

Cargo Cults and Millenarian Movements

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Cargo Cults and Millenarian Movements

Transoceanic Comparisons of
New Religious Movements

Edited by
G. W. Trompf

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The vignette on the cover of this book represents the symbol of the *Agathos Daimon*, the snake of the Good Spirit, known from Greek astrological and magical texts. As its Town God, the *Agathos Daimon* was believed to protect Alexandria, which was famous world-wide for its library with precious manuscripts and books.

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St Neot's Day 1989

Garry Trompf

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FOREWORD

The interest and implications of this collection range much more widely than the language of the title or the known provenance of the editor might suggest. This width stems partly from the fact, which ought to be noted immediately, that the two terms in the title are by no means coterminous, despite the popular image of millenarian 'cargo cults' associated with Melanesia. Here we have accounts of movements that are millenarian with few or no signs of cargoist hopes, and of others where the emphasis is reversed. The editor's introduction spells out the distinctive and very comprehensive meanings of these two concepts, and will repay a second reading after the specific studies have been digested.

It is clear in the introduction that millennium, as a basic "structure of the human imagination" is "capable of capturing any psyche". This means that we are dealing with a basic human hope, authentically expressed in particular movements; no matter how bizarre some of these expressions are, the hope itself is neither eccentric nor a pathological aberration. It takes something more than the merely weird or irrational to sustain people like the Rastafarians through over half a century of opposition or the Jon Frum movement in Vanuatu through the vicissitudes of nearly fifty years.

It is this 'something more' that the reader should look for in these essays, and this discovery will help explain why millennial movements do not simply disappear before the advance of modernization. As the editor suggests, there are two very widespread factors at work to maintain these forms. In the Third World there is disillusionment through the failure of the great development hopes of the 'sixties and 'seventies; in the Western world there is the mounting sense of economic, social and ecological crises that are beyond human management. Can we say that these attitudes are unrealistic or that to turn to some millenarian solution is merely escapist? After all, the classic Christian hope climaxes in the Second Coming rather than in the gradual achievement of the Kingdom.

Likewise the cargo idea has to it a 'something more' than the merely material bounty that this unfortunate term most commonly suggests. Both the shiploads of modern goods from the ancestors in undeveloped Melanesia and the dollar prosperity promised to the poor in some of the grosser American cults should be

seen in their different degrees as the instruments of a longed-for human fulfillment. It was the monk Thomas Merton who back in the 'sixties saw something of the underlying unity between aspects of the modern American scene and the cargo cults of Melanesia. One of the interesting asides in this symposium is the suggestion that it might well be the enclaves of Third World peoples within predominantly Western societies, bridging as they do both tribal and modern cultures, who can best show us how cargoism operates across the world. The essays here on the Black Muslims and the Rastafarians would question this bridging capacity, but the idea deserves further testing. What is becoming clear is that the ethos of cargoism is widespread, takes many forms, and represents a particular version of the desire for blessings that marks most religions. And again it is the Christian faith, founded on an incarnation, promising the "resurrection of the body" and therefore called the "most materialistic of all religions", that can least afford to dismiss the cargo notion as crude and unspiritual.

Seen from these properly religious and widely human perspectives, both millennialism and cargoism show the power of ideas in human affairs and especially in religions. Neither can be reduced to social epiphenomena despite the obvious social conditioning of their particular historical manifestations. Nor can they be regarded as mindless or irrational, as aspects of human pathology, when they themselves can be seen as attempts to answer the basic pathology of the human condition - its distorted existence and frustrated destiny. To that extent they are realistic both in their sense of the human situation and in their determination not to accept such an absurdity. They represent convictions about and commitments to reality that operate at deeper levels than much of the naive optimism and self-confidence of those in modern societies who so easily dismiss the movements sampled in this volume.

While we can identify the deeper human and religious roots of such movements, we must at the same time recognize their own distinctive forms and maintain fairly specific meanings for each of these terms. This has to be done despite the fact that they indicate a certain continuity with other forms by shading off into phenomena that we would not want to call millenarian or cargoist. At several points in these pages the term "fringes of millenarianism" appears, where, under the hard glare of social and historical facts, movements fade away into diffused hopes for a better future through hard work, a new use of the existing sys-

tems, or co-operation with other faiths towards shared goals. These processes may be identified in the Timor Spirit movement, in the Namibian movements, in the later Black Muslims and in some of the Rastafarians.

This indicates the problem of terminology and of the boundaries of particular terms, a problem demonstrated rather than solved in these essays. Suffice it to say that when any expectation of a new future becomes 'millennial', when any problems or tensions are elevated to the status of 'crises' so that all cults become 'crisis cults', and when any strongly-held secular convictions become 'religions', then the distinctions necessary to thought become eroded, and words lose meaning. This consideration must be placed against our tracing of the ways in which cargo and the millennium integrate into the most basic human concerns.

This point may be demonstrated by examination of the last three essays gathered under the rubric "Black America and Africa". Here the last item, the only one on Africa itself, uses the term millennial for its two movements, but has great difficulty in documenting this aspect. While indigenous Namibian movements are somewhat atypical with respect to most movements in Black Africa, in this regard they are quite representative. True millennialism and messianism are very rare, despite the common generic use of these terms for this continent, and cargoism in its specific meaning is properly applicable in only a few cases. The blessings sought are more in the realm of healing, family welfare, success in business or examinations, and guidance for immediate affairs through revelation. And the blessings are sought here and now rather than in some hoped for future. To such an extent is this true that when I discussed the Namibian situation with a colleague long experienced in Lesotho, he reported how it was almost impossible to find a point of contact between Biblical eschatology and its promises and the local culture.

It is not surprising therefore that the other two essays in this group reveal that both the Rastafarians and the Black Muslims largely fail in their attempts to find spiritual and cultural roots in Africa. The latter turn out to be Americans after all and now seek their better future in the American way. The Rastafari have never achieved more than a small token settlement that has survived over thirty years in Ethiopia, despite the centrality of the millennial hope of a return to their pristine existence before encountering the Europeans. 'Africa' is now transposed into a distinct cultural identity wherever they may be domiciled. When they

spread, surprisingly enough, as far afield as New Zealand Maoris, the Africa motif has become absorbed into a local search for identity and a satisfying Maori way of life, and the millennial concern has virtually vanished. And yet in the Caribbean Rastafari the millennium remains, identified now with the fall of 'Babylon' rather than the return of the African diaspora to their heartland.

It is worth dwelling briefly on the relation of the Rastafari to new African religious movements. The differences are conspicuous indeed. Instead of organized movements with a centralized and hierarchical structure, with buildings for lively forms of worship, rituals such as baptism, emphasis on healing and exorcism, a prominent place for women, with public processions and missionary expansion, we find in the Rastafari a diffused and diverse amorphous movement that lacks all of the above characteristics. Perhaps a common reference to the Christian scriptures is the chief shared feature. It may be noted that Rastafari also show sharp contrasts with the other movements in this volume, especially those in the group of "White America and the Western World". There is a kind of primal innocence, a naive but moving spirituality, a moral authenticity coupled with a practical commonsense (despite the impractical Back to Africa theme) in the Rastafarian communities. Compared with the peaceful atmosphere of these gentle people, the life of many of the movements among the whites seems over-heated, strained, unstable and contrived.

A theme of special interest that appears in one of the Melanesian essays is that of the dangerous or eventful journey to far places, originally in the myths of the culture heroes, and recently in the historical travels of the founder or leader of a new cult. This journey undergirds religious or cultural innovation by providing a charter for the new ways. The journey brings authority from the Beyond and thus resembles the function of dreams as agents of innovation that has been described by Michele Stephen in the journal *Oceania*. This is an original contribution to the study of these movements and might well be pursued further in two directions. Firstly, is there anything equivalent to the journey in new movements less openly related to the local culture, such as the new independent churches? And secondly, how does this journey relate to the functions of the religious pilgrimages that are made in many of the older religions to actual historical shrines and sacred cities?

A more fundamental issue arises in connection with another of the

Melanesian essays, that on the Mt. Hurun movement in the Sepik area, and in one way or another it also concerns most of the movements in the volume. The fascinating Sepik analysis shows the local world view persisting through all the Western or modern forms of organization and activity, and governing their interpretation. It is clear that development agencies and many missions and churches have not taken this fact sufficiently seriously, for it is widespread in the developing world where so many of these new movements occur. This account could be an eye-opener for many who are puzzled at the problems they encounter either in development or in conversion, or simply in understanding what is going on.

Implicit within the minds of many readers will be the idea that there is a fundamental conflict between such persistent and very resilient traditional religious world views and the modern scientific view that supports the processes of development and coheres with much in the alternative Christian religious outlook. The author also implies something of this response. He strongly contrasts the religiously integrated world view in the Sepik, and indeed all religious views, with the ways of modern science, and therefore recognizes what he calls the ambiguous position of the missionary who wants to "defend the scientific culture to which he belongs, at the same time as he fights the rearguard action of a battle between science and religion". This would seem to be a fair description of the local situation, and corresponds with the nature of the Western culture that has invaded Melanesia through all the agencies of modernization, including the churches, which, as the author puts it, understand themselves in ambiguous relation to their own culture. This ambiguity appears in other ways in the essays on those more sophisticated movements in White America and the West that seek to use modern science and its technologies, and much pseudo-science, in the service of highly unrealistic, unhistorical and often bizarre religious systems that are quite unscientific at heart. It might be said that the Melanesian movements are more consistent in not attempting this impossible conjunction.

If, however, the conjunction cannot be made in some other more realistic and satisfactory way, what is the future both for the Melanesian and similar movements, and for the Christian churches in their ambiguous positions? Is it to abandon religious world views in order to share intelligently and consistently in the benefits of a scientific understanding of reality? This is the kind of question that presses upon us when we have finished the historical and phenomenological

descriptions and analyses of these essays.

