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On the Nature and Origin of Flying Saucers and Little Green Men¹

by VALERII I. SANAROV

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The problem of the nature and origin of flying saucers or unidentified flying objects (UFOs) has long been of interest (see bibliography in Brennan 1971, Catoe 1978, DeVoe 1969, Jain and Horswell 1967, Rodgers 1976, Page 1975, Sable 1967). Their characteristics and interactions with humans have been summarized by McCampbell (1973) and Sanarov (1979). Of the many theories as to their nature, the most popular and apparently most plausible is that of extraterrestrial origin: that UFOs are spacecraft and UFO-nauts representatives of a highly developed extraterrestrial civilization. Other theories include the idea that UFOs are entities from the fourth dimension or from the Earth's interior and the belief that they are life forms from the Earth's upper atmosphere (Constable 1978). Dmitriev (1978a, b, 1979a, b, c, 1980) is of the opinion that UFOs are atmospheric phenomena akin to ball lightning; he explains them in terms of the formation under certain conditions of so-called chemiluminescent zones in the atmosphere and argues that encounters with such zones may have adverse effects on man (motor paralysis, symptoms of hypertension, hallucinations, etc.).

What the observer usually sees is simply a luminous body ("light"), egg-, cigar-, or disk-shaped. There are many convincing reports of encounters with such objects (for the U.S.S.R., see Zigel 1968-78, 1979; Gindilis, Menkov, and Petrovskaya 1979; and review in *Khimiya i Zhizn* 1979). For example, in autumn 1978 the Australian pilot Fred Valentich vanished over Bass Strait. The tape recording of the radio communication between the pilot and the Melbourne Flight Service just before his disappearance at 7:12 p.m. on October 21 indicates that he had encountered an object with a sort of metallic shine and lights of some kind, green or simply "bright." His last words were "That strange aircraft is hovering on top of me again . . . and it's not an aircraft" (*International UFO Register* 1978:3). A large-scale search for the pilot and his aircraft was unsuccessful. In the course of the investigation it was ascertained that that night some people had seen strange luminous objects over the Strait. What is more, a chance amateur photographer had taken six color pictures across the

Strait at sunset on October 21, about 20 minutes before Valentich reported a UFO approaching his aircraft. Computer analysis revealed a disk surrounded by cloudlike vapor approximately a mile from the camera (Pinkney 1979). There is no doubt that this was a UFO encounter, but by no means can any conclusions be drawn from it as to the nature of the UFO, much less as to the presence in it of extraterrestrials.

The existence of UFOs in the strict sense of the term (unidentified flying objects) must be considered an established fact and a subject for research by natural scientists. The sighting of UFO-nauts should be taken as a separate problem, and the solutions to the two problems will show whether they are interconnected, i.e., whether the UFO-naut reports have anything to do with UFOs. My task here is to examine the problem of UFO-nauts and the vehicles that carry them. To avoid misunderstandings, I shall use an everyday term for UFOs, "flying saucers," and refer to UFO-nauts as "little green men." The UFO-naut problem may be considered from a number of points of view. This paper represents an attempt to see whether folklore studies can contribute to its solution. I have shown elsewhere (Sanarov 1979) that the stories of UFOs and UFO-nauts can be classified under the folkloric genre of non-fairy-tale prose or memorates. This makes it possible to compare them with a wide range of folkloric or mythological material.

One of the earliest reported instances of the connection of sightings of strange objects in the sky with the arrival of representatives of extraterrestrial civilizations dates to 1897, when, on April 19, the *Dallas Morning News* announced the funeral of the pilot of a strange airship that had crashed in Aurora, Texas, two days before. Inspection of the pilot's remains had permitted the local authorities, including an astronomer, to conclude that he was a native of the planet Mars (Jacobs 1976:13-14). That same night, in Leroy, Kansas, the prominent local rancher Alexander Hamilton and his household were reportedly awakened by a noise among the cattle. They seized some axes and ran to the corral, where they saw an airship slowly descending until it was about 9 m above the ground. It consisted of a cigar-shaped object about 90 m long with a carriage underneath made of glass or some other transparent substance alternating with a narrow strip of some other material. The carriage was brightly lighted within. Hamilton wrote:

It was occupied by six of the strangest beings I ever saw. There were two men, a woman, and three children . . . We stood mute with wonder and fright, when some noise attracted their attention and they turned a light directly upon us. Immediately on catching sight of us they turned on some unknown power, and a great turbine wheel, about thirty feet in diameter, which was slowly revolving below the craft began to buzz and the vessel rose lightly as a bird.

