philip K. Dick's *The Man in the High Castle*," *Science-Fiction Studies*, 7 (1980), 174–90; and KETTERER.

DICKINSON, Peter. *King and Joker.* London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1976; New York: Pantheon, 1976; London: Magnum, 1977; New York: Avon, 1977. Murder in a British royal family descended not from George V but his older brother Albert Victor.

D'ISRAELI, Isaac. "Of an History of Events Which Have Not Happened." In D'Israeli, *Curiosities of Literature*, ed. Benjamin D'Israeli, 3 vols., 14th edn. (London: Edward Moxon, 1849), II, 474–85. On the value of alternative history, with comments on the possible consequences of Charles Martel's defeat at Tours, better treatment for Luther at the Diet of Worms, Henry VIII's reconciliation with Rome, an Armada victory, and a longer life for Lorenzo de MEDICI. According to STABLEFORD (q.v.), this must first have seen print in the second series of the *Curiosities* (1823–34).

DONALD, David Herbert. "The Limits of Innovation, 1865–1869." In Bernard Bailyn et al., *The Great Republic: A History of the American People* (Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1977), chap. 21. Reprinted in Donald, *Liberty and Union* (Lexington, Mass., and Toronto: Heath, 1978), chap. 6. In an opening section called "Paths Not Taken," Donald poses some plausible alternative courses Reconstruction after the Civil War might have followed.

DROIT, Jacques. *Malheureux Ulysse*. [Unhappy Ulysses] 1956. Louis XVI escapes arrest, and so 1870 France is ruled by Louis XIX, according to VAN HERP, *Panorama*, p. 66; the author's theme is apparently akin to that of COUPLING.

DUMAS, Wayne. "Speculative Reconstruction of History: A New Perspective on an Old Idea." *Social Education*, 33 (1969), 54–55. A plea for using alternate history in the classroom.

DYER, Gwynne. "Even without the Revolution, America Would Be on Top Today." Portland *Oregonian*, 23 June 1976, p. C–7. How America might have developed had it remained part of the British Empire.

EDWARDS, Malcolm J. See NICHOLLS, Peter.

EDWARDS, Owen Dudley. "If I Had Been . . . William Ewart Gladstone in 1880: How I Would Have Solved the Irish Problem." In SNOWMAN, ed., *If I Had Been*.

EFFINGER, George Alec. *Relatives*. New York: Harper & Row, 1973. Portions of the book in slightly altered form were published as "The City on the Sand," *Fantasy and Science Fiction*, Apr. 1973; and "Relatives," in Thomas M. Disch, ed., *Bad Moon Rising* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973). The experiences of three analogous characters in our world and two alternates: one in which Germany won World War I because Russia declined to intervene, the other in which the New World was discovered but never colonized.

———. "Target: Berlin! The Role of the Air Force Four-Door Hardtop." In Robert Silverberg, ed., *New Dimensions: Science Fiction, Number 6* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976). In this pastiche, the nations settle their differences and avoid World War II, but war breaks out in 1974 with bizarre results.

EISENSTEIN, Phyllis. *Shadow of Earth*. New York: Dell, 1979. A young American woman is cast into the still frontierlike American Midwest of the world where the Spanish Armada triumphed.

EKLUND, Gordon. *All Times Possible*. New York: DAW, 1974. The failure of the Democrats to nominate Franklin Roosevelt in 1932 leads to two alternate totalitarian Americas, one Right, one Left.

———. "Red Skins." *Fantasy and Science Fiction*, Jan. 1981. The 1945 confrontation between the Nazi conquerors of the Old World and the independent Indians of the Americas over the fate of the refugee scientists who had developed an atomic bomb for the Soviet Union, in the world where America had been discovered in 1219 and European colonization had ended bloodily in 1846.

———. "The Rising of the Sun." In LEY, ed., *Beyond Time*. A brief history of Western civilization since its conquest by the Arabs in the eighth century, interspersed with an account of the religiously motivated development of atomic energy by nineteenth-century Incas.

———. *Serving in Time*. Don Mills, Ont.: Laser, 1975. Boys' adventure in the world where the British capture of Washington's army on Long Island delayed independence until 1800, and other changes followed.

ELLIS, Charles D. *The Second Crash*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1973. A critique of Wall Street business practices in the form of a speculation on what might have happened in September 1970 if a key creditor, instead of helping as he actually did, had refused to assist a failing broker.

ELLISON, Harlan. "The City on the Edge of Forever: An Original Teleplay." In Roger Elwood, ed., *Six Science Fiction Plays* (New York: Pocket Books, 1976). If a Depression-era social worker is not accidentally killed, she fosters a pacifist movement strong enough to delay U.S. entry into World War II, allowing Germany to develop the first atomic bomb and win the war. This alternative remained intact despite substantial alterations in the televised version; for a plot summary and other particulars, see Bjo Trimble, *The Star Trek Concordance* (New York: Ballantine, 1976), p. 50; and Mandala Productions, *Star Trek: The City on the Edge of Forever* (New York: Bantam, 1977), a "fotonovel" version. James Blish, "The City on the Edge of Forever," in Blish, *Star Trek 2* (New York: Bantam, 1968), is an adaptation based on Ellison's script and the televised version.

ELSTER, Jon. *Logic and Society: Contradictions and Possible Worlds*. Chichester, N.Y.: Wiley, 1978. See especially the chap. "Counterfactuals and the New Economic History."

EVERETT, Hugh, III. " 'Relative State' Formulation of Quantum Mechanics." *Reviews of Modern Physics*, 29 (July 1957), 454–62. On Heisenberg's uncertainty principle, the author theorizes that each possible outcome of an experiment corresponds to a possible observer, implying infinite parallel worlds. Cf. John A. Wheeler, "Assessment," ibid., pp. 463–65; and DeWITT.

FARBER, Sharon N. "Trans Dimensional Imports." *Isaac Asimov's Science Fiction Magazine*, Aug. 1980. The differential fates of ancient and not-so-ancient literary works support an active trade between alternate timetracks.

FARMER, Philip José. "Sail On! Sail On!" *Startling Stories*, Dec. 1952. Reprinted in Damon Knight, ed., *A Century of Science Fiction* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1962); Brian Aldiss and Harry Harrison, eds., *Decade: The Fifties* (London: Macmillan, 1976; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978); and James Gunn, ed., *The Road to Science Fiction #3: From Heinlein to Here* (New

York: Mentor, 1979). Also reprinted with added comments by Farmer to explain how his alternate world works in Harrison, ed., *SF: Author's Choice* (New York: Berkley Medallion, 1968); and SILVERBERG, ed., *Worlds of Maybe.* How Columbus might have fared had he sailed West in radio-equipped ships.

———. *Two Hawks from Earth.* New York: Ace, 1979. An earlier version, shorter and somewhat bowdlerized, was published as *The Gate of Time* (New York: Belmont, 1970). In the world where the Americas exist only as an island chain, an American flyer whose World War II was being fought against the Kaiser tangles with a Nazi fighter pilot from our world, with other speculations along the way.

FEHRENBACH, T. R. "Remember the Alamo!" *Analog*, Dec. 1961. Reprinted in John W. Campbell, ed., *Analog 1* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1963; New York: Paperback Library, 1964); Daniel Roselle, ed., *Transformations II: Understanding American History through Science Fiction* (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Crest, 1974); and Martin Harry Greenberg and Patricia S. Warrick, eds., *Political Science Fiction* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974). When his machine jumps the tracks, a time-traveling historian finds himself in the world where the U.S. adhered to Jeffersonian agrarianism and never broke an Indian treaty, where Napoleon sacked London in 1806, and where Texas independence met a different fate.

FINNEY, Jack. "The Other Wife." *Saturday Evening Post*, 30 Jan. 1960. Reprinted in Judith Merril, ed., *The Year's Best SF: 5th Annual Edition* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1960; New York: Dell, 1961); and as "The Coin Collector" in Finney, *I Love Galesburg in the Springtime* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1963; London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1965). A much-expanded version was published as *The Woodrow Wilson Dime* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1968). The hero shuttles between this world's New York and another basically similar but full of minor variants—the faces of other presidents grace the coins, Stutz Bearcats roam the streets in updated models, Mark Twain had lived eight years longer and written another Huckleberry Finn novel—which Finney explains as the result of tiny differences in past choices.

FISCHER, David Hackett. *Historians' Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought.* New York: Harper & Row, 1970; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971. Includes a forceful case (pp. 15–21) against counterfactual history as fundamentally flawed.

FISHER, H. A. L. "If Napoleon Had Escaped to America." In SQUIRE, ed., *If*, all edns. Also published in *Scribner's*, 89 (Jan. 1931), 35–48; and reprinted in Fisher, *Pages from the Past* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939; Freeport, N.Y.; Books for Libraries Press, 1969). A triumphal tour of America, a new empire in South America, and a fatal voyage to India.

FLEMING, Peter. *Operation Sea Lion: The Projected Invasion of England in 1940—An Account of the German Preparations and the British Countermeasures.* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1957; New York: Ace, n.d.; Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1977. The English edition was entitled *Invasion 1940: An Account of the German Preparations and the British*

Counter-Measures (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1957; London: Pan, 1975). The final chapter explicitly considers the conditions and consequences of a successful invasion, and the alternative outcome of Hitler's simply having ignored England entirely.

FOGEL, Robert W. "The New Economic History, Its Findings and Methods." *Economic History Review*, 19 (1966), 642–56. Reprinted in Don Karl Rowney and James Q. Graham, Jr., eds., *Quantitative History: Selected Readings in the Quantitative Analysis of Historical Data* (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1969), pp. 320–35. Includes a discussion and justification of counterfactual history.

———. *Railways and American Economic Growth: Essays in Econometric History*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1964. An effort to assess the economic significance of railways in nineteenth-century America by analyzing the hypothetical impact of an alternative system based on canals and roads. The heart of the argument was first published as "A Quantitative Approach to the Study of Railroads in American Economic Growth: A Report of Some Preliminary Findings," *Journal of Economic History*, 22 (1962), 163–97; reprinted in Robert P. Swierenga, ed., *Quantification in American History: Theory and Research* (New York: Atheneum, 1970), pp. 288–316. Another version, perhaps most accessible to the nonexpert, appeared as "Railroads as an Analogy to the Space Effort: Some Economic Aspects," in Bruce Mazlish, ed., *The Railroad and the Space Program: An Exploration in Historical Analogy* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: M. I. T. Press, 1965), pp. 74–106. Both these papers were reprinted in Peter Temin, ed., *New Economic History: Selected Readings* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1973), pp. 183–260, along with a commentary by P. A. David, "Transport Innovation and Economic Growth: Professor Fogel on and off the Rails," originally published in *Economic History Review*, 22 (1969), 506–25. For recent reviews of the work of Fogel, his critics, his supporters, and others, see Patrick O'Brien, *The New Economic History of the Railways* (London: Croom Helm, 1977; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977); and LEE and PASSELL, *New Economic View*, chap. 13.

FORESTER, C. S. "If Hitler Had Invaded England." *Saturday Evening Post*, 16, 23, 30 Apr. 1960. Reprinted in Forester, *Gold from Crete* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1970; New York: Pinnacle, 1976). Hitler's snap decision after Dunkirk produces a landing on 30 June 1940, but the invasion is no great success.

FOSTER, Alan Dean. "Polonaise." In LEY, ed., *Beyond Time*. Reprinted in Foster, *With Friends Like These* (New York: Ballantine, 1977). A glimpse of the modern world in which the medieval Polish state survived and prospered.

GARDNER, Martin. "Mathematical Games: On the Contradictions of Time Travel." *Scientific American*, 230 (May 1974), 120–23. Changing the past, self-duplication, and parallel worlds, with references.

GARRETT, Randall. "Gentlemen: Please Note." *Astounding*, Oct. 1957. Reprinted in Garrett, *Takeoff!*, ed. Polly and Kelly Freas (Virginia Beach, Va.: Donning, 1980). How Newton came to write the *Principia Theologica* instead of the *Principia Mathematica*.

———. "The Lord Darcy Series." A novel and ten shorter works to date, all detective stories set in the world where Richard Lion-Heart survived his wound at Chaluz in 1199 to found an Angevin Empire which in the twentieth century unites England and France, dominates Italy and Germany, and controls the Americas; it is also a world where magic rather than science has developed a body of laws, from which derive the mysteries Lord Darcy solves. In order of publication, they are: "The Eyes Have It," *Analog*, Jan. 1964; "A Case of Identity," *Analog*, Sept. 1964; "The Muddle of the Woad," *Analog*, June 1965; "Too Many Magicians," *Analog*, Aug. to Nov. 1966; "A Stretch of the Imagination," in Dean Dickensheet, ed., *Men and Malice* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1973); "A Matter of Gravity," *Analog*, Oct. 1974; "The Sixteen Keys," *Fantastic Stories*, May 1976; "The Ipswich Phial," *Analog*, Dec. 1976; "The Bitter End," *Isaac Asimov's Science Fiction Magazine*, Sept.-Oct. 1978; "The Napoli Express," *Isaac Asimov's Science Fiction Magazine*, Apr. 1979; and "The Spell of War," in Reginald Bretnor, ed., *The Future at War*, vol. 1: *Thor's Hammer: On and Near the Earth* (New York: Ace, 1979). Garrett, *Murder and Magic* (New York: Ace, 1979), reprints "Eyes," "Case," "Muddle," and "Stretch." "Eyes" was also reprinted in Hans S. Santesson, ed., *Rulers of Men* (New York: Pyramid, 1965); "Case" in John W. Campbell, ed., *Analog 4* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966); "Muddle" in J. Francis McComas, ed., *Special Wonder: The Anthony Boucher Memorial Anthology of Fantasy and Science Fiction* (New York: Random House, 1970; New York: Beagle, 1971); "Napoli" in George Scithers, ed., *Isaac Asimov's Marvels of Science Fiction: Isaac Asimov's Science Fiction Anthology 2* (New York: Davis, 1979); and "Ipswich" in Isaac Asimov et al., eds., *The 13 Crimes of Science Fiction* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1979). Book publication of *Too Many Magicians:* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1967; New York: Modern Literary Editions, 1967; New York: Ace, 1979; and, with introduction by Sandra Miesel, Boston: Gregg Press, 1978. See also KURLAND, *Unicorn Girl.*

GAT, Dimitri. "U-Genie SX-1—Human Entrepreneur: Naturally Rapacious Yankee." In LEY, ed., *Beyond Time.* An unpolluted future's commercial venture in time travel introduces Henry Ford to the past and alters history.

GATCH, Tom, Jr. *King Julian: A Novel.* New York: Vantage Press, 1954. Contemporary America under royal rule, because Washington accepted the crown he was offered.

GEOFFROY-CHÂTEAU, Louis-Napoléon. *Napoléon et la conquête du monde, 1812-1832; histoire de la monarchie universelle.* [Napoleon and the conquest of the world, 1812–1832: history of the universal monarchy] Paris: Dellaye, 1836; Paris: J. Bry, 1851. Later editions appeared under the title *Napoléon apocryphe* [The apocryphal Napoleon] as by Louis Geoffroy (Paris: Paulin, 1841; and Paris: Librairie Illustrée, 1896). What happened after Napoleon sought out and destroyed the Russian army in 1812, instead of lingering fatally in Moscow.

GERROLD, David. *The Man Who Folded Himself.* New York: Random House, 1973; New York: Popular Library, 1974. Striving for a perfect lifestyle for

himself and his alternate-timeline duplicates and lovers, a time traveler edits such figures as Jesus, Lincoln, and the Kennedys into and out of history.

GERSCHENKRON, Alexander. "The Discipline and I." *Journal of Economic History*, 27 (1967), 443–49. A presidential address which discusses the new economic history with specific reference to counterfactuals. This section with some additional comments is reprinted as a postscript to Gerschenkron, "Continuity in History," in *Continuity in History, and Other Essays* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1968). Gerschenkron's remarks stimulated comments such as David J. Loschky, "Are Counterfactuals Necessary to 'The Discipline and They'?" *Journal of European Economic History*, 4 (1975), 481–85, which, however, are mainly concerned with abstruse points of logic.

GILLIES, John. "A Sending Parable: What Might Have Been the Result Had St. Paul Traveled East to the Orient instead of West?" *Christian Century*, 24 Feb. 1971, pp. 253–56. Missionaries from advanced, industrialized Japan face cultural problems in dealing with the natives of a third-worldish western United States.

GOLDSTONE, Cynthia, and Avram Davidson. "Pebble in Time." *Fantasy and Science Fiction*, Aug. 1970. A time traveler inadvertently causes the Mormons to pass up Salt Lake and settle instead at San Francisco.

GOODMAN, Arthur. *If Booth Had Missed: A Drama of the Reconstruction Period.* New York: Samuel French, 1932. First performed by the Morningside Players of Columbia University on 13 May 1931 in a contest which it won, the play then went on to Broadway, opening on 4 Feb. 1932 to generally favorable reviews (e.g., Joseph Wood Kruth, "Cleopatra's Nose," *The Nation*, 24 Feb. 1932, p. 238), but folding after twenty-one performances. For particulars, see Burns Mantle, ed., *The Best Plays of 1930–31* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1932), pp. 524–25; and idem, *The Best Plays of 1931–32* (1933), pp. 11–12, 473–74. After he survives an attempted assassination, Lincoln carries out his own Reconstruction policies but meets much the same fate as Andrew Johnson did.

