REVITALIZATION MOVEMENTS IN MELANESIA:
A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

by
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Several individuals are directly responsible for the final form that this work has assumed, and to all of them I gratefully acknowledge my debt. The subject of revitalization movements has been of increasing interest to me since my first extensive field contact with the Peyote religion of the Western Navajo. This was made possible by Dr. Jerrold E. Levy, of the Department of Anthropology, Portland State College. My growing interest was constantly stimulated through the assistance of my professors, Drs. Edward H. Spicer, James F. Downs, Edward P. Dozier, and Keith H. Basso, in the Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. REVITALIZATION MOVEMENTS: AN OVERVIEW</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. SURVEY OF MELANESIAN REVITALIZATION PHENOMENA</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cargo Cults</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political and Economic Movements</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Movements</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussion</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. THEORIES OF MELANESIAN REVITALISM: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. A CRITIQUE OF ANALYTICAL DIMENSIONS</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Synchronic Approach</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specific Diachronic Approach</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specific Synchronic Approach</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Diachronic Approach</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. HYPOTHESIS: THE MODEL ON TRIAL</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Model</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Test</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussion</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERENCES</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Schematic representation of proposed model, showing relationships between</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>various structural, temporal, and processual components (after Vogt 1960: 20)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Diagram of the four components and their constituent elements of the</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>proposed model</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABSTRACT

A case is presented for the descriptive analysis of Melanesian revitalization movements. It is suggested that previous attempts to explain this and other such phenomena have met with failure due to the absence of a rigorous descriptive component in the analytical model. A review of general revitalization theory, coupled with a brief survey of the Melanesian data and a critical analysis of existing explanations, is presented. On this foundation, an attempt is made to formulate a satisfactory descriptive model for the analysis of the Melanesian information, a model which, after a critical review of possible alternatives, is seen as necessarily comparative, structural, and processual in nature. The model is then tested against a sample of data from Melanesia and it is concluded that its explanatory potential is of a high degree.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the past one hundred years, the world has taken note of certain remarkable and extraordinary developments in the nature of human institutions in some societies, all of which fall under the rubric "social movement." Initially, the term referred to historico-political phenomena, such as the French Revolution or Socialism in the United States. But other, sometimes bizarre, movements were also noted as being of the same or similar character. The Sioux Indians in 1890 performed the Ghost Dance, which was to bring about the destruction of the world, the return of the dead and former Indian life, and make the warriors in their ritual dress invincible to the bullets of the White soldiers. Bantu South Africa saw in the last several decades the formation of native separatist and independent churches patterned on the Zionist theme, but involving elaborate curing rituals stemming from native beliefs in witchcraft, sorcery, and illness. On New Guinea as recently as 1953, and in other Melanesian areas, whole native populations, having destroyed their villages and material culture, stood waiting on the beaches or on mock airfields for the prophesied arrival of modern, technological cargo being brought by deceased ancestors. In the 1930's, the emergence and rapid growth of a poisonous snake handling cult in rural Tennessee, involving glossolalia, curing sickness, ecstatic seizures, and handling
rattlesnakes, caused great consternation in many legal circles. Today as much as forty percent of the Navajo Indian population participates in a syncretistic native-Christian religious organization based on the ritual consumption of the hallucinogenic cactus peyote, which is believed to facilitate communication with God. And in modern, urban America, a militant Negro organization, based on neo-Islamic precepts, carries out recruitment and rigorous training of converts toward the formation of a self-sufficient and independent Black religious state.

Two things are evident when these phenomena are examined. First, they all appear to constitute somehow a single generic entity, having fundamental similarities, while manifesting gross differences. Second, the basis upon which this congenital relationship is founded is commonly seen in terms of general factors regarding cause and function. Little effort has gone into examining the formal and structural characteristics of these data in an attempt to isolate, describe, and analyze more precise, rigorous, and productive explanatory considerations. It is the major goal of this investigation to provide such a perspective, as illustrated by the concrete example of a certain category of social movement, those that occur in the Pacific island region known as Melanesia.

A fundamental assumption upon which this study is based is that any theory which proposes to account for social movements on any scale must provide for (1) the general nature of the phenomena per se, and (2) the specific and local configurations that these take on. The question regarding the significance of these prerequisites is dealt
with in the first three chapters of this work, where the position is taken that, although there is general agreement concerning the overall nature of social movements, attempts to view any specific example through an orderly frame of reference have largely resulted in confusion, distortion, misrepresentation, and chaos. It is suggested that such a situation need not exist given a careful and sophisticated research design that possesses as one of its major features a rigorous descriptive component.

The final two chapters of this investigation are concerned with the formulation of such an analytical model. It is designed to meet the two general requirements listed above, in addition to providing a satisfactory descriptive analysis of the particular example itself. Only in terms of explanatory potential will the descriptive boundaries of this model be exceeded.

There is a justifiable rationale behind this orientation, which stems largely from the selection of the Melanesian data for examination rather than some other area. First of all, it seemed imperative to choose a corpus of information that was well-defined and that had received some attention over a lengthy period of time. Melanesian movements satisfactorily met these requirements. Beginning in 1893 diverse cases were reported for the area, with several different stages of development exhibited in the course of the years, extending into the present decade. Moreover, the total number of instances of movements in this area is relatively limited, as presented in Chapter 3, being restricted to no less than fifty-five reported
cases. Even at this rate, however, to adequately characterize each reported case in terms of the proposed model (as evidenced in Chapter 6), not to mention suggesting some sort of over-all explanatory direction, would have been patently impossible and beyond the scope of this work.
CHAPTER 2

REVITALIZATION MOVEMENTS: AN OVERVIEW

One of the principal means by which micro-evolutionary culture change occurs is through the vehicle of what some social scientists have called "social movements." Although they are also legitimately manifestations of change, social movements here will be regarded as primarily agents of change. As such they are more or less deliberate and organized attempts by a group of people to bring about certain types of change in their cultural system.

Social movements are not rare sociocultural phenomena; they are sufficiently widespread such that they include manifestations that appear on the surface to be totally unrelated to one another. They have been the subject of much discussion in the past two decades in terms of social and cultural change. And thus they constitute a minimum level from whence we must begin our discussion of Melanesian revitalization movements.

The aim here is to provide a survey of major theoretical treatises concerning revitalization phenomena in general as are found in the reasonably current literature. Several are discussed; more certainly exist, but the ones selected are deemed sufficient for an introductory statement regarding the plan and scope of this investigation.
In 1943 Ralph Linton published the first theoretical account by an anthropologist of what were known as "nativistic movements." Linton attempted to define and classify the range of nativistic phenomena and to identify the conditions under which these various types of movements arise. The author defined a nativistic movement as "any conscious, organized attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture" (Linton 1943: 230). According to Linton, movements vary in terms of revivalistic or perpetuitive goals and magical or rational means. Thus, the Ghost Dance was a revivalistic-magical nativistic movement.

Causal factors of movements are to be found in the unequal status of cultures in contact. This inequality may be actual or attitudinal. Thus we have another four-member classification built around these two factors: dominant/dominated real position and superior/inferior attitude. The author then links the two systems, yielding a certain output, such as, a dominated-inferior group will develop a revivalistic-magical movement at a certain point.

Previously, Barber (1941) had presented in definitive fashion a general causal milieu from which sprung "messianic movements." For him, these movements were only one of several alternative responses to widespread deprivation, the latter being characterized as a situation exhibiting anomie, disorganization, frustration, confusion, and loss of orientation. Thus, the function of messianic movements is to "proclaim a stable order."
Not until 1956 was the subject of nativist movements reopened for theoretical discussion. Two papers appeared in the same volume of the American Anthropologist, one by Voget, the other by Wallace. Using three North American Indian social movements, Voget demonstrated that between the poles of dynamic nativism or revivalistic nativism and passive or adjustive nativism there exists a creative, highly accommodative type of nativism known as "reformative." This may be defined as "a relatively conscious attempt on the part of a subordinated group to attain a personal and social reintegration through a selective rejection, modification, and synthesis of both traditional and alien (dominant) cultural components" (Voget 1956: 250). Reformative movements are seen as relatively stable and enduring developments which function to (1) establish a new self-confidence and dignity on the part of deprived individuals, and (2) pave the way for a transition toward more secular and accommodative adjustments to the changing acculturative situation.

Wallace's paper is now probably the best known of the general treatises on nativist movements. It is being utilized increasingly as a model for comparative, crosscultural analyses of various social movement phenomena. Under the rubric "revitalization movement," which may be defined as "a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture" (Wallace 1956: 265), the author unfolded a general theory of culture change based on an organismic analogy. Human societies are viewed as systems characterized by homeostatic reactions to stress arising from
threats of damage. Individual members of a society possess a "maze-way" or a perceptive model of "nature, society, culture, personality, and body image, as seen by one person." Stress impinging on this field may result in voluntary change of the model and of its actual components, which begins the revitalization process. If a number of people work together toward this end, the result is a revitalization movement.

Wallace defined the ideal revitalization process in terms of five non-discrete stages. The steady state (1) refers to the ongoing operation of a cultural system wherein stress exists within tolerable limits for most individuals. The period of increased individual stress (2) occurs when individuals can no longer adapt to increasing stress effectively and must consider alternative steps to achieve the original efficiency of stress-reduction mechanisms. The period of cultural distortion (3) is the stage at which individual stress and anxiety increase to the degree that the inconsistencies and incongruities of the existing mazeway are thrown into such high relief that they interfere with any adaptive techniques that might be developed, and cultural deterioration sets in.

Six substages in the period of revitalization (4) are outlined by Wallace, with clear reference made here to religious movements. Mazeway reformulation (4a) refers to the therapeutic resynthesis of existing mazeway elements into a new, internally consistent and meaningful whole. The experience is usually described as revelatory and occurs in a would-be prophet. The prophet gathers around himself
several converts, and emphasis here is on communication (lb) of the new doctrine and evangelism. Conversions continue to be made, a group of disciples develops around the prophet, and a definite three-stage organization (lc) evolves in a hierarchical and politically administrative fashion. The movement must usually undergo constant adaptation (ld) to opposition that it encounters, either by internal modification or force. Cultural transformation (le) occurs when personal deterioration ceases and large-scale changes, of a usually politico-economic nature, are embarked upon in an organized manner. Routinization (lf) is achieved when the desired transformations of group action programs display marks of success and stability as new stress-reducing mechanisms, with the result that the movement itself then contracts and provides only passive maintenance needs.

Finally, if the movement runs its full course, a new steady state (5) will be reached, which is characterized by a different cultural system and mazeway than the previous one.

Wallace identified four major dimensions of revitalization movements. They may differ as to choice of identification, stressing revival, importation, or utopia. Movements may display differences as to the selection of secular or religious means, though these categories are certainly not mutually exclusive. They may differ in the amount of nativistic activity present at certain times in their course. Finally, movements may differ in terms of their relative success and failure, which apparently depends upon two factors of doctrinal realism and amount of forcible resistance applied by opposing elements.
A more programmatic approach was utilized by Ames (1957) a year after the Wallace/Voget papers appeared. Using a systems analogy, the author defined nativism as an adaptive change reaction to an external stress or anxiety-producing input. Ames uses the Wallace definition of a revitalization movement, but emphasizes the importance of cultural variables in determining the form of the movement taken. Typologically, movements are either aggressive or non-aggressive and resistive or reformative. Through the means of stress-reaction diagrams, the author then attempts to account for all the various alternative choices of action in terms of patterns of sequences that may develop in the course of a nativist movement.

Under the rubric of "cult movements," Marian Smith (1959) developed a more realistic model of revitalization phenomena. Following Wallace's basic definition, she describes three types of movements, stressing their positions in culture change classifications. A nativist movement refers to revivalistic or perpetuitive tendencies; a vitalistic movement stresses importation of elements in a non-regressive sense; and a synthetic movement involves a new combination of already-extant components. Each of these may be characterized by various contextual features. Smith lists five which can apparently be combined with each cult type: messianic, millenarian, revivalistic, militant, and reformative.

Later in the same year, Wallace and Voget were permitted to comment on Smith's paper, and the author then provided a reply (Wallace, Voget, and Smith 1959). Wallace simply stressed the
importance of attempts to isolate and analyze the different dimensions of variation of the revitalization process. Voge's critique, on the other hand, offered to the reader yet another typology of revitalization movements. In terms of form process, meaning, function for self-concept, and interactive principle, the author listed in preliminary form the categorical positions of several social movements: e.g., the Ghost Dance involves a "sacro-nativistic" process, a "restorative" meaning, a function of maintaining traditional self concept, and an interactive principle of forcible removal of alien interference.

In her rebuttal, Smith made two rather important statements. First, the component of activity versus passivity, the feature used by Worsley (1957) as the major distinguishing criterion in examining "millenarian" movements, is unproductive. Second, Smith makes the point that frequently it is difficult to isolate "a movement" from the total field of cultural transformation and change. The implications of this realization for a systematic analysis of movements by structural features are readily apparent.