The answer lies in the contemporary critique of Western culture that is revealing the deep dichotomy between 'facts' and 'values', between the apparently public world of 'science' and the now conventionally private worlds of religion and morality. This cultural split is rooted in a false epistemology that goes back at least as far as Descartes and that assumed its most powerful forms in the Enlightenment and in Kant. This is the Western world view that lies behind the impasse described in the Sepik, and behind all religions that are in trouble with Western, i.e., modern, internationally diffused culture.

The contemporary position, however, with respect to the nature of science and of its relations to religion has changed dramatically even if this change has not yet penetrated most of Western society, either in its heartlands or in its furthest outreaches as in the valleys of the Melanesian mountains. In place of the dichotomy that has distorted Western culture, there emerges a new convergence of "the road of science and the ways to God", to use the title of the Gifford Lectures of Stanley Jaki, the foremost contemporary historian of science. This marks, on the one hand, the revolution in physics in the post-Einsteinian era, and the subsequent revolution in the epistemology of science represented by the work of Michael Polanyi. On the other hand there has been the revolutionary theological escape from the subjective liberalism of the Enlightenment and its aftermath, represented most distinctively by Karl Barth. And now there is the on-going exploration of the compatibility, indeed the close similarity, of the ways in which theoretical science opens up our knowledge of nature and in which theology articulates our knowledge of God. To choose two names from many there is the work of scientist-theologian John Polkinghorne, and of T.F. Torrance, the author of a major work under the title of *Theological Science* and of many other 'bridging' studies.

The reader who is restless at this stage is asked to think again of the plight both of the Melanesians in the Sepik and of their opposite numbers in other millennial or cargoist movements. Should we not respect the Mt Hurun movement members for refusing to abandon their integrated and religious world view by adopting the broken, divided culture of the West? Or are Westerners satisfied to export their own cultural confusions and mounting problems, along with the contributions of modern technology and authentic scientific knowledge and of their

own major religious faith, and then to wonder why it does not work? Fortunately, as we have attempted to indicate above, another way is becoming available. For many Westerners the most useful contribution to these movements for the future is to work at the healing of the rift in their own culture. Only in this way can the innovative potential of millennial and similar movements lead to the transference from one world view to another that possesses both wholeness and a closer relation to reality, to how things really are as between nature, man and God.

This volume, therefore, is much more than a work for specialists, concerned with what might appear to be marginal phenomena in the broad spectrum of religions. In a vividly human and even dramatic way these movements expose some of the quite basic issues in our modern inter-cultural world, and while they possess their own distinctive and at times esoteric messages for their members they also speak unwittingly at other levels to us all.

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INTRODUCTION

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The Millennium

The term millennium has been typologized in modern social scientific scholarship to denote any perfected, blissful and trouble-free order of life in the future. In the Vulgate version of the Apocalypse, the Latin *millennium* has translated the Greek χιλιás from the New Testament, both words referring to the one thousand year rule of Christ on Earth, or to the period when the Devil is held in bondage and the final End of the present cosmos approaches (Rev. 20:2, 5 ch. 21:1ff.) Modern usage acknowledges, however, that hopes comparable to those expressed in Biblical eschatologies have been aroused throughout human history, even before the birth of the Hebrew apocalyptic genre. As for millenarism, or other cognate abstractions (such as millenarianism, millennialism, chiliasm, etc.), they cover the collective espousal of belief in some dramatic, unsurpassable Set of Events in the world's future, while the phrase millenarian movement(s) has more specific application to groups of people very much on 'the tips of their toes' in expectation of such an occurrence. The Israeli sociologist Yonina Talmon has perhaps most ably put it of millenarian movements that they are those "religious movements" which "expect imminent, total, ultimate, this-worldly collective salvation".¹ Preliminary distinctions need drawing, therefore, between 1) the general idea of a millennium, 2) the elaboration of that idea into a cosmological or ideological frame of reference, and 3) such an intensification of hope in the impending actualization of millennial conditions that group preparations and related actions result. In this volume authors focus upon religious movements which can bear the appellation 'millenarian', or perhaps nearly so, but they are no less interested in the appeal of the millennial idea as such, and in the various constructions and degrees of embellishment brought to bear on it.

The social scientific classification and comparison of millenarisms really

only begins in the late 1950s. Certainly the coinage millenarism itself is as old as the seventeenth century (as, too, are 'millenarian', 'millennial', 'chiliasm'), and certain satellite concepts, such as eschatology, messianism, apocalypticist and their European cognates, had been aired in theological literature before the end of the last century.² Various individual case studies of 'outbreaks' later to be described as 'millenarian movements' were made early on, furthermore, with James Mooney's account of the Amerindian Ghost Dance (1893) being notable among them. But the first systematic characterizations of millenarism as a recurrent and cross-cultural phenomenon waited until the decade after the Second World War.³ And since the 1950s, following upon pioneering work by Norman Cohn and Henri Desroches, British and Continental authors have been dominant in the production of theoretical and synoptic monographs on the subject, given their readier access to reports about the reactions of indigenous peoples to colonialism.⁴

The theoretical study of millenarism, which bears a synergetic relationship to the rampant growth of casework studies of individual religious movements over the last thirty years, has brought with it both clarification and confusion. There has been enough clarity in the typologized application of 'millennium', 'millenarism', etc. to make them stick as useful categorizations, because there are indeed ideologies and groups for which the projection of a future Transformation is positively central, and of no little fascination is the expression of comparable futurological orientations across diverse cultures. In the following pages contributors to this collection make use of the millenarist typology in perfectly defensible fashion, even though it is referred to cultural phenomena as far apart as Californian communes, Melanesian cargo cults and African proto-nationalism. That is because the general idea of the millennium - the approaching realization of a "perfect age or a perfect land"⁵ - is eminently capable of being filled out with a variety of imagined prospects in an enormous variety of contexts.

On the other hand, confusion and obfuscation have arisen because both the ongoing quest for satisfactory sociological classifications and the industry to document social movements have brought with them apparently competing categories. Those very same movements described by some scholars as 'millenarian' have also been placed under other rubrics, some very broad (such as 'revitalization movements', 'new religions', 'new' or 'independent religious movements',

'messianisms', 'en- or acculturative movements', 'adjustment movements', etc.),⁶ others somewhat narrower ('sects', 'cults' or 'cult movements', 'nativisms', 'salvation movements', 'utopian projects', etc.).⁷ The trouble is that no up-to-date systematic effort has been made to decide whether any of these epithets render any others redundant, or whether any given category should best be seen as a sub-category of another, or even whether social science is served better by a multiformity of categories which are cross-cutting rather than hierarchically arranged in terms of compass, structure, rationality, effect, etc.

These are only preliminary queries. Other questions have already arisen in reviews of synoptic studies of millenarism, because generalists have been inevitably prone to labour one general type or paradigm in an attempt to domesticate an extraordinary complex array of data. Thus Bryan Wilson, for one, has been criticized for trying to apply Western sect-types, with which he is highly familiar, to "religious movements of protest among tribal and Third World peoples", and foisting categorizations on them which are uncontextual and too constrictive.⁸ Neo-Marxist Peter Worsley, for another, has rather too often tended to interpret Melanesian 'cargo cult' millenarisms in terms of their proto-nationalist implications rather than for any intrinsically religious qualities; and along with others he has been charged with too simplistic an equation of so-called 'cargo cults' with 'millenarianism', when others had been so wary of placing the region's diverse local eruptions under this one umbrella category.⁹ Mention of Worsley's political interests, moreover, reminds one that political scientists have been wont to prefer quite another cluster of designations - such as 'protest movements', 'micro- nationalisms', 'political associations', even 'rebellions', etc. - also competing to cover the same phenomena of so-called millenarisms.¹⁰ Depending on the concerns of different disciplines, too, and the weight given in them to possible reference-points in any one style of investigation, scholars may be asking of putative millenarian movements whether they are 'active' or 'activist' rather than 'passive' (more a socio-political interest), 'charismatic' or 'pentecostal' rather than otherwise (more an issue for missiologists, ecclesiologists, or psychologists of religion), whether 'pathogenic' or 'hysteroid' as against more 'realistic' or 'rational' (more a medical or general psychological matter), or more 'tightly structured' and 'cohesive' than 'nebulous' and 'loose-knit', or again 'institutionalizing' in contrast to 'ephemeral' (as sociologists especially

like to learn).¹¹ And so on the known uses of 'colligatory' language could go, undoubtedly valuable for being richly textured, yet highly confusing to the novice and susceptible to academics' games of jargonism and slick generality.

While theory has not kept pace with new data, however, and complexities forestalled law-like generalizations, a basic datum remains: the imaging of a wondrous future set of conditions free of present troubles, or perhaps even the affirmation that the actualization of such conditions is already occurring in a particular place, have become increasingly common the world over during the last one hundred years. Despite the considerable variety of contexts, the articles in this collection continue to confirm what earlier theorists, including members of the 1960 International Seminar in Chicago, have contended all along,¹² that the presaging and announcements of a 'millennium' are frequently the *foci fasci-nantes* around which collective activities, let alone certain impressive social movements, have been formed. This volume, what is more, is not only a special testimony to the prevalence of the millennial archetype in various regional contexts but also to the influence of millenarist thinking across oceans and continents, and to the way it has provided many and scattered groups with common universalized goals in a culturally and politically pluriform world. As I predicted in 1979, "there will be more frequent instances of millenarianism" during the next half century,¹³ and this is because the very 'exportability' or 'cultural transferability' of the millennial idea manifests itself *pari passu* with the growing global (and mass-media-produced) awareness that all peoples share or are involved in common predicaments. The year 2,000 may be one latently significant focal point here, but not to be exaggerated;¹⁴ more important is the shadow of the nuclear holocaust and the overtaxing of the Earth's resources, especially in First World consciousness, and the failure of political independence movements in the Third World to produce the panaceas which matched millenarist dreaming at the local or village level. Old yearnings for 'heavens on earth' have not only lingered, then, but they have been given more cogent reasons for lingering.

