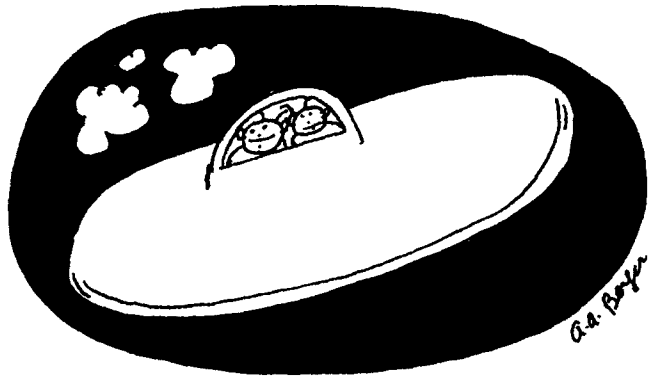


## THE FLYING SAUCER SUBCULTURE

By John A. Keel



**U**ntil 1966, unidentified flying objects (UFO), more popularly known as “flying saucers,” were ridiculed by the press, scoffed at by the scientific community, and regarded as an unprofitable fringe subject by the major publishers. The UFO literature preceding 1966 consisted largely of semi-literate, privately-published statements of belief authored in large part by hobbyists, neurotic and paranoid personalities, and individuals (known as “contactees”) claiming direct contact with the pilots of flying saucers. Scientists, journalists and scholars drawn to the subject in the mid-1960’s found there was virtually no acceptable scientific or literary research material available despite twenty years of furor and controversy.<sup>1</sup>

“An unidentified flying object,” according to Dr. Edward U. Condon’s definition, is “the stimulus for a report made by one or more individuals of something seen in the sky (or an object thought to be capable of flight but seen when landed on the earth) which the observer could not identify as having an ordinary natural origin, and which seemed to him sufficiently puzzling that he undertook to make a report of it to police, to government officials, to the press, or perhaps to a representative of a private organization devoted to the study of such objects.”<sup>2</sup>

There have been periodic worldwide waves—or “flaps”—of UFO sightings throughout history. In other ages these aerial apparitions were often regarded as religious phenomena and the witnesses were acclaimed as prophets or denounced as victims of—or accomplices to—the devil. The modern phase began in 1896-97 when large “dirigibles” of unknown origin appeared throughout the United States.<sup>3</sup> Two decades earlier a farmer named John Martin reported seeing a large circular object pass overhead near Dennison, Texas, on January 24, 1878. He described it as resembling a “saucer.”<sup>4</sup> However, the term

"flying saucer" did not come into popular usage until the summer of 1947 when there was a sudden outbreak of sightings throughout North America. Kenneth Arnold, a private pilot, employed the term while describing to reporters what he had allegedly seen near Mt. Ranier, Washington, on June 24, 1947.<sup>5</sup>

Flying saucer literature can be divided into three important periods, each lagging a year or two behind a major flap. The first was 1950, following the flap of 1947. The second was 1955-56, following the sighting wave of 1952. The third and final period was 1966-69, following the great wave of 1964-67.

The 1950 period produced the extraterrestrial frame of reference; the belief that these apparitions were visitors from outer space. The 1955-56 period advanced this extraterrestrial hypothesis (ETH), adding the testimony of contactees to the literature, and creating a new theme: the allegation of a governmental conspiracy instrumented by the United States Air Force to suppress "the truth." This conspiracy became the central concern of the UFO hobbyists for many years after. The 1966-69 period marked a gradual return to rationality as a new generation of scientists and journalists examined the UFO lore, rejected much of it, and produced a more valid body of literature. The principal creators of the lore of the 1950's were: Donald E. Keyhoe, a retired Marine Corps pilot who became the major spokesman for American ufology; Frank Scully, a columnist for *Variety*; Frank Edwards, a radio newscaster; Morris K. Jessup, an astrophysicist; George Adamski, an early contactee. The major contributors to the "New Ufology" of the 1960's were: Vincent Gaddis, a professional writer; Dr. Jacques Vallee, a computer specialist; Ivan T. Sanderson, zoologist; John Fuller, a columnist for *Saturday Review*; Eugene Olson, a writer using the name of "Brad Steiger." The British journal, *Flying Saucer Review*, was also instrumental in bringing about important changes in the overall approach to the subject.

Ironically, the flying saucer myth is being nullified by the increasing availability of reliable case histories and valid technical information, and the growing acceptance of the subject as a matter worthy of study by scientists, psychiatrists and sociologists. This acceptance was the major goal of the UFO organizations and believers through all the hard years of ridicule—1947-66. But now that respectability is at hand, the believers find themselves excluded.

The scope of the UFO phenomenon is unbelievable to newcomers to the field. Thousands of sightings are recorded annually in every country on earth. Dr. David Saunders, a psychologist with the University of Colorado, has thus far programmed 50,000 documented sightings for computerization.<sup>6</sup> Dr. Jacques Vallee has also produced statistics on thousands of sightings in France, Spain and the United States.<sup>7</sup> For many years, the flying saucer cultists labored awkwardly to prove the reliability of such sightings, rather than to attempt to determine what, if anything, the witnesses had actually seen, and what were the real stimuli.

The very few social scientists who have made admittedly superficial studies of the problem have innocently confused the UFO believers with the UFO witnesses. Buckner (1965) studied one small group of West Coast believers and concluded the subject attracted the elderly, the lonely, and the philosophically-disoriented.<sup>8</sup> Meerloo (1968) equated belief in flying saucers with "the need for

miracles."<sup>9</sup> Warren (1970) also confused the UFO sighter with the UFO believer.<sup>10</sup>

Actually, flying saucer witnesses come from all age groups and all levels of society. Condon (1969) found that only about 10 percent report their sightings to *anyone*, the fear of publicity and subsequent ridicule being the reason most often cited by non-reporting witnesses. To some witnesses, the experience is an intensely personal one, like an occult or religious experience, and they do not even discuss it with their own family.<sup>11</sup>

The hardcore flying saucer cultist, on the other hand, is a very special personality who has thus far escaped close scrutiny by the scientific community. Contrary to Buckner's findings, a poll of 250 hardcore "ufologists" in the United States in 1969 determined their median age to be 31.<sup>12</sup> Teen-agers and housewives constitute the most active groups, collecting clippings of sightings and issuing amateur newsletters and magazines, usually mimeographed. The classic search for identity plays an important role. The teen-aged ufologist is most often isolated on a farm, or separated from his peers because of his eccentric personality. The housewives are often suffering from marital problems (the divorce rate among female ufologists is high), or are the type of personality who busies herself with all kinds of community and social affairs, merely adding ufology to her list of escapist activities.

Ufology provides an "ego trip" for those who establish themselves as the local UFO expert and thus brighten an otherwise ignored and undistinguished life. They are eager to lecture before local clubs, appear on local radio and television, and give out newspaper interviews. When they are heavily and publicly ridiculed—which is often—they accept this as part of the great conspiracy against the truth.

In contrast to the innumerable witnesses, the ufological population is extremely small. During each major flap period, dozens of UFO newsletters and magazines appeared. Their average circulation is forty; their average lifespan is 18 months. The largest UFO magazine in the United States, Ray Palmer's *Flying Saucers*, was founded in 1957 and even with newsstand distribution only reached a circulation of 14,000 during the peak year of interest—1967. Today it has a paid circulation of 2,000. The Aerial Phenomena Research Organization (APRO), founded by Mrs. Coral Lorenzen in 1952, had a total membership of only 800 when the wave of the 1960's began. Although dozens of small UFO journals blossomed momentarily in the 1966-69 period, only a handful have survived. Only two, Missouri's *Skylook* published by Mrs. Norma Short, and the *Ohio UFO Bulletin* published by Mrs. Bonita Roman, have managed to retain a circulation of more than 100.<sup>13</sup>

The hardcore can be divided into three main groups. The super-hardcore consists of about fifty people, most of them in their late teens or early twenties. They publish the newsletters, contribute articles to each other's publications, attend the conventions, and make the most noise. The second group is the hardcore which subscribes to the publications of the first group and generally support them. The largest group are the pure believers. They buy the books, attend the lectures, and cluster around the various contactees. Altogether this hardcore

numbers less than 5,000 people in the United States.<sup>14</sup> Interestingly, the hard-core believer has never seen a UFO (Hynek, 1972), tends to be over-skeptical of non-UFO phenomena such as the Loch Ness monster, and has an extremely suspicious nature, perhaps because he/she has created an imaginary self-image and constructed the necessary lies to maintain it. Thus they tend to believe that everyone else shares these personality flaws. They often project or transfer their own problems to the UFO witnesses they interview, and many sincere percipients and contactees have been branded liars by UFO enthusiasts who thought they detected their own behavioral problems in them.