GORDON, Donald F. See CHAMBERS, Edward J.

GOTSCHALK, Felix C. "The Napoleonic Wars." In LEY, ed., *Beyond Time*. New Orleans in 1958 under a degenerate Napoleonic dynasty.

GOULD, J. D. "Hypothetical History." *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 22 (1969), 195–207. Perhaps the most accessible discussion of counterfactual history for the nonexpert.

GRAEME, Bruce. See ARMSTRONG, Anthony.

GRAHAM, Otis L., Jr. "1887: Whites and Indians—Was There a Better Way?" In BORDEN and GRAHAM, *Speculations*. For all its shortcomings, the Dawes Act may have been the only feasible approach in the context of the times.

———. "1917: What If the United States Had Remained Neutral?" in BORDEN and GRAHAM, *Speculations*. Neutrality was a real option, and the result would probably have been a German victory.

———. "1933: What Would the 1930s Have Been Like without Franklin

Roosevelt?" In BORDEN and GRAHAM, *Speculations.* Had Roosevelt lost the nomination or been assassinated, reform would have suffered and radicalism might have gained, and U.S. entry into World War II would have been less likely.

———. "1945: The United States, Russia, and the Cold War—What If Franklin Roosevelt Had Lived?" In BORDEN and GRAHAM, *Speculations.* The most likely result might have been simply to delay the onset of the cold war until 1949.

———. "1963: The United States and Vietnam—What If John F. Kennedy Had Lived?" In BORDEN and GRAHAM, *Speculations.* Things would not likely have been much different.

———. "1974: What If There Had Been No Watergate?" In BORDEN and GRAHAM, *Speculations.* The growth in power of the presidency would not have abated, however temporarily.

GREEN, George. "Comment" [on papers by DAVIS and REDLICH]. *Explorations in Entrepreneurial History*, 2nd ser., 6 (1968), 109–15. Reprinted in ANDREANO, ed., *New Economic History.* Besides commenting, Green offers some ground rules designed to forestall pure speculation in counterfactual history.

GREEN, Martin. *The Earth Again Redeemed: May 26 to July 1, 1984, on this Earth of Ours and Its Alter Ego.* New York: Basic Books, 1977; London: Sphere, 1979. The victory of King Antonio I of the Kongo over Portuguese invaders in 1665 eventually causes Western Christendom to reject science in favor of religious mysticism.

GRIBBIN, John. *Timewarps.* London: Dent, 1979; New York: Delacorte / Eleanor Frede, 1979. Includes a reasoned discussion of the possible scientific basis for the existence of parallel or alternate worlds, part of which was also published as "Sideways in Time," *New Scientist*, 26 Apr. 1979, pp. 284–86.

GRIGG, John. *1943: The Victory That Never Was.* New York: Hill & Wang, 1980. Concludes with a chapter on "The Victory That Might Have Been" if the Allies had mounted a cross-channel invasion in 1943.

GROUSSET, René. *Figures de proue.* [Figureheads] Paris: Plon, 1949. In a series of untitled speculations, Grousset imagines the consequences of peace between Athens and Sparta, a Roman Empire ruled by Antony, an earlier unification of the Holy Roman Empire, a stronger French colonial effort overseas, Napoleon's victory over the Turks at Acre in 1799, European peace unmarred by the Alsace-Lorraine issue, the persistence of Eurasian unity under the Mongols, and the survival of the spiritual unity India achieved under Akbar.

GUEDALLA, Philip. "If the Moors in Spain Had Won . . ." In SQUIRE, ed., *If*, all edns. A victory at Lanjaron in 1491 over Ferdinand and Isabella could have kept a flourishing Muslim civilization in Granada.

GUNDERSON, G. A. "The Social Saving of Steamships." Diss. Univ. of Washington, 1967. "The Pattern of World Trade in 1900 . . . in the Absence of the Steamship," *DA,* 28 (1968), 4806A.

GYGAX, E. Gary, and Terry Stafford. *Victorious German Arms: An Alternate Military History of World War II.* Baltimore: T–K Graphics, 1973. What happened after intelligent planning and strategy produced a quick German victory at Stalingrad.

HALE, Edward Everett. "Hands Off." *Harper's*, Mar. 1881. Reprinted in Hale, *Our Christmas in a Palace* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1883); and Hale, *Hands Off* (Boston: J. Stillman Smith, 1895). Joseph's escape from the slavers deprives the Pharaoh of crucial advice, with adverse effects on the world's later history. See Jan Pinkerton, "Backward Time Travel, Alternate Universes, and Edward Everett Hale," *Extrapolation*, 20 (1979), 168–75, which also includes a short bibliography of alternate history.

HARRISON, Harry. "Run from the Fire." In Robert Silverberg and Roger Elwood, eds., *Epoch* (New York: Berkley / Putnam's, 1975). Crosstime adventure, partly set in the world where Europe remains medieval and the Six Nations of the Iroquois dominate North America; in a brief afterword, Harrison offers some thoughtful remarks on writing alternate history.

———. *Tunnel through the Deeps.* New York: Putnam's, 1972; New York: Berkley Medallion, 1974. Originally published as "A Transatlantic Tunnel, Hurrah!" in a three-part series, *Analog* (Apr. to June 1972), which was also the title of the British edition (London: Faber & Faber, 1972; London: New English Library, 1976). In the world where Spain remained Muslim after the Christian defeat at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, an engineer descended from executed rebel George Washington supervises construction of a new link in the British Empire. Cf. HARRISON, "Worlds beside Worlds."

———. "The Wicked Flee." In Robert Silverberg, ed., *New Dimensions I* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1971). Reprinted in Lester del Rey, ed., *Best Science Fiction Stories of the Year* (New York: Dutton, 1972; New York: Ace, 1973). The world that results from a Reformation aborted by the premature deaths of Luther and Henry VIII.

———. "Worlds beside Worlds." In Peter Nicholls, ed., *Science Fiction at Large* (London: Gollancz, 1976; New York: Harper & Row, 1976). On writing alternate history, with special reference to Harrison's own *Transatlantic Tunnel.*

HEARNSHAW, F. J. C. *The 'Ifs' of History.* London: George Newnes, 1929. Nineteen brief essays: if Alexander the Great had not died prematurely; if Varus had not lost his legions; if Constantinople had fallen in A.D. 718; if William the Conqueror had not conquered; if King John had been good; if Genghis Khan had never lived; if Joan of Arc had stayed home; if Columbus had not discovered America; if Henry VIII had not met Anne Boleyn; if Henry of Navarre had not been assassinated; if Charles I had been quicker; if the Spanish garrison of Gibraltar had not been pious; if Queen Anne had been longer in dying; if the Pretender had not turned back; if Clive's pistols had gone off; if Nelson had caught Napoleon in 1798; if Napoleon had not gone to Moscow; if there had been no electric telegraph in the 1850s; if the Ems telegram had not been sent. Ten of these essays had first been published in *John o'London's Weekly* (1929).

HERSEY, John. *White Lotus.* New York: Knopf, 1965; New York: Bantam, 1966. The life of American slaves in China after U.S. defeat in the Yellow War of the early twentieth century.

HILL, Samuel S., Jr. "Could the Civil War Have Been Prevented?" *Christian Century*, 31 Mar. 1976, pp. 304–8. Although published in the same series as the essays of DELORIA and WENTZ under the title "What If . . . ?—Rewriting U.S. History," this essay in fact insists that nothing could possibly have been different.

HIPOLITO, Jane. See BOYD, John.

HOLLISTER, Bernard C. "Teaching American History with Science Fiction." *Social Education*, 39 (1975), 81–86. Includes a brief discussion of alternate history.

HOWELLS, P. G. A. See CLIMO, T. A.

HOYLE, Trevor. *The Gods Look Down.* Frogmore, St Albans, Herts.: Panther, 1978. An alternate history in which Jesus never existed arouses concern in the distant future; vol. 3 of the "Q Series."

———. *Seeking the Mythical Future.* Frogmore, St Albans, Herts.: Panther, 1977. Partly set in an alternate twentieth-century America ruled by a repressive monarchy which uses Australia as a dump for dissidents; vol. 1 of the "Q Series."

———. *Through the Eye of Time.* Frogmore, St Albans, Herts.: Panther, 1977. One of the subplots stars Hitler's doctor in the world where England went fascist during the 1930s and fought World War II as a German ally; vol. 2 of the "Q Series."

HURST, B. C. See CLIMO, T. A.

HUXLEY, Aldous. *Antic Hay.* London: Chatto & Windus, 1923; New York: George H. Doran, 1923; and numerous later edns. In a vignette at the end of chap. 11, an aging architect displays his model of London as it might have been had Sir Christopher Wren's rebuilding plan been implemented after the Great Fire. For the original plan, which Huxley baroquely embroiders, see *Parentalia; or Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens* (London, 1721), pp. 267–69.

JACOBY, Neil H. *U.S. Aid to Taiwan.* New York: Praeger, 1966. Appendixes E–K, pp. 310–58, present counterfactual models of Taiwan's economic growth from 1952, given little or no U.S. aid and / or no military costs; the worst-case model has Taiwan reaching its actual 1965 GNP only in 2020.

JAKES, John. *Black in Time.* New York: Paperback Library, 1970. A black extremist travels through time to assassinate Muhammad and save black African civilization from Muslim conquest; in another stop, he sees the race war in New York that follows Booker T. Washington's assassination.

JAKIEL, S. James, and Rosandra E. Levinthal. "The Laws of Time Travel." *Extrapolation*, 21 (1980), 130–38. The first of the twelve postulated laws bars the time traveler from altering history, and the authors cite several stories that support or refute the postulate.

JEANNE, René. See LAUMANN, E. M.

JOHNSON, Alvin S. "Cleopatra and the Roman Chamber of Commerce." *American Scholar*, 18 (1949), 417–24. Mainly a disquisition on the importance of real estate values in history à la Henry George, but includes a speculation on the world empire that might have followed Cleopatra's partnership with Caesar, had he lived.

JOHNSON, Robert B., and Billie Niles Chadbourne. *Times-Square Samurai; or, The Improbable Japanese Occupation of New York*. Rutland, Vt., and Tokyo: Charles A. Tuttle, 1966. A book of cartoons satirizing the U.S. occupation of Japan.

JOHNSTON, Moira. "How the West was Dressed: A Fable." *California Living Magazine, San Francisco Sunday Examiner & Chronicle*, 30 July 1972, pp. 20–23. How California lifestyles might have evolved if the first Spanish explorers in the Bay Area had found settlers from Ming China already on the scene.

JONES, Douglas C. *The Court-Martial of George Armstrong Custer*. New York: Scribner's; New York: Warner Books, 1977. Custer survives the Little Big Horn in 1876 to stand trial the following year for his role in the debacle. In 1978, Warner Bros. produced a TV adaptation titled "The Court-Martial of General George Armstrong Custer."

KAGLE, Steven. "Science Fiction as Simulation Game." In Thomas D. Clareson, ed., *Many Futures, Many Worlds: Theme and Form in Science Fiction* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State Univ. Press, 1977), pp. 224–36. Includes a discussion of alternate history.

KANTOR, MacKinlay. *If the South Had Won the Civil War*. New York: Bantam, 1961. Originally published in *Look*, 22 Nov. 1960. Grant's accidental death on the way to Vicksburg and Lee's victory at Gettysburg end the war in 1863 with southern independence. See also the comments by Harry S. Truman and others in *Look*, 3 Jan. 1961.

KAZANTZAKIS, Nikos. *The Last Temptation of Christ*. Trans. P. A. Bien from the Greek, *Ho teleutaios peirasmos* (1955). New York: Simon & Schuster, 1960. In chaps. 30–33, Jesus on the Cross imagines the fates of himself and his followers if he simply escaped and went home.

KELLEY, Allen C., and Jeffrey G. Williamson. *Lessons from Japanese Development: An Analytical Economic History*. Chicago and London: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1974. A "new economic history" of Japan, 1887–1915, which first proposes a model of Japanese development, then explores several explicit counterfactuals (chaps. 6–12), such as: if Japan had experienced the same rate of population growth as the contemporary developing world; or, if Japan had invested a greater share of its resources in industrial rather than military development.

KETTERER, David. *New Worlds for Old: The Apocalyptic Imagination, Science Fiction and American Literature*. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor, 1974. Includes comments on alternate history and analyses of BOYD, *Last Starship from Earth*; and DICK, *Man in the High Castle*.

KLEIN, Edward. See CHESNOFF, Richard Z.

KLEIN, Judith L. V. See PARKER, William N.

KNEESHAW, Stephen John. "'Alternativing' the American Past: Teaching What Might Have Been." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Dallas, 28 Dec. 1977. Includes references.

KNIGHT, Damon. "What Rough Beast?" *Fantasy and Science Fiction*, Feb. 1959. Reprinted in Robert P. Mills, ed., *The Best from Fantasy and Science Fiction: Ninth Series* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1958; New York: Ace, 1959); and Knight, *Off Center* (New York: Ace, 1965). A wanderer between time lines ends in a world where Jesus never existed.

KNOX, Ronald. "If the General Strike Had Succeeded." In SQUIRE, ed., *If*, except 1931 U.S. edn. Social consequences of a successful British General Strike in 1926.

KORNBLUTH, C. M. "Two Dooms." *Venture Science Fiction*, July 1958. Reprinted in Kornbluth, *A Mile Beyond the Moon* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1958; but not in 1976 Manor edn.); Robert Silverberg, ed., *Great Short Novels of Science Fiction* (New York: Ballantine, 1970); Frederik Pohl, ed., *The Best of C. M. Kornbluth* (New York: Ballantine, 1977); and Richard A. Lupoff, ed., *What If: Stories That Should Have Won the Hugo*, vol. 1 (New York: Pocket Books, 1980). Transported to a future U.S. partitioned between the Axis powers for having failed to develop an atomic bomb, a physicist returns to his work at Los Alamos in 1945 with no further qualms.

KROHN, Wolfgang. See BÖHME, Gernot.

KRUTCH, Joseph Wood. See GOODMAN, Arthur.

KURLAND, Michael. *The Unicorn Girl.* New York: Pyramid, 1969. A picaresque junket through alternate worlds includes a stopover in the North America of GARRETT's Lord Darcy series.

———. *The Whenabouts of Burr.* New York: DAW, 1975. Much of the action in this crosstime adventure takes place in the world where Alexander Hamilton survived his 1804 duel with Aaron Burr to create a more authoritarian U.S.

LAFFERTY, R. A. "Assault on Fat Mountain." In LEY, ed., *Beyond Time.* The modern world as it might look if the late-eighteenth-century American state of Franklin had survived.

———. "Interurban Queen." In Damon Knight, ed., *Orbit 8* (New York: Putnam's 1970; New York: Berkley, 1970). Reprinted in Total Effect, *Survival Printout* (New York: Vintage, 1973); and Dick Allen and Lori Allen, eds., *Looking Ahead: The Vision of Science Fiction* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975). The modern America in which cars lost out to trolleys.

———. "Selenium Ghosts of the Eighteen Seventies." In Terry Carr, ed., *Universe 8* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1978; New York: Popular Library, 1978). On the first dramas created for the newly invented television based on the photoelectric effect in selenium.

———. "Thus We Frustrate Charlemagne." *Galaxy*, Feb. 1967. Reprinted in Donald A. Wollheim and Terry Carr, eds., *World's Best Science Fiction 1968* (New York: Ace, 1968); Lafferty, *Nine Hundred Grandmothers* (New York: Ace, 1970); Robert Silverberg, ed., *Alpha 1* (New York: Ballantine, 1970); Daniel Roselle, ed., *Transformations: Understanding World History through Science Fiction* (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Crest, 1973); and Charles W. Sullivan, ed., *As Tomorrow Becomes Today* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974). Meddlers from the future repeatedly alter the outcome of the Basque ambush of Charlemagne's rearguard at Roncesvalles, changing their own world without being aware of it.

LAMBELET, John C. "The Anglo-German Dreadnought Race, 1905–1914," *Papers of the Peace Science Society*, 22 (1974), 1–45; idem, "A Numerical Model of the Anglo-German Dreadnought Race," ibid., 24 (1975), 29–48; idem, "A Complementary Analysis of the Anglo-German Dreadnought Race, 1905–1916," ibid., 26 (1976), 49–66. This computer simulation of rival policies and results touches hypothetical building programs (24:46–47) and a German naval victory in World War I (22:34–35) and aims at computerized battle alternatives.

LASKI, Harold J. "If Roosevelt Had Lived." *The Nation*, 13 Apr. 1946, pp. 419–21. The chairman of the British Labour Party ponders the effects of another year of Roosevelt on the cold war, control of the atomic bomb, and America's world role.

LASKI, Marghanita. *Tory Heaven; or, Thunder on the Right.* London: Cresset Press, 1948. The England of Conservative dreams is restored when the electorate turns Labour out and the classes return to their proper places.

