

Contemporary Departures from Traditional Christianity in Cross-Cultural Situations: A Melanesian Ethnohistorical Case Study

by Alan R. Tippett

No topic has generated more enthusiasm for research in Melanesia than the study of its nativism, by which I mean the large homogeneous ethnic units, sometimes whole lineages, breaking away from the traditional Christianity which emerged in the era of colonial missions.¹ It has been argued that these movements are the result of stress situations which arise when two very different cultures clash or come into acculturative contact. The clash is said to derive from: (1) the inherent cultural differences, (2) the conflicting values and attitudes of the two societies, (3) the precise nature of the dominance/submission situation, and (4) the effect of forces which emerged with World War II in the Pacific, with the G.I. in particular as the catalyst.² The movement may be resistive or reformative, perpetuative or accommodating, aggressive or passive.³ It may seek to reintegrate the whole subject society, or merely some subordinate homogeneous unit within it; either by the rejection of alien elements in it, or the modification of new elements (i.e., by accepting the forms but ascribing their own meanings to them), or a syncretism of basic ingredients from the two cultures. The literature on the subject is tremendous,⁴ and the typologies are numerous.⁵ In the literature the movements may be viewed negatively as (“nativistic movements” or “cargo cults”) or positively (as “people movements” or “revitalization” [these two are distinguished by the possibility of a foreigner or outgroup person being the catalyst in the people movements, whereas revitalization may be stimulated only by an ingroup person]). Figure 1 (p. 172) illustrates some of the various approaches in the literature.

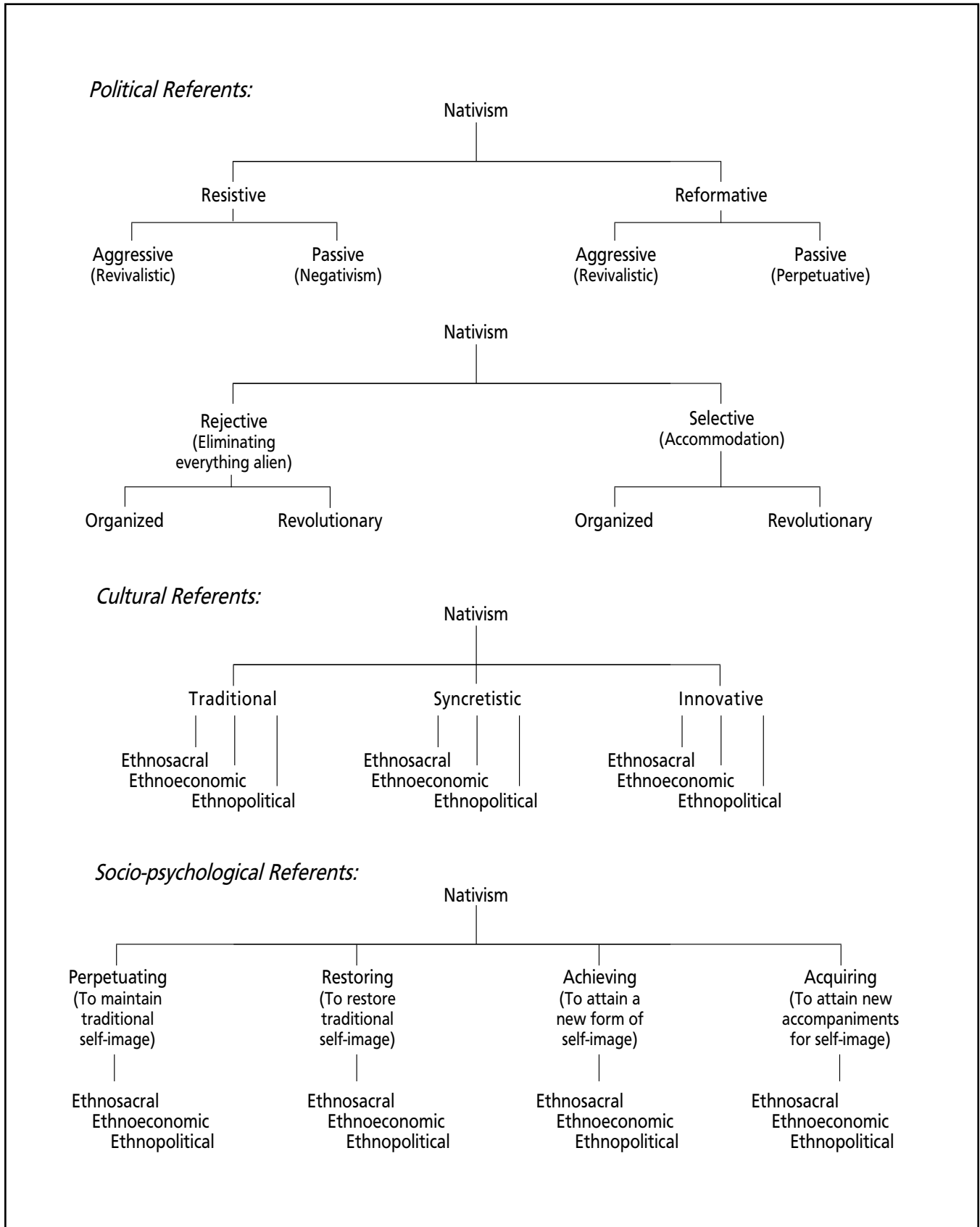
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Alan Tippett's publications played a significant role in the development of the discipline of missiology. His initial pastoral ministry in Australia and then twenty years as a missionary in Fiji provided a rich data base for his graduate degrees in history and anthropology, and made Alan R. Tippett a leading missiologist of the twentieth century. Tippett served as Professor of Anthropology and Oceanic Studies at Fuller Theological Seminary from 1965 to 1977.