Kobben (1960), in a stimulating paper, presented a multi-dimensional cluster analysis model for "prophetic movements." These are defined as largely religious and irrational attempts to carry out sweeping social reforms whenever an external factor affects the culture of a people such that they feel humiliated or suppressed. The author's formal account varies along two parameters: form and content. Content features include eschatological-nativistic, eschatological-adaptive, against (foreign) domination, against witchcraft and
sorcery (sickness), and separatistic. Formal components are syncretistic, ecstatic, iconoclastic, and led by a prophet and/or organized. Each prophetic movement can be analyzed in both of these frames using a three-level significance gradient: most important, present, and not present. The result is an open-ended cluster profile of various traits found in movements, which would permit a rather useful configuration comparison of widely different movements.

In 1963 the English edition of Lanternari's book on "messianic cults" was published. Two years later it was reviewed at length in Current Anthropology (Lanternari, Belshaw and others 1965). Using the "comparative sociohistorical" approach, which is to be distinguished from social anthropology and studies of typology, the author attempted to describe and analyze the world-wide range of what he variously calls religious, nativistic, prophetic, millennial, messianic movements. These are seen as expressions of certain needs which arise in specific historical situations. In order to understand the movement, one must reconstruct the historical milieu, seeking the causes of the needs to which religious movements have attempted adjustment. For Lanternari, these causes are a generalized oppression, which may arise from external stress and domination or from internal strife. Thus religious movements are of two basic types, those originating from outside a society and those arising from within.

In his later reply, Lanternari (1965: 463) clarified his position somewhat when he said that "socioreligious movements have to be seen as a particularly oriented reaction of some groups to a
traumatic experience. Many other choices, either possible or factual, are shown by peoples and societies of every type (similar or dissimilar) in expressing their reaction or response to similar or dissimilar disturbing factors." His obvious bias against classification, typologies, and explanations not based on actual reality or historiography are a marked diversion from most of the other treatises considered here.

Probably the most systematic model developed in recent years for revitalization movements is the analytical profile approach of Kopytoff (1964), in which the author, like Kobben, demonstrated the utility and validity of a multi-variable model of movement elements or aspects, as opposed to a simplified classification of movements as a whole. Religious movements are seen as clusters of traits more or less equally important and not as entities characterized by single fundamental features. Kopytoff suggests that certain elements belong logically to various dimensions of social movements. As these variables are plotted for each movement, diagrammatic profiles are developed, which can be used for analyzing systematically a particular movement or for comparative purposes in contrasting several movements. Eight major dimensions are listed by the author, each with numerous elements: internal social organization of movement; larger setting of movement; over-all ideology; problem to be solved by movement; formal goals of movement; formal means of movement; time perspective; and functions.
The final treatise that we will examine here is arbitrarily the most recent one for our investigation. In 1966, in a book on the Peyote religion among the Navajo, Aberle outlined a general theory of social movements. Using the basic Wallace definition of revitalization movements (although stressing that these arise in the face of opposition), the author proposed a matrix model of classification along two dimensions: locus of planned change and amount of change. The target of change may be individuals or behavioral systems; the amount of change may be total or partial. Four types of ideal movements result from this model: (1) transformative, aiming at total change in cultural systems; (2) reformative, which strives for partial change in such systems; (3) redemptive, whose aim is complete change in individuals; and (4) alternative, which strives for partial change in individuals.

Aberle elaborates on transformative and redemptive movements because they include most of the types of revitalization phenomena studied by anthropologists. Constant characteristics of transformative movements include imminent and cataclysmic change, predestination of change, a charismatic leader, and group disengagement from the existing social context. Transformative movements vary as to means, scope, end-state models, and relationship to existing systems. The constant features of redemptive movements are the need to overcome the individual's resistance to change and to insure that the convert will remain among the redeemed. Variable components of redemptive movements are numerous and particularistic, and Aberle lists several.
According to Aberle (1962, 1966), two factors determine the choice of one movement over another: relative deprivation and the social context in which it occurs. Relative deprivation is defined as "a negative discrepancy between legitimate expectation and actuality, or between legitimate expectation and anticipated actuality, or both" (Aberle 1966: 323). A typology of four categories of deprivation is presented, in areas of possessions, status, behavior and worth. However, a knowledge of the deprivation itself will not allow prediction of the type of movement chosen. It is also necessary to recognize the social context of the deprivation.

The purpose of this historical sketch is twofold: first, to trace the general development of thinking in regard to revitalization movements and, second, to utilize this background as a proper and necessary perspective against which to view Melanesian revitalization movements. Now we proceed to the data itself - an inventory of revitalization phenomena in Melanesia.
CHAPTER 3

SURVEY OF MELANESIAN REVITALIZATION PHENOMENA

The total number of recorded instances of revitalization move­ments in the Melanesian area is rather small, probably not exceeding 55 in the last one hundred years. Yet this estimate masks a funda­mental difficulty concerning the isolation of separate and distinct movements. Many of the sources utilized in this study view any out­break of a revitalistic nature as a movement, while others see a con­tinuous development through time in doctrinal features, although organizational patterns may have changed markedly. Since it would encumber tremendously our original purpose of providing a brief but representative descriptive survey of the Melanesian phenomena if any attempts were made to resynthesize the basic data, primary reliance in this section must be placed on the admittedly imprecise textual resources. At first glance, these appear to deal mainly with one particular class of revitalization movement: cargo cults.

Cargo Cults

The cargo type movement is immediately striking because of its major definitive attribute, a belief that in the near future cataclysmic changes will occur, marked by the arrival of modern techn­ological goods and merchandise on ships and planes, usually guided by the spirits of deceased ancestors, and by the free distribution of
these items to all natives who desire them. As will be shown below, many other belief and organizational features characterize cargo cults.

The first cargo movement to be reported (in 1913) was the Wislin cult of the Torres Straits (Chinnery and Haddon 1917). Between 1915 and 1940, more than 14 movements were recorded from the New Hebrides (Williams 1928: 100-101), the Solomons (Worsley 1957: 115-20), New Ireland (Worsley 1957: 108-10), and various parts of coastal and highland New Guinea (Williams 1923, 1934; Newman 1961: 28; Worsley 1957: 100-101, 135-36, 138-43, 213-14; Pos 1950; Stanner 1953: 59-61; Burridge 1954, 1960). The war years saw the John Frum movement in the New Hebrides (Guiart 1952, 1956a, 1956b), the Filo cult in Mekeo, New Guinea (Belshaw 1951: 5-7), the Kukuaik movement on Karkar Island (Worsley 1957: 214), a series of five movements from New Britain (Newman 1961: 37-38), and the Omisuan and Letub cults in the New Guinea Central Highlands (Berndt 1952) and the Madang District (Lawrence 1955, 1964), respectively. In the ten year period between 1945 and 1955, at least seven revitalization movements were reported from the Admiralty Islands (Schwartz 1962), the New Hebrides (Miller 1948; Poirier 1949), New Britain (Newman 1961: 40), and Netherlands New Guinea (Kouwenhoven 1956; Van Der Kroef 1959). Two movements occurred as recently as the early years of the present decade in west New Guinea (Oosterwal 1963) and in the Dani District of the Central Highlands (O'Brien and Ploeg 1964).
From this corpus of information, since all instances of cargo cults cannot possibly be examined here, several representative movements may be extracted for illustrative purposes. Four such examples will be considered here: the Vailala Madness, the Mambu cult, the Noise, and the Dani movement.

In 1919 several coastal villages (including Vailala) of the Gulf Division of Papua erupted into a frenzy of cargo activity (Williams 1923, 1934). The innovator, a man named Evara, had fallen victim to a hysteriform seizure brought on by the deaths of his father and a brother, receiving as he was possessed a revelation. He prophesied the return of the ancestor spirits on a great steamer bringing cargo of trade goods, flour, rice, tobacco, and guns and ammunition, all of which were to be distributed by villages. Although it was necessary to drive out the Whites from the region to obtain this goal, the deceased ancestors were conceptualized as white in color. The chief characteristic of the movement, and from whence came its name, was the particular form of hysteriform possession which infected everyone, even children, as the mark of conversion to the cult. The trance state was induced by dancing and spirit communication (including Christian deities), in addition to spread by evangelizing leaders. Two further features were seen in the movement. A rather violent reaction against the traditional culture, especially in terms of religious ceremonies, occurred, such that people abandoned old behavior patterns and refused to participate in the ancestor worship complex. These were replaced by a wholesale assimilation of European
material culture items and behaviors. Natives dressed in European styles, stressed cleanliness and hygiene, constructed European style houses, engaged in prayer meetings and Bible reading, but at the same time became increasingly intolerant and resentful of European presence and rule. By 1934 most activity had died down, but people continued to manifest a belief in the validity of what had happened.

Unlike the Vailala Madness, the Mambu movement of Suaru, Madang District, New Guinea was even more anti-European (Burridge 1954, 1960). The prophet Mambu, an ex-migrant laborer and baptized Catholic, preached a syncretistic cargo doctrine which was exceedingly anti-mission, anti-administration, and anti-European. The deceased spirits lived in a volcano nearby and worked manufacturing all types of merchandise for the natives, including flashlights, mirrors, clothing, foodstuffs of rice and beef, and even houses. But these were stolen by Whites before they could reach the natives. In addition, Whites had deceived and discriminated against the Blacks, and all obedience to them must cease. Mambu encouraged the natives to abandon all labor jobs run by Europeans, cease attending mission churches and schools, refuse to pay taxes. New activities were instituted to hasten the arrival of the cargo, which was being brought by ancestors in ships. Old ways of behaving and dressing were abandoned; people dressed in European clothes, built houses and temples for the prophet's activities, and engaged in syncretic rituals of prayer, baptism, and cleansing. Though White traders supported the wholesale native purchase of European clothing, the missionaries and
administration were sufficiently disturbed such that in 1939 the
prophet was arrested and exiled, and the movement slowly died.

Whatever constructive or creative tendencies the Vailala Madness or the Mambu movement might have possessed in terms of assimilating Europeanisms were totally lacking in the Noise, a cargo cult that occurred on Manus in 1946 (Schwartz 1962: 266-79). The prophet Wapei told how White people had hidden the secret of wealth, originally found in the Bible, from the natives and how he had communicated with God, Jesus and other deities through the agency of trances and revelatory dreams and learned that certain behavior on the part of the natives would bring about desired results. Mass conversions were accomplished through the *guria* or hysteriform possession, and total rejection of all European and traditional customs was stressed. All material possessions were destroyed, including modern items, and docks were built for the arrival of the cargo ships of the ancestors. Missions were abandoned and people had to think good thoughts. Most awaited the cargo in prayer at home or in church. Although some claimed to have seen and heard the ships unloading, when the cargo failed to appear, Wapei was killed by his disappointed followers, and many leaders were arrested by government forces.

As recently as 1960, a cargo movement of the usual organization developed in highland New Guinea among the Western Dani (O’Brian and Ploeg 1964). The fundamental orientation was the total destruction of the traditional culture - material items including weapons, sacred objects, penis gourds, and other ornamental paraphernalia, and
behavior patterns regarding ritual feasts, kinship terms and prescriptions, sex differentiation, and marriage contracts - and the wholesale emulation of European, Christian society. Sparked by missionaries, who told of the miraculous results of Christian conversion, Dani believed that by dressing and behaving like Christians, they would be free of disease, become immortal, receive material wealth in the form of steel axes, clothing, and other goods brought by deceased ancestors who would return to life, and be physically transformed from dirty, black people into clean, white-skinned folk, like good Christians. Under the leadership of several inspired prophets, people attended church services, memorized Bible passages, confessed their sins, organized mass prayer meetings, bathed and cut their hair, heeded native preachers, washed incessantly, and built new houses for the returning spirits. As of 1963, mission workers had tried to rectify native misinterpretation of Christian proselytizing doctrine and attempted to refocus native beliefs and activities on less theological matters.

Despite the gross similarities between these and other cargo movements, it was increasingly recognized by investigators that other kinds of revitalization movements had occurred and were still in existence in the Melanesian area. Probably the most striking in terms of differences from the cargo cults were those movements which manifested a non-magico-religious interest in social, economic, and political matters.
Political and Economic Movements

A much smaller number of these movements is known from the existing literature; at least 11 have received some attention since about 1914. Of these, only four - the Kekesi cult (Chinnery and Haddon 1917; Williams 1928: 73-77), the Kwato Mission movement (Williams 1914), the Tommy Kabu movement (Maher 1958), and the Nakanai movement (Newman 1961: 52-53) - occurred in New Guinea. The other seven were spread out over the Solomons (Newman 1961: 49; Belshaw 1954: 96-97, 1962: 488), the New Hebrides (Worsley 1957: 160-62), New Britain (Newman 1961: 52-53), and the Admiralties (Schwartz 1962; Mead 1961: 145-208; Mead and Schwartz 1960). The most recent to receive note was the Moro movement on Guadalcanal in 1964-65 (Davenport and Goker 1967).

Unlike the cargo cults, these movements are only marginally concerned with the ritual attainment of material wealth, only minimally consider prospects of a millennium, and primarily look toward the amelioration and transformation, through pragmatic means, of existing conditions in social, political, and economic spheres.

Three movements, drawn from the total range of geographic and temporal variation, appear to be representative of this category of Melanesian revitalization phenomena.