LAUMANN, E. M., and René Jeanne. *Si, le 9 thermidor . . . : hypothese historique.* [If, on 9 Thermidor . . . : an historical hypothesis] Paris: Tallandier, 1929. Avoiding the guillotine, the radical Robespierre continues his intrigues.

LAUMER, Keith. *Assignment in Nowhere.* New York: Berkley Medallion, 1968. This and the following Laumer entries form a series of crosstime adventures; here part of the action takes place in the world that resulted when Richard Lion-Heart refused battle at Chaluz in 1199 and lived to a decadent old age.

———. *The Other Side of Time.* New York: Berkley Medallion, 1965; New York: Walker, 1971; New York: Signet, 1972. First published as a three-part series in *Fantastic Stories*, Apr. to June 1965. One setting is the world where Napoleon's empire survived and flourished because he won at Brussels in 1814 instead of losing at Waterloo in 1815, and commenced a 23-year reign of peaceful expansion.

———. *Worlds of the Imperium.* New York: Ace, 1962; New York: Berkley Medallion, 1977. First published as a three-part series in *Fantastic Stories*, Feb. to Apr. 1961. Much of the action occurs in the world where divergent events from 1911 allowed Germany to win World War I and later to conquer the U.S.

LAWRENCE, Edmund. *It May Happen Yet: A Tale of Bonaparte's Invasion of England.* London: The Author, 1899. Once ashore, Napoleon has trouble deciding what to do next.

LEE, C. H. *The Quantitative Approach to Economic History.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977. See especially chap. 4, "Counterfactual Models and Social Savings."

LEE, Susan Previant, and Peter Passell. *A New Economic View of American History.* New York: Norton, 1979. A comprehensive review of the new American economic history with due attention to counterfactual hypotheses and extensive annotated bibliographies.

LE GUIN, Ursula K. See SPINRAD, Norman.

LEIBER, Fritz. "Catch that Zeppelin!" *Fantasy and Science Fiction*, Mar. 1975. Reprinted in *The Worlds of Fritz Leiber* (New York: Ace, 1976); Donald A. Wollheim, ed., *The 1976 Annual World's Best SF* (New York: DAW, 1976); and Ursula K. Le Guin, ed., *Nebula Award Stories Eleven* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977; New York: Bantam, 1978). The airship-linked world of 1937 that might have resulted from the marriage, intellectual as well as physical, of Marie Sklodowska and Thomas Edison, among other changes.

———. "No Great Magic." *Galaxy*, Dec. 1963. Reprinted in Leiber, *The Secret Songs* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1968); and Leiber, *The Change War*, ed. and intro. John Silbersack (Boston: Gregg Press, 1978). Although alternate history regularly appears offstage in the so-called Change War series, especially in *The Big Time* (New York: Ace, 1961; reprinted Boston: Gregg Press, 1976, with intro. Robert Thurston; originally published as a two-part series in *Galaxy*, Mar. and Apr. 1958), this story is the only one with alternate history central: if Queen Elizabeth fails to execute Mary Queen of Scots and the Armada triumphs, then England declines and Spain holds North America to the Great Lakes and New Scandinavia.

———. "Try and Change the Past." *Astounding*, Mar. 1958. Reprinted in Leiber, *The Mind Spider, and Other Stories* (New York: Ace, 1961; but not in 1976 edn.); Miriam Allen deFord, ed., *Space, Time & Crime* (New York: Paperback Library, 1964); *The Best of Fritz Leiber* (Garden City, N.Y.: Nelson Doubleday, 1974); Roger Elwood, ed., *The Far Side of Time* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1974); *The Worlds of Fritz Leiber* (New York: Ace, 1976); Leiber, *The Change War*; and Barry N. Malzberg and Bill Pronzini, eds., *The Fifties: The End of Summer* (New York: Baronet, 1979). Although not strictly speaking alternate history, this is interesting for its dramatization of nature's supposed resistance to changing the past as expressed in the "law of conservation of reality."

LEINSTER, Murray. "Sidewise in Time." *Astounding*, June 1934. Reprinted in Leinster, *Sidewise in Time, and Other Scientific Adventures* (Chicago: Shasta, 1950); SILVERBERG, ed., *Worlds of Maybe*; and Isaac Asimov, ed., *Before the Golden Age: A Science Fiction Anthology of the 1930s* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1974). Time is disrupted, juxtaposing with our own such other

societies as those derived from Chinese, Roman, or Viking colonization of the New World, Russian settlement in the Pacific Northwest, or southern victory at Gettysburg.

———. *Time Tunnel.* New York: Pyramid, 1964. A Napoleonic dynasty and four nineteenth-century emperors of Mexico flicker across the scene as time travelers try to avert nuclear war by eliminating its ultimate cause, a scientist in 1804 Paris.

LEM, Stanislaw. "The Time-Travel Story and Related Matters of Sf Structuring." *Science-Fiction Studies*, 1 (1974), 143–54. Discusses alternate history, pp. 146–47.

LEVINTHAL, Rosandra E. See JAKIEL, S. James.

LEWIS, David K. *Counterfactuals.* Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1973. Justifies the existence of "possible worlds," pp. 84–91.

LEWIS, Oscar. *The Lost Years.* New York: Knopf, 1951. Reprinted in Anthony Boucher, ed., *A Treasury of Great Science Fiction*, vol. 2 (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1959). A story of Lincoln's declining years, after he recovers from Booth's bullet.

LEY, Olga. "Checkmate in Six Moves." In LEY, ed., *Beyond Time.* How Kerensky managed to exile Lenin and Trotsky.

LEY, Sandra, ed. *Beyond Time.* New York: Pocket Books, 1976. An original anthology of short stories on alternate history, each listed under its author; see CHILSON, COOPER (Edmund), CORES, COULSON (Juanita), COULSON (Robert), DAVIDSON, EKLUND, FOSTER, GAT, GOTSCHALK, LAFFERTY, LEY (Olga), MOORE, ORGILL, PERCY, THOMPSON (Don), and ZEBROWSKI.

LIONEL, Robert. *Time Echo.* New York: Arcadia House, 1964; New York: Modern Promotions, n.d. A stock time-travel adventure, which unaccountably includes a lengthy chap. 6 on the theory of time travel and alternate history.

LITTELL, Robert. See CHESNOFF, Richard Z.

LIVY (Titus Livius). *Ab Urbe Condita* [Rome since its founding], ix. 17–19; one edition providing both this passage and an English trot is the Loeb Classical Library's *Livy*, trans. E. O. Foster (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, London: Heinemann, 14 vols., 1917–59), IV, 225–41. In this "germe de l'uchronie" (Versins), Livy digresses from his narrative to suggest how Alexander the Great might have fared had he lived to try the mettle of Rome.

LONGMATE, Norman. *If Britain Had Fallen.* New York: Stein & Day, 1974; London: BBC Publications, 1975; London: Arrow, 1975. Based on a BBC program of the same title that premiered 12 Sept. 1972, the book discusses how a Nazi invasion might have been mounted and what life in occupied Britain might have been like.

LONGYEAR, Barry N. "Collector's Item." *Analog*, 27 Apr. 1981. A silver 1978 quarter reveals how our world has been reshaped since the 1950s through

intervention by an alternate individual destroyed in the world war of the 1970s.

LOSCHKY, David J. See GERSCHENKRON, Alexander.

LUDWIG, Emil. "If the Emperor Frederick Had Not Had Cancer." In SQUIRE, ed., *If*, all edns. How the German Empire became a virtual republic when the liberal Frederick survived until 1914 instead of dying in 1888.

MACKESY, Piers. *Could the British Have Won the War of Independence?* Chester Bland-Dwight E. Lee Lectures in History. Worcester, Mass.: Clark Univ. Press, 1976. Although dwelling more on British problems than alternative courses of action, Mackesy does suggest how, even after Yorktown, the British might still have quelled the rebellion with the new counterinsurgency tactics just then being developed and still been able to deal with their major concern, the French threat to their seaborne empire.

MACKSEY, Kenneth. *Invasion: The German Invasion of England, July 1940.* New York: Macmillan, 1980. A blow-by-blow account of the German conquest.

McCLELLAND, Peter D. *Causal Explanation and Model Building in History, Economics, and the New Economic History.* Ithaca, N.Y., and London: Cornell Univ. Press, 1975. See especially chap. 4, "Counterfactual Speculation in History, Economics, and the New Economic History"; the book also has an extensive bibliography.

McCLOSKEY, Donald N. "The Achievements of the Cliometric School." *Journal of Economic History*, 38 (1978), 13–28. Cliometrics is synonymous with new economic history, and this paper offers a good survey of the field.

———. "Britain's Loss from Foreign Industrialization: A Provisional Estimate." *Explorations in Entrepreneurial History*, 2nd ser., 8 (1970–71), 141–52. The industrialization of other countries produced not only competition but also increased demand for British goods; British exports in the nonindustrialized world of 1913 might have been only slightly greater than in the real world.

MALZBERG, Barry N. "January 1975." *Analog*, Jan. 1975. Reprinted in Malzberg, *Down Here in the Dream Quarter* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976); and Isaac Asimov et al., eds., *100 Great Science Fiction Short Short Stories* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1978). What might have happened if John F. Kennedy had been elected president in 1960; the author lives in the world where Nixon won the election.

MANDALA PRODUCTIONS. See ELLISON, Harlan.

MANNING, Patrick. "Analyzing the Costs and Benefits of Colonialism." *African Economic History Review*, 1 (1974), 15–22. A pioneering approach to the economics of colonialism through the techniques of the new economic history, according to SIMENSEN, "Counterfactual Arguments," p. 181.

MARRIOTT, J. A. R. "If Queen Victoria—? An Historical Phantasy." *Fortnightly*, NS 149 (Apr. 1941), 392–98. Had the heir to the British throne in

1837 been male, Hanover would have remained subject to the British crown, with far-reaching effects on German unification and two world wars.

MASON, David. *The Shores of Tomorrow.* New York: Lancer, 1971. Crosstime adventure involves exiles from two 1965 North Americas, both devastated by civil war.

MAUROIS, André. "If Louis XVI Had Had an Atom of Firmness." In SQUIRE, ed., *If,* all edns. Royal reform after 1774 saves the French monarchy from revolution; alternatively, an unreformed monarchy in 1789 rallies the royal troops to crush the revolution. See also ARON, Robert. Cf. DEVAUX.

MAX, Nicholas. *President McGovern's First Term.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1973. What he would have done if elected.

MEREDITH, Richard C. *At the Narrow Passage.* New York: Putnam's, 1973; New York: Berkley Medallion, 1975; Chicago: Playboy Press, 1979. The first in the Timeliner trilogy, this crosstime adventure includes action in one world where Albigensian heretics defeated orthodox crusaders and created an earlier scientific revolution, another where British forces armed with breech-loading rifles suppressed both the American and French revolutions.

———. *No Brother, No Friend.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976; Chicago: Playboy Press, 1979. Much of the action in this second entry in the Timeliner trilogy is set in Niew Est Anglia, part of North America in the world where the Norman Conquest never happened; another sequence occurs in the America that avoided war with Japan, but went fascist.

———. *Run, Come See Jerusalem!* New York: Ballantine, 1976. Time traveler, from a world where Nazi Germany launched a nuclear attack on Chicago in 1947 before losing World War II, flees to 1871 Chicago, where his pursuers set the Chicago Fire to smoke him out.

———. *Vestiges of Time.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1978; Chicago: Playboy Press, 1979. Vol. 3 of the Timeliner trilogy includes some action in the world derived from Hannibal's victory over Rome in 200 B.C.

MERWIN, Sam, Jr. *The House of Many Worlds.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1951; New York: Galaxy Science Fiction Novel No. 12, 1952; New York: Modern Literary Editions, n.d. First published in *Startling Stories,* Sept. 1951. Most of the action in this crosstime adventure takes place in the Columbian Republic founded at New Orleans by Aaron Burr after the War of 1812. A sequel set in first-century Rome merely alludes to alternate history; see Merwin, "Journey to Misenum," *Startling Stories,* Aug. 1953, reprinted as *Three Faces of Time* (New York: Ace Double, 1955).

MEYER, John R. "An Input-Output Approach to Evaluating the Influence of Exports on British Industrial Production in the Late Nineteenth Century." *Explorations in Entrepreneurial History,* 8 (1955), 12–34. If British exports had remained as high in the last quarter as they had been earlier in the nineteenth century, British industrial production might not have suffered the decline it did. This was the first published article to pose an explicit counterfactual hypothesis as a basis for historical analysis; it was actually a collaborative effort by Meyer and Alfred H. Conrad. Along with two other papers—

Meyer and Conrad, "Economic Theory, Statistical Inference and Economic History," *Journal of Economic History*, 17 (1957), 524–44; and Conrad and Meyer, "The Economics of Slavery in the Ante Bellum South," *Journal of Political Economy*, 66 (1958), 95–130—it began the development of "the new economic history," although the term itself was coined later. All three papers are reprinted in Conrad and Meyer, *The Economics of Slavery; and Other Studies in Econometric History* (Chicago: Aldine, 1964).

MOLLO, Andrew. See BROWNLOW, Kevin.

MONTANA, Ron. *The Sign of the Thunderbird.* New York: Manor, 1977. Two soldiers from a postholocaust U.S. wind up in 1860 New Mexico, where they help create a United Indian Nation and found a Free State of New Mexico.

MOORCOCK, Michael. *Gloriana; or, The Unfulfill'd Queen, Being a Romance.* London: Allison & Busby, 1978; London: Fontana, 1978; New York: Avon, 1979. Explicitly framed as alternate history (chap. 4), this romance is set in London, the modern (despite a noticeably Elizabethan ambience) capital of the world-circling Empire of Albion founded by refugees from the fall of Troy.

———. "The Jerry Cornelius Cycle." One of the common settings in this cycle of novels and stories is an alternate history centered on a worldwide war and revolution, 1900–75. In general, neither dating nor events are explicit, although there are such exceptions as episodes in the German Civil War of 1933 or the early twentieth-century Cossack invasion of Canada. Much of the ambience of altered history derives from persistent archaic technologies. Two of the novels come closest to being typical alternative histories: *The Warlord of the Air* (New York: Ace, 1971; London: Quartet, 1974; New York: DAW, 1978) and *The Land Leviathan* (London: Quartet, 1974; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1974; New York: DAW, 1976). Three others, however, are also relevant: *The Adventures of Una Persson and Catherine Cornelius in the Twentieth Century: A Romance* (London: Quartet, 1976); *The English Assassin* (London: Allison & Busby, 1972; New York: Harper & Row, 1972); and *The Condition of Muzak* (London: Allison & Busby, 1977; Boston: Gregg Press, 1978). The latter two titles are also reprinted in Moorcock, *The Cornelius Chronicles* (New York: Avon, 1977). Cf. RABKIN.

MOORE, Ward. *Bring the Jubilee.* New York: Farrar, Straus & Young, 1953; New York: Ballantine, 1953; New York: Avon, 1972. A shorter version was first published in *Fantasy and Science Fiction*, Nov. 1952. Life in twentieth-century America dominated by an independent Confederacy, which won the battle of Gettysburg.

———. "A Class with Dr. Chang." In LEY, ed., *Beyond Time.* The America that resulted from staying out of World War II because Nazi Germany allied with China instead of Japan.

MORGAN, Roger. "If I Had Been . . . Konrad Adenauer in 1952: How I Would Have Accepted Stalin's Proposal for a United Neutralized Germany." In SNOWMAN, ed., *If I Had Been.*

MORIN, Edgar. "Le Camarade-dieu: un conte de Noël." [The Comrade-God: a Christmas story] *France Observateur*, 28 Dec. 1961, p. 24. After only

brushing death in 1953, Stalin still living is proclaimed divine by the Soviet Presidium in Dec. 1961, with mixed reactions in French intellectual and political circles.

MOTTA, Luigi. *Il tonnel sottomarino.* [The undersea tunnel] Milan, 1927. Adventures constructing a tunnel from Manhattan to Brittany, 1924–27, according to Alberto Manguel and Gianni Guadalupi, *The Dictionary of Imaginary Places* (New York: Macmillan, 1980), pp. 23–24.

MULISCH, Harry. *De Toekomst van Gisteren: Protokol van een Schrijverij.* [Yesterday's future: a literary sketch] Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij (Literaire Reuzenpocket 409), 1972. Thoughts on how Hitler's assassination in 1944 might have produced a Himmler countercoup and a German victory.

MULLALLY, Frederic. *Hitler Has Won.* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1975. Some consequences of a Nazi victory in World War II resulting from an early start on the invasion of Russia.

MURPHY, George G. S. "On Counterfactual Propositions." *History and Theory,* Beiheft 9: *Studies in Quantitative History and the Logic of the Social Sciences,* (1969), 14–38.

NATIONAL LAMPOON. "Grand Fifth Term Inaugural Issue: JFK's First 6,000 Days." *National Lampoon,* Feb. 1977, pp. 27–101. What happened after Jackie, not Jack, died in Dallas.

NELSON, R. F. *Blake's Progress.* Toronto: Laser, 1975. Chapter 5 of this time-travel extravaganza is set in the eighteenth-century London that resulted from the victory of Antony and Cleopatra at Actium in 31 B.C.