This chapter is focused on Melanesia as far as the database is concerned (although there is even more data for Africa, which would also introduce us to concepts like “Negritude”).⁶ The findings, I believe, apply also to Africa.⁷

In Melanesian research most of the investigation has been focused on the components of the nativistic movement or cargo cult, pinpointing such

Figure 1. Approaches to the Analysis of Nativism



features as messianism or millenarianism in the eschatology, its antigovernment or antimission motivation, its aspect of counterconversion, and endless speculations as to the real causes of the defection from traditional Christianity. We have also been weighed down with generalised speculations about a “theory of nativism.” This is a somewhat negative approach which has suited the mood of the cultural relativists, who since the 1930s set themselves up as “judges over Israel.” I think a more positive approach to our subject is possible when we ask, not what was lost (or thought to be lost) but what really emerged in Melanesia after World War II. This is not to reject the existing research, or the numerous typologies, which all provide different frames of reference for investigation, and certainly aid our ethnological description. But a positive approach will certainly save us from the error of interpreting these movements as necessarily disintegrative or chaotic.⁸

We need to see that, although the traditional missionary Christian worldview of the colonial age has been rejected (either in part or whole), the new emergent state is not one of chaos. It is an integrated and homogeneous structure, functioning as an autonomous, ongoing concern. The notion that change has to be disintegrative is entirely wrong.

In 1964 I was sent by the World Council of Churches to the Solomon Islands to investigate why some twenty or more villages had broken away from traditional Christianity. It was a breakaway from a church whose members had received fifty years of Christian instruction.⁹ My Western and some Anglo Solomon Islander informants mostly saw the whole thing as chaotic and disintegrative.¹⁰ But however tacit a Christian missionary may consider the heresy which emerged in the breakaway of these tribal groups, one cannot honestly say they were in a state of chaos. They were dynamic,

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vibrant with life, self-expressive, with a cohesive structure and a programmed daily life and religious routine.

When I sit down with the data of religious innovation in Melanesian Christianity since the war, I find the case studies fall into three basic categories. I am not analysing on a basis of my own conceptualisations of forms, function, or attitude, but rather I find the data falls into three “heaps,” with different views of selfhood. We discover (1) the cultic group, nativistic movement, or “cargo cult” which emerges with an aggressive, syncretistic theology and is in direct opposition to regulations and beliefs, and sometimes its morals; (2) the indigenous church, which has emerged from a Christian mission structure by a process of evolution, and retains a character of faith and practice (and sometimes a structure) indigenised, but very little different from the mission prototype; and (3) the independent church, which breaks away on a revolutionary principle, has often assumed folk elements in the process, and demonstrates its autonomy by featuring strongly those elements which were either paternalistically controlled or neglected altogether—say, a healing ministry.

The African data which has come my way will fit the same three categories. How does it come about that the same set of causative factors suggested above can lead to three quite different but equally autonomous solutions? Furthermore, how is it that in no case do we find the breakdown of traditional Christianity leads to anything resembling a state of chaos? For better or for worse we are dealing with dynamic, functioning, autonomous living organisms.