Scientism dominates the UFO movement and the study of myths, religion and occult phenomena, being generally unacceptable to the scientific establishment, is even more unacceptable—even odious—to the aspiring pseudo-scientists of ufology. Their view is totally materialistic. Very few have the ability to deal with abstractions. Many laboriously study astronomy, but few are interested in—or can deal with—philosophy.

The two types of distinguishable personalities present at UFO conventions and club meetings are the obsessive-compulsive and the paranoid-schizophrenic.

In order to be able to understand the flying saucer literature itself, and the underlying trends, we must reconcile ourselves with the above cruel facts. The flying saucer myth could not have come into being, and could not have perpetuated itself without the involvement of such personalities.

In the 1920's a failed novelist named Charles Fort compiled a book of scientific anomalies which he collected by patiently sifting old newspapers and journals. He was intrigued with the endless accounts of frogs raining from the sky, the mysterious disappearances of objects and people (he coined the word teleportation), and objects observed floating in the air (OOFs). No one wanted to publish his *The Book of the Damned* until his friend Theodore Dreiser informed publisher Horace Liveright that if he didn't publish Fort he (Dreiser) would take his next novel elsewhere.<sup>15</sup>

So Charles Fort became the father of ufology. Before his death in 1932 he had published four books blending carefully documented "erratics" with a tongue-in-cheek attack against the scientific establishment.<sup>16</sup> His books are still in print in paperback and the International Fortean Organization (INFO) carries on in his name as the successor to the Fortean Society, founded by novelists Tiffany Thayer and Ben Hecht.<sup>17</sup> INFO members, about 2,000 worldwide, are interested in a wide variety of phenomena, not just UFO. Several leading Fortean are, in fact, anti-UFO.

When the big UFO flap of 1947 erupted, reporters had no sources to turn to. The U. S. Air Force shrugged in ignorance and dismay, and assigned the Air Technical Intelligence Command (ATIC) to investigate. Tiffany Thayer gleefully filled the pages of *Doubt*, his Fortean magazine, with sightings coupled with his own peculiar political beliefs (he thought just about everything was a governmental conspiracy of some sort). The national magazines commissioned writers to "get to the bottom of the mystery" and Charles Fort became the man of the hour. His books were the only ones which collected together the OOF sightings of the nineteenth century.

Major Donald E. Keyhoe digested Fort, talked with witnesses, and produced "Flying Saucers are Real" for *True* magazine. His conclusion was one Fort disagreed with: UFO were extraterrestrial.

H. G. Wells 1898 novel, *The War of the Worlds*, had suddenly crossed the borderline that separates fiction from reality.<sup>18</sup> To Keyhoe, and thousands of others, flying saucers were very real. Their reported maneuvers seemed to prove their superiority to any known earthly aircraft, therefore they *had* to come from some other planet.

There was an interesting and significant prelude to the 1947 flap. In 1944, a sciencefiction magazine, *Amazing Stories*, edited by Ray Palmer, published a story titled "I Remember Lemuria" by Richard Shaver. Shaver had rehashed an old theme, the underground "Secret Commonwealth" of the fairy belief of the Middle Ages.<sup>19</sup> Wells had employed this same theme himself in *The Time Machine* (1895) with the ugly, evil underground-dwelling Morlocks feasting upon the gentle surface-dwelling Eloi. A. A. Merritt used the same theme in *The Moon Pool* (1933), so it was a science fiction cliché. Shaver described his adventures in the caverns of the Dero (detrimental robots). He claimed the evil dero were running the world by controlling the minds of men through insidious rays projected from their caves.<sup>20</sup>

Palmer was amazed when he was buried under thousands of letters from people claiming they, too, had had experiences with the dero and that Shaver was telling the truth. Actually, many of them were expressing the recognizable symptoms of paranoid-schizophrenia, while others were recounting the classic manifestations of demonology. Palmer ghosted several more dero stories, the Shaver Mystery was brought into being, and the circulation of *Amazing Stories* skyrocketed, outstripping all its competitors.

A disagreement with his publisher over an all-UFO issue in 1948 led Palmer to leave *Amazing Stories* and become the co-founder, with Curtis Fuller, of *Fate* magazine.<sup>21</sup> Early issues of *Fate* were largely devoted to flying saucers but in the interest of survival it soon broadened to encompass all aspects of Fortean and paranormal phenomena. Palmer later withdrew from *Fate* and established a publishing house in Amherst, Wisconsin. In 1957 he launched *Flying Saucers* magazine, advocating the Hollow Earth Theory . . . a spinoff of Shaverism which contends the earth is hollow and flying saucers come from holes in the poles.

This Hollow Earth concept has been around a long time. In 1818, a man named Symmes almost persuaded Congress to grant him funds for an expedition to the center of the earth.<sup>22</sup> A vast subsidiary literature has been built around the theme, and until recently there was even a newsletter, *The Hollow Hassle*, devoted to the subject. The most widely read work of this genre, *The Hollow Earth*, written by one "Dr. Raymond Bernard," was published in 1963. It presented flimsy, often deliberately-falsified, evidence for the holes at the poles.<sup>23</sup>

Flying saucer reports caused concern when they first appeared because official circles feared they could represent some new development by the Soviet Union. ATIC reportedly prepared a top secret *Estimate of the Situation* in 1948, concluding that the UFO had to be extraterrestrial. Air Force Chief of Staff General Hoyt Vandenberg rejected the estimate and ordered all copies burned,

pointing out to ATIC that the AF could not issue such a conclusion without overwhelming evidence to support it.<sup>24</sup> Such evidence did not exist. In response to Vandenberg, ATIC reversed itself and prepared *Project Grudge* (1949), a 366-page treatment of the subject dismissing UFO as mistakes, atmospheric and astronomical phenomena, and hoaxes, establishing the guidelines for the official AF policy for the next twenty years.<sup>25</sup>

Thayer and Keyhoe viewed *Project Grudge* as confirmation of their belief that an official conspiracy to downgrade UFO reports existed. Keyhoe expanded his *True* article and it was published as *The Flying Saucers are Real* in 1950.<sup>26</sup> The earth has been under observation by beings from another planet for at least two centuries, according to Keyhoe, and this observation was stepped up after the atomic explosions in 1945.

In England, science writer Gerald Heard produced *The Riddle of Flying Saucers: Is Another World Watching* (1950), also stressing the extraterrestrial hypothesis.<sup>27</sup> But the big UFO book of 1950 came from an unexpected source. Frank Scully of *Variety* published *Behind the Flying Saucers*, claiming that a UFO had crashed in the southwest and that the USAF had recovered the bodies of tiny alien beings from the wreckage.<sup>28</sup> The book was based upon speculation, hearsay, the testimony of contactees, and the allegations of a mysterious "Dr. Gee." Scully's sources were soon exposed as unreliable by other reporters. "Dr. Gee" turned out to be nothing more than a television repairman, and Scully eventually apologized publicly.<sup>29</sup> However, the USAF still receives letters asking if it is true that pickled Martians are hidden away in a jar at some AF base.<sup>30</sup>

Although Keyhoe, Scully, Thayer and others had campaigned vigorously for the ETH, opinion polls conducted in 1950 found that fewer than five percent of the population thought flying saucers were coming from another planet. Most felt the objects were a secret weapon of some sort.<sup>31</sup>

Astronomers, physicists and anthropologists were universally negative about the ETH in 1950. It was doubtful, they said in unison, that life could exist elsewhere at all.<sup>32</sup> Space travel seemed to be the unrealistic dream of sciencefiction writers and General Eisenhower, while serving as Chief of Staff, ordered the Army to curtail its research with captured German rockets. Rocket weapons were an "impractical dream," he declared.

ATIC abandoned their UFO research after the publication of *Project Grudge*. Flying saucers seemed to be officially dead. Sidney Shalett wrote a two-part series for *Saturday Evening Post* (April, 1949), presenting the AF case "if there is a scrap of bona fide evidence to support the notion that our inventive geniuses or any potential enemy, on this or any other planet, is spewing saucers over America, the Air Force has been unable to locate it."