NESBITT, Mark. *If the South Won Gettysburg.* Gettysburg, Penn.: Reliance, 1980. Mainly a blow-by-blow account of the battle backed by a substantial bibliography, with a final chapter of speculations on the subsequent course of American and world history.

NEUBERGER, Hugh, and Houston H. Stokes. "The Anglo-German Trade Rivalry, 1887–1913: A Counterfactual Outcome and Its Implications." *Social Science History,* 3 (1979), 187–201. Had World War I been avoided, Germany might have outstripped both the U.S. and Britain in exports by 1926, with revived protectionism the likely result.

NICHOLLS, Peter, ed. *The Science Fiction Encyclopedia.* Garden City, N.Y.: Dolphin, 1979. Includes articles on alternate worlds (Brian Stableford), history in science fiction (Tom Shippey), parallel worlds (Stableford), time paradoxes (Malcolm J. Edwards), and time travel (John Brosnan).

NICOLSON, Harold. "If Byron Had Become King of Greece: 'The Gamba Papers.' " In SQUIRE, ed., *If,* all edns. From heroic young poet to doddering old figurehead.

NIVEN, Larry. "All the Myriad Ways." *Galaxy,* Oct. 1968. Reprinted in Niven, *All the Myriad Ways* (New York: Ballantine, 1971); and SILVERBERG, ed., *Worlds of Maybe.* In the world where the Cuban missile crisis led to war, crosstime commerce produces economic benefits but social costs.

———. "Bird in the Hand." *Fantasy and Science Fiction*, Oct. 1970. Reprinted in Donald A. Wollheim and Terry Carr, eds., *World's Best Science Fiction: 1971* (New York: Ace, 1971); and Niven, *The Flight of the Horse* (New York: Ballantine, 1973). In the midst of other complications, time-traveling souvenir hunters accidentally destroy Ford's first auto, with disastrous consequences.

———. "The Theory and Practice of Time Travel." In Niven, *All the Myriad Ways* (New York: Ballantine, 1971). Reprinted as "Time Travel" in *Vertex*, Apr. 1973; and Dick Allen and Lori Allen, eds., *Looking Ahead: The Vision of Science Fiction* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975). Includes some discussion of multiple time tracks, a form which Niven dismisses as too easy to write because it requires only a good history text.

NOCK, Albert Jay. "If Only—." *Atlantic*, Aug. 1937, pp. 228–35. Jocose speculation on the possible careers of Henry George and the two Napoleons had their early lives not been blighted by poverty; and on what might have happened had Jeanne Poisson not henpecked Louis XV into the Seven Years War.

NOËL-NOËL (pseud. Lucien Noël). *Voyageur des siècles.* [Traveler through the centuries] Cited with VAN HERCK in VAN HERP, *Panorama*, 64, without further details but in a context suggesting an alternative history of Napoleon.

NOLAN, William F. "The Worlds of Monty Willson." *Amazing Stories*, July 1971. Reprinted in Nolan, *Alien Horizons* (New York: Pocket Books, 1974). A glimpse into the world where Sirhan missed Bobby Kennedy, who went on to become president and get the U.S. out of Vietnam.

NORDEN, Eric. *The Ultimate Solution.* New York: Warner Paperback Library, 1973. Police work in Nazi-occupied New York, the result of Roosevelt's 1933 assassination which kept the U.S. out of World War II too long.

NORTON, Andre. *The Crossroads of Time.* New York: Ace, 1956; Boston: Gregg Press, 1978. Crosstime adventure, much of it set in the ruined, anarchic New York produced by Nazi air raids from bases in conquered England.

———. *Quest Cross Time.* New York: Viking, 1965; New York: Ace, 1965. A sequel to the title above, partly set in the world where Richard III won at Bosworth in 1485, while the death of Cortez aborted Spain's conquest of Mexico.

———. *Wraiths of Time.* New York: Atheneum, 1976; New York: Fawcett Crest, n.d. Intrigue and magic in the modern African empire descended from ancient Egypt without interference from a nonexistent Islam. Cf. Brian M. Fraser, "Interview with Andre Norton," *Fantastic Science Fiction*, Oct. 1980, pp. 6–7.

O'BRIEN, Patrick. See FOGEL, Robert W., *Railways.*

ORGILL, Michael. "Many Rubicons." In LEY, ed., *Beyond Time.* On MacArthur's options at the Yalu and the outcomes of different choices.

O'ROURKE, P. J., and Tod Carroll. "If World War II Had Been Fought Like the War in Vietnam." *National Lampoon*, Oct. 1980, pp. 54–57.

———. "The Seventies That Never Happened." *National Lampoon*, Feb. 1980, pp. 97–101. How the decade might have looked with the counterculture in control.

PARKER, Geoffrey. "If the Armada Had Landed." *History*, 61 (1976), 358–68. A scholarly discussion of plans and possibilities.

PARKER, William N., and Judith L. V. Klein. "Productivity Growth in Grain Production in the United States, 1840–1860 and 1900–10." Conference on Research in Income and Wealth, *Output, Employment, and Productivity in the United States After 1800* (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1966), pp. 523–82. U.S. agricultural development with a closed frontier or without technical improvements.

PASSELL, Peter. See LEE, Susan Previant.

PEARTON, Maurice. "If I Had Been . . . Adolphe Thiers in 1870: How I Would Have Prevented the Franco-Prussian War." In SNOWMAN, ed., *If I Had Been.*

PERCY, H. R. "Letter from America." In LEY, ed., *Beyond Time.* The plight of English-speaking Americans in the Republic of New France, if France had won the French and Indian War.

PETRIE, Charles. "If: A Jacobite Fantasy." *Weekly Westminster*, 30 Jan. 1926. Reprinted in Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement: The Last Phase, 1716–1807* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1950); and SQUIRE, ed., *If*, 1972 edns. only. What a Stuart Restoration in 1745 might have meant for England.

PHILLIPS, W. A. P. "Chance in History: Nelson's Pursuit of Bonaparte, May–June 1798." *History Today*, 15 (1965), 176–82. Napoleon might well have been captured or killed, and without him there would have been no Consulate or Empire.

PHILMUS, Robert M. See BORGES, Jorge Luis.

PIGNOTTI, Lorenzo. *Storia della Toscana.* Pisa: Didot, 1813–14; Florence: Marchini, 1821, etc.; trans. John Browning as *The History of Tuscany* (London: Black, Young, and Young, 1823, etc.). Had Lorenzo de Medici (1448–92) lived longer, he might have saved Italy from foreign invasion and Europe from Protestantism. Cf. D'ISRAELI.

PINKERTON, Jan. See HALE, Edward Everett.

PIPER, H. Beam. "Crossroads of Destiny." *Fantastic Universe*, July 1959. One of a group of men talking about alternate timelines turns out to be the product of such an alternate, according to John L. Espley, "H. Beam Piper: An Annotated Bibliography," *Extrapolation*, 21 (1980), 175.

———. "He Walked around the Horses." *Astounding*, Apr. 1948. Reprinted in Fletcher Pratt, ed., *World of Wonder* (New York: Twayne, 1951); Edmund Crispin, ed., *Best SF Three* (London: Faber & Faber, 1958); G. D. Doherty, ed., *Aspects of Science Fiction* (London: Murray, 1959); I. O. Evans, ed., *Science Fiction through the Ages*, vol. 2 (London: Panther, 1966); and Damon Knight, ed., *A Science Fiction Argosy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1972). Bonaparte is unknown because Benedict Arnold's death at Quebec in 1776 led to British victory at Saratoga, quashing the American and obviating the French Revolution.

———. *Lord Kalvan of Otherwhen.* New York: Ace, 1965; New York: Garland, 1975. This is a fix-up of two stories published in *Analog*: "Gunpowder God" (Nov. 1964) and "Down Styphon" (Nov. 1965); the British edition was published as *Gunpowder God* (London: Sphere, 1978). Crosstime adventure among the descendents of the prehistoric Aryan settlers of North America. Other stories in the Paratime Police series, all in *Astounding*—"Police Operation" (July 1948), "Last Enemy" (Aug. 1950), "Temple Trouble" (Apr. 1951), and "Time Crime" (Feb. and Mar. 1955)—are essentially exotic adventures which merely mention alternate history in passing or bear no relation to known history.

PIRIE-GORDON, C. H. C. See ROLFE, Frederick William.

POHL, Frederik. "Target One." *Galaxy*, Apr. 1955. Reprinted in Pohl, *Alternating Currents* (New York: Ballantine, 1956; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966). Victims of a blasted future devise a machine to assassinate Einstein, but the altered world has its own problems.

POYER, Joe. *Tunnel War.* New York: Atheneum, 1979. England and France begin building a cross-channel tunnel in 1911 and meet attempted German sabotage.

PRATT, Fletcher. *The Blue Star.* New York: Ballantine, 1969. A shorter version was published in Pratt's anonymously ed. *Witches Three* (New York: Twayne, 1952). The development of magic rather than science in the world where gunpowder was never invented.

RABKIN, Eric S. *The Fantastic in Literature.* Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1976; paperback rpt., 1977. Includes a rationale for classifying alternate history as science fiction (pp. 121–22), and also discusses BORGES, "Garden of Forking Paths," and MOORCOCK, *Warlord of the Air.*

RAWLEY, James A. *Turning Points of the Civil War.* Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1966. Although none are much sustained, speculative alternatives abound, perhaps because the very notion of turning points so strongly implies them.

REDLICH, Fritz. " 'New' and Traditional Approaches to Economic History and Their Interdependence." *Journal of Economic History*, 25 (1965), 480–95. Vigorous attack on the concept of counterfactuals, later somewhat moderated in his "Potentialities and Pitfalls in Economic History," *Explorations in Entrepreneurial History*, 2nd ser., 6 (1968), 93–108; reprinted in ANDREANO, ed., *New Economic History.* Cf. GREEN.

RENOUVIER, Charles. *Uchronie.* Paris: Bureau de la Critique Philosophique, 1876; 2nd edn., Paris: Felix Alcan, 1901. Emperor Marcus Aurelius joins forces with a dissident general to reform the army, emancipate the slaves, and suppress Christianity, thus reviving the Roman Empire and averting the Dark Ages. An earlier version appeared anonymously in *Revue philosophique et religieuse* (1857), according to VERSINS, pp. 736–37, 904.

RICHARD-BESSIÈRE, F. *Croisière dans le temps.* [Cruise in time] Collection "Anticipation"; Paris: Fleuve Noir, 1951. Because time travelers save Henry

IV of France from assassination in 1610, Europe achieves unification, world war breaks out a century early, and civilization collapses in the twentieth century; as summarized in VERSINS, *Encyclopédie*, p. 412.

RICHARDS, John Thomas. "Minor Alteration." *Fantasy and Science Fiction*, Dec. 1965. Twentieth-century time traveler prevents Lincoln's assassination, with largely sad results for the later history of America and the world.

RICHARDSON, Hal. "The Time of Fear." Published serially in the Melbourne *Argus*, 28 July–6 Sept. 1956. What happened when Japan won the Battle of the Coral Sea and occupied Australia. Donald H. Tuck, *The Encyclopedia of Science Fiction and Fantasy*, 2 vols. to date (Chicago: Advent, 1974–). S. V. Richardson erroneously identifies this serial with a true war story, *One-Man War* (Sydney and Melbourne: Angus Robertson, 1957; and Toronto: Ryerson, 1957). With Mr. Tuck's help, we obtained a microfilm of the serial from Graham Stone of Sydney.

RIGAUT, Jacques. "Un brillant sujet." [A brilliant subject] *Littérature*, No. 18, (Mar. 1921). Reprinted in Rigaut, *Papiers posthumes* (Paris: Sans Pareil, 1934), pp. 109–13. Time-traveling picaro poisons Jesus, defaces Cleopatra, and corrupts Homer, among other peccadilloes.

ROBERTS, Keith. *Pavane*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1968; New York: Ace, n.d.; New York: Berkley Medallion, 1976. A collection of six stories set in the modern world that resulted from Queen Elizabeth's assassination, which led to civil war, the triumph of the Spanish Armada, and the suppression of the Reformation. The stories were originally published during 1966 in *Impulse*: "The Signaller" (Mar.), "The Lady Anne" (Apr.; retitled "The Lady Margaret" in *Pavane*), "Brother John" (May), "Lords and Ladies" (June), and "Corfe Gate" (July); and in *New Worlds*: "The White Boat" (Dec.). "Signaller" was reprinted in Gardner Dozois, ed., *Another World* (New York: Follett, 1977); "Lady" in Dozois, ed., *A Day in the Life* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972); and "White Boat" in Roberts, *The Grain Kings* (London: Hutchinson, 1976), and idem, *The Passing of the Dragons* (New York: Berkley Medallion, 1977).

———. "Weinacht[s]abend." In Michael Moorcock, ed., *New Worlds Quarterly #4* (New York: Berkley Medallion, 1972). Reprinted in Harry Harrison and Brian W. Aldiss, eds., *Best SF 72* (New York: Berkley / Putnam's, 1973); Roberts, *The Grain Kings* (London: Hutchinson, 1976); and Roberts, *The Passing of the Dragons* (New York: Berkley Medallion, 1977). Freedom fighters in the Nazi-occupied Britain that surrendered after a 1940 putsch.

ROBINETT, Stephen. "Helbent 4." *Galaxy*, Oct. 1975. Reprinted in James Baen, ed., *The Best from Galaxy: Volume IV* (New York: Award, 1976; New York: Ace, 1978); Lester del Rey, ed., *Best Science Fiction Stories of the Year: Fifth Annual Collection* (New York: Ace, 1976); and Donald A. Wollheim, ed., *The 1976 Annual World's Best SF* (New York: DAW, 1976); and Robinett, *Projections* (New York: Baronet, 1979). Product of the world where the U.S. was founded in 1521, a sentient battleship dispatched to meet a distant menace in space returns to find modern America.

ROBBAN, Randolph. *Si l'Allemagne avait vaincu.* [If Germany had won] Paris: Editions de la Tour du Guët, 1950. Nazi atomic bomb wins the war, and a neutral diplomat wonders what might have happened if the Allies had won.

ROCHE, John P. "And That's the Way It Was, July 4, 1776." *TV Guide*, 28 June 1975. How a TV interview with defector Benedict Arnold in 1780 (despite the title) helped keep America part of the British Empire.

[ROLFE, Frederick William (self-styled Baron Corvo), and C. H. C. Pirie-Gordon.] *Hubert's Arthur: Being Certain Curious Documents Found Among the Literary Remains of Mr. N. C.* London: Cassell, 1935; New York: Arno Press, 1978. Prince Arthur of Brittany, nephew and heir of Richard Lion-Heart, escapes King John, turns crusader, and finally returns to claim his throne.

ROSCOE, William. *Illustrations, Historical and Critical, of the Life of Lorenzo de Medici.* London: Cadell, 1822. Speculates, according to D'ISRAELI, on how a surviving Lorenzo might have prevented the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII of France. STABLEFORD, "A Note on Alternate History," incorrectly attributes this passage to Roscoe's earlier *Life of Lorenzo* (1795), which D'Israeli could hardly have described as "lately" published.

ROSEBERY, Archibald Philip Primrose, Fifth Earl of. *Napoleon: The Last Phase.* New edn.; London: Arthur L. Humphreys, 1909. This edition contains an introduction speculating on Napoleon's style had he gone on to rule in peace.

ROSEN, Elliot A. "Baker on the Fifth Ballot? The Democratic Alternative: 1932." *Ohio History*, 75 (1966), 226–46, 273–77. How Baker could have won the nomination and why he did not, with some remarks on what the general style of a Baker presidency might have been.

RUSS, Joanna. *The Female Man.* New York: Bantam, 1975; Boston: Gregg Press, 1977. Analogous characters in several alternate worlds, one of which is historical: Hitler's death from natural causes in 1936 obviates World War II and leaves the Depression continuing to the present.

RUSSETT, Bruce M. *No Clear and Present Danger: A Skeptical View of the U.S. Entry into World War II.* New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1972. What might have happened had the U.S. provided only economic aid to Britain and Russia, while staying technically neutral toward Germany and reaching compromise with Japan.

RYAN, J. B. "The Mosaic." *Astounding*, July 1940. Time-traveling emir from modern Far Damascus (Manhattan) saves Charles Martel from assassination on the eve of Tours, obviating the Arab victory, his world, and himself.

SABERHAGEN, Fred. *The Mask of the Sun.* New York: Ace, 1979. History turns on the outcome of the Inca struggle to overthrow Spanish rule in sixteenth-century Peru.

SARBAN (John W. WALL). *The Sound of His Horn.* London: Davies, 1952; New York: Ballantine, 1960. Nightmare vision of life in the 102nd year of the First German Millenium, the product of Hitler's decision to finish off Russia first, then invade England in 1945.

SAUNDERS, Jake. "Back to the Stone Age." In George W. Proctor and Steven Utley, eds., *Lone Star Universe* (Austin, Tex.: Heidelberg, 1976). Reprinted in Gardner Dozois, ed., *Best Science Fiction Stories of the Year: Sixth Annual Collection* (New York: Ace, 1977). The failure of American atomic bomb development causes the war against Japan to last interminably.