The 'classic' expressions of millenarism, as most readers will doubtless assume, are those in which the *neue Zeit* is thought to be clinched by superhuman Intervention. Not unnaturally, a prior reckoning of Christian Adventist or Doomsdaying movements in the West has provided the typical *entrée* into the subject for most scholars, before they have dealt with 'other cultures'. Western

Christian millenarist lines of thought, though there are interesting variations to it, have recurrently emphasized the visible Second Coming of Christ and the establishment of Christ's rule or the 'Kingdom of God' (usually on this Earth), which entail the general Resurrection of the Dead, the Last Judgement, and foreshadow an entirely 'new Heaven and new Earth'.¹⁵ In this visualization, God is the all-powerful Being who sews up known history at its *Eschaton*, being as wonderfully capable of cosmic action as He was at the Creation. Most of these expectations, admittedly, have not been exclusive to Christianity, yet never have the Apocalyptic images of Biblical literature been more 'realistically' and fastidiously (dare I also say garishly?) decoded than in Western European expositions, and of late in a great (and largely Protestant) spate of pamphleteering (cf. ch.1).¹⁶ Looking further afield, however, as this very volume will enable readers to do, we find rather different projections. Where tradition is resilient among colonized peoples, for example, as in various Melanesian cargo cults (chs. 1, 5-6) or in certain African protest (and incipiently nationalistic) movements (ch.10), the anticipated Transformation can involve the intervention of the Ancestors, or the reclamation of Power by the gods and spirits of tradition as a whole, rather than the materialization of those apocalyptic hopes aired by the whites. In other cases, the influence of Judaeo-Christian millennial discourse may be readily detectable, but with the deepest longings being more specifically irredentist - concerned with a group's return to a sacred homeland - than a welcoming of a more general divine 'Self-Disclosure' (ch.8). And again, outside the West (even though we must note their recent effects within it, ch.9), there are Islamic varieties of millenarianism to be considered.¹⁷

Differences in the cosmic scenarios foreshadowed, however, ought not blind one to the crucial parallels which lie in the typical human experience of 'eager anticipation'. No human is unfamiliar with this condition, because so much in everyday affairs - awaiting the harvest, the pay cheque, the rearrival of a long absent member of the family, and so forth - acquaints all of us with it. Anticipations of cosmic Transformation, on the other hand, obviously constitute special instances of it, because it is capable of developing into an all-consuming intensity (Norman Cohn would say fanaticism)¹⁸ which colonizes the time and preoccupations of individuals or groups. The mere fact of intense expectation, of course, though degrees of intensification may make the difference between sim-

ply holding a hope and joining a coterie of folk who do their waiting and preparations in company, is not sufficient in itself as an explanation for millenarism. Particularly when cross-cultural analysis and comparison are involved, knowledge of the psychology of different situations in which millenarisms or millennial activities become more visible (or more enthusiastically embraced) will be much more fundamental hermeneutically. We have long had among us theories of frustration, for example, or relative deprivation, or of social pathologies consequent upon prolonged repression, etc.,¹⁹ and what is interesting is whether any outburst of millenarist fervour is a reaction - indeed one among a number of possible reaction-types - to perceived invidious circumstances. Again, the experience of *crisis* - of facing some momentous problem - is a common experience of humanity, and the manifold forms of group action in response to adversity - particularly religious responses - have already led one theorist to cut across other appellations for new religious movements and write of so-called 'crisis cults'.²⁰

This volume is replete with accounts of responses to recognizable hardship or pressure, whether physical or psychological. The relativities are such, mind you, that certain differences in 'form and content' naturally tend to result from situational disparities. In the modern First World, for instance, millenarists are usually much better off materially, yet still sense the world has 'gone off the rails', while Third World protesters are frequently locked into positions in which total despair can only be alleviated by blind(-looking) hope. Indigenous Third World millenarian movements are almost inevitably more defined politically, as restatements of cultural identity which are there to resist colonial oppression, whereas recognizable political engagement by most First World 'classic' millenarisms, even if they are commonly subscribed to in well-defined sectarian groups, has been much less predictable (current connections between right-wing American politics and 'Armageddonists' notwithstanding). As one might have foretold, moreover, the 'universalization' of the Millennium is more pronounced in First World contexts; there is also more studied, 'conventional' (about the ecological crisis or the looming Third World War as the Biblically prophesied 'Time of Troubles', for instance), or more chance of *avant-garde* or esoteric accounts of the New Time (as the Age of Aquarius, mystical Dawn, etc.) (cf. chs. 1,3). The content of articulated hopes in 'the Religions of the (colonially or economically) Oppressed', by contrast, has an immediacy and intellectual angularity discharged

from the overwhelming experiences of wretchedness, worthlessness, identity loss and powerlessness themselves.

The 'situational psychology' of millenarisms, however, and especially of distinct movements propelled by a millennial prospect, is probably no better analyzed, and by no better means takes on comparative significance, than by locating the *objects of negativity* among the participants and dreamers. It is an unpalatable but necessarily ingested truth that millenarian movements (as with many varieties of protest) very rarely lack their butts of condemnation. In a condition of powerlessness, indeed, retribution is commonly projected by millenarists into a Future from which powerful, suprahuman acts of requital and reversal will be enacted - against the insuperable forces of opposition in the immediate present. In that light millenarism could be viewed as a vehicle for non-violent protest, since the final blows against evil are to be dealt by higher-than-mortal agencies. But that will depend. It will depend, for a start, on whether the visionaries in any pertinent group imagine that the expectant 'faithful' will be *cooperating* with God or Spirit agencies in some kind of battle at the End Time; and if so, whether they will wait until the ultimate theophany (as if, like the ancient Qumranites, they should only have their weaponry issued by angelic hosts before they would lift a finger against an imperialist), or will engage in a physical struggle in advance of any divine involvement (like the Thuringian peasants behind preacher Thomas Müntzer in 1530).²¹ That option will also depend on whether there are any resources to fight, or enough faith to try military measures without adequate resources, or on whether, perhaps from the theological perspective, 'forcing the hand' of God is acceptable or not.

The whole question of choosing between violence and non-violence, moreover, will depend on any given group's identification of the 'enemy' (or the sources of invidiousness which have prompted millenarist agitation as a response). In the modern West, for example, targets for condemnation are often diffuse and so monstrous in proportion that nothing short of a stupendous Intervention by God, or a Third World War which will be guided to the right outcome by divine Providence, will meet the need for justice. Among church conservatives and sectaries, for instance, the relevant rhetoric is likely to evoke 'the rampant wickedness in the world', 'the total breakdown of Christian values', 'the perils of godless Communism', etc., but it is also possible that Biblically-orient-

ed yet politically radical thinkers might appeal to eschatology as the only foreseeable solution to the world's worsening problems. There are lingerings of Reformation apocalypticism to be found, however, and thus a singling out of the reigning Pope, let us say, as Antichrist, and there are normally enough outspoken opponents accusing millenarists of being misguided, or enough defectors from 'the cause', for people to be singled out as deserving of supernatural wrath. Third World millenarian protestations, in contrast, generally have more specific objects of reprisal pinpointed from the start - the colonial (or neo-colonial) overlords and their lackies, usually with identifiable groupings (e.g. white officials and settlers rather than missionaries, or some but not all 'foreign' elements) being those destined to be swept aside by cataclysmic fiat - along, naturally enough, with ridiculers and defectors.²²

What - or whoever is the point of negative 'payback', the minimum condition any millenarism will have to have for it to become an identifiable movement, and thus to be more than a collectively held set of beliefs, is the challenge of an altercation.²³ Almost without fail, millenarists will draw notice to themselves. This can be done, of course, by withdrawal. In modern Western history, the commune, or the creation of new settlements and newly ordained sacred space, or of an occult body, are well known enough, and examples of them are given detailed research in the first three chapters of this book. In such cases accusation, rejection, even persecution usually follow upon the 'difference' the millenarists create for themselves, so that they in turn come to be more specific than they were initially about 'the evil ones'. There is a spectrum of possibilities to be mapped, though, as I have suggested elsewhere,²⁴ between the clear absence of physical violence on the part of millenarists to their countenancing of violent conflict against antagonists. In the Third World (as in pre-modern Europe, both east and west), the contentious refusal of millennial groups to cooperate with the overlords has not only led to the setting up of an alternative way of life, which appears as a threat to public order (or orthodoxy, as in old Europe), but also to incipient revolutionism, or at least varying degrees of preparedness to remove the unwanted adversaries by force, as one kind of drastic action in favour of a pre-saged Perfection.²⁵ Despite variations as to the kinds of altercations created, however, or the lengths taken to achieve goals or retrieve losses, the common feature to be found in millenarian movements of some projected or intended

'counter-stroke' against a cosmic evil, threat or opposition, is undeniable, thus legitimating the category sociologically and providing a key tool for comparative analysis.