The first movement which saw the solution of native problems in assimilation to the European way of life was the Kekesi cult, occurring in the Northern Division of New Guinea in 1914. The prophet Bia was possessed in a dream and told of the powerful spirit
Kekesi, who was a friend of Jesus Christ and who controlled crop fertility. This figure, who was also identified with the colonial administration, would ruin the crops and cause trouble if people did not cultivate gardens with care, obey assiduously their traditional moral code, observe carefully and at all times European government policies and rules, and perform various ritual activities, including songs of praise to Kekesi, marching military fashion, hysteriform possession and speaking in tongues, attending church services, and the cutting of hair short, mission style. The overriding principle appears to have been total obedience to the administration.

A more economic orientation could be seen in the Malekula Cooperative, formed in the New Hebrides between 1939 and 1951 for the purpose of producing and marketing copra (Worsley 1957: 160-62). Operating on a military plan, with police, badges, and identification tags, the cooperative had local representatives and was dominated by a European commercial agent. Proceedings were to go into a community bank and be redistributed to all members in the form of material goods, hospitals, and schools. Despite some cargo activity and government attempts at suppression, the movement grew, with large-scale group enlistments, leadership by rich landowners, and the training of truck drivers, road-building, and a great amount of coconut planting. The cooperative was headed by three natives, one of whom was dismissed after exhibiting cargo proclivities. Its success was due to the ability of the leaders to maintain an essentially economic focus on the native state of affairs.
The theme of native independence led logically to movements which stressed separation from colonial government facilities and services. In 1944 a large-scale movement known as the Masinga or Marching Rule (Belshaw 1954: 96-97, 1962: 489-90; Worsley 1957: 173-82) coalesced in the Solomons around politico-economic principles. Several local leaders organized movement activities, until most of the Solomon group was involved. Islands were divided into districts, supervised by various levels of bureaucratic "chiefs." The population was grouped into towns on the coast, each organized like military camps with clerks, guards, regimented work groups, codified legal systems, special meeting houses, and practice drilling and marching. The political efficacy of this organizational complex, which by 1947 had reached staggering limits, posed an ominous threat to the European administration, which saw it as a militant and nationalistic political party. When mass demonstrations were held for better education, political recognition, higher wages, abandonment of missions and White labor parties, and the removal of the Europeans, organized opposition to the movement instigated and carried out thousands of arrests, convictions and imprisonments.

The distinctions between cargo cults and politico-economic movements are rather clearly defined. Yet in culling the existing literature, numerous cases of revitalization movements in Melanesia which do not fit into either one of these categories appear.
Other Movements

Whether or not this constitutes a residual category is a pressing question. Newman (1961: 26) divides it into two discrete parts, one involving movements which are millennial, but based on other than a cargo belief oriented around the impending arrival of non-traditional goods, the other represented by movements based on indigenous elements in the traditional cultural system. The exact usefulness of this distinction is not readily apparent, but it does permit us to demonstrate a developmental sequence beginning with indigenous movements which give rise to cargo cults, which in turn result in movements of a more political and economic nature. Problems incumbent upon this scheme are dealt with in a later chapter; here it will suffice to say that a developmental continuum of this nature depends upon the recognition that there are several basic kinds of Melanesian revitalization movements and that all must be considered in the construction of a general descriptive or explanatory theory.

At least nine movements fall under this category. The earliest occurred in 1867 in Dutch New Guinea (Worsley 1957: 126-31; Chinnery and Haddon 1917: 455), followed by a second outbreak of the same movement (which may in fact have been continuous) in 1928 (Worsley 1957: 135-36). The prophet of Milne Bay appeared in 1893 (Chinnery and Haddon 1917; Worsley 1957: 51-54). The Baigona movement of northeast Papua (Chinnery and Haddon 1917) preceded the 1914 development of the Taro cult and its various sects in the Buna Bay region of New Guinea (Williams 1928). Two movements occurred in 1928
and 1940, the Pamai in Dutch New Guinea (Newman 1961: 43) and the Red God in New Caledonia (Guiart 1951). The New Guinea Central Highlands saw the Kogu cult between 1943 and 1947 (Berndt 1952) and the Berebi movement in 1951 (Berndt 1954).

Three of these movements are worth considering separately.

In 1893 a native named Tokeriu of Milne Bay, Papua was possessed by a spirit and given a vision which prophesied the end of the world by a gigantic tidal wave. Believers would be saved if they destroyed all European trade goods, took up their old tools and material culture items, burned the coastal villages, and rebuilt them inland (safe from the storm). After the catastrophe, yam and taro gardens would prosper, and fruit trees would flourish. Work in the gardens thus ceased, and people killed pigs by the hundreds. All awaited the inundation and the imminent return of the dead ancestors by a large steamer.

This salvation theme, with its traditional orientation, was seen in the extreme in the Baigona cult of 1911 in the Northern Division of New Guinea. The prophet Maine was possessed by a snake (Baigona) who revealed to him that such animals, including lizards and crocodiles, were incarnations of deceased ancestors and if not observed properly would cause great illness and disease. The prophet and his priests developed a ritual complex concerned with the curing of Baigona-caused illness, combining traditional curing techniques (massaging) with special rituals of adornment, hysteriform seizures, commensal regulations, and weather control.
Between 1943 and 1947, a movement developed in the New Guinea Central Highlands based completely on indigenous belief elements (Berndt 1952). Before White contact, people heard of Europeans and began to obtain European trade goods in small amounts. They interpreted them as being incarnations of dead ancestor spirits who would bring wealth to the natives. Anticipation of these gifts disrupted to some extent native life, but as goods began to taper off during the war years, resentment arose toward the ancestors. Thereafter, a ghost wind blew across the land, infecting people with uncontrollable shaking fits. Although no prophet leader or doctrinal elements appeared, various kinds of communal rituals were instituted to placate the angry spirits. By first White contact in 1947, the movement had almost completely disappeared.

Discussion

Despite the relatively small number of Melanesian revitalization movements that have been reported for the last one hundred years - undoubtedly there are more which have not been reported, have gone unnoticed, or just have not appeared in the library resources available to me - and despite the fact that these appear in many cases to be generically related, little effort has been made to view all cases within the same or similar perspective. The most dramatic and garish movements have without question received the most attention. Accounts of cargo cult activities outnumber other movement reports in the literature two to one. It becomes increasingly clear, however, even after as brief a survey as the one above, that any
long-range understanding of the Melanesian revitalization data cannot be based on an examination of cargo cults *per se*. Most attempts to explain these phenomena have ignored this important factor. Thus, current explanatory models are largely unsatisfactory at the broadest level. In addition, they appear to have other inherent problems, all of which are examined in the following chapter.
CHAPTER 4

THEORIES OF MELANESIAN REVITALISM: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

There exists a plethora of theories proposing to explain Melanesian revitalization phenomena. These are usually non-comparative, based on single cases, or oversimplified, in other words, inadequate, incomplete, and unsatisfactory for the purposes of understanding the revitalization process per se and culture change in general. In this chapter a critical analysis of a selected sample of these explanations is presented, with the goal being that once we understand the inadequacies of past and current thinking on the subject, we can proceed, in an eclectic fashion, to develop a more satisfactory approach.

In 1917 the first paper dealing with Melanesian revitalization movements was published, in which Chinnery and Haddon described five new "cults" from New Guinea. These were viewed as reactions to White encroachment and oppression and more generally as rather common religious activities arising during periods of social unrest. According to Haddon, "the weakening or disruption of the older social order may stimulate new and often bizarre ideals, and these may give rise to religious movements that strive to sanction social or political aspirations" (Chinnery and Haddon 1917: 455). At this early date, little was known of these cults and of what was to come later, and Haddon, through no choice of his own, adopted a religious
interpretation of the movements he observed. That this position is untenable now, in view of essentially non-religious movements, in view of the vagueness of "social unrest and oppression," and in view of the need for a more sophisticated catalytic situation than the anticipation of a people for a savior, is largely a truism.

Williams (1923), in describing in detail the now classic Vailala Madness of New Guinea, assumed a more specific, psychological interpretation of cult phenomena. His hypothesis is based on the consequences of culture contact with and subjugation by a superior people. Three factors are involved: "(1) the effort to assimilate a body of new and difficult ideas, and a resultant mental confusion; (2) the loss of customary means of social excitement; and (3) a general sense of inferiority" (Williams 1923: 377). Unfortunately, rather than develop these perceptive ideas, Williams refuses to deal with the general causes of the movement and examines instead some of the particular causes of various specific elements of cult belief.

Two complementary explanations were presented by Belshaw. In the first (1962), the author postulated that the great similarity in Melanesian cults was due not to diffusion but to similarities in local conditions. The early cults reflected an indigenous reaction to the problem of solving the secret of the powerful European way of life, while the later ones were responses to the realization that traditional means aimed at gaining access to the White world were unsatisfactory and that European behavior, itself powerful, must be closely imitated. Thus the cargo cult. Later, Belshaw (1954) adopted
a purely economic explanation for Melanesian cults, emphasizing that cults arise as a response to native peoples being deprived of the material wealth and high economic standards of the European world by the Europeans.

There are several reasons why both of these explanations are unsatisfactory, most of which stem from Belshaw's failure to recognize different types of Melanesian revitalization movements. He stresses cargo cults at the expense of the earlier indigenous and later socio-economic and political movements. The earlier hypothesis regarding a general theory of knowledge is admirable and largely valid, but is less so because of the emphasis on similarity of conditions giving rise to similar movements and the refusal to recognize the importance of diffusion as a means of spread and development. Indeed, a case will be made for the role of the diffusionary process in the spread of cargo beliefs. Finally, Belshaw's emphasis on an economic explanation is patently untenable in view of the importance of social and behavioral features of the culture change situations.

Jean Guiart presented in a series of papers some interesting ideas on cargo cults and other Melanesian revitalization phenomena, all of which he viewed as emergent trends toward cultural and social (political) independence (Guiart 1951). These movements are seen as responses to colonizing consequences of the European world stemming from a desire on the part of the natives to achieve a material standard of living similar to the Whites. Guiart (1951: 89) stresses that there is no real similarity in the sociological backgrounds of the
movements, that the one common element is "...a lack of balance in the actual native society, the traditional frame having been undermined or destroyed, and the newly organized one being the result of a more or less open and direct interference in local native affairs."

In three later works (1952, 1956a, 1956b), Guiart attempted to explain the specific causes behind a single cargo cult, the John Frum movement in the New Hebrides. According to the author, the movement was a reaction against Presbyterian missionary influence which had failed to bring to the native the economic development he desired. On a more general level, the message of the cult "...provided for decisions, for acts which were already in the minds of people" (Guiart 1956a: 116), resulting largely from intense "administrative repression."

The chief criticism that can be leveled at Guiart is his avowed particularist interpretation of the data. To view the backgrounds of cults as dissimilar specifically but as having a general component in common is not only contradictory, but also unproductive in an analytical sense. This trend is carried out in the author's later emphasis on understanding a single cult. Here Guiart views the movement as merely a rationalization or crystallization of already existing attitudes. How, in fact, this occurs, we are not told. The major value of Guiart's ideas is to be found in his important recognition of various types of revitalization movements, namely, religious and secular, which constitute part of a developmental process toward native nationalism. That he does not develop this section on
political and economic movements and stresses cargo cults instead is a great disappointment.

The early 1950's also saw the publication of two works by Firth. In the first, the author defined cargo cults as native oriented reactions to social and economic disequilibrium brought about by European contact, expressing a dissatisfaction with existing conditions and attempting to bring about a certain amount of adjustment to these circumstances (Firth 1951: 111). These cults are largely irrational illusions, involving fantasy, because native means are inadequate to meet the needs of the stress situation. Firth's recognition that cult activity and organization is a response to a need for corporate unity and communal solidarity represents a major contribution of this work.

It is in Firth's later paper (1955), however, that a truly intriguing point is examined. The author attempted a negative approach to the problem of why no cargo cult occurred in Tikopia in the Solomons. The answer is that in one way or another, the basic causes of such movements, viewed generally, were not present. These causes include (1) disequilibrium between wants and their means of satisfaction; (2) limited technical knowledge for bridging this hiatus; and (3) lack of natural resources for this improvement or opposing political interests on the part of the Europeans (Firth 1955: 130). The absence of any formalized subordinate role on the part of the natives, although cargo beliefs did exist, plus the lack of a charismatic prophet as a catalytic agent, explains the absence of a cargo organization on Tikopia.
The separation of these two elements - belief and organization - is of great value, for it provides a satisfactory rationale for regarding all Melanesian revitalization phenomena as being of the same behavioral category, but differing in doctrinal content. The question that Firth does not answer is, of course, that of the relative importance of his causes. A lack of native oppression may obviate against a cargo cult, but is this also true where an adequate technical knowledge of problem solutions is present?

A psychological interpretation appeared again in 1953 in a paper by Stanner. Revitalization movements are reactions to a religious crisis in which there is a continual failure to understand and assimilate the ideational content of the contact situation. Although they have many features in common, cults occur in such widely divergent regions that a similarity of background conditions cannot account for similar cult activity, a point made earlier by Guiart. The same argument leveled against Guiart - that we must have more to go on than a general concept of "mental indigestion" - is applicable to Stanner's first point. A more serious criticism, however, must be aired regarding his second one. The failure of the author to appreciate any fundamental likenesses in the socio-cultural backgrounds of various revitalization phenomena is due directly to the absence of any rigorous comparative model. If the cults are not regular, they must be particularistic and historically unique, a hypothesis that we regard as unproductive, non-analytical, and unscientific.