SCHACHNER, Nat. "Ancestral Voices." *Astounding*, Dec. 1933. When he accidentally kills a fifth-century Hun who was his ancestor, a time traveler ceases to exist, as do thousands of contemporary Jews and Germans, including a thinly disguised Adolf Hitler, according to CARTER, *Creation of Tomorrow*, p. 123.

SCHUYLER, Robert Livingston. "Contingency in History." *Political Science Quarterly*, 74 (1959), 321–33. On the value of historical speculation as seen in such works as those of BUCHAN and RENOUVIER, with a sample: what if England had been ruled by a Catholic Habsburg instead of a Protestant Tudor because Mary of England had borne a son to Philip II of Spain?

SCORTIA, Thomas N. *Artery of Fire.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1972; New York: Popular Library, n.d. A shorter version appeared in *Science Fiction Stories*, Mar. 1960. In the world where the atomic bombs dropped on Japan had failed, energy transmission problems begin to create openings to alternate worlds.

SEABURY, Paul. "The Histronaut." *Fantasy and Science Fiction*, Apr. 1963. A U.S. revisionary retaliation agent destroys Lenin's sealed train from Switzerland and returns to the present to find Washington under German occupation.

SELL, William. "Other Tracks." *Astounding*, Oct. 1938. Reprinted in Groff Conklin, ed., *Science-Fiction Adventures in Dimension* (New York: Vanguard, 1953; New York: Berkley Medallion, 1965). Why time travelers must inevitably return to an altered present.

SHECKLEY, Robert. "The Deaths of Ben Baxter." *Galaxy*, July 1957. Reprinted in Sheckley, *Store of Infinity* (New York: Bantam, 1960). Problem-solving by attempts to alter past events in the mainline and two alternates: one stemming from Hamilton's 1804 dueling victory over Burr, the other from the peaceful conquest of America by a Westernized version of Buddhism.

SHIPPEY, Tom. See NICHOLLS, Peter.

SHIRER, William L. "If Hitler Had Won World War II." *Look*, 19 Dec. 1961. Starting the invasion of Russia in May instead of June brings victory by Christmas, conquest of England in 1942, partition of the U.S. between Germany and Japan by 1945. See also the letters prompted by the essay, *Look*, 30 Jan. 1962.

SHUKMAN, Harold. "If I Had Been . . . Alexander Kerensky in 1917: How I Would Have Prevented the Bolshevik Revolution." In SNOWMAN, ed., *If I Had Been.*

SILVERBERG, Robert. *The Gate of Worlds.* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967. Adventure in the world where the Black Death killed so many Europeans that the Ottoman Turks were able to conquer the continent and the New World was free to develop independently.

———. "Translation Error." *Astounding*, Mar. 1959. Reprinted in Silverberg, *The Cube Root of Uncertainty* (New York: Macmillan, 1970); SILVERBERG, ed., *Worlds of Maybe*; and Daniel Roselle, ed., *Transformations II: Understanding American History through Science Fiction* (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Crest, 1974). An alien arranges an early end to World War I in an effort to slow technological innovation and keep humanity out of space.

———. "Trips." In Edward L. Ferman and Barry N. Malzberg, eds., *Final Stage: The Ultimate Science Fiction Anthology* (New York: Charterhouse, 1974; New York: Penguin, 1975). Reprinted and enlarged in Silverberg, *The Feast of St. Dionysus* (New York: Scribner's, 1975; New York: Berkley, 1975). Cross-time traveler visits a series of alternate worlds, the most fully described one in which Roosevelt retired in 1940 leaving the U.S. to neutrality and the Eastern Hemisphere to Axis conquest.

———, ed. *Worlds of Maybe: Seven Stories of Science Fiction.* New York: Thomas Nelson, 1970; New York: Dell, 1974. Includes an introduction on alternate history, but see also his afterword to "Trips," above; the stories collected are listed separately under the authors: ANDERSON, FARMER, LEINSTER, NIVEN, and SILVERBERG.

SIMAK, Clifford D. *The Fellowship of the Talisman.* New York: Ballantine, 1979. Sword-and-sorcery yarn explicitly framed as alternate history: the modern world remains medieval because alien intervention aborted the Crusades in the eleventh century and Portuguese expansion in the fifteenth.

SIMENSEN, Jarle. "Counterfactual Arguments in Historical Analysis: From the Debate on the Partition of Africa and the Effect of Colonial Rule." *History in Africa*, 5 (1978), 169–86. The implications of counterfactuals for the study of history, as exemplified by the courses African development might have taken without colonialism.

SIMULATIONS PUBLICATIONS. *Dixie: The Second War Between the States.* War game published in *Strategy and Tactics*, No. 54 (Jan.-Feb. 1976). Based on the premise that the South won independence in 1863, the game itself offers three scenarios for war between U.S.A. and C.S.A. in the 1930s.

———. *Operation Olympic: The Invasion of Japan, 1 November 1945.* War game published in *Strategy and Tactics*, No. 45 (July-Aug. 1974). An accompanying article by Frank Davis simply describes the situation and plans of both sides.

———. *Seelöwe: The German Invasion of Britain, 1940.* New York: SPI, 1974. The game background is described in Frank Davis, "Seelöwe: The German Plan to Invade England, 1940," *Strategy and Tactics*, No. 40 (Sept.-Oct. 1973), and includes a section on "The German Victory Scenario (Hypothetical)." For

more on the game itself, see *Strategy and Tactics*, No. 43 (Mar.-Apr. 1974), p. 3; and No. 45 (July-Aug. 1974), pp. 38–40.

———. "Space: 1889." *Strategy and Tactics*, No. 60 (1977), p. 43. Description of a proposed game based on the use of space forces in World War I, after an American scientist invented an ether-flyer in 1889.

———. "What If . . . ? Time Capsules." *Strategy and Tactics*, No. 75 (July-Aug. 1979), p. 43. Descriptions of proposed games of hypothetical battles: Bonaparte in Britain, Austria resists Hitler's *Anschluss*, Japan invades Hawaii after Pearl Harbor, England allies with the Confederacy, and war for Germany between the Western Allies and the Soviet Union in 1945.

SLADEK, John T. "1937 A.D.!" *New Worlds*, July 1967. Reprinted in Harry Harrison and Brian W. Aldiss, eds., *Best SF: 1967* (New York: Berkley Medallion, 1968). A time-machine inventor leaves the United States of Columbia in 1878 and arrives in a 1937 alternate both to his world and ours.

SLONIMSKI, Antoni. *Torpeda czasu.* [Time torpedo] Warsaw, 1967. Attempts to alter the past to obviate one war produce another war, according to LEM, "The Time-Travel Story."

SMITH, L. Neil. *The Probability Broach.* New York: Ballantine, 1980. What modern America might look like if the nefarious plot to replace the Articles of Confederation with the Constitution had been foiled. A sequel, *The Venus Belt* (New York: Ballantine, 1981), carries the story into space.

SNOWMAN, Daniel, ed. *If I Had Been . . . : Ten Historical Fantasies.* Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1979; London: Robson, 1979. An introductory discussion of the nature and philosophy of alternative history, followed by scholarly essays on alternatives, each listed separately under its author; see ALLEN, BLAKEMORE, CALVERT, EDWARDS (Owen), MORGAN, PEARTON, SHUKMAN, THOMPSON (Roger), WINDSOR, and WRIGHT.

SOBEL, Robert. *For Want of a Nail: If Burgoyne Had Won at Saratoga.* New York: Macmillan, 1973. A detailed textbook-like history of the Confederation of North America and the United States of Mexico from the failed Revolution to the present.

SPINRAD, Norman. *The Iron Dream.* New York: Avon, 1972; Boston: Gregg Press, 1977; New York: Jove/HBJ, 1978. The prize-winning sword-and-sorcery novel Adolf Hitler might have written had he emigrated to the U.S. in 1919 and become a science fiction illustrator. See Ursula K. Le Guin, "On Norman Spinrad's *The Iron Dream*," *Science-Fiction Studies*, 1 (1973), 41–44.

SPRUILL, Steven G. *The Janus Equation.* In Joan D. Vinge and Spruill, *Binary Star No. 4* (New York: Dell, 1980). Intrigue swirls around the invention of time travel in the twenty-second-century corporation-dominated world derived from reforms that John Kennedy initiated during his second term as president.

SQUIRE, J. C. "If It Had Been Discovered in 1930 that Bacon Really Did Write Shakespeare." *London Mercury*, 23 (Jan. 1931), 244–56. Reprinted in

SQUIRE, ed., *If*, all edns.; and Squire, *Outside Eden* (London: Heinemann, 1933), retitled "Professor Gubbitt's Revolution." Mainly a satire on contemporary literary punditry.

———. "What Might Have Happened." In Squire, *Outside Eden*, pp. 211–39. If Britain had adopted Prohibition.

———, ed. *If It Had Happened Otherwise: Lapses into Imaginary History.* London: Longmans, Green, 1931 (2nd impression, 1932). American edn. titled *If; or, History Rewritten* (New York: Viking, 1931; Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat, 1964) omits KNOX and adds VAN LOON. A new edn., *If It Had Happened Otherwise* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972), added PETRIE, TREVELYAN, and WHEELER-BENNETT to the 1931 British edn. Each essay is listed separately under its author; in addition to those cited above, see BELLOC, CHESTERTON, CHURCHILL, FISHER, GUEDALLA, LUDWIG, MAUROIS, NICOLSON, SQUIRE, and WALDMANN.

STABLEFORD, Brian. "A Note on Alternate History," *Extrapolation*, 21 (1980), 395–99. Mainly discusses D'ISRAELI. See also NICHOLLS, Peter.

STAFFORD, Terry. See GYGAX, E. Gary.

STALL, Michael. "Rice Brandy." In Kenneth Bulmer, ed., *New Writings in SF 25* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1975; London: Corgi, 1976). With help from our century, Jayavarman VIII, King of the Khmers, turns back the fifteenth-century Thai invasion and presides over an industrializing world empire that has pleasant results for an alternative twentieth century.

STAPP, Robert. *A More Perfect Union.* New York: Harper's Magazine Press, 1970; New York: Berkley Medallion, 1971. Nuclear confrontation between the U.S.A. and the C.S.A. in the world where Lincoln allowed the South to secede peacefully.

STOKES, Houston H. See NEUBERGER, Hugh.

THIRY, Marcel. *Échec au temps.* [Repulse in time] Paris: Editions de la nouvelle France, 1945. New edn.; Brussels: La Renaissance du Livre, 1962. In the world where Napoleon won at Waterloo, time travelers inadvertently cause him to lose.

THOMAS, Donald. *Prince Charlie's Bluff.* New York: Viking, 1974. British failure to take Quebec in the French and Indian War sets the stage for a Stuart restoration in the southern colonies.

THOMAS, Robert Paul. "The Automobile Industry and Its Tycoon." *Explorations in Entrepreneurial History*, 2nd ser., 6 (1969), 139–57. The vision of other car manufacturers and the burgeoning used-car market would have put America on wheels even if Henry Ford had never lived.

———. "A Quantitative Approach to the Study of the Effects of British Imperial Policy upon Colonial Welfare: Some Preliminary Findings." *Journal of Economic History*, 25 (1965), 615–38. Reprinted in Don Karl Rowney and James Q. Graham, Jr., eds., *Quantitative History: Selected Readings in the Quantitative Analysis of Historical Data* (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey, 1969).

How the colonies might have prospered had they been independent from 1763 and so free from the burden of the Navigation Acts. Although Thomas was the first to tackle this problem counterfactually, it had been posed in quantitative terms a generation earlier by Lawrence A. Harper, "The Effect of the Navigation Acts on the Thirteen Colonies," in Richard B. Morris, ed., *The Era of the American Revolution* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1939; New York: Harper Torch, 1965). The Thomas thesis has also been the subject of much further discussion, pro and con; for a recent review, with bibliography, see LEE & PASSELL, *New Economic View*, chap. 2.

THOMPSON, Don. "Worlds Enough." In LEY, ed., *Beyond Time.* Illegal crosstime traveler touches several alternate worlds, finding the differences sometimes very subtle.

THOMPSON, Roger. "If I Had Been . . . The Earl of Shelburne in 1762–5: How I Would Have Steered British Policy in Such a Way as to Have Prevented the American Colonies from Wanting to Rebel a Decade Later." In SNOWMAN, ed., *If I Had Been.*

THORN, G. W. P. "The Salamanca Campaign, 1812: An Illustration of Modern Ideas." *Army Quarterly*, 29 (1934), 117–24. What might have happened if mechanized forces had been used in the campaign.

THRUPP, C. G. D. "If There Had Been A.F.Vs. [Armoured Fighting Vehicles] at Mons and Le Cateau in 1914." *Army Quarterly*, 32 (1936), 48–58. What this might have meant to the fate of the British army.

THURBER, James. "If Grant Had Been Drinking at Appomattox." *New Yorker*, 6 Dec. 1930. Reprinted in Thurber, *The Middle-Aged Man on the Flying Trapeze* (New York: Harper, 1935); *The Thurber Carnival* (New York: Harper & Row, 1945); *Vintage Thurber* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1963); and *Fantasy and Science Fiction*, Feb. 1952. A burlesque prompted by the essays of CHURCHILL, FISHER, and WALDMANN.

TOYNBEE, Arnold J. "The Forfeited Birthright of the Abortive Far Eastern Christian Civilization." In *A Study of History*, vol. 2 (2nd edn.; London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1935), pp. 446–52. Had the Umayyad Caliphate lost its hold on Transcaspia, as it almost did in A.D. 731, Christianized Mongols might have destroyed Islam in the thirteenth century.

———. "The Forfeited Birthright of the Abortive Far Western Christian Civilization." In *A Study of History*, vol. 2, pp. 427–33. The alternative shaping of Western civilization had the outcomes of the Synod of Whitby in 664 or the Battle of Tours in 732 been different. See DE CAMP, "Science of Whithering" and "Wheels of If."

———. "The Forfeited Birthright of the Abortive Scandinavian Civilization." In *A Study of History*, vol. 2, pp. 438–43. Had things gone a little differently during the ninth and tenth centuries, the Vikings might have founded a globe-straddling Scandinavian civilization.

———. "If Alexander the Great Had Lived On." In Toynbee, *Some Problems of Greek History* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1969), pp. 441–86. Abridged

reprint in Eugene N. Borza, ed., *The Impact of Alexander the Great* (Hinsdale, Ill.: Dryden, 1974), pp. 163–79. He might have conquered much more of the world and founded a far more lasting empire.

———. "If Ochus and Philip Had Lived On." In *Some Problems of Greek History*, pp. 421–40. The Greek and Persian worlds of the late fourth century B.C. might have developed quite differently.

———. "The Lost Opportunities of the Scandinavians and the 'Osmanlis.' " In *A Study of History*, vol. 2, pp. 444–45. Had a series of just missed chances in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries been seized, the Ottoman Empire would have met a quite different fate.

———. "The Role of Individuals in Human Affairs." In *Some Problems of Greek History*, pp. 418–20. This introduction to the alternate biographies of Ochus and Philip, and of Alexander, cited above, discusses the significance of individuals as against historical forces.

———. "Some Great 'Ifs' of History." *New York Times Magazine*, 5 Mar. 1961, pp. 32–33 ff. Reflections on the kind of events that really change history, and on the possible results of certain alternative outcomes.

TREVELYAN, G. M. "If Napoleon Had Won the Battle of Waterloo." *Westminster Gazette*, July 1907. Reprinted in Trevelyan, *Clio: A Muse* (London: Longmans, Green, 1913; rev. edn., 1930); and SQUIRE, ed., *If*, 1972 edns. only. How Napoleon might have fared as the ruler of a peaceful empire.

TREVOR-ROPER, H. R. *History and Imagination: A Valedictory Lecture, University of Oxford, 20 May 1980.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980. Why historians should pay attention not only to what happened, but also to what might have happened.

TRIMBLE, Bjo. See ELLISON, Harlan.

TUCHMAN, Barbara W. "If Mao Had Come to Washington: An Essay in Alternatives." *Foreign Affairs*, 51 (1972), 44–64. Reprinted in Tuchman, *Notes from China* (New York: Collier, 1972). What might have resulted if pro-Chiang Ambassador Hurley had not burked the request by Mao and Chou En-lai to meet with Roosevelt.

TUCHOLSKY, Kurt. "Was wäre, wenn . . . ?" [What if?] A series of political comments originally published from 1918 to 1927 and reprinted in Tucholsky, *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. Mary Gerold-Tucholsky and Fritz J. Raddatz, 4 vols. (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1960–62), vol. 1, pp. 283–84, 399–401, 560–61, 975–80; vol. 2, pp. 212–14, 883–87; the second of these also in Tucholsky, *What If—?*, trans. Harry Zohn and Karl F. Ross (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1967), pp. 9–10. Alternate history as a vehicle for satire; e.g., what the Germans would have learned about the true character of the ex-Crown Prince if Germany had won World War I.