Aside from a few cranks, people seeking impossible causes, and a scattering of teen-agers and housewives who were impressionable and lacked the education to question Scully's speculations and Keyhoe's sophistry, flying saucers were not taken seriously. The whole thing appeared to be a fad that would soon go away. The subject's only scientific spokesman was Germany's Professor Herman Oberth, the rocket pioneer, who issued occasional positive statements about the ETH and urged a broader investigation into UFO.<sup>33</sup>

But the flying saucers did not go away. There were so many sightings that, in 1951, the Pentagon ordered resumption of UFO investigations. ATIC set up *Project Blue Book* headed by Captain Edward Ruppelt. To offset the harsh criticisms of the small but vociferous UFO coterie, Ruppelt cooperated with Keyhoe and others feeding them new cases from the AF files.<sup>34</sup>

There were national headlines in the summer of 1952 when formations of mysterious lights cavorted over Washington, D.C. for two straight weeks. They were picked up by radar at all the airports, observed by people in the city's streets, and pursued by military planes. The Pentagon staged press conferences to explain the apparitions away as air inversions and natural phenomena.<sup>35</sup> A new generation of housewives and teen-agers cranked up their mimeographs and founded short-lived investigation groups.

Concurrent with the 1952 flap, Hollywood entered a flying saucer cycle. Beginning with *The Thing*, filmmakers angered the UFO enthusiasts by peopling space with hostile beings. (Since the UFO had never bombed New York they were obviously well-intentioned, according to the ufologists' logic.) One routine opus, *Earth Versus the Flying Saucers*, listed Major Keyhoe as consultant. The best of the films produced during that cycle was *The Day the Earth Stood Still* in which a flying saucer served as a main set and actor Michael Rennie resembled very closely the stately Venusians described by contactees.

As the sightings poured in from all over the world, New York editors and writers mobilized for a new assault on the public senses. Palmer's Hollow Earth seemed too far out, even for the sensationalists, so most of the one-shot magazines, comic books, and quicky paperbacks of the period settled for the ETH. If there were flying saucers, they *had* to come from outer space. In effect, Madison Avenue was unwittingly joining Keyhoe and his colleagues as propagandists for an idea which had seemed totally absurd only five years before. There was still no hard evidence of any kind to support the ETH (there never would be), but the mounting sightings certainly indicated that some kind of phenomenon did exist.

Arthur C. Clarke, the famed sciencefiction writer, focussed his attention on the phenomenon in the early 1950's. In the *Journal of the British Interplanetary Society*, May 1953, Clarke questioned the physicality of the objects, noting their observed behavior defied all the laws of physics. They seemed to race through the atmosphere at supersonic speeds without causing booms. They performed right angle turns at high speeds. They appeared and disappeared as suddenly as ghosts. Clarke could not accept the notion of extraterrestrial visitants who would travel millions of miles only to ignore us and avoid formal contact. So he looked deeper, into psychic phenomena, philosophy and theology and published his findings in *Childhood's End* (1953), a remarkable novel which is still enormously popular with today's youth.<sup>36</sup> As was his habit, Clarke was ahead of the times. It would take ufology two decades to catch up with him. His novel is still almost completely unknown to the hardcore UFO enthusiasts. Sciencefiction writers, and sciencefiction fandom had lampooned the subject since the appearance of Shaver and so were regarded as the arch enemies of ufology early on.

Another arch enemy was Harvard astronomer Dr. Donald Menzel. An active advisor to the AF, Menzel dismissed UFO as mirages, reflections and air inversions in *Flying Saucers*, 1953.<sup>37</sup> Because this was one of the first works on the subject by a genuine scientist, Menzel received considerable publicity and his theories were frequently quoted thereafter. The ufozines viewed him with extreme distaste, ranking him with another astronomer and "Air Force explainer," Dr. J. Allen Hynek. To add to the insult, Dr. Menzel's hobby was writing science-fiction under various pseudonyms.

Major Keyhoe countered Menzel with *Flying Saucers From Outer Space* (1953), a book based in large part on UFO sightings from the USAF's official files.<sup>38</sup> Captain Ruppelt, Al Chop, and other members of *Project Blue Book* had quietly become ETH enthusiasts and publicly endorsed Keyhoe's books.

Early in 1953, a blue ribbon panel of leading scientists was convened by the Central Intelligence Agency in Washington to review the evidence collected by *Project Blue Book*. Ruppelt tried to promote the ETH but his evidence was flimsy and the panel remained unconvinced. Noting that the handling of UFO reports was consuming too much time and money, and threatened to create disastrous confusion if enemy aircraft should one day appear, the panel suggested tightening security on AF UFO information and publicly downgrading the subject.<sup>39</sup> Later, an order was even issued to all USAF personnel forbidding them to discuss UFO reports with the press or civilians.<sup>40</sup> Keyhoe's major sources of information were suddenly cut off.

The Dark Age of ufology began.

Tiffany Thayer's suspicions had been confirmed. The USAF was "out to get" ufologists and Forteanes. New UFO sightings were hastily explained as meteors and air inversions. *Project Blue Book* became nothing more than a slapstick public relations effort. The annual UFO statistics issued by the AF were ludicrous; the columns of figures were not even added correctly, and the numbers of sightings allegedly reported to the AF in previous years were mysteriously altered in each new statement.<sup>41</sup>

The growing band of UFO hobbyists were convinced that the flying saucer mystery harbored some terrible secret, and that the government would stop at nothing to keep that secret from becoming public. In 1952, Albert K. Bender of Bridgeport, Conn., founded a correspondence club (which is really what all the UFO organizations are) called the International Flying Saucer Bureau. It is significant that Bender also had another hobby; the study of Black Magic. Within a year Bender was behaving strangely, telling friends he was onto "the secret" and hinting that government agents were trying to shut down his bureau. In November, 1953, he did just that, and refused to have anything to do with the subject from that time on. He fell completely silent and would not discuss his problems with even his closest associates.<sup>42</sup>

Reports of similar cases turned up as far away as New Zealand. Many UFO enthusiasts became convinced the government was tapping their phones, tampering with their mail, and even trailing them in ominous black Cadillacs. Gray Barker, a West Virginia researcher, collected enough anecdotes of this sort to publish a book, *They Knew Too Much About Flying Saucers* (1956), thus setting in



motion the main ufological diversion of 1953-66—speculations about the official conspiracy of silence.<sup>43</sup>

Major Keyhoe contributed to the darkening atmosphere with *The Flying Saucer Conspiracy* (1955),<sup>44</sup> and newscaster Frank Edwards claimed he had been fired from his job as a news commentator for the Mutual Broadcasting System in 1954 because he “talked too much about flying saucers.” In *My First 10,000,000 Sponsors* (1956), Edwards asserted he had later been offered a high-paying job with the pentagon, supposedly to assure his silence.<sup>45</sup>

Not unexpectedly, this conspiracy-orientation altered the basic character of American ufology by appealing to persons with paranoid leanings and extreme political views. Instead of investigating flying saucers, they turned to investigating each other. Who in their midst was really an AF agent? They were suspicious of everyone. Major Keyhoe’s *National Investigation Committees on Aerial Phenomena* (NICAP) built files on the marital and financial histories of contactees and other ufologists. Feuds erupted between all the organizations. Ray Palmer, still clinging to the Shaver theory, was virtually ostracized. Lorenzen’s APRO and Keyhoe’s NICAP became bitterly antagonistic towards each other.

Dr. Leon Davidson, a man who had played an active role in early atomic research, became involved with UFO in the early 1950’s and eventually concluded that the whole thing was a Cold War hoax created by the C.I.A.<sup>46</sup>

The more rational people in the UFO field dropped out in dismay and disgust, leaving the movement to the cranks, publicity-seekers and paranoiacs. The ufozines of the late 1950’s took on a discombobulated character, blending right wing politics with rumors and vicious slander. It was ufology’s darkest hour.

American research was paralyzed from the outset because of the shortage of qualified investigators and researchers, the lack of leadership and the total absence of methodology. Even while the cries of official censorship were growing there was a sudden explosion of new and worthwhile information. Captain Edward Ruppelt produced the first important breakthrough by publishing the inside story of *Project Blue Book*. His *The Report on Unidentified Flying Objects* (1956) was a blockbuster filled with previously unrevealed AF UFO cases and refreshing insights into the overall problem. The book still ranks as one of the best on the subject.<sup>47</sup>

For its part, the USAF released *Project Blue Book Report Number Fourteen* in 1955.<sup>48</sup> This was a statistical study of thousands of UFO sightings prepared for the AF by the Battelle Memorial Institute, a “think tank” in Columbus, Ohio. Through some rather questionable mathematical techniques involving probabilities, etc., it attempted to support the USAF’s negative UFO stance. Actually it was the first statistical study of the subject and as such remained unique for ten years. The UFO enthusiasts were too caught up in conspiracies to attempt any statistical studies of their own.