In a later paper, Stanner (1958) elaborated his theory of cargo cults. In large part, he addresses himself to a rebuttal of
several points of contention raised by Inglis (1957). Tantalizing ideas crop up everywhere, but are mired down under the weight of unnecessarily esoteric jargon. The main theme of the paper is, I think, the explanation of the role of cargo beliefs in cargo movements. Stanner describes this role as one of inordinate valuation of alien wealth. The valuation is inordinate simply because conditions of cult emergence are extraordinary. A precedent exists for the choice of cargo as the significant motif because traditionally "...the ethnography of Melanesia creates an impression of peoples moved by an intense desire for material wealth, its symbols, and the benefits of possession" (Stanner 1958: 16).

That this view satisfactorily accounts for cargo cult materialism is, I think, a defensible position. But it should not serve to obscure Stanner's fundamental belief that the ultimate causes of cargo cults, that is, in terms of their formal features, are unknown and historically and situationally unique. This theoretical view can only lead to a dead-end.

A paper by Inglis (1957) provoked Stanner's later study. In the tradition of Guiart, the author adopted the position that no general explanation of cargo cults, in terms of common and similar external factors, is to be found, that we are forced to regard such cults as religious and psychological manifestations of particular and essentially unpredictable situations. The fundamental cause of cargo cults is a psychological set, a state of mind, a cultural disposition to react in certain ways to unique situational elements.
Interestingly enough, Stanner's attack on Inglis' position was itself vague and non-committal: he suggested "enabling" conditions and "precipitating" conditions as causes for the emergence of movements. Inglis, in her reply (1959), reiterated her belief that the search for general pre-conditions is fruitless and reaffirmed her particularist views. But she elaborated her thesis to include some "insufficient," but none the less general factors. These, when coupled with elements which are particular and unique to specific cultures and situations, constitute a unique and unpredictable combination or bundle of features which characterizes each cargo cult.

One is sorely tempted to regard this hypothesis as representing the worst kind of non-scientific intellectualism. It has, however, a definite value, which lies in balancing or correcting for the reductionist position that regards situational factors as wholly trivial and unproductive for a general theory of human behavior. In part, both stands are defensible. The tendency, I think, is to lean toward the latter and consider Inglis' thesis as largely naive and unsophisticated. This should not obscure, however, its specific contribution of useful critical evaluations of existing theories.

An interesting non-economic approach was promulgated by Burridge in two separate works. Discussing a particular cargo cult in New Guinea, the author stated that the fundamental cause of movements is anti-European sentiment, which results from the lack of "moral content" in the relations between natives and Whites: "Intellectually bewildered, perplexed, their social system in which their beliefs were
imbedded partially disrupted by the impact of European culture, yet desirous of European wealth, Tangu attempt, within terms of their own knowledge and modes of thought, to grasp these techniques" (Burridge 1954: 254).

This theme is basic to Burridge's later work (1960) in which he treated extensively the Mambu cargo movement. Cults are viewed as attempts at "moral renovation," in which natives are accepted as equals by Europeans. Moreover, the movements are not wholly anti-White, for they may well be part of cultural heritage in that similar types of phenomena occurred previous to European colonization (Burridge 1960: 25). The more interesting hypothesis, however, is the explanation for the acceptance of the cargo belief among the natives. It was created in native terms, within the existing mythological framework because the traditional culture was oriented around (1) the interpretation of reality and experience in terms of a singly important origin myth and (2) the use of dreams as logical determinants of action. Thus the cargo myth-dream fell naturally into an already established code of behavior and functioned organizationally as an attempt to solve the problem of moral disparity and moral regeneration as traditionally conceived.

The chief problem with Burridge's postulates is the vagueness and overemphasis upon things "moral" and "immoral." I would suggest that feelings of intense inferiority or worthlessness of self are adequate motivations for some kind of social protest movement, regardless of whether native concepts of rightness or wrongness are involved.
By definition, colonization and concomitant disruption of traditional native life involves more or less marked manifestations of "moral disparity" even if the natives do not choose to consider them so in light of their own cognitive processes. This leads us to the logical conclusion that Burridge's use of the similarity of cargo myth and the traditional myth-dream complex as a major explanatory component of his general theory may well be a methodological oversimplification stemming from a belief that, in fact, the disruptive nature of the contact situation is not strong enough to disintegrate, at least partially, traditional systems of cognition and world view.

In 1957 the first full-length book to deal with the whole range of Melanesian revitalization phenomena appeared. In this work and in another paper (1967) at the same time, Worsley considered at length "millenarian movements," which are "movements in which the imminence of a radical and supernatural change in the social order is prophesied or expected, so as to lead to organization and activity, carried out in preparation for this event, on the part of the movement's adherents" (Worsley 1967: 338). Cults arise from a generalized social and largely economic discontent in three major areas: (1) in stateless and highly segmented societies; (2) among peasants and urban plebians in a feudal system; and (3) in a society politically differentiated or militarily defeated.

There are two major kinds of movements, active and passive. But they are regarded as opposite ends of a single process of development. The sequence is as follows: the first reaction of native
peoples to disruptive change is passive and in terms of cult organizations modeled on indigenous elements. When these fail, response is more active and violent, with emphasis being placed on a non-native, magical-fantasy means of adaptation - the cargo cult. These also meet with defeat and failure, resulting in passive movements which have few millennial elements and are largely political and economic in orientation.

According to Worsley (1957: 228), the chief function of millennial movements is to unify and weld together social units which have a common interest - resistance to Europeans or attainment of similar social and politico-economic standards - but which do not have any traditional framework within which to achieve this integration. More specifically, millenarian movements, that is, religious ones such as cargo cults, function to "...break down tribal divisions, establish wider fields of common action, and prepare the way for the political movements which may well adopt quite different forms" (Worsley 1967: 351).

Numerous criticisms have already been leveled at Worsley for his "Marxian" interpretation of Melanesian revitalization data, mostly by Jarvie (1963) and Mair (1958). I would, therefore, like to voice two favorable comments. The greatest value of Worsley's scheme is (1) his recognition that there are in fact various kinds of social movements in Melanesia besides cargo cults, and (2) that all of these are manifestations of a single, continuous process of culture change. The sequence that he postulated, a developing trend away from magical
and toward political orientations, is largely valid and a key point in understanding Melanesian movements. A second value of Worsley's model is that he spells out explicitly the significance of the more or less complete destruction of existing norms of behavior and their physical manifestations and the stock assimilation of whole new codes of morality and activity. The break and separation from past patterns is due to their being systematically unapplicable in the new social system which extends beyond traditional group boundaries.

As a part of a three-movement comparative paper, Mair (1959) discussed the problem of religious movements in Melanesia. For the author, these arise in colonial situations where status differences are marked. They are religious simply because direct expression of political opinion and formation of organizations toward this end were not permitted in colonial areas. Established religions validate and support existing political structures. When they cease to meet this need, new religions arise, which may either carry out this function or substitute fantasy for it. Cargo cults are such organizations. They tend to give way, however, to more practical, politically-oriented understanding of native socio-economic problems.

In terms of making any new and valuable contributions to the theory of cargo cults, this paper is lacking; most of what Mair covers here has been said before in one way or another. Indeed, her view that the function of religious organizations is largely politically-oriented is particularly questionable. But it was in this paper that appeared for the first time a systematic, comparative treatment of
markedly different revitalization movements from distinct and distant geographic and cultural areas. It is in this perspective that Melanesian revitalization phenomena can best be understood, a point which constitutes the fundamental motivation of our examination.

In 1961 a student of Wallace undertook a systematic, structural analysis of Melanesian revitalization phenomena, with the main emphasis on cargo cults. We will consider the feature analysis in the next chapter, but his theoretical explanation is relevant here for its interesting departure from established views as we have seen above. Newman (1961) separates heuristically cargo belief from cargo organization. Each has several components. Belief factors include such things as native concern for wealth, presence of Christianity, native concern for ancestors, and ambivalence toward Whites. Components of action are general level of social and economic stress, specific social or historical cause of stress, and personal stress and appearance of a prophet. Thus the formula is: revitalization movement plus cargo belief equals cargo cult. Newman goes on to classify Melanesian revitalization phenomena into four major types: (1) cargo cults; (2) non-cargo millenarian cults; (3) indigenous cults; and (4) social-political-economic cults.

Despite typological problems based on varying interpretations of the data and other specific points, three valuable contributions are to be found here. First, Newman takes the absolute stand that the cargo belief originated only once and is the product of diffusion wherever it occurs. This extreme view, which is difficult to defend
even with the author's rationale, balances the non-diffusionist view
that we have already seen. Second, an attempt is made to demonstrate
that although an inspired prophet is usually the spark to the revita-
lization situation, he may not be the source of either the code of
action or the precipitating catalyst that must be involved. Finally,
Newman brings together a large sample of Melanesian revitalization
movements and systematically tabulates various features that are more
or less pertinent to the body of his theory.

In a book devoted to an intensive examination of a series of
New Guinea cargo cults, Lawrence (1964) presented another extremist
view: a theory of cargo cults based on the rationality of social
values and native epistemology. Cargo cults are seen as "a rudimen-
tary form of revolutionary 'nationalism' - the people's first experi-
ment in completely renewing the world order and achieving independence
from European rule" (Lawrence 1964: 222). These movements arise from
colonization pressures which have only partially disrupted native life.
Lawrence believes (1) that natives selected cargo as a means of
dealing with Europeans; (2) that "the people's adoption of largely
ritual means in their attempts to acquire cargo was consistent with
their basic epistemological assumptions...[which-] could be built up
into a system of ideas, which made the new situation completely in-
telligible and offered hope of bringing it under control;" and (3)
that the effects of the movement developed unprecedented pan-tribal
unity and paved the way for "embryonic" or "proto-" nationalism
(Lawrence 1964: 7).
Most of Lawrence's book is concerned with an investigation of the specific historical and cultural factors involved in the Yali cargo cult. His chief theoretical proposition, similar to that of Burridge, is that the native adopted ritual means to solve a social problem along the structural lines of his traditional theory of knowledge, which had survived European contact and continued to exist in more or less intact form. That this position is applicable here, but not generally is obvious, and we are led to ask, "how strong, in terms of integrating potential, both before and after a more or less disruptive experience, must a world view be to sustain its adherents in newly changed situations?" Lawrence's culture specific account, which is based on structural considerations and not those of contact as was Burridge's model, does not provide any enlightenment for this significant question.

The final theory regarding the general explanation of Melanesian revitalization movements that we will consider here is that of Jarvie (1963, 1964). The first paper is an extensive critical analysis of existing cargo cult explanations from the literature and contains little that is constructive. Jarvie's main work is a puzzle. It is methodologically oriented: the chief aim was to demonstrate, with a concrete example (cargo cults), that the structural-functional approach in anthropology cannot satisfactorily account for social change. This is so because it is anti-history, it deals with unintended consequences, and specifically in the case of cargo cults, it cannot account for change which stems from outside social
institutions. Jarvie suggests that a new approach, "situational logic," contains the key to the problems of both social change in general and cargo cults in particular. Situational logic, insofar as he can explicate it, involves a common sense view of local, specific, but not unique or historical, factors, in a word, "simple factual problems."

Fortunately, out of an immense morass of methodological gibberish, unsophisticated criticism, and confusing metaphysics, Jarvie (1964) arrives at the satisfactory, reasonable, interesting theory that he aimed at: cargo cults are rational attempts on the part of natives to explain the differences in the material standards of living between themselves and wealthy Europeans. The explanations, although religious because of the already existing magico-religious explanatory framework, are rational in the Frazerian sense that all explanations are more or less rational. Simply stated, "the structure of their doctrines indicates what is wanted and they are attempts to provide an explanation of why they haven't got it and a religious prescription for how they can get it" (Jarvie 1964: 67).

In several ways, Jarvie's theses serve to illuminate the problem which is central to this work: that there is no agreement, either in general or specific explanatory terms, regarding how to account satisfactorily for Melanesian revitalization phenomena. Jarvie himself demonstrates this when he seeks shelter from intellectualism in a simplistic refuge. Probably the chief criticism that can be leveled at him is that regardless of whether functional
interpretations are inadequate because they equate cause with consequence, an explanation that confuses position, use, or simple existence with cause is also unsatisfactory. Jarvis's rationale that the criterion of satisfactoriness lies in how reasonably proposed solutions meet explicitly stated problems regardless of truth, does not suggest to me that the most fruitful approach to an explanation of Melanesian revitalism is one centering on non-abstract, but generalized "situationalism."

Certainly it is clear from the foregoing discussion that the present state of theoretical concern over Melanesian revitalization phenomena is not only confused, but chaotic. Where a degree of agreement is apparent, closer examination reveals numerous counter-examples and inconsistencies. Movements are generically similar or unrelated historical events; they are prophet-directed or participant guided; they are the product of diffusion or independent development; they are either economic or religious, psychological or political. They may not even occur in the context of colonial pressures from European encroachment.