UTLEY, Steven, and Howard Waldrop. "Custer's Last Jump." In Terry Carr, ed., *Universe 6* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976; New York: Popular Library, 1977). Reprinted in Carr, ed., *The Best Science Fiction of the Year No. 6* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1977); and Gardner Dozois,

ed., *Best SF Stories of the Year: Sixth Annual Collection* (New York: Dutton, 1977; New York: Ace, 1977). How the course of the American Civil War and the Indian wars might have been altered by a somewhat more rapid development of military technology.

VAN ARNAM, Dave. See WHITE, Ted.

VAN DEN DAELE, Wolfgang. See BÖHME, Gernot.

VAN HERCK, Paul. *Opération Bonaparte*. Cited without further details as more adept than THIRY, in VAN HERP, *Panorama*, 64, suggesting an alternative history of Napoleon; cf. NOËL-NOËL.

VAN HERP, Jacques. *Panorama de la science fiction.* [Panorama of science fiction] Verviers, Belgium: André Gérard, 1973. Chap. 2, "Dans les corridors de l'espace-temps," includes references to alternate worlds.

VAN LOON, Hendrik Willem. "If the Dutch Had Kept Nieuw Amsterdam." In SQUIRE, ed., *If*, 1931 American edn. only. The town remains a tolerant, profiteering enclave into the nineteenth century, and its laws persist into the twentieth with interesting consequences for Prohibition.

VAN RJNDT, Philippe. *The Trial of Adolf Hitler.* New York: Summit Books, 1978. Hitler survives the Berlin bunker and lives in obscurity until 1978, when he seeks vindication before an international tribunal.

VERSINS, Pierre. *Encyclopédie de l'utopie, des voyages extraordinaires et de la science fiction.* [Encyclopedia of utopia, extraordinary voyages, and science fiction] Lausanne: Editions l'Age de l'Homme, 1972. See esp. s.v. "Napoléon," "Temps," and names of individual authors.

VILLARD, Oswald Garrison. "Issues and Men." *The Nation*, 22 Oct. 1938, p. 411. Things might have been better had the Germans won the Battle of the Marne.

VIOT, Henry-Gérard. See DEVAUX, Pierre.

WALDMANN, Milton. "If Booth Had Missed Lincoln." In SQUIRE, ed., *If*, all edns. Also published in *Scribner's*, 88 (Nov. 1930), 473–84. Unsympathetic book review of a revisionist historian's attempt to repair the name of a president whose ill-conceived postwar policies cost him whatever credit might have been due his wartime success.

WALDROP, Howard. See UTLEY, Steven.

WALL, John W. See SARBAN.

WARRICK, Patricia. See DICK, Philip K.

WEBB, Lucas. *The Attempted Assassination of John F. Kennedy: A Political Fantasy.* San Bernardino, Cal.: Reginald / Borgo Press, 1976. On the eve of being sworn in as James VII, 42nd Lord President of the U.S., James Lister talks with a panel of reporters about his philosophy and his life, touching on his reaction as a teen-ager to Kennedy's close brush with death in Dallas, among other anomalies.

WENTZ, Richard E. "Reflections on a Rebellion Averted." *Christian Century*, 23–30 June 1976, pp. 596–99. How nineteenth-century America might have

fared if the Revolution had succeeded without bloodshed; in the same series as DELORIA and HILL.

WEST, Wallace. *River of Time.* Cardiff, Wales: Avalon, 1963. Modern students try to better their era by averting the fall of Rome.

WESTHEIMER, David. *Lighter Than a Feather.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1971. Reprinted as *Downfall* (New York: Bantam, 1972). Blow-by-blow account of the American invasion of Japan in Oct. 1945, after the failure of the atomic bomb.

WHEELER, John A. See EVERETT, Hugh.

WHEELER-BENNETT, John. "Introduction." In SQUIRE, ed., *If*, 1972 edn. Comments on alternate history.

WHITAKER, John. *Mary Queen of Scots Vindicated.* 3 vols.; London: J. Murray, 1787; 2nd edn., 1790. According to D'ISRAELI, how England would have benefited had Queen Elizabeth died earlier and been succeeded by her cousin Mary.

WHITE, O. W. "Past Events and Future Possibilities." *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, 67 (1922), 311–25. A reconstruction of the operations of the Japanese Second Army in the spring of 1904 during the Russo-Japanese War if it had been mechanized and motorized.

WHITE, Ted. *The Jewels of Elsewhen.* New York: Belmont, 1967. Crosstime adventure with some action in the world where the Holy Roman Empire achieved European hegemony and dominates the New World as well as the Old.

———, and Dave Van Arnam. *Sideslip.* New York: Pyramid, 1968. Intrigue among communists and Nazis in contemporary New York, after alien intervention obviated World War II.

WILLIAMS, Emlyn. *Headlong.* New York: Viking, 1981. What happened after the entire British royal family was wiped out in a 1935 airship disaster.

WILLIAMSON, Jeffrey G. *Late Nineteenth-Century American Development: A General Equilibrium History.* Cambridge Univ. Press, 1974. Analyzes, individually or in combination, such counterfactuals as a closed frontier, static technology, nonrailway transport, and an end to European immigration. See also KELLEY, Allen C.

WINDSOR, Philip. "If I Had Been . . . Alexander Dubcek in 1968: How I Would Have Saved the 'Prague Spring' and Prevented the Warsaw Pact Invasion." In SNOWMAN, ed., *If I Had Been.*

WOLFE, Gene. "How I Lost the Second World War and Helped Turn Back the German Invasion." *Analog*, May 1973. Reprinted in Ben Bova, ed., *The Best of Analog* (New York: Baronet, 1978; New York: Ace, 1979). Trying to extend its economic suzerainty, Nazi Germany invades the British market with cheap VWs, while military attache Lt. Col. Dwight Eisenhower war games World War II before going home to a Buick dealership in Kansas.

WRIGHT, Esmond. "If I Had Been . . . Benjamin Franklin in the early 1770s: How I Would Have Prevented American Discontent from Becoming Revolution." In SNOWMAN, ed., *If I Had Been.*

WYNDHAM, John. "Random Quest." In Wyndham, *Consider Her Ways, and Others* (London: Michael Joseph, 1961); and Wyndham, *The Infinite Moment* (New York: Ballantine, 1961). Reprinted in Christopher Cerf, ed., *The Vintage Anthology of Science Fantasy* (New York: Vintage, 1966); and Charles W. Sullivan, ed., *As Tomorrow Becomes Today* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974). Romance set in the world where obscure events in the late 1920s produced a stronger League of Nations, which averted World War II. This story was the basis for a British film, "Quest for Love," Peter Rogers Productions, 1971, produced by Peter Eton, directed by Ralph Thomas, screenplay by Bert Batt; for further particulars, see Walt Lee, comp., *Reference Guide to Fantastic Films: Science Fiction, Fantasy, & Horror*, 3 vols. (Los Angeles: Chelsea-Lee Books, 1972–74), vol. 3, p. 388.

YARBRO, Chelsea Quinn. *Ariosto: Ariosto Furioso, a Romance for an Alternate Renaissance.* New York: Pocket Books, 1980. Political machinations in a sixteenth-century Italy federated under Medici leadership, alternating with fantasy adventure in an Italian-colonized New World.

ZEBROWSKI, George. "The Cliometricon." In LEY, ed., *Beyond Time.* Reprinted in Zebrowski, *The Monadic Universe* (New York: Ace, 1977). The titular machine (unrelated to cliometrics) allows the historian to study alternative outcomes of D-Day.

ZELAZNY, Roger. *Roadmarks.* New York: Ballantine, 1979. A man drives the endless highway of time with a load of guns for the Greeks at Marathon, hoping to restore the Greek victory he remembers.

The Launching Pad

(*continued from page 308*)

last spring Samuel R. Delany called for "the evolution of a formal body and language of sf criticism in order to record 'our' particular way of reading sf." The introductory essay goes on to say that Chip's "theses are that literary (especially academic) critics have already begun to treat science fiction as a kind of younger, even retarded, sibling to the main body of fiction; that they are misreading sf because they bring to it the same critical sensibilities they use on mainstream fiction . . . and that, unless sf writers and readers enter the arena of formal criticism, the only record of science fiction criticism in coming decades will be that of the misinformed." Grant you that the quote is from Paul Novitski, supposedly drawing on Delany.

I had hoped that this issue was settled, especially since Delany himself wrote so well of the problem some years ago (see *SF: The Other Side of Realism* and *Many Futures,*

Many Worlds for reprints of two important critical essays by Delany). The view certainly ignores the "thesis" that some of us have been suggesting for a number of years—including the late Lionel Stevenson: namely, that throughout literature there have been two equal currents, one concerned with the everyday world and one concerned with the various kinds of fantasy. The key word, of course, is equal. The view attributed to Chip sounds hopelessly defensive and smacks of the antagonism which apparently still exists between fen and academics. This last is also regrettable inasmuch as one of the early expressed aims of SFRA was to act as liaison between fandom and academe. The proposed program for Denver shows the shaggy debate (yes, it's like a shaggy dog story) continuing. But I want to talk to Chip in November when I'm in the New York area. Perhaps he'll write for us sometime next year.

Speaking of fandom reminds me that a funny thing happened this year on the way to Denver. As some of you know, I'm on leave from the College of Wooster this year to complete some writing. I did not go to SFRA in June because I was teaching summer school (a ticket to London) and was going to go to Denvention over Labor Day. Forty-eight hours before Alice and I were to begin driving for Denver, my in-laws, who love surprises, called and asked Alice if she would not prefer to spend her vacation in England with me in October rather than spending part of it in Denver. Now Denver is actually one of our favorite cities, but after a frantic twenty-four hours of rearranging vacation dates, Alice decided for London. This makes two years in a row that I have had to cancel plans to attend Worldcon at the last moment. Next year, Chicago!

I shall stay some six weeks in London, where I hope to consult with such individuals as Brian Stableford, Brian Aldiss, Knobbie Clarke, and Mike Ashley, as well as those interested in the Reade biography. During the winter, I hope to be in the UCLA-Huntington Library area primarily, after stopping briefly in Texas and New Mexico. Perhaps I can come home by way of Norwescon and Minicon. Who knows? During that time, I plan also to be at the Eaton Conference at Riverside and the Fantasy Conference in Florida.

Best for 1982.

T.D.C.

STAR CLUSTER

■ For some time now I've been reading essays, most often by writers and fans, about "the state of the art." Many of the novels published recently make one ask what the state of current sf is. F. Paul Wilson's *The Keep* (William Morrow, $12.95) received large ads in the *Times Book Review*, and he acknowledges indebtedness to Lovecraft, Howard, and Clark Ashton Smith. During World War Two, a Nazi party occupies Dinu Pass in Romania; inadvertently one of the young soldiers releases an ancient evil being imprisoned in "the keep." The Wehrmacht and SS face off, a Jewish scholar and his lovely daughter are introduced, and what may have been just another Transylvanian vampire story expands into a struggle between the eternal spirit of evil and the spirit of good—descended from the first age on Earth. Seldom have I encountered a novel that is so predictable; yet I imagine that it will have at least some popular appeal. I imagine, too, that it will soon be sold as a major film.

John Lutz's *The Shadow Man* (William Morrow, $10.95) combines political conspiracy with the multiple personalities of the assassin of a governor who might have been president. The focus is upon another potential president, Senator Jerry Andrews, who becomes involved after the murder of the psychiatrist who is investigating the assassin. It is a very readable novel, and it does build to an effective (though upon reflection, not a surprising) ending.

Randolph Stow's *Visitants* (Taplinger, $9.95) studies the effects of a sighting of a UFO in Papua, New Guinea, upon a variety of characters. The problem lies in the multitude of characters and the consequent broken narration, as well as emphasis upon realistic detail necessary to the establishment (credibility) of the exotic culture. The result is that the

encounter (the sf furniture, if you will) is downplayed to such a degree as to become almost an incidental element of the novel. While this winner of the Patrick White prize in 1979 has written a very readable novel, it does not come off as effective sf.

Surprisingly, the Larry Niven and Stephen Barnes collaboration, *Dream Park* (Ace, paper, $6.95) remains on the *Locus* best-seller list; it reminds one more of the film *Westworld* than it does of much sf, however, because in an amusement park of the future the characters are allowed to play out their fantasies. Niven acknowledges the indebtedness of the authors to the presently popular games. The basic sf furniture is there, but the effect is that of simple adventure and fantasy. (I should like to have someone write a defense of this novel as first-class science fiction for a future issue of *Extrapolation*. Any takers?)

In contrast, A. A. Attanasio's *Radix* (William Morrow, $15.95; paper, $8.95) is extravagant in its portrayal of a future Earth long exposed to an energy wave from the core of the galaxy so that its life forms are highly mutated. Its protagonist must struggle against his environment and evil forces. Yet its world and the transformation of the protagonist make it essentially successful.

Samuel R. Delany's *Distant Stars* (Bantam, paper, $9.95), which includes the early novel *Empire Star*, is a collection of earlier works except for his introduction, "Of Doubts and Dreams," and "Omegahelm." It does, however, give a good insight into Delany's growth as an artist.

One of the most promising novels of the summer is Russell Hoban's *Riddley Walker* (Summit Books, $12.95), portraying a postholocaust world around Canterbury about the year 4000. It escapes being another "catastrophe / cautionary" novel for two reasons. Its first person narrator, Riddley, so vividly creates his world that the reader becomes part of it (and him). Secondly, through Riddley, Hoban experiments with language by creating the dialect of the period. It becomes a distancing device by which the reader is made to stand separate from that future world. The resulting tension created by the two techniques creates complex levels of irony and symbol making the novel highly effective, both emotionally and intellectually.

It should be a candidate for the Nebula, as should a very different novel, John Crowley's *Little, Big* (Bantam, paper, $8.95). To say that Crowley ranges throughout the twentieth century, to say that he chronicles the life of a family—focusing first upon Smoky Barnable and then one of his sons, Auberon—cannot adequately do justice to the narrative. One thinks of Gene Wolfe's *Peace*, although Crowley never stays within the mind of a single character. Suffice here to say that it is one of the outstanding fantasies to be written in recent years, complete with all of the beings of

the kingdom of folklore. Yet what sets it apart is the manner in which Crowley fuses together the "real" world and that of Faery.

I have not yet read Suzette Haden Elgin's *Twelve Fair Kingdoms* (Doubleday, $9.95), described as "Book One of the Ozark Trilogy." It begins well. Together Elgin and Crowley point to what seems to be a trend, especially apparent when one looks at the paperbacks being issued. Fantasy is on the ascendency.

Graham Diamond continues the adventure of Stacy, the Empire Princess in *The Falcon of Eden* (Playboy Press, $2.25), which takes her on a quest to the land at the top of the world and ends with the promise that she will journey to the other pole in the next novel. Elizabeth A. Lynn's shorter works have been collected in *The Woman Who Loved the Moon* (Berkley, $2.25); nor should one forget that her "Chronicles of Tornor" trilogy is available in paper. We have called attention to Avram Davidson's fine *Peregrine: Secundus* (Berkley, $2.25), and certainly Marion Zimmer Bradley's expanded and improved *The House Between the Worlds* (Del Rey, $2.50), as well as the latest printing of H. Warner Munn's *Merlin's Ring* (Del Rey, $2.95), whose immortal protagonist Gwalchmai wanders from Atlantis to Cathay, from Arthur's Court to medieval Rome, deserve high rank among the summer's titles. Terry Carr has edited *Fantasy Annual III* (Pocket, Timescape, $2.95), and the fourth volume has just been announced. Kenneth C. Flint's *A Storm upon Ulster* (Bantam, $2.50) focuses upon the legend of the war for the bull of Cuailgne, while Mildred Downey Broxon's *Too Long a Sacrifice* (Dell, $2.50) includes some of the same mythology as she permits Tadhg and Maire to become involved in the warfare in modern Ulster; unfortunately, the work is too brief to bring either the mythic or the realistic to a satisfying conclusion. Epic battles between the representatives of good and evil simply do not resolve the problems raised here—or in *The Keep*.

Timescape also gives us Adam Corby's *The Former King* ($2.50), while Playboy Press has issued John Morressy's *Graymantle* ($2.50), both eminently readable, although one feels he has been there before. Other titles would include Elizabeth Boyer's *The Elves and the Otterskin* (Del Rey, $2.50) and Trish Reinus's *The Planet of Tears* ($1.95).

Although Timescape has called both Octavia E. Butler's *Wild Seed* ($2.75) and Hilbert Schenck's *At the Eye of the Ocean* ($2.50) science fiction, both have more the flavor of fantasy. Doro—the apparently immortal male protagonist of *Wild Seed*—for thousands of years has gathered together individuals having varied parapsychic powers. The heroine, Anyanwu, is an African sorceress capable of changing into leopard or dolphin. The action sweeps from seventeenth-century Africa to nineteenth-century America. Schenck's protagonist, Abel Roon, has a

special empathy for the sea, but the novel succeeds because of the vividness with which its first person narrator evokes the world of the New England whalers.