Morris K. Jessup, a trained astrophysicist, became a ufological superstar with the publication of *The Case for the UFO* (1957).<sup>49</sup> This book covered a wide range of Fortean phenomena, loosely linking all of it with flying saucers, and including various archaeological and anthropological mysteries. He suggested, for example, that the great stone structures of the ancient world may have been

erected through the use of levitating rays wielded by flying saucers.

Soon after the paperback edition of *The Case for the UFO* appeared, a dogeared copy arrived by mail at the Office of Naval Research (ONR) in Washington. It was profusely annotated in different colored inks by different hands. The notes commented on various Jessup statements and some of the comments were quite remarkable. Officers at ONR showed the book to Jessup but he dismissed it as some kind of joke. However, ONR took it so seriously that a naval subcontractor, the Varo Corporation of Garland, Texas, retyped the entire book and printed it in a very limited offset edition with the annotations in different colored ink. Copies of this Varo edition were classified and distributed to a few dozen scientists and naval officers. Although the Varo book's existence became a legend among UFO enthusiasts, very few were ever privileged to see a copy.<sup>50</sup>

Jessup also became one of the first ufologists to examine the religious implications of the phenomena. In *UFO and the Bible* (1956) he became one of the first bold enough to suggest that religious manifestations might have a direct relationship with flying saucers.<sup>51</sup>

In 1959, Jessup committed suicide, an event darkly viewed by the paranoid UFO cultists. Some felt he had been liquidated by government agents. Jessup—and the Varo book—became another ufological legend.<sup>52</sup>

Other important books of the 1955-56 period included *Space, Gravity and the Flying Saucers* by Leonard G. Cramp,<sup>53</sup> speculations on their technology; *Flying Saucers on the Attack* by Harold T. Wilkins,<sup>54</sup> the first book to collect together anecdotes of hostile actions by UFO; and *You Do Take It With You* by Coronet magazine columnist R. DeWitt Miller.<sup>55</sup> Miller's oddly-titled entry was one of the most important books of this period because it saw the links between mysticism and psychic phenomena with UFO.

One David Flick published an article in *Library Journal* (Feb. 1, 1955) condemning librarians who wasted tax dollars on flying saucer books "whose purpose seems to satisfy a jaded taste for the bizarre and the sensational." Flying saucers had become more of a problem for the librarian than for the scientist.

The following categories for UFO literature had now developed:

1. Anecdotal "seed catalogs" describing the endless sightings.
2. Studies of the official conspiracy of silence and attacks against the USAF.
3. Theories and speculations about the origin and purpose(s) of UFO.
4. Contactee stories.

With the exception of Menzel and the official *Blue Book* reports, there was no scientific literature.

Enoch's legendary excursions to other worlds in 4,000 B.C. rank him as the first known contactee. Emmanuel Swedenborg, the Swedish mathematician (1688-1772), had years of experience in the twilight world of space travelers and angelic messengers and wrote a number of books detailing life on other worlds. But eventually he realized he was the victim of some kind of cosmic con game and denounced his strange friends as untrustworthy fabricators.<sup>56</sup>

Legends of the "Sky People" can be found in isolated cultures throughout the world, purportedly based upon the stories of those who had direct contact with them. Such contacts are an integral part of many religions. The Hopi

Indians, for example, believe they were guided northwards from Central America by the "Kachina people" who ride about in luminous objects.<sup>57</sup> The Bible not only devotes several lines to Ezekiel's famous "wheel," but describes several other UFO sightings and encounters with UFO occupants (ufonauts) as well. Swarms of strange lights are supposed to have appeared in the sky the night Joseph Smith unearthed the metal plates containing the text of the *Book of the Mormon*.<sup>58</sup>

Modern ufology began when William Denton of Massachusetts received visitors from Venus in the 1860's. His contacts were largely telepathic and astral projection experiences but his books sold well and he was in great demand as a lecturer.<sup>59</sup>

In the 1890's, a girl named Helene Smith entertained Martians in Geneva, Switzerland and had so many psychic adventures she became the subject of an extensive study by Theodore Fluornoy, one of the great parapsychologists of the day.<sup>60</sup>

Denizens of other planets frequently materialized at seances during the spiritualism craze of the 1800's and the 1920's. Then, beginning in 1946, a West Coast parapsychologist, Dr. Meade Layne, made contact with the space people through a spirit medium. By 1950 he had accumulated many hours of recorded conversations with entities who described life on other worlds and fully explained the UFO mystery to Layne's satisfaction. In essence, they merely repeated the same data which had been coming through mediums for thousands of years; that another dimension existed and that UFO were not coming from some other planet but were based in another space-time continuum. Dr. Layne's privately published pamphlet, *Flying Discs—The Ether Ship Mystery and Its Solution* (1950) was not greeted with enthusiasm by the UFO believers, but it was more literate and, in many ways, more rational than some of the material being generated by the ETH advocates.<sup>61</sup>

Between 1947 and 1950 there were vague rumors of UFO landings and contacts, although Dr. Jacques Vallee later catalogued 923 landings between the years 1868 and 1968.<sup>62</sup> For some indefinable reason, even the hardest UFO believers could not accept the plausibility of UFO landings. They energetically accepted the existence of flying saucers as tangible space machines but they rejected landings and alleged contacts off-handedly, bitterly attacking those people who claimed contact. This strange phenomenon was later noted by Sanderson (1967).<sup>63</sup>

Contactees could usually not find a hearing, so many of them resorted to paying for the cost of their publications themselves. Scores of pamphlets and books were flooding the narrow, limited hardcore UFO market by 1956, such as William Ferguson's *A Message from Outer Space*, based upon his conversations with an angel named Khauga; *Men in the Flying Saucers Identified* by W. V. Grant who believed anti-Christ demons were at the controls; *Roundtrip to Hell in a Flying Saucer* by Cecil Michael, who in 1952, reportedly visited the planet Hell in his astral body aboard a flying saucer; and *The Saucers Speak* by George Hunt Williamson. Williamson was a self-styled anthropologist whose *Secret Places of the Lion* (1958) and *Road in the Sky* (1959) became perennial favorites with

the hardcore.<sup>64</sup> He documented instances of early extraterrestrial visitations with ancient civilizations and American Indians. In the early 1960's he went off on an expedition to South America and disappeared permanently and enigmatically.

The 1955-56 period finally brought some of the contactees into the limelight. British contactee Cedric Allingham's *Flying Saucers from Mars*, a description of his encounters with Martians, sold well in a trade book both in England and the U. S.<sup>65</sup> Daniel Fry's *The White Sands Incident* told how he was taken for a ride in a saucer that landed near White Sands Proving Grounds, New Mexico on July 4, 1950.<sup>66</sup> But a charismatic Californian named George Adamski became the best-known and most controversial of this new breed. Adamski claimed repeated contacts with UFOs and Venusians near Mount Palomar. He produced several spectacular UFO photos as proof of his adventures, and on a number of occasions other people were allegedly present when he chatted with Venusians. One of these witnesses was George Hunt Williamson. Adamski's *Inside the Spaceships* (1955) enjoyed modest sales for years, inciting the wrath of the "scientific ufologists" with its preposterous account of a ride to the moon (where Adamski noted rivers and trees).<sup>67</sup>

Another early moon traveler was a sign painter named Howard Menger. He claimed flying saucers landed regularly on his farm near High Bridge, N. J., in 1955-57. He brought back some rocks which he called "moon potatoes." His appearances on the Long John Nebel radio program in New York turned him into a celebrity. His book, *From Outer Space to You* (1959) repeated the sophomoric philosophy of the supernatural entities, and was followed by a phonograph record of "outer space music" picked out by Menger on a piano.<sup>68</sup>

Within a few short years scores of planets were heard from. According to the contactees, we were not only being visited by Martians and Venusians but by the citizens of Zomdic, Korendor, Aenstria and countless other places unknown to us. Keeping track of these visitors was akin to the medieval attempts to catalog all the known angels and demons.<sup>69</sup>

The emergence of the contactees produced a backlash of ridicule that nearly sank the already foundering ship of ufology. Professional writers and major publishers avoided flying saucers between 1956 and 1965, with only a few notable exceptions. Major Keyhoe's *Flying Saucers: Top Secret* (1960) detailed NICAP's futile battle to win a congressional investigation into AF censorship and secrecy.<sup>70</sup> Colonel Lawrence J. Tacker, a former USAF public information officer assigned to *Project Blue Book* countered with *Flying Saucers and the U. S. Air Force* (1960), another explanation of the Air Force's negative position.<sup>71</sup> Dr. Menzel, with a co-author named Lyle G. Boyd, tried again in *The World of Flying Saucers* (1963).<sup>72</sup>

The subject was doggedly kept alive by Fate, Frank Edwards, and by Ray Palmer's *Flying Saucers* magazine which had fitful newsstand distribution. The UFO believers splintered into a dozen warring factions. Some swung to Dr. Layne's interdimensional theory, some accepted Palmer's Hollow Earth. Others gathered around the various contactees. Lesser cults overlapped into the psychic field. Major Keyhoe became the center of a personality cult that was altogether as fanatical as the group that followed Adamski.