The primary problem, however, is that by and large most of the theories discussed above are not comparative; they do not seek to place the Melanesian data into a perspective of general social change. A second major criticism is indicated in the generally unsystematic fashion in which theorists set out to explain the Melanesian movements. Explanatory models are internally contradictory and basically non-descriptive. The problem to be addressed, then, is whether or
not a comparative, descriptively-oriented, systematic explanation can satisfactorily account for Melanesian revitalization phenomena. It is toward this goal that we now turn.
CHAPTER 5
A CRITIQUE OF ANALYTICAL DIMENSIONS

It is not the intent of this work to add to the plethora of already extant theoretical explanations of Melanesian revitalization phenomena per se. A fundamental postulate upon which this investigation is based is that, as in so many other anthropological situations, attempts to provide over-all explanations for the question or questions posed have increased disproportionately in relation to the less popular and thus more obscure trials aimed at achieving some sort of descriptive adequacy for the data being considered. Furthermore, it is suggested that until Melanesian revitalization phenomena are uniformly subjected to a rigorous, descriptively-oriented examination, larger, theoretical matters of explanation, as noted in the last chapter, will remain in abeyance.

With this problem in mind, an intensive investigation of various types of descriptive models possibly applicable to the Melanesia data is undertaken here. Four major approaches are considered. Each is examined critically and shown to be more or less inadequate in and of itself for the proposed task of satisfactorily accounting for the data. In the following chapter, an attempt is made to construct a more adequate descriptive model than those evaluated here.
**General Synchronic Approach**

Two major forms of this model appear to be applicable to the Melanesian data. The first is quite general and broad, while the second is much more specific. By and large, this characterization also represents the relative usefulness of each of these approaches. The more general and abstract of the two models is essentially that proposed by Malinowski (1960: 53) and designed to account for the totality of organized human behavior.

For Malinowski, this activity, or institution as he called it, was the "real isolate of cultural analysis." Institutions could be constructed, compared cross-culturally, and discovered to consist of a limited number of types or classes. At the highest level of abstraction, each institution was composed of several structural components, including a charter, personnel, norms, material items, activities, and functions. The common element that each of these features possesses is a basic generality of focus.

It is possible to logically extend this approach in several ways. For our purposes, it can be used to examine a specific type or category of institution, the Melanesian revitalization movement. The operation itself is one of reducing the generality of structural features included, a transformation accomplished largely by elaborating or enumerating these at a more specific level of analysis. Thus, by definition, this model will involve an arithmetic increase in structural components, many of which may consist of sub-members.
In Chapter 2, a model of this type was discussed, the one presented by Kopytoff (1964). The author views religious movements as clusters of traits, each with several sub-features, which are more or less equally significant. Eight major dimensions of movements are considered: (1) internal social organization; (2) larger setting; (3) problem to be solved; (4) over-all ideology; (5) formal goals; (6) formal means; (7) time perspective; and (8) functions.

As a further demonstration of this approach, let us look at the constituent elements of the first and second dimensions. The first includes: objective over-all type of organization, subjective ideology of over-all organization, objective sources of membership, subjective ideology of recruitment, cultural homogeneity of membership, social homogeneity of membership, ideological expectation of membership permanence, and objective membership turnover. The sub-features of dimension number two are listed as (1) over-all setting; (2) subjective attitude to own culture; (3) subjective attitude to own society's organization; (4) subjective attitude to alien culture; (5) subjective attitude to alien society's organization; (6) attitude of alien society to culture; (7) attitude of alien society to social organization; (8) objective relationship to alien society; and (9) degree and kind of integration with alien society.

It is perhaps unfair to evaluate these two approaches together, primarily because of the very high degree of adequacy of the latter one. Therefore, let us consider Malinowski's model first and dispense with it quickly. The chief problem with this approach is
that it is too general, too cross-cultural; it does not say anything relevant about Melanesian revitalization data per se. Malinowski's scheme constitutes a series of basic assumptions upon which one must proceed to analyze all human institutions, but it does not permit a close examination of any specific type of organized activity. That is to say, it is a given, taken for granted, in the study of human behavior. A secondary criticism of Malinowski's model is that it is avowedly non-temporal, non-processual, non-developmenta. This absence of a time perspective is viewed as a fundamental flaw in the approach.

Both of these negative points are largely rectified in the more specific model by Kopytoff. In a systematic fashion, it does permit a closer, comparative examination of specific types of institutions, in this case, revitalization movements. The major advantage here is that the various dimensions and elements used are systematically and logically connected, which is a necessary prerequisite of any descriptive model.

Two more complex points bear consideration. First, we have stated that in order to be satisfactory, a model must account for the data - all the data. This means that rather than enumerate each case, it must account for the range of variation of the data through the use of general rules constructed by a process of abstraction. A scheme such as the one presented by Kopytoff is particularly well-suited to this task, for, despite its specificity, it is not tied to particular data. Yet the drawbacks are that it is largely deductive, involves
the pigeon-holing of data, and tends to obscure important factual considerations.

The second point, a major deficiency of the general synchronic approach, is the absence of a time depth consideration. Kopytoff's more specific model in part corrects the situation, but in a mistaken way. It simply adds a time perspective as another structural feature of the movement. The major contribution of a temporal consideration is the concept of development and process, which is definitely lacking here. This results, I think, because of a failure on Kopytoff's part to recognize the importance of placing a synchronic model of revitalization movements within a general, temporal scheme.

Specific Diachronic Approach

Time perspective is over-corrected for in the specific diachronic approach. This extreme position is based on the principle that few or no regularities are to be found in comparing aspects of human behavior. The only cross-cultural validity that is recognized pertains to the delimitation and definition of the domain of study itself. This is done in two ways, with the emphasis in both cases being historical. The approach may be either comparative or non-comparative.

The first type of interpretation is represented by Lanternari's (1963) examination of messianic cults throughout the modern world. The author has no trouble deciding what is or is not a messianic movement in all the major regions of the earth. They have a basic form, fundamental causes, and major functions in common. But
they are primarily socio-historical phenomena. By definition, any meaningful analysis of such data requires the careful reconstruction of distinct and unique sequences of events.

The logical concomitant of this position is even more extreme, denigrating all attempts at generalization, especially in terms of causality. Thus Inglis (1957), after somehow identifying and isolating cargo cults from the remainder of human behavior, decries the search for regularities and similarities in explaining the causes of such movements. This approach regards the cults as consequences of particular, unpredictable, and largely unknowable factors which exist in unique pre-condition situations.

An evaluation of both these positions is at once difficult and facile. In one sense, the explanation can be summarily dismissed as not being comparative or only vaguely comparative in orientation. It in no way accounts for similarities or differences in at least this particular case of an aspect of human behavior. Finally, it is only descriptive and systematic insofar as it can enumerate fact by fact, event by event the various components of a historical sequence, providing that these are amenable to identification and isolation.

The latter consideration leads us into the web of a more complex matter. Precisely how general must a historically unique event or sequence of events be in order to be useful and productive in an examination of Melanesian revitalization movements? In the case of both Lanternari and Inglis, certain more or less unique entities are sufficiently similar so that they can be easily recognizable as
belonging to the same class of phenomena. What we miss in Inglis is
an appreciation that this is somehow important developmentally.
Lanternari, on the other hand, due to his basic orientation that re-
ligious movements all do the same things, tends to discover in the
intricacies of their particular developmental processes, regularities
and similarities of admittedly small magnitude. These are, nonethe-
less, descriptive, systematic, and useful configurations placed within
a larger historical or developmental frame of reference.

Finally, another criticism may be leveled at the specific
diachronic approach in that only certain types of human behavior are
amenable to the kind of historical analysis necessary to be meaning-
ful. I submit that it is difficult if not impossible to obtain the
strict historic sequences that would be needed to say anything rele-
vant about Melanesian revitalization movements. Only three examples
exist, to my knowledge - Burridge (1960), Schwartz (1962), and
Lawrence (1964) - and they are exceptions. Thus the supposedly unique
series of events that this model proposes to produce tend actually to
be generalizations in disguise and are thus very much capable of pro-
ductive and fruitful utilization. The simplest way to accomplish this
transformation is to superimpose on these sequences a specific syn-
chronic cloak.

Specific Synchronous Approach

Specific synchronous elements refer to a set of structural
features which is delineated in terms of extremely narrow cross-cul-
tural spheres. Usually their existence is confined to a precise geo-
graphic area or region of quite close cultural affinity.
Three specific synchronic models will be considered here. Each presents "distinctive features" or "structural elements" of Melanesian revitalization movements. In two cases these are not tested against available data; the third instance involves an admirable attempt at such a test.

Stanner, in 1953, presented what seemed to be a reasonably constant "structure" in all recent cases of cargo cult phenomena. For the author, six "sets of facts" could be isolated and "treated as the main elements 'structured' into a cult-form." These include (1) leadership by a single charismatic personality who is often traditionally deviant; (2) contact with the spirit world by prophet or followers through means of visions, dreams, hysteriform seizures, or the like; (3) some sort of systematic set of orders or instructions regarding positive rules for moralistic behavior or negative sanctions aimed at the destruction of traditional customs; (4) cataclysmic prophecies involving the arrival of a cargo of non-traditional goods for the natives; (5) mass demonstrations including hysteriform and constructive (building) behavior; and (6) the symbolic imitation of a European life way through the use of European goods or mock forms of organization and behavior (Stanner 1953: 63-64).

Using some of Stanner's principal characteristics, Jarvie (1964: 64-66) presented his own description of the "distinctive features" of cargo cults. Like his predecessor, the author attempted to account for a range of variation by making his features clusters of factors, generally defined. These were: (1) a prophet leader who
receives the revelation, founds the cult, and propagates the organization; (2) prophets are generally uneducated and misinformed concerning the modern world; (3) the borrowing of European secular and religious rituals such as mock material equipment and organization, and the development of codes of conduct often involving a break with the past; (4) new beliefs are added to, rather than substituted for, old ones; (5) a prediction of a rapidly approaching millennium whose main feature is the appearance of material, non-traditional cargo; (6) organized activity involving building and construction or hysteriform behavior of a collective nature; (7) "they nearly always take place in colonial areas which are economically underdeveloped, highly isolated, politically acephalous and, on the whole, not given to violent resistance to White rule" (Jarvie 1964: 66); and (8) existence of proselytizing activities by Christian missionary groups.

Like Jarvie, Newman (1961) sees Melanesian revitalization movements as possessing eight major characteristics. Since the author recognizes other types of movements besides cargo cults, the features involved are somewhat different than in the previous two models. Newman's components are (1) a belief in the coming of White man's goods, not necessarily characteristic of a cargo cult; (2) involvement of ancestor spirits in some fashion; (3) generally ambivalent attitude toward Whites (cargo cults were largely anti-White); (4) adoption of European elements in movement; (5) anti-mission orientation of cargo cults per se; (6) presence of Christian elements; (7) a generally inspired prophet, decreasing in frequency in socio-
economic movements; and (8) relative success of governmental repression of movements.

It is suggested here that the specific synchronic approach, in and of itself, is generally unsatisfactory and inadequate. Each of the three models considered, however, has a valuable contribution to make toward the formulation of a general theory of Melanesian revitalization phenomena. Three primary objections are raised. First, the approach is not cross-cultural in orientation, for the structural elements with which it is concerned usually occur only in the limited geographic area or ethnic groups being examined; only by chance will such elements occur in other, more distant, revitalization contexts. The inherent link between the data itself and the structural elements utilized is more than adequately demonstrated by Jarvie and the others.

The second criticism of the specific synchronic approach concerns the absence of any generalizing component, such that the model tends to be only minimally predictive in the strict sense because it cannot account for local variability unless a large number of structural elements is utilized. If this is the case, the result would be an awkward descriptive statement no more generalized than a photograph. On the other hand, if fewer elements are used, the account becomes so general as to be useless. This is evidenced by the fact that the models considered above are defined in terms of clusters of variables.
A final point is that, depending upon the model, the units of comparison in the specific synchronic approach do not always occur at the same level of reality. In other words, they tend to have no real relationship, causal or otherwise, to each other, such that one does not logically lead to another. Thus the selection of various analytical parts or elements to be used in the model may have only minimal relevance to a systematic, objective investigation. Newman demonstrates this problem when he uses interchangeably and equally in terms of significance features of historical, sociological, and doctrinal nature.

In summary, it is suggested that like the two preceding models, the specific synchronic approach to the analysis of Melanesian revitalization data is unsatisfactory by itself. The major problem, of course, is the non-temporal orientation of the model, such that even if it recognizes the existence of different types of movements, as did Newman, it cannot account for them singly or together in a processual or developmental fashion. The chief contribution that this scheme has to make toward formulating a general theory of movements is that, unlike the general synchronic approach, it can account for a range of variation in terms of specific historical, geographic, or cultural factors. Thus this model need only be modified to fit the more general nature of the general synchronic approach in order to achieve some kind of cross-cultural validity.
General Diachronic Approach

In terms of the general cross-cultural and comparative orientation of anthropological science, the general diachronic approach, like the general synchronic model, must constitute a fundamental assumption upon which one undertakes the analysis of any aspect of human behavior. Only two such schemes are considered here, for multiple reasons.