Another important and integrally related ingredient pressing for attention, and almost as valuable in comparative analysis, is the content and meaning put upon the expected Perfection, or Millennium, as a mythic or macro-historical disposition. By implication, for a start, Yonina Talmon suggested one possible means of distinguishing millenarism as ideology and a millenarian movement as social outgrowth when she concluded of the latter that its members looked to a "*this-worldly* salvation". Some millenarisms conceive the coming Perfection to be on the heavenly plane; those that foresee it to be on Earth are more likely to take concerted action to realize it.²⁶ The more material the content of the Millennium, in fact, the greater the likelihood of a quest for some technology or ritual to bring about its actuality (chs. 1, 5-6). The appeal of a millenarism, further, or its capacity to engender greater cohesive activity, will be often enhanced by more definite, if simplistic picturing of what is to be soon forthcoming, whether verbally or iconically.²⁷ The announced content of a Millennium will have all the more attractiveness, moreover, if it taps unconscious sources of energy, which is one facility of myth. Expressed myth, though, loses power if it is not relevant to the cultural *milieu* to which it is applied. Thus in primal societies, for instance, the heralding of an *Endzeit* which is supposed to emerge *de novo* - with angelic hosts, Jesus on the clouds of glory, or the arrival of the Mahdi, etc. - is not likely to have much staying power as the inspiration of a movement, not much, that is, in comparison to an envisaged future involving the *return* of culturally recognizable characters from a primordial *Urzeit*.²⁸ Among tribal peoples subjected to colonialism, the myths of exploits by the (more-than-human) culture heroes and (post-mortal) ancestors were critical in cultural *identity* - in conveying why a people had become what it is, and had managed what it had considering its primordial background. An appeal to the reappropriation of the Power of the 'Dream-Time' - the power which made culture possible in the first place - can obviously provide a vital motivation for Third World millenarian movements to recover the loss of pre-colonial autonomy and worthwhileness (ch. 4).

Many more observations may be made about millenarism. Long discussions may be had about cognitive problems arising for fervent believers when their

dreams do not come true at the times nominated by 'prophets' or 'guiding stars' who lead them on. A leader's proffered rationalizations to cope with such dissonance, indeed, will be crucial in the saving or destroying of a movement. The process of 'institutionalization' will begin if the explanations for initial disappointments are satisfying to enough of the very first participants, who stay on to carry the movement to another phase.²⁹ The intensity of effervescence of those moments in which the movement first issued its challenges and hopes can then be reflected upon - in the early build up of a tradition - as the turning-point in a new and preferable direction, and the point making possible a new *communitas*.³⁰ The members may then still look to the Millennium, but avoid the mistake of proposing a time-table. Perhaps we should add here, 'at least for the time being', because the recurrent or spasmodic reenlivening of millennial yearnings will have to be accounted for. But for the most part 'expectant ones' cannot constantly consume themselves with their expectations without wearing themselves out. It is one of the paradoxes of millenarism, for instance, that its espousers, though once frenetic-looking, can later get on with the business of well-organized day-to-day activity, and in the modern West that has included the pursuit of high status and the attainment of noticeable material security.³¹ (But other special points one might wish to pursue here should be left to the authors who follow.)

The Cargo

A propos material security, what of Cargo? What is meant by it, and where does it sit in relation to millenarian issues? Cargo capitalized (as it will commonly be found in subsequent chapters) denotes more than the items packed on vehicles, ships, aeroplanes or caravans. In this book it has also been typologized, because already in highly significant contexts it has come to connote more than goods in transit, or more than European-style or internationally marketed commodities which have made cargo such a distinctive device of global political economy today. In so-called 'cargo cults', for instance, which have been mainly but not exclusively a phenomenon from Melanesia,³² the concept Cargo (in pidgin *Kago*) implies a totality of material, organizational and spiritual welfare, collectively

desired as a replacement for current inadequacy, and projected into the imminent future as a coming 'salvation'.³³ *Kago* in cargo cult, then, is susceptible to being turned into the manifestations of a Millennium (again, typologically conceived). It can in this sense include what it cannot in ordinary English (or comparable) parlance: money (which both expresses and procures *Kago*) and also a *total* security (because what the 'whitemen' or foreigners possess in contrast to the lowly villager is so extraordinary that it already implies for him some miracle of transcendence).

Rashly, I have already defined cargo cults as those "activities arising from the expectation of abundant, supernaturally generated, Western-style cargo".³⁴ This suffices so long as one remembers that there are relative degrees of abundance anticipated (from unlimited to much smaller quantities); that applied to primal religions the 'supernatural' can be somewhat of a misnomer, since, among the projected bearers of the Cargo the ancestors have been most common, and they have been thought to be still part of the whole community; and that, to reiterate, the cargo of the foreigners symbolizes a virtual redemption from preexisting, to be specific Stone Age, conditions. The Melanesian cargo cult provides it with a *locus classicus*, then, in which collective hopes have been pinned on the outpouring of patently material blessings which are expressive of non-empirical forces. When these hopes are such that the arrival of Western-style goods is to be one component of a new order, in tandem with the return of Jesus let us say, or of the ancestors, or the paradisaean order, or some other recognizably millennial motif, the identification of a cargo cult with a millenarian movement is admissible.³⁵ Still more is this a respectable equivalence if the term or idea *Kago* is used to epitomize a total Transformation to come.³⁶ On the other hand, Cargo and cargo cultism can also cover other than millenarist phenomena, and thus we must see them as intersecting, yet not coterminous.³⁷ In this very book, after all, are to be found millenarisms without hope of Cargo (cf. chs. 7, 8, 10).

If there is usefulness in distinguishing cargo from Cargo, moreover, the same applies with cargoism and cargo cultism, a distinction doubly helpful for showing why neither share quite the same boundaries as millenarism. Cargoism, or "cargo [or cargoist(ic)] thinking", as Peter Lawrence prefers,³⁸ is an espousal of belief in the 'religious' or 'deeper' significance of the whole range of internationally marketable commodities that has come with the Second Industrial Revolution and

mass production. In their *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1848), Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels rightly perceived the immense potential for capitalism to undermine every traditional social order.³⁹ Perhaps more slowly than they expected, yet by means far more astounding technologically than either of them foresaw, a thousand and one concrete statements of consumerism have come to be made in the furthest reaches of the Earth. Television has become available to virtually every Indian village (since 1975); transistor radios and cassette recorders sit in some of the most out-of-the-way villages of highlands New Guinea; Eskimos come into the trade stores to purchase cola and Amazonian Indians to buy tinned meat; and so on. There is a new world of more and more remarkable things, and the greatest, if often overlooked revolution of the last hundred years is that now millions upon millions of homes in richer parts of the world have more millions upon millions of gadgets, household appliances, time-saving devices, electrical outlets to go with them, etc., while still more millions upon millions of people in other, less privileged parts of the world would like to share in this extraordinary abundance, indeed in the veritable 'miracle' of it all.⁴⁰

Both lack of access and want of knowledge as to how many of the new items of cargo work, in fact, endow them with a more than mundane significance for most peoples of the Third World. In the preliminary stages of adjustment, wholly new items may take on a highly numinous quality and what is valueless elsewhere will be treasure. Thus New Guinea highland warriors circumperambulated humble cotton shirts as they were disgorged from airplanes in the 1940s, making peace with the potentially dangerous forces they suggested, while select highland women died of blood poisoning for wearing empty tins as precious arm bands.⁴¹ Further on in each local *Erklärungsprozess*, the coincidence of missionization and the appearance of new goods can be so linked that access to the latter is assumed to be dependent on embracing the newly introduced religious message. Keep going to church, in other words, and the Cargo will eventually come.⁴² While this connection is natural for those peoples who have never seen factories and the like, and whose religions have been thought to provide tangible fertility and thus total security, and while the promise of material betterment is rarely absent from missionary preaching in any case, overly high hopes are usually not matched in the Third World by the (real) events of some bonanza, and thus altercations will eventually occur.

As with millenarian movements, it is most helpful for explaining the crystallization of a cargo cult, and for the comparative analysis of cargo cultism, to pinpoint the grievances which motivate collective action and make altercation inevitable. At this point we will perceive how cargoism denotes sets of ideas, beliefs and hopes rather than any discrete social phenomena, while the term 'cult' (though it can be salvaged for certain contexts) might as well be called 'movement' (or 'cult movement'), particularly since it has so often been attached to 'cargo' for mere alliterative reasons.⁴³ As Third World movements, cargo cults arise when groups mobilize themselves to prepare for entirely new goods which they consider ought to be theirs, and from which they ought not to be deprived. Thus Christianity can be all the more embraced, to take one option, but with idiosyncracies as various Pacific and African examples testify, and with the accusation that the missionaries have not told the whole story (about the secret of acquiring the Cargo). Or else disillusionment with Christianity (or at least one brand of it) can set in, because it did not 'produce the goods', and an alternative source of hope explored (e.g. tradition, syncretism, another denomination, etc.).⁴⁴

When or while collective expectations approximate to an "imminent, ultimate, this-worldly" salvation of Cargo, then we will allow that cargo(ist) and millenarian movements have coincided both as category and phenomena.⁴⁵ Independent of the fervour of these expectations, by comparison, or with a marked lessening of 'manic' preparations, cargo cultism can manifest on its own right as a routine activity, the recurrent performance of certain practises being understood to create the conditions which will bring more money and more accessibility to the new goods, but with any grand, outpouring Cornucopia being left to an (at least temporarily) unpredicted future. A money cult, then, and these were not uncommon in Melanesia when it was realized that money was one key to the Cargo, is still a cargo cult. But the focus is on the periodic or alchemical ritual (of trying to multiply money in a spirit house, let us say), thereby perhaps rehabilitating our usage of 'cult'; and any week-by-week gatherings for mutual support would reflect the institutionalization of millenarist enthusiasm already mentioned, the great Cargo Millennium, if it is retained, being set in an indefinite future, and thus no longer providing the pretext for any *exceptional* activity (to welcome any highly exceptional, because final set of events).⁴⁶

Once this principle of differentiating the relevant categories is applied, it opens the possibility of a comparative, cross-cultural investigation of non-millenarian cargo cultism as well as of its more distinctively millenarian varieties. Thus rituals which are performed on a periodic basis to secure consumer items, no matter what the cultural context, and whether we are dealing with Hindu prayers to the new goddess Santoshi Mata for a badly needed refrigerator, or the repetition of a mantra for a television by a less affluent member of the Japanese sect Namu-Myoho-Renge-Kyo, are quite legitimately - certainly not unhelpfully - dubbed cargo cultist.⁴⁷ Analysts of Western culture will be tempted to place various expressions of habitual gambling in this class, and why blame them? When Lady Luck is portrayed as a guardian Angel in newspaper advertisements, along with "a true story" as to her rôle in upholding a "family's lottery-winning tradition", the presumed link between the recurrent ('ritual') act of buying a lottery ticket and the religious quest for total security is being appealed to.⁴⁸ My own work on the success of lottery organizations in Melanesia, and on the popularity of gambling games there, only goes to confirm the value of testing cargo cultism's trans-cultural applications.⁴⁹ Hitherto scholars have been reluctant to explore these applications, and uses of the term cargo cult outside Third World contexts have been more rhetorical than serious; but then this volume contains the first systematic attempts at a wider comparative analysis of cargo cultism, with newer Western religions especially in view (cf. chs. 1-2, 6).