Considering the general tone and content of the UFO literature—it was now almost totally paranoid and insane—it was not surprising that the hardcore flying saucer cultist population diminished to fewer than 3,000 people during the long lull. Gray Barker and Ray Palmer continued to publish contactee pamphlets and books throughout the period, rarely selling more than 2,000 copies of any single title. But two important privately printed UFO books did finally appear. Mrs. Coral E. Lorenzen of APRO published *The Great Flying Saucer Hoax* (1962), advocating the ETH and stressing the seeming hostility of the UFO.<sup>73</sup> And Richard Hall, assistant director of NICAP, compiled 746 UFO sightings in *The UFO Evidence* (1964), the first real attempt by a hobbyist to isolate and analyze the many fascinating aspects of the subject.<sup>74</sup> However, the book was poorly organized, unabashedly biased and non-objective, and the enormous quantity of material was not indexed.

Flying saucer sightings returned to the headlines in March, 1966, although a huge flap had been building steadily since 1964. Author John Fuller visited Exeter, N. H., in 1965 to investigate a series of sightings there for *Look* magazine. The result was *Incident at Exeter* (1966), a rational look at the subject even though the prevalent anti-AF paranoia was reflected in the work.<sup>75</sup> It enjoyed healthy sales but was overshadowed by Frank Edwards' *Flying Saucers: Serious Business* which appeared about the same time.<sup>76</sup> Six weeks after Edwards sat down at his typewriter his book was on the shelves, riding the peak of the 1966 wave. It sold over 50,000 copies in hardcover and created a stampede among publishers even though it was filled with errors of fact. Dated UFO books from the 1950's were hastily reissued and publishers competed to buy the previously obscure contactee books and crank pamphlets. Hack writers waded through Ruppelt, NICAP's *The UFO Evidence*, Fort and *Project Blue Book Report Number Fourteen*, rewriting them into paperback potboilers that argued for the extra-terrestrial hypothesis and condemned the Air Force.

Thirty flying saucer titles were listed by *Paperbound Books in Print* in 1967. Typically, the UFO believers were taken by surprise by this sudden boom and had very little in the way of substantial data to offer to the professional writers, newsmen, and television producers suddenly pounding on their doors. The only available "experts" seemed to be Dr. Menzel and Donald Keyhoe.

Unfortunately, the few worthwhile books were buried in the sea of trash. Jacques Vallee's *Anatomy of a Phenomenon* had quietly appeared in 1965,<sup>77</sup> ahead of its time. It analyzed UFO sightings scientifically and statistically. Long-time Fortean Vincent Gaddis contributed *Mysterious Lights and Fires* (1967) which offered a sensible synthesis of UFO and electromagnetic phenomena.<sup>78</sup> English author John F. Michell's *The Flying Saucer Vision* dealt effectively with UFO as a modern myth, examining its origins and speculating on its ultimate influence.<sup>79</sup> Ivan T. Sanderson, an animal authority, attempted to define the complex situation and suggest guidelines for future research in *Uninvited Visitors* (1967).<sup>80</sup>

In Iowa, a young college teacher named Eugene Olson began to supplement his income by grinding out paperbacks of cases borrowed from the ufo-zines. But he was soon investigating new cases on his own and was emerging as

an important writer in the UFO and occult fields under the name Brad Steiger. A copy of the legendary Varo reprint fell into his hands and he published excerpts in *New UFO Breakthrough* (1968).<sup>81</sup>

An editor for *Aviation Week & Space Technology*, Philip J. Klass, joined the shrinking ranks of UFO critics with *UFOs-Identified* (1968).<sup>82</sup> He theorized that most UFOs were "natural plasmas of ionized air," a concept which had been considered by the USAF in 1948 and rejected as untenable.

Public outcry over the great wave of 1966 led the USAF to grant Colorado University \$500,000 to set up an investigative project headed by Dr. Edward U. Condon. Personality conflicts caused the whole project to collapse inwardly early in 1968. The final report of the group, issued in late 1969 and stressing an anti-ETH conclusion, was hastily assembled by people who had not worked on the original project and consisted largely of padding. Bantam Books optimistically printed 200,000 copies of the 900-page book but succeeded in selling only a small fraction of the total.<sup>83</sup> The U. S. Air Force closed down *Project Blue Book* in December 1969, and the flying saucer era seemed to be at an end.

While American ufologists were divided and busily investigating the USAF and each other throughout the 1950's, ufology was making progress in other parts of the world. An early editor of *Flying Saucer Review*, Brinsley Le Poer Trench, examined the historical material in depth and subsequently produced a series of important books on the early myths including *The Sky People* (1960), *Men Among Mankind* (1963) and, most recently, *The Eternal Subject* (1973).<sup>84</sup> In the latter work he demonstrates how many of the effects and manifestations of the UFO phenomenon are similar to, or identical to, the well-known manifestations of psychic phenomena.

France's Aime' Michel, a professional writer and an authority on psychic phenomena, studied the French sightings and landings of 1952-54 and discovered the routes of the objects followed straight lines for great distances. He termed the phenomenon Orthoteny and published *Flying Saucers and the Straight-Line Mystery* (1956), an important research work.<sup>85</sup>

England's John Michell has been making a study of leys, a very ancient grid of trails or tracks which join Great Britain's megalithic monuments. In the course of his research he found that the ancient Chinese also established such grids, supposedly along the paths followed by strange aerial objects in ancient times. His findings were recently published under the misleading title *The View Over Atlantis* (1969).<sup>86</sup>

Even the Loch Ness monster is getting into the act. British author F. W. Holiday, an expert on Nessie, as the monster is called, has carefully researched the dragon legends of England and re-examined the mysterious archaeological structures of Great Britain in an attempt to reconcile reality with myth. He notes that discs were almost always included in the many dragon carvings of the British Isles and in his book *The Dragon and the Disc* (1973) he states: "Man's most ancient religion, that of the dragon and the disc, was therefore not based primarily on mystical utterances and nonsensical dogmas cooked up by bunches of priests for their own political ends, but on actual observable phenomena."<sup>87</sup>

Captain Ivar Mackay, a British parapsychologist and former chairman of

the British UFO Research Association, has compiled dozens of effects and manifestations which occur in psychic phenomena and are also common in flying saucer reports. These include conjunctivitis, lacunar amnesia, failure of mechanical and electrical apparatus, apportionation, teleportation, levitation, telepathy, materialisations, etc.<sup>88</sup> Apparently all of these phenomena have a common cause regardless of the frame of reference in which they occur.

In *Passport to Magonia* (1969) Dr. Jacques Vallee reviewed the fairy lore of Europe and compared the fairy stories with modern UFO reports. "Is it reasonable," he asks, "to draw a parallel between religious apparitions, the fairy faith, the reports of dwarflike beings with supernatural powers, the airship tales in the United States in the last century, and the present stories of UFO landings? I would strongly argue that it is—for one simple reason; *the mechanisms that have generated these various beliefs are identical.*"<sup>89</sup>

The latest books published in the United States are actually dealing with material explored by the Europeans fifteen years ago. Raymond W. Drake, an Englishman, and Paul Misraki of France, suggested, along with Trench, that ancient religious and occult events had been influenced by the UFO phenomenon in some way.<sup>90</sup> But this concept did not gain popular currency in the U. S. until 1970 when the spectacularly successful *Chariots of the Gods* by a Swiss amateur archaeologist, Erich Von Daniken, was published.<sup>91</sup> It has spawned a number of imitations such as Eric Norman's *God's and Devils from Outer Space* (1973).<sup>92</sup> Eccentric books which only a few years ago would have been restricted to mimeographed pamphlets with limited distribution are suddenly appearing on newsstands, e.g., *God Drives a Flying Saucer* by R. L. Dione.<sup>93</sup>

Arthur C. Clarke's 1953 theology is slowly becoming a part of the American UFO scene.