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When about three hundred feet above us it seemed to pause and hover directly over a two-year-old heifer, which was bawling and jumping, apparently fast in the fence. Going to her, we found a cable about a half-inch in thickness made of some red material, fastened in a slip knot around her neck, one end passing up to the vessel, and the heifer tangled in the wire fence. We tried to get it off but could not, so we cut the wire loose and stood in amazement to see the ship, heifer and all, rise slowly, disappearing in the northwest.

Next day the hide, legs, and head of a heifer were found in a field three or four miles west of Leroy, with no tracks in the soft ground around them. The hide bore Hamilton's brand. The whole account was backed up by an affidavit signed by ten prominent citizens to attest to Hamilton's honesty.

This would seem to be an ordinary, if embellished, report of a dirigible, except that America had no dirigible airships at the time. The *Yates Center Farmer's Advocate*, first to publish this story, carried it on April 23. Whether this airship had anything to do with the crashed airship in Aurora could only be conjectured had it not been for further developments. On January 21, 1943, the *Buffalo Enterprise*, a Kansas weekly newspaper, reprinted Hamilton's account, and this brought the paper a letter from E. F. Hudson, who in 1897 had been editor of the *Yates Center Farmer's Advocate*. He wrote:

I had just bought and installed a little gasoline engine, the first I believe to come to Yates Center, using it to run my machinery, replacing the hand-power . . . I invited many of my friends into the back shop to see the engine work. Hamilton was one of them. He exclaimed, "Now they can fly," hence the airship story that we made up. After we had published it, the story was copied in many of the largest newspapers in this country, England, France and Germany . . . There were also hundreds of inquiries from every part of the globe. Soon afterwards there came the various experiments in flight, but I have always maintained that Alex Hamilton was the real inventor of human flight.

Hudson's son, in an accompanying note, explained that his father and Hamilton had "concocted that story following a Saturday afternoon powwow which was customary for Saturdays in those days." More recently, in 1976, a witness was found in 93-year-old Ethel L. Shaw, who reported:

It seems there were a few men round about who had formed a club which they called "Ananias" (Liars' Club). They would get together once in a while to see which one could tell the biggest story they'd concocted since their last meeting. Well, to my knowledge, the club soon broke up after the "airship and cow" story. I guess that one had topped them all and the Hamilton family went down in history.

It was added that the men who had signed the affidavit, friends of Hamilton, "knew it to be a falsehood but simply went along with it for the fun." (For accounts of Hamilton's story and references to the original sources, see Mathes 1977; Farish 1966; Vallée 1977:17-20; Bougard 1977:175-78; Clark 1977.)

It would seem that we could end here; the whole story was a hoax. However, we would be wrong to do so. Recalling Hamilton's exclamation "Now they can fly!" we should ask who "they" were and what his words implied. The history of airship building makes it clear that it was precisely dirigibles that he meant. The French engineer Albert had equipped a balloon with an electric motor for the first time in 1883, and he was followed in 1884 by Tissandier and by Renard and Krebs. The latter's balloon had a speed of 21 km per hour and was capable of returning to its point of departure. All these airships, however, were low-powered and could not bear even relatively light loads. It was only in 1901 that the Frenchman Santos-Dumont produced a really dirigible flying machine; he flew 10 km in 30 minutes, made a circle over the Eiffel Tower, and returned to his point of departure. American engineers lagged slightly behind their European colleagues. Arthur DeBausset in 1884 and Edward J. Pennington in 1890 each designed a projected airship and organized a stock company, but both

failed to obtain funds and were unable to proceed. It was only in 1900 that A. Leo Stevens built the first motor-driven navigable airship flown in the United States; Thomas Baldwin flew his "California Arrow" in 1904 (Clarke 1960:31-44; Scamehorn 1957:14-15).