In being prepared to take this cue, cargoism will automatically deserve reevaluation as an *ethos*, for its potency as a catalyst in motivating social change will be missed if it is limited to a set of beliefs and ideas (about access to or arrival of new goods, or about who deserves and will receive them). A cargoistic ethos is one in which new commodities, and the extraordinary achievements of modern technology as manifest in new things and facilities (including money), become the paramount goal of visible human acquisitions, and take on increasing power to be the very surrogates of that biocosmic vitality or fecundity so crucial for traditional societies. The ethos, however, provides the ground in which *both* high hopes and frustrations are fertilized. In the Third World the great disparity between those who enjoy and those who lack the goods has been the pretext for protest activity from the turn of the century. In the so-called 'developed World', because so many already have the access to the Cargo, the pressure is constantly

on the members of society to consume and acquire in amounts sufficiently to maintain their self-esteem. In this more affluent situation frustration and thus recourse to a range of possible solutions arise from a perceived sense of deficiency (often conceived as a cosmic deficiency in waiting for a total salvation), but the needs and deprivations are more quantitatively than qualitatively different from the oppressed masses of the world's poor, and in no sense undermine the cross-cultural significance of the cargoist ethos as the hallmark of our age.⁵⁰ Important in comparative analysis here, naturally, will be studies of 'enclaves of the Third World' in developed countries, and thus of attitudes to wealth and power among the remnants of decimated indigenes, or the descendants of displaced black slaves and migrant labourers (cf. chs. 8-9).

I do not wish to give the impression that so-called cargo cultism is the major and most typically selected solution made by the frustrated in the present ethos. There are, after all, other albeit related options. One of them, intriguingly, is theft. If the Cargo cannot be procured by employment (because none is available) or by ritual (because it does not work), then theft is not merely one obvious recourse - and its common avail now a central problem for virtually all nation states - it is also one which can be ideologically justified, whether as act of necessity, equalization, or of retribution against the selfish.⁵¹ Violent protest and revolutionary action are, of course, other possibilities just as capable of legitimization when the perceived or actual divisiveness between 'possessors' of the Cargo and those 'dis-possessed' of it has been accentuated. We are not to forget, though, the cargoist ethos in its broadest sense, and thus the latent, partly unconscious yearnings to participate fully and live authentically in a social life overpowered by materiality, and often without the more stable guideposts of old traditions. This synoptic apprehension of cargoism as an ethos is just as important for understanding millenarism, for the *Grundlage* of distinctively millennial ideas and actions is that endemic human longing for complete security and the absence of problems and sufferings -

for some safe place where everything would be ordered and good and indestructable. a place where we could trust the trees not to fall down and crush us, the birds not to peck us to death, the earth not to split open under our feet.⁵²

But we must move on.

On Comparing Cultures

Social scientific categorization, bringing with it such abstractions as millenarism and cargoism, is all too susceptible to the peril of reification. There are no better means of avoiding this danger than through experiencing the weight and resilience of cultural difference, and the particularity of local or regional histories in which alleged millenarisms, cargo cultism and their like have been manifest. This volume provides a variety of case studies, and although both America and Melanesia draw proportionately more attention, there is a reasonable variety of cultural contexts considered as well. Before briefly introducing these studies and their authors in turn, however, a little space should be devoted to the general problem of cross-cultural investigation, and the application of sociological categories to a wide dispersal of human activity.

'Culture', as is by now well known, has a number of different meanings, some of which have been better defined than others. Aside from the debate we must leave undiscussed about the relationship between culture and religion (on the ways in which culture is a product of religion or vice versa, for instance, on whether culture incarnates religion, or whether religion is a 'cultural system', etc.),⁵³ one of the more difficult questions raised by parts of this book concerns the viability of comparing and paralleling phenomena from contexts as far apart sociologically as 'primitive' New Guinea to 'ultra-sophisticated' California. Have certain cultures ontogenetic differences such that explorations into their comparability are *a priori* inadmissible? or preferably left to dare-devil synthesizers (like Lévi-Strauss)?⁵⁴ And are apparently comparable sets of ideas and new religious movements from societies highly dissimilar in organization, structure and complexity merely *analogous*, or parallel in some attenuated sense, rather than genuine instantiations of the same class of phenomena? Or in other words, can any given social scientific category only remain truly viable when not universalized but referred to some 'medium range' of cultural situations (such as 'tribal societies', or 'feudal societies', or 'fully modernized societies', etc.)?

The answers to such questions do not come easily, but articles in this volume provide comparative analyses and points of orientation which help answer them. At least it has already been made clear in this introduction, moreover, that both millenarism and cargoism have bearing on the human condition in general. As

for the matter of comparing primitive and modern, and the applicability of 'colligatory' terms to the most diverse contexts, purists who prevaricate here should be reminded of the relativities in time, space and human valorization which suggest surprising comparability in the first place, and which also justify the very *effort* at comparative analysis as itself an exercise in common human (or inter-cultural) understanding. After all, the term 'primitive' (if it should be retained at all) *is* quite relative. Was it not a famous traveller who reserved the most pointed use of this term to the white 'Holy Rollers' of Kentucky and Tennessee, not to the Sioux or the Navaho?⁵⁵ And if, for reasons of psychology as much as for avowed purism, some of us might baulk at accepting any religious content to Cargo outside 'primitive' (and 'non-European') contexts, we ought to remember how some of its earliest known usages in English were suggestive of divine blessing - in the thoughts, for instance, of none other than Defoe's Robinson Crusoe.⁵⁶ Beliefs and articulated hopes, moreover, are quite capable of being borne in travel - across vast oceans as the sub-title of this book reminds one - and thus there is no reason why these notions will or cannot be incorporated and acted upon in any conceivable human culture. The idea and anticipation of a Millennium is really one of the world's most obvious cases in point. Although in the Western tradition this idea may immediately bespeak the notion of directional history towards a Final Event, or of great macro-periods (such as the return of the Golden Age), and although one should hardly expect snap reproductions of these additional, culture-specific conceptions in societies whose concepts of time and periodicity are quite dissimilar, the Millennium *qua* elementary idea, or basic 'structure of the imagination', remains capable of capturing *any* psyche.⁵⁷

There has also been some interest, of course, and some controversy, over whether such categories as millenarism or cargoism, and satellite concepts from the sociology of religion like messianism, sectarianism, etc., are useful in characterizing *secular* developments, including those in the so-called Second World. Already in the 1950s strong links were being drawn by Cohn between Western 'fanatical' millenarism and secular totalitarianism, and the two Talmons, as a husband and wife team, were fascinated by the same connections.⁵⁸ The reality stands that structures of religion continue to accrue to virtually all ostensibly post- or non-religious human activities. The problem is how to achieve more than a suggestive and rhetorical comparative study of the relevant pieces of evidence,

noting how Soviet communism, for example, has its Bible, Messiah, its sect-type church of the narrowly committed, and its futurist orientation toward a Millennium-like classless society (the originally unrealistic expectations of which were rationalized into bureaucratic institutionalism), or exploring how the modern money system does indeed have the structure of religion, as Norman O. Brown ably argues, and how extravagantly high expectations in the economy or government or science by the average citizen in the West might be more incisively and helpfully described as cargoist than not.⁵⁹ A few of the following papers provide materials for a more precise analysis of these matters (cf. chs. esp. 1, 6, 9).

The chapters of this book, all being case studies of one sort or another, enrich theoretical study and curb its over-simplification by a telling concentration on historical detail. In the first chapter I have been rather more ambitious than other writers in embracing a whole region, but mine is essentially an in-depth comparative study of a great Californian commune and new religious movements in Melanesia, undertaken to confirm that *both* millenarism and cargo cultism are viable cross-cultural categories. The 'comparative method', however, long respected as a basic means of establishing similarity and difference in social phenomena,⁶⁰ has not been employed formalistically, distrustful as I always have been of listing features in common or otherwise in point form. I have deliberately taken care to characterize the ethos in which respective developments have arisen, not wishing to create the illusion that movements as fascinatingly parallel as the Brotherhood of the Sun (or Sunburst commune) on the United States west coast and select Melanesian cargo cults derive from anything like the same milieux. I also concentrated on manageable themes: the fundamental importance of myth, or more accurately mythic macro-history, in the new religious movements under scrutiny, the logic of retribution, and the psychology of leading and being led in such movements.