In 1959 Lucy Mair presented an analysis of three social movements which were geographically, historically, and culturally quite separate and independent. That one of these movements was a cargo cult is of no consequence here. Nor is the explanation provided for that movement relevant. Mair's contribution lies in that the basic motivation of her investigation was that religious movements everywhere are simply variations on a general and constant theme. This was demonstrated by using examples from widely distant and distinct regions of the world. But more than this, in Mair's paper we see a systematic, element by element treatment of these revitalization movements. That this examination is only implicitly developmental, unlike our next example, detracts little from the chief value of the model.

Anthony F. C. Wallace has provided the only generally applicable approach to a cross-cultural understanding and analysis of revitalization phenomena. Like Edmundson (1960), who considers nativism as akin to other general culture change processes concerned with self-identification, defense, and ethnocentric orientations, Wallace (1956, 1966) views the revitalization process as a general characteristic of
human societies by means of which certain types of change occur. Revitalization movements not only constitute a single category of phenomena because of their basic change orientation, but also by reason that they involve a similar set of more or less sequential and general stages of development, as presented in Chapter 3. It will suffice here to state that these stages are characteristic of all revitalization movements everywhere, especially in terms of movements that are geographically, historically, or culturally related.

Several problems arise when one attempts to fit an existing movement into the matrix provided by Wallace. Since the approach is so general, it can only account for broad, vague comparisons. It not only cannot account for a range of variation in specific cases, but it is also relatively useless in enumerating the various possible alternatives. Secondly, like all evolutionary models, the general diachronic approach is based on artificial levels or stages that are supposed to represent qualitative differences rather than merely quantum jumps. Evidence for this is found in the fact that the stages within Wallace's period of revitalization are not necessarily sequential. Finally, the approach lacks a systematic, organized orientation because it tends to ignore structural features apparent in various portions of the stages of revitalization.

Contributions of major value far outweigh the disadvantages of the general diachronic approach. As already stated, the great usefulness of the model is its general, comparative, cross-cultural orientation. The scheme is also developmental and processual, a
fundamental requirement for any far-reaching understanding of human behavior. And, unlike the other theories considered here, it is a relatively simple matter to modify the general diachronic model in order to account for (1) general structural features; (2) specific diachronic sequences; and (3) specific synchronic events.

Conclusions

It is clear from the foregoing discussion that the general state of descriptive approaches to the problem of Melanesian revitalization phenomena is even worse than that of the explanatory schemes examined in a preceding chapter. In large part, this is due to the disproportionate emphasis on explanatory, as opposed to descriptive, levels of investigation of the subject. The general goal of anthropological science is to provide, through the use of a comparative, systematic, and processual approach, abstract rules of explanation which satisfactorily account for similarities and ranges of variation as found in various aspects of human behavior. That attempts to merely delimit and define, to simply describe, a corpus of sociocultural data - Melanesian revitalization movements - miserably fail to adequately meet these formal prerequisites is patently obvious. One is too general, while another is particularistic. This one is unsystematic and processual, that one is structural and synchronic.

In the next chapter, an attempt will be made to remedy this situation. As we have seen, each of the four approaches considered above had certain valuable contributions to make toward a general
theory of Melanesian movements. It is suggested here that it is possible to eclectically place all these elements into an integrated, internally consistent, and operationally functional model for theoretical investigations that will satisfactorily meet the necessary requisites of an adequate descriptive exploration of Melanesian revitalization phenomena.
CHAPTER 6

HYPOTHESIS: THE MODEL ON TRIAL

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. First, the major problem orientation of this investigation concerns the need for a systematic, comparative, and descriptive approach to the study of Melanesian revitalization phenomena. An attempt will be made here to construct such a model, using the preceding chapters' discussions as a point of departure. Second, probably the major negative factor of all works dealing with the Melanesian data, as demonstrated in Chapters 3 and 5, is the absence of any test or trial for proposed analytical models. Here the goal will be to confront the hypothesis with the data. The results of this confrontation can then be evaluated in terms of the original model, its effectiveness, necessary modifications, and the construction of a more adequate schematic paradigm.

The Model

It is suggested here that any theoretical scheme that proposes to satisfactorily account for Melanesian revitalization phenomena must adequately meet four fundamental requisites. First, and above all, the model must be comparative in nature. It must be applicable to all revitalization movements everywhere and be capable of distinguishing such data from other culture change phenomena.
This faculty will permit wide geographic comparative studies. Moreover, the model must be specifically comparative; it must permit the comparison and contrast of closely related revitalization movements. This significant point has been clearly made by Eggan (1954) in a now classic paper.

In the second place, the model must be processual and developmental, that is, deal in over-all terms with processes of change and stability in a dynamic sense. At the highest level of generalization, a single focus is significant — the revitalization process as a whole. Within this matrix, sub-processes may be observed, along with local sequences of events of an historical nature. Only two sub-processes will be considered here, although there certainly are more. The utilization of this component will facilitate the comparison of the several developmental processes operating in each revitalization movement, on both a general level and a more specific one (see, e.g., Steward 1963).

A third prerequisite of a satisfactory model, and perhaps the key issue at hand, is that it must be basically systematic. This requirement may be interpreted in three ways. First, systematic may refer to the analytical view that sees phenomena displaying characteristics of a system, in the structural-functional sense. This position, I would suggest, is essential for the purpose of understanding the Melanesian data. The combination of a structural approach with a processual orientation, as clearly outlined by Vogt (1960), is at the very roots of the model to be proposed here. Second, the term
systematic may refer to an essentially descriptive orientation. I submit that descriptive models are structural models; that is, if we assume that a movement is a system, it must be described in terms of interrelated parts or structural features. Thus a synchronic component is essential to any analytical model. Finally, a model may be systematic in going about the tasks for which it proposes to investigate and/or provide answers. In other words, the formal organization of the theory itself, in terms of the degree of thoroughness, completeness, and reasonableness, is an important consideration.

The final prerequisite that our model must satisfy is at once simple and complex; on the one hand, it is reasonable, on the other, metaphysically perplexing. I would suggest that in order for an analytical model which proposes to satisfactorily account for a corpus of sociocultural data it must exhibit a high degree of adequacy. By this term is meant a generalized and non-enumerative means of accounting for ranges of variation when examining the differences in the data under consideration. Thus rather than discriminate against or dispense completely with instances of clear variation, be it in terms of natural and randomly recurring patterns or otherwise, as insignificant, in favor of gross similarities, for a model to be adequate and satisfactory it must be capable of placing variation and differences in some sort of an organized perspective that has analytical potential. To simply enumerate these is not the answer. The simplest way to transform these data into a generalization is to delineate the boundaries of their fields of occurrence, that is,
their ranges of variation. To the degree that this requirement is met, that the model is adequate and satisfactory, will constitute the prime basis upon which its usefulness will be adjudged.

The model which I have designed to meet these requirements in examining Melanesian revitalization movements is conceived as a sequential series of mechanical operations, at essentially a systems analogy level (Fig. 1). This is in no sense a necessary direction, except insofar as the model possesses the correct number of components linked operationally in a regular sequence. I use the sorting analogy simply because it is common in relatively uncomplicated statistical operations.

Four components are considered essential to the design of this model. Each occupies a standard position in the operational sequence. By whatever means available, all data pertinent to the universe of revitalization movements are isolated from the remainder of the sociocultural milieu. This operation can most easily be accomplished by using the basic definition provided by Wallace. The output of this operation will constitute the basic corpus of data which is sorted by the first component of the model. Thus the first step is to analyze all revitalization movements in terms of several factors. At least four are considered salient here; only the first two need be sequentially undertaken for purposes of order. Movements must be sorted first as to general geographic region, which isolates Melanesian revitalization phenomena, and second in terms of specific locale or region of occurrence. Thus we will have a statistical
Figure 1. Schematic representation of proposed model, showing relationships between various structural, temporal, and processual components (after Vogt 1960: 20).
population of revitalization movements which occur in Melanesia and on one or more islands or local regions within Melanesia.

The third and fourth sorting factors have no positional significance. Each Melanesian movement must be characterized in terms of (1) a time period stated numerically in terms of a span of years, and (2) a generalized sociocultural milieu or context in which it occurs. The temporal factor is self-evident: relative time positioning is essential for understanding Melanesian movements. The conception of contextual background viewed apart from the movements themselves is more problematical. For heuristic purposes, I would suggest that this separation is valid and useful, as long as it is clearly recognized that the underlying rationale is experimental precision. In addition, it would appear that this kind of theoretical operation is quite common in current anthropological thinking, especially in terms of abstract model-building. Several factors, all of which are general and apply to the movements as synchronic wholes, must be considered here. Four essential ones are (1) whether or not the movements occur in a colonial area, which immediately permits a subdivision of movements into indigenous versus colonial; (2) if the colonial area exhibits strong anti-White sentiment; (3) the nature of the economic and political situation; and (4) the significance of Christian missionary proselytizing activities. The number of factors to be used can, of course, be increased indefinitely depending upon the productivity of the four described here.
The output of this operation will be all Melanesian revitalization movements categorized in terms of local geography, time of occurrence, and sociocultural background. The second component of our model—the general component—involves three procedural steps: the isolation and description of (1) general structural features of the movement as a whole; (2) the movement as a process and its developmental stages; and (3) specific sub-processes comprising the over-all process (Fig. 2).

The first point of the general component concerns a general structural description of each movement as a synchronic unit. This operation was described above as being both general and specific, insofar as the structural features do not stem directly from the data itself. Thus it will be necessary to isolate and describe (1) the presence or absence of structural features and (2) the nature of such features as they are found in each movement. Broad features would include sociometric data: kinds of statuses, role dynamics and interpersonal relations, formally organized social units, and so on. Other features would include attitude and value orientations, sentiments, belief components, and other ideological factors. Each of these broad features is capable of being examined intensively on a more specific plane in search of more meaningful and rigorously controlled elements. The goal of the operation is to permit the comparison of not only structural features themselves in each movement, but also the over-all structural configuration of all revitalization movements in Melanesia.
Figure 2. Diagram of the four components and their constituent elements of the proposed model.
The second factor of the general component is adequately covered, as we have said earlier, by Wallace's scheme: the developmental pattern of the revitalization process is defined in terms of several sequential stages or levels. Each stage is organized differently and varies positionally from its precursors. The approach here will be to compare the over-all revitalization process as seen in all Melanesian movements in terms of major characteristics. One will be the definitive criteria for distinguishing one stage from another, examining, for instance, the relative validity of communication as a criterial attribute of a stage in one movement and not another. A second feature to be examined is the relative positioning or distributinal pattern of stages into discrete sequences. In some cases, stages will be longer than in others, while frequently a given stage sequence may not be evident in many movements.

Frequently it will be fruitful to examine sub-processes of the over-all developmental process. This is perhaps difficult to conceptualize given such a limited major process. Nevertheless, I would suggest that at least two sub-processes require consideration in this component: (1) the organization of individuals into some sort of regular, functioning social unit or units accomplished by the establishment of new patterns of social relationships and (2) the selection and resynthesis into a new, meaningful, cohesive, and effectual plan of action of belief system elements and values of both a traditional and modern nature. The orientation of the investigation is comparative, such that the two processes as they exist
in one movement will be contrasted with the same processes in all other movements. The two listed here are sufficiently general as to be found in all movements; others may not, and it is just this kind of comparative statement that is the goal. By and large, the examination of these sub-processes will remain a characteristic of the over-all process. However, it will also be useful to use such a perspective below when investigating in detail each stage of the revitalization process.

With the completion of step number two - the general component - each Melanesian revitalization movement will be characterized by three separate configurations: (1) a structural one, regarding general components and parts; (2) an over-all processual one, delimiting stages and levels; and (3) a more specific diachronic one, concerned with constituent sub-processes. Each configuration facilitates comparison of each movement, toward constructing a general theory of typologies and explanations of variation. But such an operation remains at a general level, with little concern for more specific, rigorous, particular data. The third and fourth components of the model proposed here deal with this problem.

The third component of the model is another sorting mechanism. Its focus of application is the separate stage of the general revitalization process, the logical recipient of a closer examination which simultaneously maintains the processual characteristics of the model as a whole. Each stage of each movement will be sorted and classified according to at least two factors, an absolute time-rate and several
sociocultural background elements. The first feature is self-evident: stages progress temporally at differential rates. This must be accounted for in a general rule of descriptive comparison. Sociocultural background features are more problematical. In the first sorting mechanism, each movement was typed as to general milieu perspective. This component is designed to account for changes which occur during the development of the revitalization process. Each stage of all movements will be characterized by a relatively different background configuration. In addition, a focus on stages facilitates the utilization of more specific sociocultural background features than those discussed above, such that these can function in complement with the more general factors, thus allowing a more precise and productive operation.

The fourth and final component of our proposed model - the partitive component - operates on the output of the second sorting mechanism. This output, consisting of movement stages described by time-rate and background features, is subjected to a twofold descriptive analysis. The first is primarily synchronic and is concerned with specific structural features of each revitalization stage. General structural features must be placed as to stage of occurrence; the more specific features must be amenable to generalization, such that they are not purely unique and particularistic. Thus in keeping with our distinction between processes of organization and processes of belief, two sets of specific structural features will be examined here. The first includes the complex network of statuses and the
intricate kinds of interrelations and connections in which they exist. For instance, if a movement stage is characterized by a three-level hierarchy consisting of a prophet, his disciples, and followers, it will be crucial to recognize the degree to which each can initiate, perpetuate, and terminate what kinds of interpersonal activities.