Hamilton's trumped-up story becomes understandable in this context: it might be considered a dream of the forthcoming conquest of airspace. The crashed "Martian" airship might, indeed, be regarded as an unlucky attempt by a keen engineer, but this seems less likely when one surveys the American press of the period. Even before Hamilton's account, beginning in November 1896, a multitude of airships resembling dirigibles were being sighted over a rather large territory (Alabama, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, West Virginia, and Wisconsin). Sometimes airships appeared at nearly the same time over different towns and in different states. The newspaper reports represent the general picture of a long body, often called a "cigar," with a propeller at each end on each side and powerful searchlights at both ends emitting blinding light (red, green, blue, or yellow). The speed of these airships was unprecedented for those times, 300-400 km per hour. They usually appeared in the evening or at night. There were reports of landings and conversations between their occupants and the local inhabitants. It should be emphasized that this was a question of an object, now familiar, that did not yet exist. The idea of the existence of a gifted inventor who has remained unknown to us must be rejected: there were simply too many ships in the sky. Thomas Edison, who considered the whole idea of airships a hoax, wrote in 1897 that it was absurd to imagine that anyone could construct an airship and keep it a secret for so long (Bougard 1977:189; Jacobs 1976:21).

What the stimulus was for the spreading of tales of airships in the late 19th century we cannot say. It seems clear, however, that this wave of sightings was connected with the forthcoming era of airship building. At any rate, the idea of the construction of navigable balloons was widespread, and it was such balloons that the "observed" airships resembled. Only one inference can be drawn from this: the anticipation of the technical capabilities of man is a power given not only to science-fiction writers, but also to ordinary people. Human thought, reflecting a dream, leaves events behind, and the dream finds its embodiment in the ingenuous tales of unnamed "witnesses." It may be in just this way that certain forms of oral folklore originated.

To understand the essence of these airship reports, it is helpful to consider certain details of the sightings. On March 26, 1897, the farmer Robert Hibbard was hooked through the trousers by an anchor hanging from an airship and dragged some meters before he slipped off and fell to the ground (Bougard 1977:160). The anchor hanging down from the airship is an element present in many other sightings. On April 26, 1897, in Merkel, Texas, an airship caught its anchor in the ground. A little man dressed in dark blue let himself down from the airship by the anchor rope. People coming out of the nearby church watched him trying to release the anchor. When he saw them, the little man cut the rope and climbed up it into the airship, which slowly floated away. The anchor remained in the ground (Bougard 1977:52-53). Hamilton's story has this detail, too: a wire hanging down from the airship has to be cut, although here it is a heifer tangled in the wire fence instead of an anchor caught in the ground. The rope and anchor recall a similar, much older story, going back to the 9th century A.D. (Bougard 1977:47-48): One Sunday, while the people were at mass in the church of St. Kinarus (or St. Cidran), near Cloera, an anchor on a rope dropped from the sky and caught its fluke in the vault over the church door. The people rushed out and saw an airship in the sky with men aboard it, one of whom was

climbing overboard and moving towards the anchor as if desiring to release it. The crowd tried to get hold of him, but the bishop forbade them to because, he said, that might kill him. The man climbed back aboard in haste. Meanwhile, the other occupants had cut the rope, and the ship sailed out of sight, leaving the anchor behind. This is a tale from *Speculum Regale*, a collection of Icelandic sagas. Similar stories are given in *Mirabilia*, another such collection, and in Nennius's (9th-century) *Historia Britonum*.

A further source of insight is the following: Among the many tricks that Indian fakirs perform is the so-called rope trick, of which Dingwall (1974) finds traces in Ibn-Batuta and in Indian jatakas. The fakir takes a rope and throws one end of it high into the air. The rope seems to become stiff and stands up like a pole. The fakir then tells his child assistant to climb the rope, and when the child gets to the top he disappears. The secret of the trick is a horizontal wire holding the rope up. The performance is always at dusk, when the wire is not visible. When the boy climbs the rope and disappears, he merely climbs out of sight of the spectators, who are night-blinded by lanterns or torches on the ground or by smoke from a fire set by the fakir. After a few minutes, the fakir shouts to the boy as if to order him to come down and then, receiving no answer, himself climbs the rope and disappears. From the noise going on aloft the audience gathers that a fight is in progress. Then bits of dismembered body fall to the ground: a bleeding arm, as if cut from the child's body, then another, then two legs, one after the other, the trunk, and finally the head. The fakir then comes down with a sword dripping with blood. He covers the remains with a cloth and says a few words; then he removes the cloth and the boy emerges, smiling (Dingwall 1974). Here again we have the important element of a "little man" climbing a rope into the sky.