John Bracht, who has been researching Mormon beliefs for twenty-five years and is currently engaged in doctoral studies at the Department of Religious Studies, the University of Sydney, and Gregory Tillett, who has received his doctorate through the same department and institution for a biography of the Theosophist Charles Leadbeater,⁶¹ are the next contributors. Each concentrate on aspects of the Western millenarian trajectory. Bracht's work is very important in the elucidation of the concretization of divinity in Mormonism, and the material-

ity of the Mormon Millennium. His study chimes with E.L. Tuveson's thesis that distinctly American millennialism has to do with building the Kingdom of God on the face of the Earth,⁶² but Bracht goes further to identify certain cargoist features in Mormon thought and practice. Tillet, for his part, and in keeping with his remarkable expertise in matters occult,⁶³ explores all too neglected areas of esoteric Adventism, or disclosures of 'hidden Messiahs' in late nineteenth and earlier twentieth century movements initiated by Europeans. The two articles on Western themes develop various implications I have left unexplored in my interpretation of a very complex Californian ideology, and all three of these articles pay attention to the 'whiteman's myths' (important for a better understanding of the subsequent articles on southwest Pacific developments), and also to the mobility of beliefs and ideas across great distances of the globe.

In the next section of the symposium, four contributors take on specific aspects of culturo-religious change in the southwest Pacific region (including Timor where one finds an intriguing melting-pot of 'South-east Asian', 'Australian Aboriginal' and 'Melanesian' human groupings). Ethnohistorian Roderic Lacey, co-editor of *Oral Tradition in Melanesia* and author of a work on the oral history of the Enga people in the New Guinea highlands,⁶⁴ treats the journey motif in the pre-contact and colonial history of Papua New Guinea. Described in myth, certain ancient and primordial journeys of transformation are undertaken in a time or space for which supernatural occurrences are likely, indeed expected to happen, the extraordinary secrets learnt and events transpired being taken as absolutely crucial for the peoples who hear the accounts. Proceeding through Lacey's reconstructions, we find that indigenous travellers in colonial times, and especially those journeys associated with cargo cult 'prophet' figures, seem to reopen the possibility of mythic time. The *neue Zeit* of the 'whiteman' and his goods, tackled most strikingly by cargo cult heroes, brings dreams of momentous change which are as extravagant as they are because the present transformations and conditions appear as great and miracle-filled as the traditional, mythic world of gods and spirits had always been made out to be.

Patrick Gesch, currently co-Editor of the anthropology journal *Anthropos*, and the author of the most detailed monograph study of a cargo movement ever written,⁶⁵ concentrates on the stages and forms of which that movement has taken on over two decades. His is a lesson in indigenous 'experiments with civi-

lization' to uncover the undisclosed secret of the white's superior power and technology. Both Gesch and fellow anthropologist Lamont Lindstrom, whose article follows, are concerned to map the different presuppositions about bases of power and effectuation in 'primal' and 'modern-scientific' *Weltanschauungen*. Lindstrom, editor of a collection on drug usage in traditional Oceanic cultures,⁶⁶ brings theoretical insights to bear from Michel Foucault's work to compare regimes of discourse reflected in Melanesian cargo cultist and white American rhetoric, and their implications for a comparative understanding of knowledge and power.⁶⁷ Lindstrom's article links back to my own in its more ambitious attempt to compare materials from widely different contexts from opposite sides of the Pacific. While Lindstrom centres his attention on the meaning of Cargo and the question of knowledge, Graham Brookes, a missiologist, documents what he calls 'spirit movements'. This usage, which has already influenced the interpretation of recent Melanesian movements and derives from his Masters Dissertation,⁶⁸ covers both revivalist-looking activities within church life, as well as collective *rites de passage* incorporating previous outsiders into church involvement, that are marked by acclaimed manifestations of the Holy Spirit. These movements, sometimes pentecostal, sometimes involving other altered states, and oftentimes associated with the outpouring of *charismata* (or divine gifts of healing, glossolalia, psychic perceptions of hidden wrongs, etc.),⁶⁹ also bear millenarian features, and Brookes' study conducts us to an interesting, newly emergent subject of enquiry into the fringes of millenarism.

The last section takes readers into another realm of black cultures, that of the Africans rather than the Melanesians. Part of the excitement of the symposium lies in the production of case studies which enable religions of the black oppressed to be more adequately compared. The various influences behind black millenarian and cargoist movements are given rich treatment as the pages unfold: the Bible, missionary Christianity, Garveyism, Islam, nationalism, consumerism - all of them so transplantable across seas and continents. And we are taught by all the papers on Melanesian, African and Afro-American situations, that new religious movements are not always so monolithic as the old sect-type paradigm suggests, and certainly not static. Fieldwork by the sociologist Karlene Faith throws new light on the hitherto poorly documented side to the Jamaican Rastafarians, that is, on its decentralized and rather diasporic manifestations in

rural areas, and especially on the noticeable divergence of belief (and especially millennial and irredentist hope) among its followers. Despite differences and lack of coordination, this movement continues to grow rapidly throughout the Caribbean, and the impact of its music, and of the sentiments expressed in soulful Reggae songs, have been immense internationally, especially on youth.⁷⁰

Historians Dennis Walker and Zedekiah Ngavirue have plotted significant shifts in the history of African protest activities, each in their own way. Learned in Arabic and in the rise of Arab nationalisms,⁷¹ Walker is able to exegete the ideological interaction between orthodox Islam and the less or unorthodox Black Muslims, and to follow the shift from the Black Muslims' more retributive, politicized millenarism under Elijah Muhammad to positions more or less accepting of political realities and the consumer society. Ngavirue, the one black writer in the collections, turns us away from America and Oceania, which are the two major geographical zones of attention in this book, and leads us back to Africa. It is not to the Ethiopia longed for by the Rastafarians, however, but to a region scantily documented in English and from which Ngavirue has emerged as the finest indigenous historiographer. In his analysis we are once again at one of those intriguing fringes of millenarism, at the points at which its protests spill over into proto-nationalism and the independent church experiment (so prevalent throughout black and equatorial Africa today).⁷² The pieces by Walker and Ngavirue are interesting, when taken together, for illustrating the processes by which millenarist energies are institutionalized and channelled in the pursuit of more specific social goals. These processes, however, have hardly yielded parallel results: in South West Africa intensification of opposition to the ruling order increased in the period under Ngavirue's consideration (and also beyond), while the Black Muslims have recently become more accommodating to capitalism and white hegemony than was previously the case.

All the following contributions, it should be noted, impinge on millenarism, yet a few hardly broach the subject of cargo cultism. This is because the collection is not intended simply to elucidate relationships between millenarist and cargoist expectations but also to enrich and refine already existing analyses of millenarism as the better known and apparently broader area of study. The articles by Walker and Ngavirue, for example, raise questions about the place of millennial dreams in political protest and rebellions. In two entirely different settings,

one finds the Black Muslims vociferating via a long-utilized eschatological and political rhetoric, while with indigenous Namibian reactions to colonial domination the millenarist hopes are more 'underlying' and ideologically attenuated, and encapsulated more in the yearning to recover lost homelands and tribal autonomy. The article by Brookes, too, focusses on forms of 'realized eschatology', and intense religious experiences which are relatively sufficient unto themselves (without being always thought of as the keys to material blessing). The greater body of the writings, however, has attention directed on both the Cargo and the Millennium as modes for comparative and integrative interpretation. It is perhaps the central aim of this volume to confirm that cargo cultism and cargoism are as useful in cross-cultural enquiry as millenarism has already proved to be, and my own detailed comparative research in the opening chapter is designed to establish first credentials in this respect. With the rapid, world wide advances in technology, it is certainly high time to endow the cultic and religious focus on the promise of new goods (or money) with an integrity of its own (at least when hermeneutically necessary), instead of constantly assimilating it back into millenarism or obscuring it under some other category.⁷³

Most of the scholars in this book are Australian, or, as in the case of Scotsman John Bracht, have come to live in Australia. Among the Australians, only Patrick Gesch lives elsewhere, at Sankt Augustin, West Germany. Two North American scholars, Lamont Lindstrom from the United States, and Karlene Faith, Canada, join Zedekiah Ngavirue, Namibian, as welcome interlopers from afar in what is otherwise a significantly Australian scholarly enterprise. All of the scholars, however, herewith present research which they have undertaken overseas. Three of them I have very much appreciated as colleagues in Melanesian tertiary institutions, Roderic Lacey and Zedekiah Ngavirue in the History Department at the University of Papua New Guinea, and Patrick Gesch at the Holy Spirit Catholic Seminary, Bomana, Papua New Guinea. Gregory Tillett and Karlene Faith have also been highly valued colleagues of mine at one time or another, at the University of Sydney and the University of California, Santa Cruz, respectively. Three writers - Gesch, Tillett and Bracht - have been my doctoral students at different stages of my career at the Department of Religious Studies, the University of Sydney. I can thank modern travel facilities and the conference circuit for bringing me in contact with Lamont Lindstrom,

Graham Brookes and Michael Walker, a knowledge of whose researches came as a pleasant cluster of surprises.