Mike McQuay's *Mathew Swain: Hot Time in Old Town* (Bantam, $2.25), billed as the first adventure of a future detective, is dedicated to Raymond Chandler. James R. Barry's *Quas Starbrite* (Bantam, $1.95), takes its title character, a Star Force Captain, through sundry adventures against KraKon. Jessica Amanda Salmonson creates a parallel world so that she may follow the efforts of her female samurai *Tomoe Gozen* (Ace, $2.50) to regain honor in Naipon. G. C. Edmondson's *To Sail the Century Sea* (Ace, $2.25) involves the time travel adventures of Lt. Commander Joseph Rati as an attempt is made to influence the outcome of the Council of Nicaea.

In contrast, Dean Ing's *Systemic Shock* (Ace, $2.50) portrays another future war and is made less effective because it is so heavily expository. Ian MacMillan's *Blakely's Ark* (Berkley, $2.25) follows its young protagonist David as he wanders in a New York state desolated by plague.

James P. Hogan's *Giants' Star* (Del Rey, $2.50) deserves its place on the *Locus* best-seller list because of the manner in which it handles the encounter with aliens, even though it lapses into a complex warfare. Another encounter with aliens that also has more of the flavor of fantasy is Somtow Sucharitkul's *Starship and Haiku* (Pocket, Timescape, $2.50). Juanita Coulson's *Tomorrow's Heritage* (Del Rey, $2.75) promises a more traditional treatment of the theme; it begins well.

Among welcome reprints are three collections of stories: William Tenn's *The Wooden Star* (Del Rey, $2.25), H. Beam Piper's *Paratime* (Ace, $2.75), and Avram Davidson's *Strange Seas and Shores* (Ace, $2.25). Del Rey Books has also brought back the novels *The Long Result* by John Brunner ($2.25) and *The Eleventh Commandment* ($2.50). A last reprint that must be noticed is Philip José Farmer's *Tarzan Alive* (Playboy Press, $2.75). His Father Carmody stories have been collected as *Father to the Stars* (Pinnacle Books, $2.75).

One last note regarding reprints: Odyssey Publications (P.O. Box G–148, Greenwood, Mass. 01880) continues to issue one of the best selections of the old pulp magazines. Its most recent number is an anthology made up of works from *Action Stories*, featuring Nelson Bond's "Exiles of the Dawn World," whose modern protagonists are thrust back into prehistory, and John Wiggin's "The Lion Goddess," which echoes Rider Haggard in many ways. Among their other titles are *O'Leary's War Birds, Oriental Stories, Golden Fleece, Strange Tales* (featuring a Jack Williamson tale, "Wolves of the Darkness"), and *The Magic Carpet.* The price remains $4.50 a volume, although there are

reductions if more than one is ordered—directly from the publisher. Odyssey Publications does quality work which should be encouraged.

T.D.C.

The Many-Colored Land and **The Golden Torc**, volumes 1 and 2 in **The Saga of Pliocene Exile**, by Julian May. Houghton Mifflin, 1981. Each volume $12.95.

When those two great children of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, Wordsworth and Coleridge, set out to produce *Lyrical Ballads* and ultimately the Romantic Movement, they said that they divided the task. Coleridge was to treat supernatural matters (Medieval and pre-Enlightenment) with enough "semblance of truth" to make the "shadows" seem real, while Wordsworth was to adhere to the "truth of nature." That division has, of course, cut across modern thought and extended even to our separate categories of fantasy and hard science fiction. In his later 54-line masterpiece, "Kubla Khan," Coleridge capsulizes the dichotomy brilliantly in the fanciful lost world of imagination called Xanadu where "demon-lovers" evoke both medieval color and biological development and where a magical "pleasure-dome" fuses all elements over the sacred river of life into a momentary glory as "ancestral voices prophecy war." Students of Coleridge's little masterpiece have discovered profound consistencies with science along with an organic theory of mind foreshadowing Freud, Jung, Yeats, and the myriad occultists of our time. In other words, the effects of fantasy (the willing suspension of disbelief) and the effects of hard science (the adherence to truth) can cooperate in the same work as Wordsworth and Coleridge projected. This initial excursion into literary history has been undertaken because Julian May's two books suggest just such a cooperative fusion to me.

The images in *The Many-Colored Land* and *The Golden Torc* may indeed resonate with echoes from "Kubla Khan" and certainly from the work of Jung and from medieval and Celtic lore, which later study can sort out; but what is initially striking and most important is Julian May's immensely ambitious project to heal the divisions between science and imagination in a fascinating series of fictions of which these books are the first two. For three decades, Julian May has written science books for children and other materials; fans will remember best her well-received "Dune Roller" in *Astounding* in 1951. Now she is revealing her skill as a major maker of intricately structured fiction that combines the complexity of the child's mind (her long professional apprenticeship was well served) with profound speculations about cause and effect and about the human meaning of development and historical evolution. Near the end of the second volume, *The Golden Torc*, when an exotic and colorful alien

civilization is about to be swept away from Earth's Pliocene landscape of six million years ago, a character whom we first see as a professional medievalist observes, ". . . it's all gone now, all the brightness and the wonder and the song" (p. 369). That elegiac tone, which is supported by images of lost Golden Ages and exotic feudal tournaments of meaningfully organized violence (what the analysts tell us we would all like to do to our brothers), balances a storyline that strains for scientific evidence to support everything from metapsychic powers to legends of Fairies to the "giants in the earth" of Genesis. In a real sense, the topic of these books is a repetition of the old debate between the Ancients and the Moderns. The question is whether development (both personal and social) moves toward or away from greater competence and fulfillment. Science and common sense assume that development moves forward, otherwise we would not train people nor plan for the future. But a nagging doubt in our scientific minds tells us that the Ancients were somehow happier and better off than we and that progress may be a decline or, at least, a circling (the word "progress" meant at first simply "going around"). Julian May's two books capture both the science of investigating the puzzle and the elegiac doubts about the outcome.

In straight time sequence, May's saga tells the story of an alien dimorphic species from a distant star system, at the time of the Pliocene on Earth, who are both in continual violent conflict with each other and exiled from their home planets because of their belief in ceremonial combat. Both forms of the species are strangely humanoid in shape and in genetic structure (the Tanu are like ancient Titans or "giants in the earth," the Firvulag like gnomes and leprechauns); and they arrive to play out their exile on Pliocene Earth at the time of the small humanoid ramapithecine ape. Julian May inserts a time loop into her story, however, that both allows the reader to look nostalgically back to this fantastic Pliocene epoch and twists our notions of cause and effect provocatively. Human misfits and exiles from a 22nd-century utopian Galactic Milieu, in which human potential and metapsychic functions have progressed significantly, can move through a time-gate into the Pliocene that they know about only from our notions of geological history because this particular time-gate permits no movement back into the present. In other words, significant causal effects for human development that may include the origins of Fairies, the origins of metafunctions (the Tanu have a "golden torc" technology for mind control and for the enhancement of metafunctions—shades of the Coleridgean pleasure-dome), the origin of our humanness itself are explored and effected by future humans themselves with the classic implications and puzzles of the time paradox.

More than these hard philosophic speculations about cause and effect, however, which will undoubtedly be pursued in the coming volumes of the

saga as we learn more about the origins of the dimorphic aliens and about the Galactic Milieu, Julian May has written well about the feelings of exile and the nostalgia for lost glories. In her fictions, these nostalgias assume the familiar Romantic forms of medieval gallantry and ceremonial combat (the Tanu have nearly a complete Court of King Arthur in the Pliocene), of lost Golden Ages, and of the resonance with child psychology that happened to be Wordsworth's speciality—"the child is father of the man." These nostalgias blend well with the logical paradoxes of time loops which lead toward a future that we know has already been determined. For my taste, there is a bit too much medieval tournament paraphernalia. But the archetypal meanings of aggression and early childhood violence, perhaps, are well served by all the gore. In any case, her grand scheme is most promising and moving both emotionally as fantasy and epistemologically as science fiction. I look forward to the rest of the saga and to more writing in our genre that is this ambitious.

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BOOKS

Studies on the Fiction of H. P. Lovecraft

Lovecraft ou du fantastique, by Maurice Lévy. Paris: Union Générale d'Editions, 1972. Forthcoming in English, 1982.

The Roots of Horror in the Fiction of H. P. Lovecraft, by Barton Levi St. Armand. Elizabethtown, N.Y.: Dragon Press, 1977.

The H. P. Lovecraft Companion, by Philip A. Shreffler. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1977.

■ When reviewing L. Sprague de Camp's impressive though somewhat lengthy *Lovecraft—A Biography* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1975, and New York: Ballantine, 1976), Thomas Clareson concluded: "Other books will examine the works of the outsider from Provincetown [*sic*]; they will augment, but they will not replace de Camp's fine biography." Indeed, the interest in H. P. Lovecraft which induced *Time* magazine in 1973 to discuss the Lovecraft phenomenon in an ironical article called "The Dream Lurker" is steadily increasing.

Thus, out-of-print criticism on Lovecraft has been reprinted, such as W. Paul Cook's *Lovecraft: In Memoriam* (Westwarick, R.I.: Necronomicon, 1977), a more personal than critical appraisal, or S. T. Joshi, ed., *H. P. Lovecraft: Four Decades of Criticism* (Ohio University Press, 1980), a collection of sixteen original essays most of which have been unavailable for many years. Both books are representative of what appears to be a dominant feature of the critical approach to Lovecraft's works up to the late 1960s, namely its reliance on sketchy biographical data. Character-

istic of this tendency is Vincent Starret's depiction of the author "as his own most fantastic creation" (*Books and Bipeds*, New York: Argus Books, 1947, p. 120), an image which still emerges from de Camp's biography. Early criticism vacillated between Edmund Wilson's devastating assessment of Lovecraft's stories as "bad taste and bad art," and Thomas O. Mabbott's likening him to Edgar Allan Poe. Both statements are included in Joshi's volume.

The controversy and a shift to more objectivity in the evaluation of the man and his work reflect a general development in the approach to science fiction and fantasy. Since so-called pulp literature is no longer considered to be "below level," a certain academic interest in Lovecraft has evolved which began in Europe and spread to the United States. In 1969, the French literary journal *L'Herne* published a special issue devoted entirely to Lovecraft and his work, and in his study of fantasy, which is practically regarded as a classic by now, Tzvetan Todorov frequently refers to Lovecraft's stories; not to forget the numerous, mainly European anthologies containing critical appraisals of his writings. Considering the vast amount of material printed on the subject, a new, comprehensive bibliography by S. T. Joshi, *H. P. Lovecraft and Lovecraft Criticism: An Annotated Bibliography* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1980) promises to be an invaluable resource for scholars and fans alike.

Maurice Lévy's book, *Lovecraft ou du fantastique*—an English version will be published in 1982—is a profound study of the relationship between onirism, fantasy and myth. Lévy thoroughly analyzes the fantastic cosmos Lovecraft created, its setting in witch-haunted New England, its modified natural laws, and, above all, its dreamlike quality. The critic does not only interpret particular characteristics of the fictional world (for example, the specific concept of evolution) in a most convincing way, but also carefully dissects the process of fusing dream images with traditional mythological themes and their transformation into fantastic stories.

Considering Lovecraft a very conscious writer, a fact which his never-ending reflections on literary techniques and theories prove, one might not agree with Lévy's premise that the fictional images primarily have their origins in dreams and thus derive from the realm of the unconscious. Obviously aware of the dangers of a psychoanalytical approach, Lévy at the end of his study acknowledges the importance of artistic distance and the necessity of fictional transformation. Thereby he tries to circumvent an interpretation which would regard Lovecraft's stories as attempts of sublimation by a troubled individual. Despite its complexity, the book will attract more than simply an academic audience. The argumentation, which is lucid and well structured, proves to be entertaining and should appeal to any reader who enjoys fantastic literature and / or is interested in its potential meaning and effect.

The problem of "accessibility" comes to mind, when one reads Barton Levi St. Armand's *The Roots of Horror in the Fiction of H. P. Lovecraft.* St. Armand's study is based on Lovecraft's theoretical concepts of horror as described in his *Supernatural Horror in Literature*, on C. G. Jung's theory of archetypes, and on Rudolf Otto's mystic notion of the numinous. Taking issue with Peter Penzoldt's statement that there is no "spiritual terror" in Lovecraft's stories, St. Armand attempts to demonstrate that Lovecraft succeeded in combining the elements of horror and terror, thus achieving an even more complex emotion.

Using Lovecraft's *The Rats in the Walls* as the subject for his analysis, and incorporating Ann Radcliffe's distinction between terror and horror, St. Armand argues that the roots of the Lovecraftian horror lie in a "mating of Gothic horror and cosmic terror, an unholy marriage of inside and outside" (p. 4). Apart from the recourse to Otto's mysticism, one might object to St. Armand's interpretation of Lovecraft's fictional motifs within the context of Jung's theory of archetypes, especially when he reduces the dominant themes in Lovecraft's fiction to a fascination with the "primal ooze." Defining this fascination as fear of and attraction to evolutionary regression or animalistic impulses, St. Armand draws an analogy between Lovecraft's ideas and the philosophy of the decadents which is intriguing but unconvincing. While the decadents discovered an aesthetic pleasure in the ugly and the obscene, Lovecraft explicitly repudiated these tendencies. His protagonists are not fascinated by ugliness, rather they are overwhelmed and finally destroyed by their desire for spiritual knowledge. The scholarly reader might find fault with St. Armand's attempt to turn Lovecraft, the avowed materialist, into a mystic with decadent inclinations, but he will follow the sophisticated interpretation with interest as it shows insight into the subject and provides a number of stimulating ideas. The nonscholar, however, will probably be discouraged by the academic approach and manner of reasoning which the author chose.

Philip A. Shreffler's *The H. P. Lovecraft Companion* represents an intriguing solution to the problem of an academic approach to a popular genre, a question that was raised by Jane Mobley in her review on Manlove's, Rabkin's and Irwin's scholarly studies of fantasy (see *Extrapolation*, 18 [1977]). It is with particular regard to the popular reader that Shreffler's book deserves a closer look. The study is divided into four parts: a discussion of Lovecraft's literary theories and how he realized them in his fiction; a listing of the plots and sources of the stories; an "Encyclopedia of Characters and Monsters"; and a description of the Cthulhu mythology.

Referring to *Supernatural Horror in Literature*, Shreffler does not focus primarily on the theoretical concepts which Lovecraft evolved in his essay, but concentrates on the specific criticism of individual British

and American authors. Proceeding in this way, he deduces conclusions about the impact of the English Gothic tradition and writers like M. P. Shiel, Walter de la Mare, M. R. James, and, above all, Arthur Machen and Lord Dunsany on Lovecraft's fiction. In a similar way he examines Lovecraft's position in the American literary tradition. His conclusions are not new. However, the discussions of the similarities between Hawthorne's New England setting and Lovecraft's use of the same locale, and between Poe's theory of composition and Lovecraft's narrative technique are—aside from Lévy's book—the most detailed analyses to date. Their strength is that they are well developed and easy to understand, their shortcoming that they often lack profundity.

Shreffler's interpretation of Lovecraft's concept of cosmic vastness as a particularly American quality seems to be far-fetched, all the more so since Lovecraft was not interested in the "sheer immensity of his national landscape" (p. 4). On the contrary, he preferred the "continental" narrowness of Providence, Rhode Island, and its reassuring smallness. Furthermore, the idea of spatial expansion developed in Europe and not in America and exactly for the opposite reason Shreffler gives: it was instilled by a lack of space and not vice versa.

The heading of chapter two, "Plots and Sources of the Stories," is a bit misleading as some of the entries do not summarize the complete plots. For example, the summary of *Arthur Jermyn* does not include the protagonist's gruesome discovery. It is difficult to decide whether this lack is to be attributed to a limited definition of "plot" or to the intention of stirring the curiosity of future readers. Some of the sources and details Shreffler lists are interesting and show how thoroughly he investigated the materials. It is, therefore, deplorable that the bibliography is restricted to a few secondary sources and that there are no references at all; however, this is understandable considering that the book is directed at a general audience. Amusing but questionable with respect to its usefulness is the "Encyclopedia of Characters and Monsters," an alphabetical index of fictional characters which also includes very minor figures.

The last part, a description of the "Mythos Monsters," is obviously based on August Derleth's rearranging of the Cthulhu gods into good and evil ones. With regard to Lovecraft's nihilistic materialism and his strong objection against Christian values of morality, this distinction seems to be inappropriate. It is exactly the indifference of the nonanthropomorphic entities which is characteristic of Lovecraft's mythology. The supernatural creatures are no longer gods in the traditional sense who might be beneficient or malevolent; these powerful beings simply do not care about man. Thus, they reflect a modern, secular worldview. Despite this difference in philosophy, Shreffler's description and classification of the

monsters is helpful to any reader who wants to become acquainted with Lovecraft's fantastic cosmos, an assessment that applies to the book as a whole.

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Brief Mention

The late spring and summer have seen the publication of a number of reference works which are essential to the study of science fiction and fantasy.

The Anatomy of Wonder: A Critical Guide to Science Fiction, Neil Barron, ed. New York: R. R. Bowker. Second Edition. Pp. xiv, 724. $32.95; $22.95 paper.