Next I want to suggest a bridge between airships with little men and flying saucers with little green men. When man-made dirigibles became common and people had become accustomed to them, the airships in tales began to be replaced by other luminous flying objects, first cigar-shaped, then disk-shaped: the flying-saucer era had arrived. In June 1914, Gustav Herwagen of Hamburg saw in a field near his home a luminous cigar-shaped object with illuminated windows and four or five dwarves, no taller than 1.20 m, wearing light clothes, standing next to it. When he approached them, they quickly got inside the object, and it took off in silence. In August of the same year, in Canada, eight men saw a large, flat-topped spherical object on the surface of Lake Huron. Next to it were human-like creatures no taller than 1.20 m, wearing close-fitting "violet-green" clothes. These little men were busy with a "hose" immersed in the water. Finally they inserted it into a hatch, and the object suddenly took off. One of the little men had not had time to get in, and he grasped the "handrails" and climbed into it when it was already in the air (Bougard 1977:224–25). In spring 1935, Lucien Aerts of Belgium saw a huge object in the form of an upside-down bowl, apparently made of aluminum, shining in the twilight. The object hovered motionless over a nearby building. Then, from behind it, there appeared two dwarves, and the eyewitness had the impression that they were inspecting or repairing their craft. Soon the little men disappeared inside the machine, and it moved away (Bougard 1977:249). These three incidents bring us directly to the flying saucers and little green men that were so popular in the '50s and '60s (see Bowen 1977). In the typical case, the eyewitness is going along the road at twilight and comes upon a flying saucer by the roadside. Little men, 1 to 1.20 m in height, are bustling about near it; he has the impression that they are making repairs. When he tries to approach, the little men get into the saucer and fly away.

Finally, I want to enlist one more important image. This is

the image of the world-tree, well known in ethnology and folklore. Fairy tales of many peoples have the following plot: The hero longs to find his way out of the underworld. He comes upon a big tree in which there is the nest of a large bird, for instance, an eagle. In this nest are nestlings, the eagle's young. A serpent (or dragon) has wound itself around the tree and intends to devour them. The hero cuts the serpent in two and saves the nestlings. Then the eagle carries him to earth. During the flight, the hero feeds the eagle and in the process is forced to cut for him a piece of his thigh. This causes him to limp, and when the eagle sees this he licks the hero's thigh or spits out the piece of it in order to heal it.

The elements I have drawn out in the above discussion of airship and flying-saucer reports, world-tree tales, and the rope trick are compared in table 1. The similarity apparent here goes far beyond this comparison. For example, the hut-on-hen's-foot of Russian fairy tales, the home of Baba Yaga, "turns around itself"; the flying saucer often revolves about its axis and has three-legged landing gear (i.e., a three-clawed hen's foot). What is more, the eyewitness is sometimes led to the flying saucer by a (ball of) light, just as a ball of wool leads Ivanushka to the hut-on-hen's-foot and the ball of lightning flies into the church (Dmitriev 1979b).

Thus the flying saucer is analogous to the eagle's nest (and the eagle himself), the little green men are analogous to the eagle's young and the fakir's boy. If the reality of flying saucers is problematic, everything is clear in the case of the rope trick: here we have a real action, a ritual—the real, in the long run. In the case of the world-tree, we are dealing with a fabula. Both the ritual and the fabula can be traced back (indeed, in invariant form) a thousand years. They are very likely to have originated in initiation rites, in which certain plots (the real) are dramatized to the accompaniment of an explanatory text (the fabula). If flying saucers are real, then no less real are the airships of the 19th century and even the flights by eagle. And if it is impossible to ride an eagle—the eagle here being only a symbol, a substitute for something—then on what grounds can we consider flying saucers real?

The conclusion goes without saying: flying saucers and little green men do not exist in objective reality. The eagle's nest, the airship, and the flying saucer are images that carry the same functional load. This can only mean that they are not real, but symbolic. The differences in the imaginative expression of this symbol are due to the "set" of the individual (the "eyewitness"): level of social development, situation, beliefs. For instance, the image of the eagle as a means of transportation is typical of the hunter-gatherer level of social development. Differences in subjective perceptions of UFOs are conspicuous today. Women observers tending sheep believed that they had seen God in the heavens (Bougard 1977:237); another observer of a luminous flying object believed it to be a Russian reconnaissance flying machine (*SUFOI Newsletter* 1975) and another considered UFOs to be Chinese spies (*Approche* 1976). One witness reported a flying saucer with a fluffy white shape, and, when the investigator suggested it might have been a cloud, replied, "Well, I know it looked like one, but I think it was a UFO disguised as a cloud" (Randles 1978:3).