While NICAP and the American "scientific ufologists" were battling the contactees in their struggle to attain respectability and a congressional investigation, the European investigators were closely observing the contact situation. Charles Bowen and Gordon Creighton of *Flying Saucer Review* realized, like Dr. Vallee, that many of the manifestations were demonological rather than interplanetary.<sup>94</sup> When, for example, Albert K. Bender finally published his story in *Flying Saucers and the Three Men* (1960) he described the same kinds of problems often experienced by practitioners of witchcraft and occultism. His "government agents" were phantasms but few American ufologists had the background to recognize the symptoms. They denounced him as a liar trying to make a buck with an outrageous story.<sup>95</sup>

Contactees remained in disgrace in the U. S. until 1966 when John Fuller published the story of Betty and Barney Hill, a couple who had suffered lacunar amnesia while on a trip in 1961. Later, when hypnotized by a psychiatrist, they recalled being taken aboard a UFO and being examined medically by a group of little men.<sup>96</sup> A condensed version of the story was printed in *Look* and so given wide circulation encouraging many "silent" contactees to come forward with their own stories.

The major contribution in solving the contactee phenomenon did not come from professional scientists, psychologists or psychiatrists, however, Author

Brad Steiger spent several years investigating people who had experienced "revelation" through conversations with angels, demons, and "spacemen." He found that the messages conveyed by these entities were always the same, no matter what frame of reference was being used. While Vallee could only speculate on this mechanism, Steiger took the first step towards proving it in *Revelation: The Divine Fire* (1973), which, despite its title, is probably the most important book to come out of the entire American flying saucer scene.<sup>97</sup> Needless to say, the hardcore American ET believers have ignored Vallee, Steiger, Michell, Creighton, et al.

Ufology has been a propaganda movement rather than a scientific movement. The ufologists began stumping for a myth in the late 1940's before the sighting evidence was empirical. Additional myths were gradually developed and absorbed into the main premise, the ETH, while the mounting correlations between UFO and psychic phenomena were ignored or even suppressed by the ET believers, not by the USAF or C.I.A.

The flying saucer myth did have a number of indirect effects on American science and culture, however. All of the talk about extraterrestrial life not only influenced Hollywood but led a number of scientists to reconsider the long-held scientific view that life could not—and did not—exist elsewhere in the universe. Radio astronomy was growing in importance and when the Soviet *Sputnik* went into orbit in 1957 a cultural shock resulted. The officially stated purpose of the U. S. manned space program was the search for life beyond earth. Millions were funneled to scientists and institutions for a strange new pursuit called "exo-biology" . . . the study of extraterrestrial life. Without samples of any kind, or even without the slightest proof that planets existed in other star systems, this was a very difficult study, indeed. But a massive scientific literature on exo-biology quickly appeared.<sup>98</sup> To the UFO believers' disgust, this literature carefully avoided any substantive discussion of flying saucers. Some of the exobiologists, like Dr. Carl Sagan, did not hesitate, however, to exploit the UFO mythology when it served their purposes. Sagan was active as an advisor to *Project Blue Book* and a participant in the numerous flying saucer symposiums of the late 1960's.

That the UFO propagandists had done their job well was proven by a 1966 Gallup Poll which found that 48% of those polled believed flying saucers were real. And a poll conducted for the Colorado project found that 69% believed the government was suppressing UFO information. A whopping 70% thought that intelligent life could—or does— exist elsewhere in the universe.

On another level, several generations of teen-agers had grown up believing in UFO, ETH and the governmental conspiracy. If the government could lie about flying saucers then it could lie about anything. The UFO propagandists of the 1950's undoubtedly contributed to the growing credibility gap between the government and the people. The impressionable teen-agers carried into adulthood the distorted attitudes of the UFO movement. Dr. Condon commented strongly on this: "We feel that children are educationally harmed by absorbing unsound and erroneous material as if it were scientifically well founded. Such study is harmful not merely because of the erroneous nature of the material



itself, but also because such study retards the development of a critical faculty with regard to scientific evidence, which to some degree ought to be part of the education of every American."<sup>99</sup>

Much of the UFO literature, particularly the contactee literature, is pure propaganda of the type long circulated by the entities described by RAF Air Marshal Sir Victor Goddard as "illusion-prone spirits" who framed theses "to propagate some special phantasm . . . to indulge an inveterate and continuing technological urge toward materialistic progress. . . ."<sup>100</sup>

The great UFO wave of the 1960's had a visible effect on the youth subculture. The use of hallucinatory drugs often produced visions remarkably similar to the visions of the contactees. The recognizable propaganda of those "illusion-prone spirits" appeared in the lyrics of popular songs, in endless articles and poems in the "underground" newspapers, and even in comic books. The Woodstock Nation went on a cosmic trip that dwarfed the adventures of Adamski and Menger. During the peak years UFO lecturers were in great demand on college campuses, often extracting large fees to spread the gospel of the space people. James Mosely, publisher of *Saucer News* (now defunct); Dr. J. Allen Hynek, the skeptic who turned believer in 1966; Stanton Friedman, engineer turned full-time UFO lecturer, and several others were all active on the college circuit by the end of the 60's. Dr. James McDonald, a meteorologist and ET enthusiast, also lectured widely before groups of scientists and journalists until his death by suicide in 1971.<sup>102</sup>

Major Keyhoe is now retired but both NICAP and APRO continue to publish newsletters for their steadily diminishing memberships. The Midwest UFO Network (MUFON) now dominates the American scene after defecting from APRO and regrouping around Dr. Hynek who is becoming the center of a new personality cult.<sup>103</sup> His book, *The UFO Experience* (1972), was a disappointing rehash of classic cases and a bitter attack on the ill-fated Colorado University project.<sup>104</sup>

The 25-year search for tangible physical evidence of the ETH continues. MUFON's latest project (in 1973) is the exhumation of a 75-year old grave in Aurora, Texas which, according to an old and questionable newspaper clipping, allegedly contains the body of a little man killed when his flying saucer crashed into a windmill.

American ufology has always been about ten years behind European research. Dr. Hynek frequently alludes to his "Invisible College" of scientists working on the problem but they have produced no studies or literature to date. Instead, the involvement of Hynek, McDonald, Condon, et al. in the 1960's stimulated feuds and controversies far surpassing the teacup tempests of the UFO enthusiasts in earlier years.<sup>105</sup> However, a number of folklorists, psychologists and social scientists have entered the field quietly and independently and may eventually produce a new body of literature free from the nonsense of the past.

The role of the UFO hobbyist has changed. They now merely supplement the work of such people as Dr. David Saunders, a dissenting member of the Colorado project who is working on the statistical problem, and Dr. Vallee who

is still sorting out the landing reports.

The shift from causes and beliefs to history, mythology, philosophy and theology is already apparent in the post-1969 literature, but these subjects lack popular appeal and are beyond the intellectual range of the average UFO cultist. In any case, the ranks of the cultists are rapidly thinning. Many have become discouraged or disenchanted because twenty-five years of sightings have produced no significant results of any kind. Others have moved on to ontology and psychic or religious organizations. Some have simply grown up.

Vallee (1969), Keel (1970 b) and Steiger (1973) have set the course for a New Ufology devoted to understanding the mechanisms of belief rather than perpetuating the beliefs generated by those mechanisms. But this could be another futile path, leading backwards to the ancient philosophical questions, trying to define or redefine reality and discern man's true purpose.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>The 400-page bibliography prepared by the Library of Congress in 1969 (see Catoe) contained 1,600 entries but less than ten pages were devoted to scientific documents, papers and books covering the period 1947-69. This situation has now been improved with the contributions of Condon, (see Gillmor, 1969) Hynek, Sanderson, Vallee and the published papers of the various scientific symposiums which have been held. See Fuller, 1969; and Sagan and Page, 1971.

<sup>2</sup>Gillmor, 1969, pp. 9-10.

<sup>3</sup>Researchers have now uncovered hundreds of reports of "dirigible" sightings from the newspapers of the 1896-97 period encompassing nearly every state. Lucius Farish, R. 1, Plummerville, Ark., the leading UFO historian in the U. S., has collected all of these reports but has not yet published the material in book form. However, many of the 1896-97 "dirigible" stories can be found in the books of Keel, Lore and Vallee.

<sup>4</sup>Dennison, Texas, *Daily News* item reprinted in Vallee, 1965.

<sup>5</sup>The Arnold sighting is usually regarded as the beginning of the modern UFO mystery. Various flying saucer conventions are held annually on or about June 24th in commemoration of the event. The sighting is best described in Arnold and Palmer, 1952.

<sup>6</sup>Saunders has thus far published only fragments of his study, in *Flying Saucer Review*.

<sup>7</sup>See Vallee, 1966, for early statistical studies. A more detailed study appears in *Flying Saucer Review Special Issue Number Four*, 1972.

<sup>8</sup>See Buckner, 1965.

<sup>9</sup>See Meerloo, 1968.