At the same time, the structural features of the belief component must be isolated and described. Doctrinal factors appear to be pre-eminent here. The most pressing question is to distinguish cargo beliefs from non-cargo beliefs. The latter group constitutes a significant aspect of this investigation. It can probably be subdivided into millennial versus non-millennial belief constituents.

Moving on to a focus on attitudes and values, an important question to be raised is the acceptance or rejection of European culture items, aside from the cargo belief itself, and to what degree each movement is characterized by attainment values of imitation or assimilation. Certainly, there are other factors that could be investigated here, and, depending upon the movements being examined, others will surely emerge upon closer, more rigorous investigation.

The second factor of the partitive component is a focus upon locally significant developmental sequences in movement stages. Again, these may be unique vis à vis other movements, but an attempt should be made to utilize sequences that will possess some generalizing value. Thus in one stage of a movement, there may exist a particular connection between the emergence of an indigenous prophet and processes surrounding the conversion of assistants as potential disciples.
rather than mass followers. Or, an inverse relation may develop between the intensity of anti-Christian or anti-European sentiment and the appearance of mass hysteriform seizures and the destruction of various status quo symbols. All of these must be considered, for they give each stage and thus each movement a particular configuration which, when compared with other movement stages, will facilitate the construction of a generalizing statement regarding the range of variation of specific structural features and local developmental sequences as found in all movements of various types.

Briefly, this is what our proposed model looks like. It is at once simple and complex. In place of a corpus of concrete data by which to demonstrate the scheme, I offer instead Figures 1 and 2 and the following section regarding a trial sample.

The Test

Several extraneous factors impinge on the selection of revitalization movements from Melanesia with which to test the usefulness of the proposed model. Probably the most important concerns the type of data available. For obvious reasons, we must have a relatively large corpus of information, as detailed and as complete as possible. This tends to obviate against early works in favor of more recent ones. A second significant factor is the a priori characterization of movements as different. Thus since it is a basic bias and assumption of this study that there exist different types of Melanesian revitalization movements, those selected for the model trial represent marked diversity in form and content. A comparison of very similar
movements, like the comparison of all Melanesian revitalization phenomena, remains beyond the scope of this investigation.

The first Melanesian revitalization movement to be considered is that of John Frum. Each descriptive level will be keyed to the number code of Figure 2. The John Frum movement (Guiart 1951, 1952, 1956a, 1956b) occurred on and near Tanna, New Hebrides (3.0), between 1941 and 1952, with six major outbreaks during that time (4.0). The sociocultural background of the movement was colonial and anti-White (5.0). Politico-economic activities were suppressed and stifled by traders, missionaries, and government administrators, all of whom rigidly controlled every major aspect of native life. Mission influence directed this program of oppression, operating upon the goal of transforming natives into Christians as rapidly as possible.

General structural features (6.0) included several types of statuses: (1) a prophet who appears twice to impersonate the god of America, Karaperamunj; (2) several kinds of assistants, including his three sons, messengers called "ropes," young female translators, and soldiers; and (3) three types of followers, traditional leaders, children and young people, and other followers. All group activities were unstructured and in flux a great deal of the time, involving recreation activities, work groups, and traditional behavior patterns. Belief components were oriented always around the arrival by ship or plane of American type cargo, to be distributed to all people free for their use. At the same time, anti-White sentiment prevailed, and a return to traditional behavior patterns was stressed. This was to
be accomplished by the destruction of all Europeanisms in existence, abandonment of missions and mission schools, and scorn for European money economy and work patterns.

The major processual configuration of the John Frum movement (7.0) is quite distinctive. A code of revitalization was formulated by a prophet impersonator of a traditional god-like mythical figure. All elements of the code were in existence previous to the emergence of the prophet. Communication of the message took place through traveling assistants and generally in an unorganized manner. The development of a hierarchical organizational structure through which group activities were handled was rapid and immediate. Adaptation to opposition, which was violent, powerful, and imminent, was a long process which occurred in a recurring pattern throughout the remaining course of the movement. After each suppressive action, the movement went underground, new prophets later arising. In 1952 this destruction apparently became permanent. If any transformation obtained, it was inherent in the movement activities and did not affect the amelioration of the total situation, except insofar as the missionary and trader strangle-hold on the native populace was to some extent broken.

One significant sub-process (8.0) warrants closer examination. It is striking that the social organizational complex of the movement is rather stable in terms of a recurring pattern of prophet emergence, group activities initiated, resulting in suppression. The over-all trend, however, is toward the abandonment of European behavior.
patterns and the resumption of traditional modes of action. At the same time, anti-European sentiment tends to become more violent and militaristically-oriented. Cargo beliefs recur, with some direction toward more politico-economic activities.

An attempt to characterize each stage of the John Frum movement in terms of a time-rate is here rather unproductive (9.0). The only significant feature is the length and patterned recurrence of the period of adaptation, such that only a minimal transformation occurs. Other stages appear to be uneventful in terms of this aspect. On the other hand, the characterization of movement stages in terms of changing sociocultural background factors is quite necessary (10.0). The milieu surrounding the emergence of the first prophet involved, of course, the general factor of anti-European sentiment focused on missions, traders, and administrators. Changes in the stages of communication and organization were rapid due to the over-reaction of the movement at this time. The movement crystallized already prevalent attitudes, and immediately demonstrated to all that changes could be wrought in the status quo. This factor, then, of momentum and hope of stress alleviation, characterized the sociocultural context of these movement stages. These elements continued to be operant in the period of adaptation, along with an additional factor. Although directed and voluntary change had been demonstrated, the anticipation of suppression was pre-eminent and was probably reflected in both the recurring pattern of adaptation and the trend toward increasingly violent anti-White sentiment and activities.
An examination of structural features exhibited by particular stages (11.0) also reflects several types of developmental change. In the beginning stages, only a few types of statuses are present in a context of basic anti-European sentiment and cargo beliefs. As more converts are made, group activities become more widespread and status positions proliferate hierarchically. The stage of organization is characterized by general structural components of an emerging social system - three level status hierarchy - and a concomitant ideological foundation. The belief component is elaborated to include elements ancillary to the major features, regarding, for instance, the prescription of ritual behavior for various social segments of the populace. Structurally, change is dramatic in the long, unsuccessful period of adaptation. New leadership statuses appear after the first prophet is dismissed. The power of John Frum is channeled through supposed kinsmen, through a group of young female interpreters, such that the focus is not on any one impersonator, but simply on the omnipotent status of the mythical god-king, as reflected in a large group of traditional local leaders. On the other hand, belief components appear not to change markedly, for the same ones, even in specific cases, recur continually, despite each purge by the opposition. Some tend to intensify, such as anti-Europeanism, but the outstanding feature continues to be John Frum's power as a socioeconomic savior.

Finally, several local stage sequences can be isolated for closer investigation in the movement (12.0). It is necessary, first,
to examine the two specific processes of point eight in terms of how they operate at each stage. For instance, the trend toward abandonment of Europeanisms and return to traditional ways falls off markedly in later stages of development. Additional sequences, however, bear consideration. In the beginning, the prophet apparently had no personal crisis, in Wallace's sense, but acted simply as the catalytic agent for an already extant code of behavior. Later, after organized group activities are well under way, a tendency develops for young people to be increasingly involved in the movement. Finally, it is interesting to note the non-adaptive nature of the movement's belief components, which, despite continual repression and frustration, remained viable even after cult activities themselves moved underground.

The second Melanesian revitalization movement to be considered here is the Taro cult of the Orokaiva, Northern Division, New Guinea (3.0), dating initially from about 1914 (4.0) and lasting in somewhat changed form until almost 1928 (Chinnery and Haddon 1917; Williams 1928). The movement occurred in a colonial culture contact region characterized by generalized anti-European sentiment which stemmed directly from the brutal and harsh nature of Black-White relations (5.0). White European miners plundered native land, the population was forcibly recruited for indentured labor, disease epidemics were widespread, and all resistance to European rule was violently suppressed. Mission influence appears to be present but not significant in politico-economic terms.
Structurally the Taro movement exhibits the following configuration (6.0). Two classes of leadership statuses were present, the prophet himself and several pseudo-leaders who aided in initial communication. In addition, there was a group of priest-organizers who constituted a semi-institutionalized ecclesiastical order. These provided services to the mass of followers who participated in the chief activity of the cult, the communal feast. At these gatherings, the prophet, Taro men, and cult followers were possessed by the spirits of the taro plant, exhibiting physically typical hysteriform symptoms. During possession, individuals received instructions regarding ways in which to placate the taro spirits and ancestor spirits who were angry, displeased, and causing trouble. Primarily, this instruction involved garden cultivation practices, various kinds of ritualized behavior patterns, and the curing of illness caused by the spirits. The over-all moral tenor was characterized by passivity and amity.

The striking feature of the movement's major developmental sequence is its processual completeness (7.0). Initially, a code is received by an inspired prophet through communication with spirit beings. Following the initial code formulation, a period of communication occurs in which the prophet, with the help of several individuals who also have been possessed, attempts to convince others of the validity of his transcendental experience. Soon the trance experience brings numerous converts into the movement. The prophet, disciples or Taro men, and initiated followers engage in pan-village
feasting. Taro men begin to organize as a group, carrying out recruitment and training activities independent of the prophet. Feasts and proselytizing expeditions, always marked by the hysteriform trance, continue to spread the Taro message. The only adaptation that occurred was not a reaction to external opposition, but to internal stress and strain. The main movement waned automatically, and this trend toward natural attrition was combatted by the emergence and formation of several local Taro cult sects, each a little different than the parent. Cultural transformation occurred in terms of native perceptions in that the movement provided a new, meaningful, and enduring code of behavior for its adherents. Just how this affected background deprivation factors is a puzzle, for these do not appear to change remarkably during the course of the movement.

Three specific cult processes are notable. First, the over-all trend in social organization is toward the elaboration and specialization of the Taro man status and his ritual duties, while at the same time this emphasis takes the form of encouraging local leadership to the point where regional variants of the main movement develop. Second, although the spirits of the taro are the initial focus of the movement, a shift soon occurs in which the ancestor spirits replace the plant spirits as entities to be propitiated. Finally, an increasing emphasis is placed on the curing of illness by the Taro men as opposed to garden cultivation magic and its attendant behavior.

No significant pattern for specific stages in terms of time-rate can be isolated. All stages are present, each following
smoothly on the previous one. The over-all time period indicates the endurance of a basic pattern of simple progression, marked by no recurrence or resistance.

Fortunately, this circumstance has great analytical potential, for it is relatively easy to associate structural features with processual stages in such a non-disjunctive situation. Thus the socio-cultural features of the Taro movement background milieu are readily apparent (10.0). The period of code formulation by the prophet is characterized by those features which contributed to the emergence of the movement itself: anti-government, anti-missionary, anti-White sentiment, all based on economic and social deprivations of Europeans. In addition, the personal crisis of the inspired prophet must be considered.

A discrete communicative period was characterized by resistance on the part of the native populace to accept the prophet's message, which waned as epileptoid possession increased. So dramatic was this shift that a complete reversal or juxtapositioning occurred, with the main organizational development of the movement being characterized by a total receptivity of and non-resistance to the cult by both natives and non-natives. It is striking that the new message replaced or coexisted alongside of traditional native life ways. If European sentiment opposed the movement, no action was apparently taken, probably due to the close fit between cult code and White ideals of non-violence, friendship, and productive endeavors. The adaptive emergence of local sects probably occurred in answer to the
needs of a large number of growing cult adherents. Finally, transformation occurred not in the area of Black-White relations, but largely in terms of native behavior, where there developed pan-tribal and regional common interests and awarenesses which had great political potential.

The structural configuration exhibited by each movement stage (11.0) is as follows. Initially, only the prophet and his basic code are present, involving beliefs of taro spirits, possession, and some ritual and social interaction patterns. Later, new statuses appear in the form of pseudo-prophets, and the chief belief shift is toward the increased power of taro spirits as reflected in the rapid and contagious nature of hysteriform possession. In the organizational stage of the movement, Taro priest-leader statuses emerge clearly, surrounding the prophet and serving the mainstream of cult followers. These activities center on communal feasts and proselytizing, but soon develop into vehicles for increasing ritual power of Taro men, as reflected in emphasis on efficacy of their curing prowess. In addition, passive orientations develop, and Orokaiva ancestor spirits replace taro spirits as cult foci.

In the beginning of the adaptive period, a social and ideological efflorescence takes place. Taro man statuses become institutionalized with elaborate rules for ritual and interpersonal activities. Local leaders soon found regional cult variants, each with its particular ritual attributes. Finally, the transformative stage is characterized by a composite of the previous two stages, with the
parent movement and its features plus several local sects with varying structural components. Generally, the ideological component remains unchanged, except where the movement has already begun the natural attrition process.