The task of specialists remains to explain this symbol's meaning. It may have something to do with the archetypes of the human unconscious, as suggested by Jung (1959).² Again, the solution may lie, as Vallée (1976:209, 2) has put it, "where it has always been: within ourselves," where "UFOs may serve to stabilize the relationship between man's consciousness needs and the evolving complexities of the world which he must understand."

² Unfortunately, Jung's work on flying saucers as myth remains unavailable to Russian scientists.

TABLE 1

FLYING-SAUCCER REPORTS COMPARED WITH OTHER UNUSUAL PHENOMENA IN THE SKY

WORLD-TREE TALES	AIRSHIP TALES	ROPE TRICK	FLYING-SAUCCER REPORTS
The hero is usually <i>sleeping</i> near the tree, scarcely probable in the daytime.	They always happen at <i>night</i> .	It is performed at <i>twilight</i> .	Encounters usually take place at <i>night</i> or early in the morning.
The <i>eagle's nest</i> is overhead, at the top of the <i>tree</i> , considered the <i>road</i> between upper and lower worlds.	The <i>airship</i> hovers in the air, near the <i>church</i> .	The audience cannot see the top of the rope, hidden in a cloud of smoke.	The <i>saucer</i> lands on the <i>road</i> .
Nestlings, the eagle's <i>young</i> , are in the nest.	<i>Little men</i> wearing blue or green clothes are on board.	The fakir's assistant is a <i>child</i> .	The occupants are <i>little green men</i> .
There are <i>four deer</i> near the tree (Edda).	The airship has <i>four propellers</i> .		<i>Four lights</i> are usually seen with the saucer.
A <i>serpent</i> has wound itself around the tree from the ground to the nest.	A <i>rope</i> hangs down from the airship to the ground.	A <i>rope</i> is stretched from the ground into the "sky."	A "hose" or "pipe" from the saucer is immersed in water.
The tree has <i>three roots</i> in the underworld (Edda).	There is an anchor (with <i>three flukes</i>) at the end of the rope that catches in the ground or in the church.		Often the saucer has <i>three-legged</i> landing gear.
The serpent wants to <i>devour</i> the nestlings.	People <i>seize</i> or want to seize the little man.	A <i>quarrel</i> takes place between the fakir and the boy.	The little green men are <i>aggressive</i> towards the eyewitness (Bowen 1977). The saucer <i>needs repair</i> .
The nestlings are <i>unable to fly</i> .	The airship <i>cannot move</i> without releasing its anchor.		
The nestlings cheep, but <i>in vain</i> .	The little man is busy with the anchor, trying <i>in vain</i> to release it.		The little green men are busy with the saucer <i>making repairs</i> .
The hero <i>cuts</i> the serpent in two and saves the nestlings, then mounts the eagle.	A bishop saves the little man; the little man <i>cuts</i> the rope and boards the airship.	The boy <i>climbs</i> up the rope.	On seeing the eyewitness, the little men enter the saucer; they are now <i>able to take off</i> .
The hero <i>flies</i> , riding the eagle.	Little men <i>invite the eyewitness to board</i> or promise to take him on board and the airship <i>flies</i> away, or an animal substitute (heifer) flies with it.	The fakir <i>climbs</i> up too.	Sometimes the little men take <i>humans on board</i> and <i>fly</i> away.
The hero has his <i>leg injured</i> on landing.	People are <i>terrified</i> by the airship (Jacobs 1976:17).	The boy's <i>body is cut into pieces</i> ; the audience is <i>terrified</i> .	On board the little men make a "medical examination" of the eyewitness, which <i>frightens</i> him; a farmer has his <i>arm hurt</i> .
The eagle <i>cures</i> the hero's leg.		The fakir <i>revives</i> the boy.	