Most of the missionary churches of Melanesia and Polynesia were planted as the result of people movements,

which I have described elsewhere at length,¹¹ and mostly these were power encounter situations in which the old animistic divinities or their shrines were formally (i.e., ceremonially) rejected by the groups concerned by means of an ocular demonstration in which the responsible official (headman of the village, chief of the lineage, priest of the temple, or head of the household) destroyed or abused the *mana* repository or symbolic locus of power (skull houses, ceremonial skulls, fetishes, idols, monoliths, sacred groves, or taboo totem animals). The mode of destruction was by burning, burial, drowning, or devouring according to the local conception of *mana* disposal.

These people movements usually led to the planting of Christianity as a functional substitute for the original animistic religious structure; and although they took from one to ten years to run through the sometimes scattered tribal unit, from subunit to subunit, they resulted in reasonably total substitutions.

These Christian churches have continued in some parts of Melanesia since about 1840. Most parts (except for the New Guinea Highlands) had a time depth of more than half a century of Christian history by the beginning of World War II in the Pacific, which means they had survived the first generation of Christian converts from animism.¹² Quite apart from the psychological effect the war had on them, Melanesian Christians of the postwar period were mostly persons who had been born to Christian parents in traditional missionary island Christianity. They had never themselves rejected animism, burned their fetishes, buried their *mana* skulls, destroyed their idols, or cut down their sacred groves. That is, they had never experienced a power

encounter deliverance from the old life, and frequently (but not always) they had been quite cut off from the animistic worldview and mental set by mission education.

Historically the period following World War II was not only one of rapid social change due to acculturation, but the changes in technology and electronics going on in the West itself were also being felt in the islands. These changes were social and political as well as religious, and I think we are wrong if we assume we can really study the religious change in isolation; politics, medicine, economics, electronics are all part of the picture, and the religious life suffered no more than any other of these configurations, or “integral institutions” as Malinowski calls them.¹³ I make the point, not because I want to discuss it here but because it is often overlooked, and this chapter is really not a complete study without this dimension.

The experience of the war introduced the Pacific islanders to resources far greater than anything they had ever dreamed of—the number of warships, the power of their armament, the quantities of canned food in the cargo ships, the aircraft in the sky—the islanders were completely bewildered by such resources of power and quantity. Added to this was the vocal anticolonialism of the average G.I., who saw a good deal of the people in his off-duty time.¹⁴ We do not wonder that many of the innovative reactions to traditional Christianity and colonial government grasped on “cargo” and “airplanes” and “ships” as their symbolic reference points,¹⁵ as they also did of the American military system itself,¹⁶ and the notion of administrative authority.¹⁷

Recognising that this capacity for group movement with some symbolic reference point was inherent in the Melanesian situation anyway, whenever some prophetic or charismatic leader emerged to grasp control of it,

it is not difficult to see how the war first, followed by technological and electronic change, led parts of Melanesia into periods of innovative religious movements.¹⁸ Melanesia began (if she had not already thought of it before) to see herself as deprived of her “place in the sun.” Sometimes she felt she had lost something from her past by culture contact. Her old religion was gone. Had the white colonial administrators and missionaries robbed her of her birthright: her cultural heritage, authority, wealth, and religious power? Were these to be regained by totally rejecting the government and the missions? Sometimes she felt she had something valuable in traditional Christianity which she should not cast



lightly away. How could she master it, deal with it, and use it in her own way, as something indigenous rather than foreign, autonomous rather than paternalistic? Soon after the war many missionaries were found working towards this end, especially from about 1945 to 1946, and indigenous churches began to emerge.¹⁹ Where this did not happen, many ethnic groups broke away and established independent churches or, better called perhaps, “folk churches,” which though they claimed to be Christian, were inclined to be syncretistic or bibliomythical.

Using then an ethnohistorical referent, I find that these three types of innovative movement have characterised

the postcolonial period: the nativistic cult, the indigenous church, and the independent folk church. The character of Melanesia as a missionary field has thus been completely transformed since the war. The old paternalistic type of traditional Christianity has been greatly reduced. I do not intend reconstructing in this chapter the nature of the old missionary traditional Christianity, except indirectly by way of comment in the following descriptions. It was too uneven to describe here. Let it suffice to say that it ranged on the scale from pathetically paternalistic to remarkably indigenous, and I do not need to do more than point out that traditional Christianity at the former pole tended to suffer after the war from nativistic cults, while those at the latter pole passed from mission to church with little serious culture shock. Let me now turn briefly to the three types one by one.