<sup>10</sup>See Warren, 1970.

<sup>11</sup>Gillmor-Condon, Sect. III, Chapt. 7, pp. 209-43.

<sup>12</sup>Mail survey conducted by the author, 1968-69; partial results published in *Anomaly* 2: 21-22 (Sept. 1969), and *Anomaly* 3: 50 (Dec. 1969).

<sup>13</sup>See Keel, 1973 b, pp. 5-6.

<sup>14</sup>This is an educated estimate based upon the membership of UFO organizations, the circulation of UFO magazines, and the sales figures of hardcore books and pamphlets.

<sup>15</sup>See Knight, 1970.

<sup>16</sup>Fort, *The Book of the Damned; Lo!; New Lands; Wild Talents*.

<sup>17</sup>When Thayer, Dreiser and others approached Fort about forming the society he scoffed and said he would no sooner join such a group than he would join the Elks. The society formed after Fort's death in 1932 but the first issue of its journal *Doubt* did not appear until 1937.

<sup>18</sup>Wells' 1898 arguments for the existence of extraterrestrials were almost identical to the arguments of the modern UFO buffs. Dr. Isaac Asimov states in his introduction to

1968 edition: "In *The War of the Worlds*, for the first time in the history of literature, two races from separate worlds meet in realistic hostility. For the first time, Earth must face an invasion of extraterrestrials who are superior to themselves in technology. For the first time, proud man must take second place."

<sup>19</sup>Until 1970, a small group in England published a newsletter detailing new sightings of the fairy folk. Beliefs in the presence of supernatural "little people" can be found in every culture, from Hawaii to Sweden.

<sup>20</sup>Shaver still contributes lengthy articles further explaining his theory to the various UFO journals and his earlier works have been reprinted in Ray Palmer's *The Hidden World* series of books.

<sup>21</sup>*Fate* has nationwide newsstand distribution. The present circulation is about 200,000.

<sup>22</sup>Gardner, *In the Name of Science*. This successful book is still widely quoted although, unfortunately, some of Gardner's ruminations about the flying saucer field were erroneous.

<sup>23</sup>Nothing is known of "Dr. Raymond Bernard" or his real identity. A television producer who tried to locate him in 1968 told the author that Bernard had died in Brazil.

<sup>24</sup>Ruppelt, 1956.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup>After his retirement from the Marine Corps Keyhoe pursued a writing career. When he became involved with UFOs he abandoned all other work and was concerned exclusively with flying saucers from 1949 on.

<sup>27</sup>Heard's most interesting observation was the "bee concept" in which he viewed UFOs behavior as matching mindless insects who have no intelligence individually but can display astounding intelligence collectively.

<sup>28</sup>Pan American pilot William Nash claimed in *Saucer News*, March 1965, that "an unnamed informant told him that *Life* magazine had been briefed by U. S. Intelligence to the effect that the government does have crashed saucers. . . ." The myth has died hard, thanks to a host of unidentified "informants" and "sources" of unimpeachable reliability . . . supposedly.

<sup>29</sup>*True* magazine, Sept. 1952.

<sup>30</sup>See Adler, 1967, p. 17.

<sup>31</sup>"What were the flying saucers?" *Popular Science*, Aug. 1951.

<sup>32</sup>e.g., in his essay on "Little men and flying saucers" Dr. Loren Eiseley noted, "Of men elsewhere and beyond there will be none forever." (In *The Immense Journey*, p. 162.) Most major astronomers, such as Dr. Harlow Shapley, were equally negative about the ETH until the exo-biology boom of the 1960's.

<sup>33</sup>"Flying Saucers come from a distant world," *American Weekly*, Oct. 24, 1954. A typical interview with Prof. Oberth who contends that earth has been under surveillance for centuries by an extraterrestrial race.

<sup>34</sup>Ruppelt, 1956.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.* Also Lorenzen, *The Great Flying Saucer Hoax*. (See Lorenzen, 1966).

<sup>36</sup>Clarke wrote the screenplay for Stanley Kubrick's film *2001*. In many ways, his novel *2001* was an extension of *Childhood's End*.

<sup>37</sup>Dr. Menzel's persistence as the leading UFO critic matches Keyhoe's persistence as the subject's leading advocate. Menzel's arguments have often seemed to have an emotional rather than scientific basis.

<sup>38</sup>The dust jacket of *Flying Saucers from Outer Space* carried an official letter written by Project Blue Book's pentagon spokesman, Al Chop, praising Major Keyhoe's endeavors and supporting the ETH.

<sup>39</sup>In 1966, the Pentagon finally released a 24-page report on the meetings of this panel, Jan. 14-18, 1953. The full text appears in the appendices of Loftin's *Identified Flying Saucers*, and several other books published in the late 1960's.

<sup>40</sup>USAF Regulation 200-2. Full text appears in Loftin, 1968.

<sup>41</sup> Keel, 1969, pp. 18-20.

<sup>42</sup> Barker, 1956.

<sup>43</sup> UFO manifestations of this sort still occur. In August, 1973, a Swedish researcher abandoned his interest in flying saucers after experiencing visits from mysterious men, threatening calls, and a wide range of poltergeistic phenomena. (Personal communication with the author.)

<sup>44</sup> Loss of Air Force cooperation was a serious setback of Major Keyhoe. Much of his efforts after 1954 were designed to force an admission from the Air Force that UFOs were real and extraterrestrial . . . and to reopen their files to him.

<sup>45</sup> Edwards, Frank, "The plot to silence me," *Fate*, June, 1957.

<sup>46</sup> Davidson, Leon, 1962. Among other things, Davidson accused the C.I.A. of secretly sponsoring NICAP and other UFO organizations, and planting articles in the media to encourage public belief in interplanetary travel and the ETH.

<sup>47</sup> Still available in Ace Books paperback edition.

<sup>48</sup> U. S. Air Force project no. 10073. Dr. Leon Davidson has reproduced the main charts and tables from this report in a pamphlet which he still distributes.

<sup>49</sup> Jessup also produced a *UFO Annual*, a hardcover book containing many of the sightings of 1955. This ambitious project was not continued.

<sup>50</sup> Three complete copies are known to exist outside of government circles. They are held by author Brad Steiger; Ivan Sanderson's Society for the Investigation of the Unexplained; the Aerial Phenomena Research Organization. Gray Barker reprinted the entire document in 1974 and offers it for \$25 per copy.

<sup>51</sup> This has become a common theme in the literature, from Daniken's "Gods" to Dione's inverted *God Drives a Flying Saucer*.

<sup>52</sup> Gray Barker even reproduced Jessup's death certificate in his pamphlet *The Strange Case of Dr. Jessup*. Morris K. Jessup did not have a doctorate.

<sup>53</sup> Speculating on the mechanics and methods of propulsion of flying saucers is now the subject of a large body of literature. Such speculations must, of course, be based entirely on the observed behavior of the objects. Some, such as physicist T. T. Brown, founder of NICAP, have devoted many years to this aspect.

<sup>54</sup> There are now thousands of documented incidents in which witnesses have been burned, injured, even killed (apparently by radiation poisoning) by UFOs. One man in N. J. in the late 1950's even won a case for Workmen's Compensation after he was disabled by an acrid gas allegedly from a UFO. Wilkins was the first to dare to suggest UFOs were dangerous, even hostile. There have been many books, pamphlets and articles on this subject since.

<sup>55</sup> Both Miller and Wilkins took Meade Layne's interdimensional theory seriously, putting them in the very small minority of a minority.

<sup>56</sup> Brown, p. 55.

<sup>57</sup> Waters, 1963. The Hopi Indians were convinced the Kachina people were planning to return to Prescott, Arizona on Easter Sunday, 1971. Large numbers of people gathered there, along with TV camera crews and newsmen, but the UFOs failed to keep the rendezvous. See Keel 1973a.

<sup>58</sup> West, 1957, first chapter.

<sup>59</sup> Denton's books are very rare today. A summary of his career can be found in: Hudson, Jan., 1967. This obscure book is surprisingly knowledgeable in the subject. Jan Hudson is probably a pseudonym.

<sup>60</sup> Flournoy's *From India to the Planet Mars* has been released in a new edition by University Books.

<sup>61</sup> Dr. Layne's pamphlets are still available through Borderland Research, the organization he founded.

<sup>62</sup> Vallee, 1969, appendices.

<sup>63</sup> Sanderson, *Uninvited Visitors*.

<sup>64</sup> The Library of Congress collected many of these rare pamphlets in 1967-68 and they

are now on file.

<sup>65</sup> Allingham managed to take a photograph of a tall spaceman heading for his saucer, his back to the camera. This was one of the rare alleged photos of a Ufonaut. Its authenticity is still being debated.