On reflection, a rich variety of disciplines are represented here: myself as historian of ideas and religions, Bracht as historical theologian, Tillett as occultist, Lacey as ethnohistorian, Gesch as missionary anthropologist, Lindstrom as a more 'classic' anthropologist, Brookes as missiologist, Faith as sociologist (now criminologist), and both Walker and Ngavirue as historians, with the former having more specialist interests in literature and political science. Three of the authors are ordained churchmen, Bracht as a Presbyterian, Gesch as Catholic priest in the Divine Word Order, and Brookes within the Uniting Church of Australia. A fourth, Lacey, currently teaches in a Catholic college, and joins three others - myself, Lindstrom and Faith - as academics currently teaching in tertiary institutions. The fact that only a minority of the contributors are practising academics reflects, first, that researchers in religion can take on other tasks - to work on a government Anti-Discrimination Board (Tillett) (although he has recently returned to academia), to edit an international journal (Gesch), direct a church Mission Board (Brookes), or to live out a highly precarious but influential existence in one's conflict-ridden homeland (Ngavirue) - and second, that such scholars as Bracht and Walker still remain engaged in their postgraduate research (while they are also elsewhere employed). There are thus healthy elements of experience and wider-than-narrow-academic concerns in this volume, which has grown up over the last decade more out of a shared interest in the human condition than the desperation to publish about 'pet topics' (or else perish).

Notes

1. Y. Talmon, "Millenarian Movements", in *Archives Européennes de Sociologie*, 7 (1966), p.159, cf. also her "pursuit of the Millennium: the relation between religions and social change", in *ibid.*, 3 (1962), pp.125ff.
2. J. Murray *et al.*, *Oxford English Dictionary*, vol.2, p.344, vol.6, p.447, cf. vol.1, p.386, vol.3, p.284, vol.6, p.375, etc. *Millénarisme* was known in French by the eighteenth century, P. Robert, *Dictionnaire alphabétique et analogique de la langue française*, vol.4, p.418, but *chiliasme* only this century, cf. *Dictionnaire de la langue Française*, (1899), vol.1, p.604. For the German story, we await the completion of the *Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch* by A. Kirkness. On theological usages, F.M. Schiele and L. Escharnack (ed.), *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Tübingen 1910 edn., vol.1, pp. 519ff., vol. 2, pp. 544-5. Cf. also W.D. Wallis, *Messiahs. Christian and Pagan*, Boston, 1918, E. Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches* (trans. O. Wyon), London, 1931, pp. 712-4. For further background, G.W. Trompf, "Missiology, Methodology and the Study of New Religious Movements", in *Religious Traditions*, 10 (1987), pp. 95-8, 104.
3. Cf. J. Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890 (Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1892-93)*, Washington, 1896. On early theory, see especially the pages of the *Archives de Sociologie des Religions*, V (1958), with articles by G.R.S., Norman Cohn, Norman Birnbaum, P. Kovalevsky, etc. Cf., in anticipation, H. Desroche, "Dissidences religieuses et Socialisme utopiques", in *Année Sociologique*, and note also L. Festinger *et al.*, *When Prophecy Fails*, Ser. 3, 1955, pp. 393-439, Minneapolis, 1956, ch.1, for an early American survey.
4. Cohn's *magnum opus* was *In Pursuit of the Millennium*, London, 1957, and Desroche compiled his *Dieux d'hommes. Dictionnaire des messianismes et millénarismes*, Paris, by 1969. For other theoretical monographs, e.g. P. Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound*, London, 1957 (70); W.E. Mühlmann, *Chiliasmus und Nativismus (Studien zur Soziologie der Revolution, vol.1)*, Berlin, 1961; H.J. Margull, *Aufbruch zur Zukunft*, Gütersloh, 1962; F. Sierksma, *Een nieuwe hemel en een nieuwe aarde*, The Hague, 1961; S.L.

- Thrupp (ed.), *Millennial Dreams in Action (Comparative Studies in Society and History, Supp. 2)*, The Hague, 1962, esp. Introd. and ch. 3; K.O.L. Burridge, *New Heaven New Earth*, Oxford, 1969; B.R. Wilson, *Magic and the Millennium*, New York and London, 1973. Cf. the more recent overview by an American, Barkun, *Disaster and the Millennium*, New Haven and London, 1974.
5. Thus Thrupp, "Millennial Dreams in Action", in Thrupp (ed.), *op.cit.*, p.11.
 6. Cf., e.g., A.F.C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements: some theoretical considerations for their comparative study", in *American Anthropologist*, 58 (1956), pp. 264 ff.; "New Religions among the Delaware Indians, 1600-1900", in *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 12/1 (1956), pp. 1ff.; cf. H. Biezais, "Zur Problematik der neuen Religionen", in Biezais (ed.), *New Religions (Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis 7)*, Stockholm, 1975, pp.7ff.; L.C. Mair, "Independent Religious Movements in Three Continents", in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 1 (1958), pp. 113ff.; V. Lanternari, "Messianism: its historical origin and morphology", in *History of Religions*, 1 (1961), esp. pp. 55ff.; J. van Baal, "Erring Acculturation", in *American Anthropologist*, 62 (1960), pp. 108ff.; K. Murphy and T. Ahrens (eds.), *The Church and Adjustment Movements (Point, No.1, 1974)*.
 7. Wilson, *op.cit.*, pp. 11ff. ('Of Sect and Church'); E.W.P. Chinnery, "Five Religious Cults in British New Guinea", in *The Hibbert Journal*, 15/3 (1917), pp. 448ff.; R. Linton, "Nativistic Movements", in *American Anthropologist*, 45 (1943), pp. 230ff.; J.W. School, "Salvation Movements among the Muyu of Irian Jaya", in *Irian*, 7/1 (1978), pp. 3ff., cf. Trompf, "Utopia", in M. Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, New York, 1987, vol. 15, p. 160.
 8. For a review of Wilson's work (cf.n.4), T.O. Ranger, in *African Religious Research*, 3/2 (1973), pp. 32-33.
 9. Worsley, *op.cit.*, esp. pp. 262-4, cf. T. Bodrogi, "Colonization and Religious Movements in Melanesia", in *Acta Ethnographica*, 2 (1951), pp. 259ff. For the scholar least inclined to generalize about so-called cargo cults, J. Inglis, "Cargo Cults: the problem of explanation", in *Oceania*, 27/4 (1957), pp. 249ff. See also Trompf, "Mircea Eliade and the Interpretation of Cargo Cults", in *Religious Traditions*, 11 (1987) (forthcoming), and also n.45 below.
 10. Cf. E. Hobsbaum, *Primitive Rebels*, Manchester, 1959; R.I. Rotberg and A.A.

- Mazrui (eds.), *Protest and Power in Black Africa*, New York, 1970; M. Adas, *Prophets of Rebellion: millenarian protest movements against the European Colonial Order*, (*Studies in Comparative World History*), Cambridge, 1979; R. May (ed.), *Micronationalist Movements in Papua New Guinea (Political and Social Change Monograph 1)*, Canberra, 1982; P. Hempenstall, *Protest or Experiment? Theories of 'Cargo Cults' (Research Centre for Southwest Pacific Studies Occasional Paper 2)*, Melbourne, 1981; H.V.E.T. van Velzen and W. van Wetering, "Affluence, Deprivation and the Flowering of Bush Negro Religious Movements", in *Bijdragen voor Land-Taal- en Volkenkunde*, 139/1 (1983), pp. 99ff. Cf. also R. Bastide, "Messianism and Social and Economic Development", in I. Wallerstein (ed.), *Social Change: the colonial situation*, New York, London and Sydney, 1966, pp. 467ff.
11. Cf., e.g. Worsley, *op.cit.*, pp. 40-1, 239-44, etc.; W.J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, London, 1972, cf. 14, etc.; B.G. Burton-Bradley, "Transcultural Psychiatry", in P. Solomon and V.D. Patch (eds.), *Handbook of Psychiatry*, Los Angeles, 1974, pp. 659-660; R. Robertson, *The Sociological Interpretation of Religion*, Oxford, 1972, ch.5.
 12. Cf. S. Thrupp (ed.), *op.cit.*
 13. Trompf, "The Future of Macro-Historical Ideas", in *Soundings*, 62/1 (1979), p.80.
 14. Considering the little that eventuated (by way of 'social spasms') in the year AD 1,000. Cf. esp. E. Pognon (ed. and trans.), *L'An Mille*, Paris, 1947.
 15. Cf. esp. Cohn, *op.cit.*, T. Olson, *Millennialism, Utopianism, and Progress*, Toronto and London, 1982.
 16. Cf. e.g., S.G.F. Brandon, *The Judgment of the Dead*, London, 1967, chs. 3, 5-6, and on a listing of Christian pamphlets, see below, ch.1, n.82.
 17. I think here especially of Mahdism, cf. e.g. L.C. Brown, "The Sudanese Mahdiya", in Rotberg and Mazrui (eds.), *op.cit.*, pp. 145ff.
 18. And behind him, note R. Zinssen's much earlier *Rats, Lice and History*, London, 1937, pp. 80-84.
 19. For background, esp. J. Dollard, N.E. Miller *et al.*, *Frustration and Aggression*, New Haven, 1939, esp. chs. 7-8 (frustration); A. Adler, *Menschenkenntnis*, Leipzig, 1947 edn., pp. 21-2 (relative deprivation and adjustment), S. Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents* (trans. J. Strachey),