This expanded edition remains the most valuable one-volume survey of the entire field. In the revision, only three historical periods are focused upon, although appended to them are the annotations for 1226 individual titles. Brian Stableford's account of the genre from 1918–38 is the new addition. Other chapters include Francis J. Molson's account of "Children's Science Fiction" and a new presentation of "Foreign Language Science Fiction." "Part II: Research Aids" is made up of ten chapters written by Neil Barron, Marshall B. Tymn, and H. W. Hall, ranging from a consideration of indexes and bibliographies as well as history and criticism to classroom aids and both library and private collections. This new volume should be acquired by individuals and libraries hoping to work in the field.

Dictionary of Literary Biography, Volume 8: **Twentieth-Century American Science Fiction Writers**, David Cowalt and Thomas L. Wymer, eds. Detroit: Gale Research. Part One, A–L, pp. 306; Part Two, M–Z, pp. 346. $116.00.

Some reviewers will undoubtedly protest because this two-volume *DLB* includes only 93 writers. One might question Thomas Disch's opening remark in the "Foreword" that "virtually all science fiction of significant literary merit was written within the lifetimes of all but the two or three youngest writers treated in this volume." He goes on to say that between Wells and "the emergence in the postwar years of such writers" as Asimov, Heinlein, and Sturgeon, "our ancestral voices have dimmed to a deserved extinction." He not only perpetuates the idea of the in-group but certainly emphasizes the me-now attitude which has so often victimized sf criticism. Be that as it may, his remarks set up the rationale for the book. Except for the omission of such individuals as A. Merritt and

H. P. Lovecraft, the basic selection has been sound. The limited number of entries also escapes the weakness of so many of the encyclopedias which have been blossoming: a string of titles and a biographical paragraph, most often with no literary evaluation. Although a few are uneven, these essays give their greatest attention to an evaluation and analysis of the themes and techniques of the author being considered. Most of the essays run from three to five pages, although a few run as high as ten to fifteen. A list of "Selected Titles" and the obligatory biographical data are interwoven into the appraisal. It is undoubtedly a necessary and basic work, especially for libraries, but despite Disch's view, it establishes the need for a volume covering earlier writers or it will give a distorted vision of the field to the casual reader. One understands the three appendixes devoted to bibliographical matters, but unless the other seven volumes of the series carry similar brief essays, one questions the appendixes devoted to "Trends in Science Fiction"—the New Wave and Science Fantasy —"The Media of Science Fiction," and finally "Fandom and SFWA," especially since no appendix is devoted to SFRA or any phase of the academic interest in the field. All in all, some portion of that seventy-some pages could have gone to additional writers. Despite these matters, however, *DLB* 8 remains a satisfying volume and provides the most detailed assessment of major American sf writers generally available. Although it would fall outside this specific series, a companion volume covering British writers should result from the series' success.

Science Fiction Book Review Index, 1974–1979, H. W. Hall, ed. Detroit: Gale Research Company. Pp. 391. $78.00.

This volume updates Hall's earlier *SFBRI* published by Gale and brings together all of the reviews indexed in his annual volumes. As in the case of its predecessor, it remains the most valuable single source for book reviews of sf titles, and has the advantage of being much more comprehensive than the earlier book. There is a title index to augment the single alphabetical "Author Entries" tabulation. Wherever possible, Hall has named the reviewer. An essential volume.

An Edgar Allan Poe Companion, by J. R. Hammond. Totowa, N.J.: Barnes & Noble Books. Pp. 205. $27.50.

J. R. Hammond, founder and secretary of the H.G. Wells society, has produced what he calls "a guide to the whole of his work—including the short stories, the poetry and the criticism." He acknowledges indebtedness to Hervey Allen, David Sinclair, William Bittner, and Philip Van Doren Stern, as well as the edition of Poe edited by James A.

Harrison; he also speaks of the difficulty of presenting "a balanced and detached view of Poe as an individual" because of the quantity of materials written about him. Part I then contains a 22-page sketch of his life and a ten-page summary of his literary reputation. Perhaps the most valuable part of the volume is "An Edgar Allan Poe Dictionary," a 24-page listing of all stories, essays, and poems published in book form; and a listing of "Characters and Locations in Poe's Fiction" (eighteen pages). The discussion of "The Romances," especially *Pym*, is unsatisfactory because it is too cursory, and the discussion of "Essays and Criticism" is a sixteen-page essay rather than an annotation to important works. Hammond is obviously sincere in his love of Poe, but the book makes no pretense at comprehensiveness and so is of little value to the Poe (or general nineteenth century) scholar. It may serve as a quick introduction to the general reader.

Tarzan and Tradition: Classical Myth in Popular Literature, by Erling B. Holtsmark. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. Pp. 196. $22.50.

A member of the Classics Department of the University of Iowa, Holtsmark argues that because of Burroughs' extensive knowledge of classical literature, he deliberately patterned both the world and the figure of Tarzan upon classical archetypes. His thesis comes as a relief from the dismissals that ERB has so often received, both from popular and academic sources. Holtsmark argues convincingly as he examines "Language," "Technique," "Animals," "Hero," and "Themes." He concludes that ERB is "a writer in the Homeric mold" and that the "appeal of Tarzan is as immediate as the appeal of the Homeric Odysseus." One wishes that he had made use of more than the first six Tarzan titles and that he had sought the same patterns in the worlds of Barsoom, Pellucidar, and Venus. Hopefully, this volume is only a first installment. Limited in scope as it may be, it is sufficiently provocative (and documented) so that critics will have to reappraise the fiction of ERB.

Horror Literature: An Historical Survey and Critical Guide, Marshall B. Tymn, ed. New York: R. R. Bowker. Pp. 559. $29.95; $19.95 paper.

I saw this volume briefly in August when I stopped at Tymn's home. In format it parallels *Anatomy of Wonder* and is particularly valuable because it is the first study to deal with the field. My impression is that the historical essays were somewhat uneven, and certainly the finest single essay was Robert Weinberg's sketch of the "horror" pulps. As usual, the supplementary chapters treating critical studies and reference works appear excellent. More of this in a subsequent

issue, but it merits immediate attention, although, again like *Anatomy of Wonder*, it may need an expanded second edition. Recommended to individuals and libraries.

Lloyd Alexander, Evangeline Walton Ensley, Kenneth Morris: A Primary and Secondary Bibliography, Kenneth J. Zahorski and Robert H. Boyer, eds. Boston: G. K. Hall. Pp. 291. $23.00.

This volume brings to the attention of scholars dealing with fantasy the works of three highly regarded but, at least until recently, critically neglected fantasists. Alexander, winner of prizes ranging from the Newbery to the National Book Award, unfortunately has been categorized as a children's author; Ensley did not gain attention until the 1970s; and Morris, who died in 1937, has been the most neglected (only ten articles have been devoted to his work between 1945 and 1980, eight of them coming after Ursula K. Le Guin's appraisal of him in 1973). As the editors point out, what unites the work of the three is their interest in the *Mabinogion*. This is a particularly welcome addition to the G. K. Hall series, containing much new material in its introductory essays and bringing into perspective the careers of three excellent fantasists who deserve much further study.

This World and Nearer Ones: Essays Exploring the Familiar, by Brian W. Aldiss. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. Pp. 261. $6.95 paper.

This is the American edition of the volume of essays published in conjunction with Worldcon in Brighton in 1979. As Aldiss explains, although they date from the past decade, most of the essays have been reworked for this volume. He points out where many of them were first published. Divided into sections entitled "Writing," "Hoping," "Living," "Seeing," "Rough Justices," and "This World," many of them originated either as reviews or appraisals of the field of sf, to reflections on California, Trieste, Russia, and Sumatra. All of them have value in that through them Aldiss reveals many of those qualities which have made him undoubtedly the foremost British sf writer of the past decade or so. For me the most touching (the word is deliberate) are "Looking Forward to 2001," "The Hiroshima Man," and "1951: Yesterday's Festival of the Future," because they give the greatest insight into Aldiss's state of mind. In his introduction, he speaks of working in that "ambiguous area" in which he would like to believe that "art and science [are a] complex unity." This volume explores the variety and depth of his speculations; for what it tells us of Aldiss as man and novelist, it may be one of the most important works he has published.

Alien Encounters: Anatomy of Science Fiction, by Mark Rose.

Harvard University Press. Pp. 216. $12.95.

Mark Rose has done a compact book here, in which he has made "a distilled assessment of science fiction as a genre," to quote the dust jacket. He develops his analysis through six chapters, "Genre," "Paradigm," "Space," "Time," "Machine," and "Monster." Undoubtedly it will be well received, and it is one of the finest studies of its kind yet published, although anyone who has worked for a time in the field will recognize his indebtedness. This is a work which all students of the genre must pay attention to, but some will certainly question the lack of comprehensive coverage of primary materials. For example, Poul Anderson and Robert Silverberg are both mentioned twice, while neither Clifford Simak nor Gene Wolfe receives appraisal. One grows weary of the same passing examples and similar abstract generalizations. It is a valuable work, but were it not so brief, it could be much stronger.

The Life & Works of David Lindsay, by Bernard Sellin. Trans. by Kenneth Gunnell. Cambridge University Press. Pp. 257. $39.50.

This survey of Lindsay's life and works by the French scholar Bernard Sellin deserves more attention than we can give it this issue. But it should be brought to scholars' notice immediately because it seems extremely provocative. One is caught by such observations as, "*A Voyage to Arcturus* is still one of the most systematic investigations of Evil that has ever been conceived."

The Frontier Spirit and Progress, by Frank H. Tucker. Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1981. $23.95 cloth; $11.95 paper.

Professor Tucker deals encyclopedically with the theme of the frontier as it has and is shaping the imaginations of the U.S., Russia, Japan, and Germany. He emphasizes not only fiction but such other sources as magazines, comic books and newspaper comics, and both motion pictures and television; moreover, he focuses upon materials, including textbooks, which would circulate among those students from the seventh to ninth grade levels because he believes that age group has the most in common in the four nations he examines. No brief review can encompass the details of his research and analysis; the abundance and variety of his resources is fascinating. While he finds each of the nations different, he concludes that each demonstrates "in its literary materials predominantly a hopeful and energetic mood. The most frequently heard keynote [from the four nations] has been the need for flexibility, courage, and cautious progress through our new borderlands."

T. D. C.

REACTION TIME

Clarke on Nedelkovich

■ Alexander Nedelkovich ["The Stellar Parallels: Robert Silverberg, Larry Niven, and Arthur C. Clarke," *Extrapolation*, 21 (1980), 348–60] says such nice things about "The Star" that it may seem churlish to point out that of his two criticisms, one is erroneous and the other is far worse.

Mr. Nedelkovich obviously has no idea of the implications of a supernova explosion, when he suggests that some survivors might be saved by a civilization which could build a time vault. It would be centuries before one could return to the surface, owing to the hard radiation from the resulting neutron star—and that surface would have been melted into slag to a depth of miles. I don't deny the possibility that a few people might survive very deep in the planet, but they might decide it was not worth doing.

Which leads me to Mr. Nedelkovich's "one unpleasant matter" [p. 351], where he refers disparagingly to the phrase, "Perhaps it was better thus." Surely any compassionate observer, rightly or wrongly, would feel the same emotion—that if only a tiny handful could escape from the ruin of their world, they might prefer to remain with those they loved until the end. (There are plenty of examples, invariably acclaimed, from human history, e.g., Masada.)

But if Mr. Nedelkovich thinks I mean what I *think* he thinks I mean, I am appalled that anyone could so misinterpret me—and he owes me an apology. His parody of Fitzgerald is not merely irrelevant but obscene.

On a lighter note: while I was lecturing at Notre Dame many years ago, the head of the Department of Philosophy, Professor Ernan McMullin, remarked to me: "You underestimate the Jesuits. Your man would have been absolutely delighted to take that news back to the Vatican."

Now *there's* a sequel I'm certainly not qualified to write!

ARTHUR C. CLARKE

Colombo, Sri Lanka

EXTRAPOLATION

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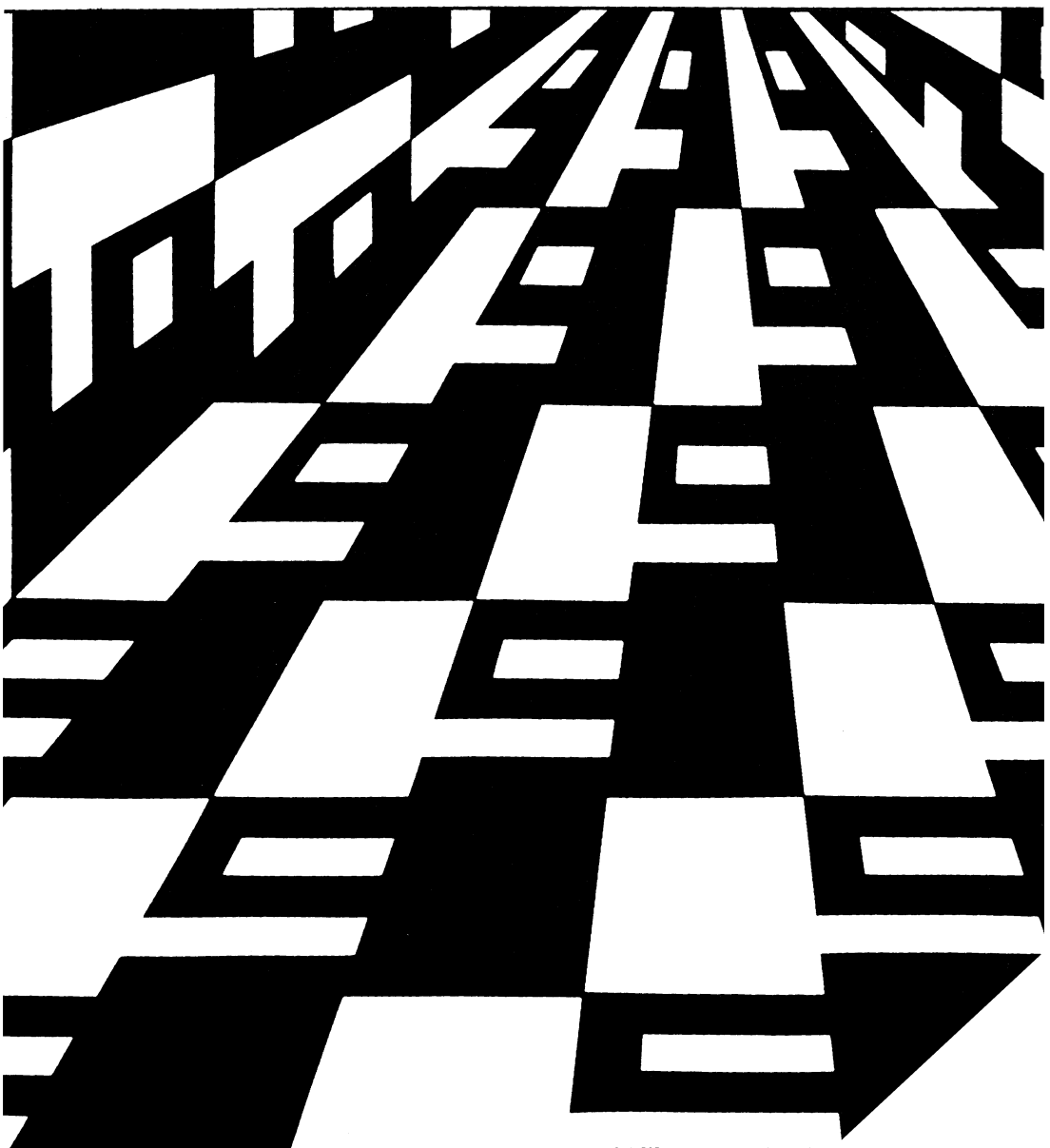

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AN IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT ABOUT

The Year's Scholarship in Science Fiction and Fantasy

I wish to announce the resignation of Roger C. Schlobin from the annual series, "The Year's Scholarship in Science Fiction and Fantasy." Dr. Schlobin's decision to leave the project was prompted by his desire to become involved in other types of scholarship.

"The Year's Scholarship" is the field's only ongoing secondary bibliography and one of the most important resources currently available to scholars and researchers. The series will continue to be published by Kent State University Press,* under my editorship, but as annual monographs rather than as articles in *Extrapolation.* With the help of interested individuals I hope to be able to maintain "The Year's Scholarship" at its present level, and perhaps even to expand its scope.

To this end, I am soliciting qualified individuals to serve on a newly created editorial board, whose primary responsibility will be to compile the annual bibliography, beginning with the 1980 installment. Persons are needed to annotate articles in fanzines, semi-pros, and scholarly journals. A pressing need is coverage of the *MLA International Bibliography.* Other needs are Ph.D. dissertations, audio-visual materials, film journals, non-fiction in the professional SF magazines, introductions to works of fiction (the Gregg Press reprint series and other significant titles), and foreign studies. One's position on the editorial board will depend on the scope of his/her assignment.

Those wishing to apply for an editorial position should contact me as soon as possible, indicating particular titles/areas of interest. For magazine coverage, applicants should be able to annotate from several titles. Information on specific titles (if you are not already familiar with our coverage) is available from me upon request.

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* Publication details — including a special price for *Extrapolation* subscribers — will be announced in the Spring issue.