<sup>66</sup> Daniel Fry later founded Understanding, Inc., the group studied by Buckner (fn. 8). Fry acquired a D.D. and is now known as Dr. Daniel Fry. He is still active on the lecture circuit.

<sup>67</sup> Adamski died of a heart attack in 1965. In his last years he, like Swedenborg, complained to friends that he felt he had been tricked and conned by the phenomenon. The day after his death in Washington, D.C., a UFO allegedly landed in England and the pilot identified himself as "Yamski." A robe similar to one owned by Adamski was reportedly seen aboard the object. See Buckle, 1967.

<sup>68</sup> Like Adamski, Menger later had second thoughts about his space adventures. In 1960, he astonished Long John Nebel by publicly recanting on Long John's television program. His experiences could have been hallucinatory and allegorical, he said.

<sup>69</sup> Attempts to catalog the planets and spacemen have been made by a retired school-teacher named John Dean in *Flying Saucers Close Up*.

<sup>70</sup> When Congress and the Air Force finally did contract Colorado University to launch an investigation into UFOs the project received a minimum of cooperation from NICAP and APRO. Dr. Condon later characterized NICAP as "obstructionist."

<sup>71</sup> Tacker's book may, in fact, have been a ghost-written AF apology.

<sup>72</sup> Menzel included a few of the then-little-known 1896-97 sightings, explaining them as sun dogs and other natural phenomena.

<sup>73</sup> Released in paperback in 1966 under the title *Flying Saucers: The Startling Evidence of the Invasion From Outer Space*.

<sup>74</sup> Hall later left NICAP to start his own UFO newsletter which lasted only a few issues.

<sup>75</sup> John Fuller was a humorist on the staff of the *Saturday Review* at the time. After a disagreement with *SR* science editor John Lear, who was anti-UFO, Fuller ended his ten-year relationship with the magazine.

<sup>76</sup> Edwards' success after years of struggling to publicize the UFO subject was shortlived. He died suddenly on June 23, 1967, on the eve of the twentieth anniversary of the Arnold sighting.

<sup>77</sup> Vallee supported the ETH in this early work. Today he is a leading exponent of the "paraphysical" theory.

<sup>78</sup> Gaddis' *Invisible Horizons* (1965) was the best-researched work on the Bermuda Triangle to that date and one of the most-often quoted books in the Fortean field.

<sup>79</sup> Michell was the first to effectively view UFOs, the mysteries of antiquity, and psychic phenomena in a unified way. He is still busily researching these matters in England.

<sup>80</sup> Sanderson had quietly followed the UFO situation for many years. *Pursuit*, the quarterly journal of his Society for the Investigation of the Unexplained (SITU) carries regular articles on ufology. Mr. Sanderson died in Feb., 1973.

<sup>81</sup> After publishing a segment of the Varo document in *Saga* magazine, Steiger received several letters from people claiming to be Carlos Allende, allegedly the author of the annotations. He also received letters from a woman claiming to be Allende's widow. A man claiming to be Carlos Allende visited APRO headquarters in Tucson, Arizona and presented Mrs. Coral Lorenzen with a copy of the Varo document.

<sup>82</sup> Mr. Klass was disappointed that his plasma theory was not universally accepted as the true explanation of the UFO mystery. Like Dr. Menzel, he has spent a great deal of time attacking Dr. Hynek, Dr. McDonald and the other believers. In 1975, he tried again with *UFOs Explained*; New York: Random House.

<sup>83</sup> In a remarkable move, Colorado University copyrighted the Condon report. Ordinarily,

documents prepared through the use of public funds are released into the public domain.

<sup>84</sup>Mr. Trench is the founder and head of *Contact* magazine. Address: F. W. Passey; 59D Windmill Rd.; Headington, Oxford, England.

<sup>85</sup>Orthoteny produced a long debate in the *Flying Saucer Review*. The chief critic was Dr. Donald Menzel. Michel eventually abandoned the premise as "a false trail" (Michel, 1966).

<sup>86</sup>This book has 82 pages of text and 120 pages of appendices.

<sup>87</sup>In a series of articles in *Flying Saucer Review*, 1972-73, Mr. Holiday has rejected the belief that the Loch Ness creature is a physical animal. He notes the intrusion of psychic phenomena in the events surrounding the appearances of the apparition (over 3,000 sightings recorded thus far).

<sup>88</sup>Mackay, 1970.

<sup>89</sup>Before Vallee, the popular ufological assumption (e.g., Lorenzen, Keyhoe, *et al.*) was that the earlier fairy sightings had simply been misinterpretations of the UFO phenomenon. However, the scholarly literature on these earlier manifestations indicates that the fairy concept was a deliberately constructed frame of reference.

<sup>90</sup>Paul Misraki uses the pseudonym "Paul Thomas." An important part of the current trend towards re-evaluating the historical material is the revival of archaeological diffusionism in such non-UFO works as: Berlitz, 1972.

<sup>91</sup>Also spelled Daeniken. Clifford Wilson's *Crash Go the Chariots* (1973), is a critique of Von Daniken based largely upon the traditional religious interpretation of the phenomena Von Daniken attempts to re-explain. In *Caveat Emptor*, Sept.-Oct. 1973, p. 17, reviewer Paul Braczyk states: "... Wilson's rebuttal is *totally* unreasonable, but in the opposite direction. In fact, *Crash Go the Chariots* is so preposterous, taken in its entirety, that it negates its purpose and tends to reinforce Von Daniken out of sheer frustration, if nothing else."

<sup>92</sup>Revised version of a book published in 1970. "Eric Norman" is a pseudonym used by both Eugene Olson and Warren Smith.

<sup>93</sup>Dione's book is largely a rehash of the religious UFO literature which began to appear in privately published pamphlets in the mid-1950's.

<sup>94</sup>Gordon Creighton, a retired British diplomat and an accomplished linguist, has been publishing cautious articles about these correlations for some years in *FSR*. But *Flying Saucer Review's* circulation of 3,500 consists largely of the "nuts and bolts brigade" of ETists so presenting the demonological material poses a delicate problem.

<sup>95</sup>Contrary to the UFO enthusiasts' complaints. Bender received very little money from his book. The paperback version brought him only \$800. Bender describes headaches, spells of amnesia, poltergeistic phenomena and other manifestations commonly known as "psychic attack" in other frames of reference.

<sup>96</sup>Fuller, John, 1966b.

<sup>97</sup>Chapt. 8, "From Outer Space, With Love," pp. 149-174.

<sup>98</sup>The modern movement toward extraterrestrialism seems to have been launched by Harold F. Blum in his article, "Perspectives in Evolution" (1955). For other references see bibliography, Allen, Sagan, Sullivan. The basic premise of the modern exo-biologists is that the law of probabilities assures the existence of billions of planets in the universe with millions of them inhabitable and inhabited by intelligent life forms in various stages of development. There is, however, no evidence that even a single planet actually exists beyond our solar system and there is no fundamental data on which to base probabilities. Our space satellites, radar probes, etc., have now established that life does not exist elsewhere in our solar system.

<sup>99</sup>Gillmor-Condon, pp. 5-6.

<sup>100</sup>Public lecture by Sir Victor Goddard, London, 1969.

<sup>101</sup>Dr. Hynek was hired to write an essay on astronomical phenomena for *Project Grudge* in 1949. He remained with the USAF as a consultant throughout the 1950's and 60's, acting

as spokesman for the official anti-UFO stance. Then, in a surprising turnabout, he published an open letter in *Science*, Oct. 21, 1966, admitting he did not dismiss the UFO phenomenon and urging a full scale scientific study. He followed this up with articles in *The Saturday Evening Post* (Dec. 17, 1966) and *Playboy* (Dec. 1967), stressing his concern that "where's there smoke there must be fire."

<sup>102</sup>Dr. McDonald died before he could assemble a book. He did publish a number of speeches and papers, largely castigating the AF and C.I.A. for not releasing UFO data. He spent a part of his final year re-investigating cases which had been dismissed by the Colorado Project.

<sup>103</sup>Dr. Hynek plans to retire soon and devote his full time to flying saucer research.

<sup>104</sup>Nearly half of *The UFO Experience* is devoted to a review of the problems of the Colorado Project.

<sup>105</sup>The scientists of the 1960's chose up sides and engaged in debates and conflicts which eclipsed the earlier wars between the opposing factions of the UFO cultists. Dr. Condon went so far as to try to force the American Association for the Advancement of Science to abandon its plans for a UFO symposium in 1969. (See Sagan and Page in References.)

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