- New York, 1961; C.G. Jung *et al.*, *Man and his Symbols*, London, 1964, esp. pp. 72-82 (repression).
20. W. la Barre, "Material for a History of Studies of Crisis Cult: a bibliographic essay", in *Current Anthropology*, 12 (1971), pp. 3ff., cf. also Burton-Bradley, *loc. cit.*
 21. For the details, *War Scroll*, (IQM), vii-viii, T. Muntzer, *Politische Schriften* (ed. C. Hinrichs), Halle, 1950, pp. 5ff.
 22. Esp. Trompf, *Payback: the logic of retribution in Melanesian religion* for (*Studia Instituti Anthropos*), St. Augustin (forthcoming), ch.1, pt.A. More generally, esp. on millenarist needs for power manifestation, rescue and control, see I.D. Suttie, *The Origins of Love and Hate*, Harmondsworth, 1960, pp. 115-6.
 23. I derive this point from Desroche, *The Sociology of Hope*, (trans. C. Martin-Sperry), London and Boston, 1979, pp. 118-9, etc.
 24. Trompf, *Payback*, *op.cit.*, ch.2, pt. A, 2, iii.
 25. For background, cf. G. Lewy, *Religion and Revolution*, New York, 1974, pt.1.
 26. 'New Church' adherents, for instance, in following Emmanuel Swedenborg, claim the events of the Millennium have already happened in the spiritual realm (back in the eighteenth century). For background, e.g., W. van Dusen, *The Presence of Other Realms*, London, 1975, ch.4.
 27. The literature of the Jehovah's Witnesses is an obvious case in point. See, e.g., *You Can Live Forever in Paradise on Earth* (Watchtower Bible and Tract Society), New York, 1981 edn. Yet cf. ch.1 below.
 28. Sierksma, *op.cit.*, p.250, etc. cf. R.J.Z. Werblowsky, "A New Heaven and a New Earth: considering primitive messianisms", in *History of Religions*, 5/1 (1965), p.170.
 29. For background, L. Festinger, *The Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*, Evanston, 1957.
 30. For an important example, F.E. Williams, "The Vailala Madness in Retrospect", in his *"The Vailala Madness" and Other Essays* (ed. E. Schwimmer), Brisbane, 1976, pp. 385ff.
 31. On this last point, see esp. G. Schwartz, *Sect, Ideology, and Social Status*, Chicago and London, 1970.
 32. For other contexts, cf. R. Firth, *Elements of Social Organization*, Boston,

- 1951, esp. pp. 111ff.; G. Shepperson, "Nyasaland and the Millennium", in Thrupp, *op.cit.*, p.157; Trompf, *Religion and Money; some aspects (Charles Strong Young Australian Scholar Lecture Series 1)*, Adelaide, 1980, pp. 4, 10-13.
33. On Cargo as redemption or salvation, esp. Burridge, *op.cit.*, esp. pp. 4-8; J. Strelan, *Search for Salvation; Studies in the History and Theology of cargo cults*, Adelaide, 1977; B.H. Schwarz, 'The Symbolic Significance of Cargo in Melanesian Cargo Cults' (Masters dissert., University of Aberdeen), Aberdeen, 1976.
34. Trompf, "Introduction", to Trompf (ed.), *Prophets of Melanesia*, Port Moresby, 1981 edn., p.8.
35. Some scholars using the term millenarism (or its cognates) for cargo cultism at least have been cautious. E.g. P. Christiansen, *The Melanesian Cargo Cult: millenarianism as a factor in cultural change*, Copenhagen, 1969, esp. pp. 7-48. Others have been rather unquestioning in their usage, e.g. I.C. Jarvie, *The Revolution in Anthropology*, Chicago, 1964, p.50, etc. (because he is concerned with different, more philosophical issues), Worsley, *op.cit.*; and N. Sharp, *Millenarian Movements: their meaning in Melanesia (LaTrobe Sociology Papers 25)*, Melbourne, 1976 (because of a neo-Marxist Tendency to accept 'millenarian movements' as a wide-embracing category for one species of anti-colonial protest in the Third World). See also n.45 below.
36. Trompf, *Payback, op.cit.*, ch.2. We await the work by M. Reay on *Transformation Movements*.
37. Cf. my arguments in "Mircea Eliade, etc.", *loc. cit.*
38. Lawrence, "Cargo Thinking as a Future Political Force in Papua and New Guinea", in *Journal of the Papua and New Guinea Society*, 1/1 (1966-7), pp. 20ff.
39. See Marx-Engels, *Selected Works* (For. Lang. Pub. Hse. trans.), Moscow, 1951, vol.1, pp. 35-40.
40. For background, Trompf, "God as the Source of Wealth", in *Melanesian Journal of Theology*, 3/1 (1987), pp. 74ff.
41. R.M. Berndt, "A Cargo Movement in the Eastern Central Highlands of New Guinea", in *Oceania*, 23 (1953), p.51; Cf. Trompf, "Doesn't Colonialism Make You Mad?" in S. Latukefu (ed.), *Papua New Guinea: a century of*

- colonial impact, 1884 to 1984*, Port Moresby, 1989 (forthcoming).
42. Note esp. Lawrence, *Road belong Cargo*, Melbourne, 1964, pp. 73ff.
 43. Cf. M.W. Smith, "Towards a Classification of Cult Movements", in *Man*, 59 (1959), pp. 8ff., 25ff., Trompf, "Mircea Eliade, etc.", *loc.cit.* For a curious attempt to differentiate 'cargo cult' from 'cargo movement', note B.M. Knauf, "Cargo Cults and Relational Separation", in *Behavior Science Research*, 13/2 (1978), pp. 185, 202.
 44. Trompf, *Payback*, *op.cit.*, ch.2, pt.A; "Independent Churches in Melanesia", in *Oceania*, 54/1 (1983), pp. 51ff; H.W. Turner, 'The Hidden Power of the Whites: the Secret Religion Withheld from Primal Peoples' (unpublished typescript, used with kind permission), Aberdeen, 1976. In other places I have discussed the development of myth-histories spun out as alternatives to the historical visioning of the ruling group(s). On Melanesian experiments with history, for example, see Trompf, "Macrohistory and Acculturation", in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31/4 (1989), pp. 619ff. (see also ch.1). For an example fundamental to the founding of the Black Muslim movement, see the opening section of ch.9, cf. Malcolm X, *Autobiography*, New York, 1966 edn., pp. 164ff.
 45. See n. 35. Cf. F. Steinbauer, 'Die Cargo Kulte als religionsgeschichtliches und missionstheologisches Problem' ('Doctoral dissert., University of Erlangen-Nürnberg), Nürnberg, 1971, esp. rear chart; C.E. Loeliger and Trompf (eds.), *New Religious Movements in Melanesia*, Suva and Port Moresby, 1986, introd.
 46. Trompf, "Mircea Eliade, etc.", *loc.cit.*
 47. On Santoshi Mata, Trompf, *Religion and Money*, *op.cit.*, p.13, n. 24, cf. A.J. Quisar, *The Indian Response to European Technology and Culture, 1498-1707*, London, 1982, for longer term background. On Namu Myoho Renge Kyo, I rely on fieldwork, San Francisco and Santa Cruz, California, 1975, cf. H. Thomsen, *The New Religions of Japan*, Rutland and Tokyo, 1963, pp. 111ff. Note also the Thai cargo cult centred on Queen Victoria, J. Harger, "Is the Goddess Amused?", in *The Sunday Times* (United Kingdom), 24 Dec., 1972, Spectrum suppl., p. 9.
 48. Thus *The Sun* (Sydney), 28 May, 1987, p.12.
 49. Trompf, "Gambling and Religion: some aspects", in M. Walker (ed.), *The*

- Faces of Gambling*, Sydney, 1988 edn., pp. 225-8 (forthcoming).
50. Trompf, "Salvation in Primal Religion", in D. Dockrill and G. Tanner (eds.), *The Idea of Salvation* (Prudentia Spec. Issue) 1989, pp. 223-4, cf. R.N. Bellah, "Religious Evolution", in *American Sociological Review*, 29 (1964), pp. 358ff.; J. Baudrillard, *Le système des objets: la consommation des signes*, [Paris], 1968, esp. pp. 232-9.
 51. Trompf, *Payback*, *op.cit.* ch.3, pt.A, 3, iii.
 52. From Penelope Mortimer's *The Pumpkin Eater*, Harmondsworth, 1964, p.156. Cf. also I. Progoff, *The Dynamics of Hope*, New York, 1985, and on the capitalist ethos, esp. E. Fromm, *The Sane Society*, New York, 1955, ch. 5, C.
 53. For famous discussions in point, T.S. Eliot, *Notes towards the Definition of Culture*, London, 1948, pp.28-29, 33; C. Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System". in his *The Interpretation of Cultures; selected essays*, London, 1975, pp. 87ff.
 54. Cf. esp. Lévi-Strauss's *Totemism* (trans. R. Needham), Boston, 1962, ch.5; K. Goldstein, "Concerning the Concept of 'Primitivity'", in S. Diamond (ed.), *Culture in History* (Paul Radin Festschrift), New York, 1960, chs. 99ff.
 55. J. Morris, *Coast to Coast*, London, 1962, p.72, cf. chs. 17-18.
 56. Daniel Defoe, *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York, Mariner* (1719), Dent edn., London, 1906 (56), pp. 49, 94, 290, 299, etc., cf. G. Overton, *Cargoes for Crusoes*, New York, 1924, p.ii.
 57. Cf. my comments in "Mircea Eliade, etc." *loc.cit.*, on Eliade's approach in *The Two and the One* (trans. J.M. Cohen), New York, 1962, pp. 126ff., and those of other scholars.
 58. Cohn, *op.cit.*, pp. 281ff., etc.; J.L. Talmon, *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy*, London, 1952; *Political Messianism*, London, 1960; Y. Talmon, "Millennarian Movements", *loc.cit.*, pp. 198-200; R.P. Feynman, "Cargo Cult Science", in *Engineering and Science*, (Calif. Inst. of Tech.), 37/7 (1974), pp.10ff.
 59. Cf. J. Taubes, *Abendländische Eschatologie; Beiträge zur Soziologie und Sozialphilosophie*, Bern, 1947; D.L. Macrae, "The Bolshevik Ideology", in his *Ideology and Society*, New York, 1962, pp. 181-98; N.O. Brown, *Life Against Death; the psychoanalytic meaning of history*, New York, 1959, p.240.