Several local stage sequences also warrant examination. The three sub-processes of point eight all become well-developed in the medial stages of organization and tend to effloresce in the later stages of adaptation and transformation. More specifically, the process of possession initiation and conversion appears to be most wide-spread and intense in organizational stages and may decrease as a mechanism for recruitment in the emergence of local cult variants. And, finally, there is the possibility that the gradual atrophy of the adaptive and transformative stages is a reflection of the millennial nature of the Taro movement and is directly relevant to the inadequacies of the parent movement and the burgeoning of local cult sects.

The third and final Melanesian revitalization movement to be considered here in terms of our proposed model is the Paliau movement (Schwartz 1962), which occurred between 1946 and 1954 (4.0) on Manus, in the Admiralty Islands (3.0). The colonial situation (5.0) in which the movement was imbedded is interesting, for it involved attitudes of opposition to government rule and policies on the part of the natives, but not a generalized anti-White orientation; indeed, American culture, as seen in military occupation forces, was viewed quite favorably. More significant was internal stress within the
native culture fostered by both restless members and superior attitudes on the part of the European community. Government policies were not oppressive, but the permissiveness with which they allowed the natives to increasingly take part in modern economic affairs—plantation labor, working in trade stores, and government work—created a very disruptive situation in terms of the traditional exercise of economic and political authority. To these circumstances was added the fact of total non-self-government, an obvious cause of anti-government sentiment. Finally, mission influence was present, but largely focused on religion and basic education, and thus constituted an easily excised element of native life.

Basic structural components found in the Paliau movement (6.0) include the prophet, several classes of assistants, and followers, all engaged in activities centering on village and pan-village level work groups, political council meetings, church groups, and economic cooperatives. Ideological features focused on the general thesis that the traditional native culture was evil and had to be abandoned, to be replaced by the highly desirous American way of life. The major feature of this component was a trend toward the attainment of political, social, and economic equality with the existing White world. The foundation of these beliefs was a syncretistic model of Christian ethics and morality which was essentially non-religious and thus emphasized the nationalistic autonomy of native culture from all European institutions present.
The over-all processual configuration of the movement (7.0) is represented by a completed sequence which exhibits one double or split stage. Initially, a code of action is formulated by an inspired prophet-leader who receives it directly from the Christian god through the agency of dreams. Communication of this message occurs through two avenues. First, local meetings are held for evangelizing purposes by the prophet and his disciples. Second, another revitalization movement of markedly different character occurs from within the ranks of the parent cult and proceeds to rapidly organize the whole local region in terms of the original code synthesized by the prophet. As the organizational stage develops, different leadership statuses in the movement emerge, all directing the formation of various group activities.

Cultural transformation occurred in two parts, separated by a lengthy period of adaptation and adjustment. The first transformation occurs rather speedily and involves the realization of most of the major features of Paliau's plan, with the focus being primarily on local level social and economic endeavors. There is a marked absence of national political recognition, upon which the movement now places ultimate emphasis. But opposition to the movement has been continually growing and finally erupts. Paliau is arrested and removed temporarily, the administration acquiesces to several selected political demands made by Paliau, and in so doing removes much of the impetus for the continuation of the movement under the prophet's leadership. In reaction to this backsliding, another revitalization
movement develops, similar to the other one in the communicative stage, rejuvenates the parent movement, and when finally opposed and defeated by Paliau, strengthens his own position and reaffirms the over-all solidarity of the whole cult. Following close on the heels of this stage is the second and final transformation, wherein the administration accedes to the majority of Paliau's demands for native political representation and self-government. This does not mean to say, however, that any significant changes occurred in the European attitude toward native culture per se.

Two specific developmental processes (8.0) appear to be significant in the Paliau movement. The first involves a trend toward an increasing differentiation of decision-making and political statuses and concomitant organizational units, such as councils and committees. The second regards the relative viability of the original code of action, that is, the process whereby belief components, founded on an essentially ideological base, successfully maintain a focus on social and economic matters, while simultaneously preventing disruptive factors, such as the two magico-fantasy cargo cults, from bringing about any disastrous results.

Within the over-all processual pattern, not too much can be said of a time-rate for the respective stages of the movement (9.0). Progress from the first stage through the first cultural transformation is rapid and relatively uneventful, probably due to the lack of opposition and the realistic and concrete goals being sought. The period of adaptation is lengthy and involves several features, all of
which were non-violent and relatively unoppressive. The nature of this opposition molded the kind of adjustment which resulted and the length of time it required to develop. Finally, the second transformation was obviously immediate and complete.

Significant changes associated with the movement are thrown into relief when the sociocultural background of each stage is examined (10.0). The initial part of the movement was characterized by a conflicting value orientation, anti-administration, but pro-American culture. In addition, the factors involving the personal crisis of the prophet are present here. Immediately upon the first communication of Paliau's code two things occurred: (1) a general acceptance of the message reflecting a readiness for change and (2) an over-reaction to the code in terms of existing native beliefs. Changes in the medial stages of the movement were generally rapid and characterized by a lack of any organized opposition. The first transformation involved a more or less complete overthrow of existing conditions in native conceptualization, most important of which was the demonstration that a more or less clean break could be made with the traditional culture and that whatever change is planned can be both voluntary and successful.

During the adjustment stage of the movement, growing resistance became organized in terms of two factors. First, the European community was not to be forced into any unfavorable accommodative situation, regarding either political or other matters. Second, there was increasing pressure from both the administration and non-movement
natives that there was no need for an agent like the movement to be the chief means of bringing about desired changes. And, finally, the major feature of the second transformation was economic, social, and political, but not ideological, equality, with emphasis being placed on the factor of success as overwhelmingly meaningful in terms of Black-White relations.

These developmental circumstances are easily traced to the structural features of each particular stage of the movement (ll.0). Initially, only the prophet and part of his code are present, that part concerning (1) the belief that White (American) culture is superior to native culture and (2) the efficacy of a Christian ethical code in dealing with secular problems. In the early stages of communication, other leadership statuses appear, and group activities center around meetings. Belief components are elaborated and involve some magical overtones. Later, higher level leadership statuses emerge, and group activities become more pragmatic and focus on social and economic matters, rather than ideological or value orientations. Thus there is a growing group and self-identification reflecting nationalistic sentiments and concomitant anti-White feelings. These factors reach a peak in the first cultural transformation, where all major belief and sociological components are present. Whole new villages of modern construction appear, village life is communal and cooperative, the economic system is refurbished, native syncretistic churches are operating, and the system of native councils carries on the decision-making process.
No new features appear in the adaptive stage, but all those present cease to develop and begin a gradual decline. With Paliau removed and momentum obstructed, it becomes evident that change has been wrought in physical terms, but not ideologically, resulting in the discouragement of people. The second cargo cult, however, renovates the original code of Paliau and permits the prophet to again establish the value of his reforms. The overriding feature of this development is toward political recognition for native society. Finally, these demands are conceded and the movement now takes on the features of a new political organism.

Each of these stages exhibits certain local developmental sequences that warrant investigation (12.0). These include (1) a trend in the formulation of an essentially secular code of action based on a syncretic Christian ethic; (2) the rapidity with which both cargo cults swept up Paliau's code and imbued it with religious significance; (3) the remarkable success with which the development of imitative change met; and (4) the elaboration of nationalistic beliefs and activities in the later stages of the movement.

Discussion

Despite the brevity of the preceding section, several factors are apparent, I think, in our attempt to test a model constructed on a series of fundamental prerequisites. The model is comparative, for it permits us to contrast, at a higher level of generalization, different types of revitalization phenomena, and, at a more specific level, the various kinds of revitalization movements that occur in
closely related situations or regions. The model is processual because it places emphasis on the developmental nature of revitalization phenomena, allowing both general and more specific examination of processual sequences. The model is descriptive, structural, and systematic, which stems from a belief that adequate description must precede analysis, that there is value in the study of parts and components of over-all patterns and systems, and that logical thoroughness must be a formal feature of any objective explanation.

The careful and cautious operation of the proposed model will facilitate the representation of any corpus of revitalization data in terms of a series of potentially comparable analytical configurations. By so contrasting these profiles, general rules of explanation, based on objective, pragmatic, and scientific reality, regarding fundamental similarities and patterns of variation and deviation, may be developed. It is hoped that a first step in this direction has been taken here.
CHAPTER 7
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The fundamental orientation of the present work has been wholly preliminary. It was suggested in Chapter 1 that a productive appreciation of the role of revitalization movements as mechanisms of sociocultural change has been obscured and beclouded by the tendency for observers to concentrate on the individual and usually outlandish features of such movements in lieu of recognizing the basic generic qualities that all hold in common. The task of this investigation was then proposed as the construction of an analytical model which would permit a satisfactory account of a corpus of revitalization data in terms of (1) a general scheme for the processual analysis of culture change and (2) a particular model for the analysis of the body of data itself. Melanesian revitalization phenomena were chosen for this examination due to their geographic and cultural regularities and because of the large amount of available literature which concerns them.

In Chapter 2, a brief but comprehensive survey of past and current thinking on the subject of revitalization was presented. Special emphasis was placed on (1) the general agreement of most scholars as to what in fact constitutes a revitalization movement in terms of its basic characteristics and (2) the proliferation of
possible alternative models for the typological and classificatory analysis of such movements.

A partial explanation for these uncertainties and ambiguities was presented in Chapter 3, where a brief but relatively complete inventory of Melanesian revitalization movements was undertaken. Emphasis was placed here on the great variability of the movements in local terms and on the over-all similarities that all exhibit when viewed in terms of a tripartite typology. Cargo cults were distinguished from economic and political movements, and a residual category including indigenous movements was postulated.

Chapter 4 presented a critical analysis of existing explanatory models for the Melanesian data. These were characterized as generally inadequate and unsatisfactory, for they do not provide the comparative configuration in which the Melanesian data must be placed for the construction of an over-all theory of revitalization. In addition, these explanations were seen as unsystematic and non-descriptively oriented, both of which constitute serious criticisms which must be remedied.

An attempt was made in Chapter 5 to analyze the possible alternative approaches to the Melanesian information. It was suggested that an adequate explanation must be descriptive and structural, in addition to being comparative in both a specific (Melanesian) and a general sense. Four approaches were discussed which represented a partial fulfillment of each of these requirements; each, however, was inadequate by itself. It was postulated that it is possible to pull
these disparate elements together into a productive and satisfactory model for the analysis of Melanesian revitalization movements.

Finally, in Chapter 6, such a scheme was presented on the basis of four prerequisites; the theory must necessarily be comparative, processual, systematic, and adequate (in terms of accounting for ranges of variation). An analytical model consisting of four components and resembling a machine operation was constructed to meet these requirements. It was suggested that all Melanesian revitalization movements be examined in terms of geographic, temporal, contextual, processual, and structural factors, all of which are applied first to the over-all developmental sequence of each cult and then to each stage in the movement's course. In this fashion, it was postulated, a precise, rigorous, diagrammatic profile of each movement could be developed which would provide the data for the construction of explanatory rules accounting for the similarities and patterns of variation which are exhibited by the Melanesian revitalization phenomena.

Toward this end, a trial operation of the model was presented, in which three markedly different Melanesian movements were subjected to the analytical components of the hypothesized scheme. It was concluded that the features isolated and described by the components had valuable explanatory and comparative potential for the construction of a general theory of Melanesian revitalization.

Recognizing the preliminary and exploratory nature of the present work, it is exceedingly difficult to weigh objectively the
several factors that must be included in a meaningful evaluation. Two separate considerations, I think, are immediately apparent. The first concerns the analytical model itself and the task which it proposes to accomplish. Above all else, the aim here was to ask a fundamental series of questions of the data and in terms of these queries to set out to discover how they could best be solved. A very close relationship exists between the research design of this investigation and the explanatory paradigm which was developed in answer to it. In other words, the task designated in the beginning was satisfactorily realized in the end. In this sense, the argument is adequate and scientifically acceptable.

The only serious criticism that can be leveled at the formal argument is that the manner in which it set out to solve the problem was objectionable; that is, _vis à vis_ the formal features of the argument, the content of the model is unacceptable. The target of such a criticism must be the kinds of questions, the basic prerequisites, distinguished in the first place as being somehow significant. As perceived here, any scientific theory of human behavior must possess both a descriptive and an explanatory component. The one must precede the other, and the adequacy of the former can be precisely gauged in terms of the inconsistencies, contradictions, and counter-examples displayed in the latter. A great deal of effort went into demonstrating that this was in fact the present state of affairs as regards the satisfactory explanation of Melanesian revitalization movements.
Given these circumstances, it was suggested that a new descriptive component must be formulated.

The formal features of this component are related directly to the expectations of its explanatory counterpart. It is anticipated that if the outcome of an analytical model of human behavior is to be of any positive value in both a probabilistic and predictive sense, it must utilize the services of structural, processual, and comparative factors. These elements constitute the fundamental building blocks of a satisfactory explanation for problems of a social scientific nature. This does not mean to say that their mere presence in the descriptive component will insure the validity of the model itself; the analysis and interpretation of the comparative operation must receive some careful attention. Yet no progress in this direction is possible until a satisfactory treatment of descriptive and classificatory considerations is formulated. Only in this fashion will it be possible to proceed beyond the broad generalizations that are already extant for such data as the Melanesian revitalization phenomena to more productively useful accounts concerning the exact nature of the phenomena under prescribed conditions. It is toward this end that the present work is intended to direct attention.
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