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The Supranational Network of Boards of Directors¹

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The global network created by the transactions of large corporations and similarly organized agencies, including governments, has emerged as a fifth level of sociocultural integration (Wolfe 1977). The emergence of a new level of integration effects a blanket transformation of society. It creates a new environment for existing institutions, a more humanly controlled environment organized in terms of the values decision makers consider best to promote their own survival and effectiveness. Existing institutions subordinated to the new level must adapt to the new environment if they are to survive (Steward 1955:55; Jay 1971; Wolfe 1977:616).

At the supranational level of sociocultural integration, the decision makers are the boards of directors of corporations and, in the noncommercial sector, governing boards charged with comparable responsibilities. Interlocking occurs when an individual serves simultaneously as a member of two or more of these boards. Directorate interlocking connects individual decision-making components in a global network which may be considered the core institution of fifth-level organization. I shall trace the evolution of this institution from its origins in 16th-century Europe and then consider interlocking among United States corporations as a detailed example. The example shows that this institution is characterized by (a) persistence beyond the lives of its members, (b) adaptive structuring among components and subcomponents, (c) predictable patterns of covariation among the components and with respect to the environment, (d) increasing dependency of components on the whole, (e) increasing internal differentiation accompanied by increasing autonomy and independence of the whole system from any particular environment, and (f) increasing control of energy resources. Cohen (1968:47) has defined the "unit of adaptation" in cultural evolution as "the largest and most inclusive group that makes and implements decisions with respect to the exploitation of energy potentials in the habitat." The network of interlocking directorates is not coextensive with this group, but, considered as the core institution of this group, it is illustrative of fifth-level organization as a whole.

The antecedents of the contemporary system of multinational corporations may be traced to the collapse of the feudal system in Europe. Family-owned manors, exploiting resources of land and labor, had supported steadily increasing populations throughout Europe for some five centuries. Intensifications of this mode of production such as increased emphasis on wool production removed land from cultivation, raised subsistence costs, and reduced increasing numbers of peasants to pauperism.

The peasants migrated to towns and cities, where merchants and bankers took increasing advantage of them as cheap labor and potential customers (Harris 1977:251-67). Enterprises shifted their reliance from the traditional resources of land and labor to that more concentrated, generalized, and portable resource, money. Increasingly, wealth and success depended on profit maximization by the individual and by the "company." Profits in coin could be more easily reinvested with the intent of increasing future profits or extending the company's control over its environment. The competition was particularly intense in three areas: price (reflecting intensified efforts to buy cheap and sell dear), efficiency (reflecting intensified efforts to reduce operating costs), and innovation (reflecting intensified efforts to apply cheaper-than-labor mechanical technology in reducing both operating and production costs). The aggregate effect of individual efforts was an overall increase in economic activity and establishment of the profit motive as a system imperative.

This infrastructural crisis of feudalism kindled a crisis of social order. The generalized interventive strategies which had maintained the manorial system—strategies emphasizing cognitive and moral control largely by the church—became increasingly costly and ineffective as feudal society diversified. The capitalist system brought with it new and less costly strategies which concentrated on the control of behavioral outcomes. On the popular level, people expressed diminishing concern with what was moral and increasing concern with what was legal. Institutions that rose to prominence in the reformed environment did so by selecting for and reinforcing basic capitalist values such as wage work, free enterprise, competition, individual achievement, privacy, voluntary associations, and increased consumption. Preexisting institutions such as the guild, the regulated company, the commenda, and the companies of merchant-adventurers who had practiced both trade and piracy in their quest for new markets reorganized as joint-stock companies the better to exploit the new environment. The earliest of these, both chartered in England in 1553, were the Muscovy and Africa Companies. While the simple proprietorship remained the most common and important form of the new mode of production, investment in English joint-stock companies quadrupled between 1695 and 1700. By 1700 the 140 English joint-stock companies controlled £4,500,000 in capital, with 6 of the companies controlling three-fourths of this (Johnson 1938:49-50).

Baldus (1977:252, 256-59) has summarized the changes of this pre-formative period of capitalism as the introduction of a new strategy of control which exploited existing conditions among the nonlanded, noncapital-owning periphery to the benefit of the dominant groups. That the consumer role had been transferred from the dominant class to the periphery, dominant groups now investing their profits in expanding enterprise, is demonstrated in part by the high rates of capital accumulation during the formative period (1600-1750) noted by Marx and the classical economists (Fitch and Oppenheimer 1970:36).

The classic period of capitalism dawned in 1750 with the

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