The Nativistic Cult

This type of movement, commonly called a “cargo cult” (although in reality not all such forms of nativism feature cargo), utilises the term “cargo” to focus on a concept of wealth. It came out of the war, when white man’s wealth came to be envisioned in cases of canned meat, such as were seen in the army supplies. A whole mythology developed about it and described how the white man had stolen the islanders’ heritage and wealth back in primeval times.²⁰ These myths may be collected in hundreds, and they have been interwoven in the origin tales. This, in itself, is a return to pre-Christian values and aesthetic forms and is a rebellion against Christianity and a claim that something was lost at culture contact. The army stores of food and arms revolutionised the islanders’ conception of the meaning of plenty as unlimited, and it was natural for them to latch on to this symbol. This mental set is found in the church especially along the north coast of New Guinea, where the missionaries of today call it the “cargo mentality.”

Wealth in canned goods became an element of a new eschatology. It promised a new day which was about to dawn for the islanders when they would regain all they had lost—lands, authority, wealth—and which were rightly theirs from the beginning of time. This conception of Melanesian paradise was soon formulated into an apocalyptic belief structure, for which the model was sometimes the New Jerusalem in the New Testament, and new villages might even be given biblical names. When this Golden Age is articulated, we speak of the movement as millenarian.²¹

The millenarian element is often accompanied by the emergence of a prophetic or charismatic figure around whom the group rallies (though all prophetic movements are not millenarian). The interesting factor, in my experience at least, is that this leader usually turns out to be one who has previously been trained in some white man institution in a role of subordinate leadership: a teacher, a policeman, an orderly in the army, or a catechist. The man has had authority under authority, and has Melanesianised the white authority pattern in his nativistic cult.²²

Most nativistic cults are highly structured after the nature of a church organisation, an educational complex, an administrative system, or a military organisation. They may include such features as drill parades, marching formation round a flagpole, with commissioned and noncommissioned officers and men, or an administrator in control behind a desk. The white man's authority, like his wealth, must be returned to the Melanesian in the Golden Age.

The key personality of the movement has a prophetic character. He is not always a natural orator, but gains power by his authoritative utterances in the specific situation of crisis—he is a man for the hour. The movement depends on him. It may be economic, political, or religious, depending on the nature

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of the situational crisis, and by the same criteria the role of the charismatic figure will be seen. It does not follow that a nativistic cult has to be religious. If the crisis is purely political, as in the case of Marching Rule, there may be no religious aspect. A number of Christian pastors actually held office in this particular movement, for example.²³

However, it may well be that the movement is entirely religious, or religious and economic, as with the John Frum movement.²⁴ A religious (sacro-syncretic) cult will develop a religious doctrine of some kind, and perhaps a verbal creed and a liturgy. A collection of hymns emerges, usually quite heretical from the biblical standpoint. The institution of hymn singing will be regarded as an essential functional substitute for its Christian counterpart, and (in the absence of a printing press) there may be a handwritten hymnbook, which each member copies by hand as part of the reception into membership ritual.²⁵ Likewise we may expect an organised prayer system, and perhaps a few written prayers for worship.²⁶ The doctrine of the movement will be found in the hymns and liturgies, and may even be the composition of the charismatic leader himself. I found this myself in a Solomon Islands case. The theology reflects a syncretism of biblical ideas and elements from the ancient myths—either truly remembered or imagined.

Quite frequently this role of the prophet is extended as more and more extravagant claims are made of him. He becomes the promised one of imagined ancient myths. This type of situation acquires the descriptor “messianic.”²⁷ Once the figure becomes messianic the movement usually becomes millenarian, and in extreme cases (one known to me personally)

the messiah goes beyond this to deification. We now have on our hands a fully developed sacrosyncretic nativistic cult (in terms of cultural referents), and a sacrorestorative cult (in terms of sociopsychological referents) if the movement purports to restore the faith of the ancient heritage, as the act of deification may well do. In still another classificatory frame of reference we may say we have a revolutionary selective accommodation; in other words, a breakaway from traditional Christianity which selects its desirable elements for modification in terms of the pre-Christian past and validation by means of myth.

We must remember that no two movements are exactly alike, and any classificatory system is not only merely approximate, but is indeed in the mind of the observer as his or her own abstraction. As long as we have the large number of variables—cultural values, historical antecedents, complexities of the crisis situation, and different responses to the movement beginnings by the local authorities—we will never find two exactly alike. Neither will two be the same to two different observers. So within these limitations, and using my own ethnohistorical referent, let me identify the normal characteristics of a cultic nativistic breakaway from traditional Christianity as having the following features:

1. a new, accommodating mythology,
2. a symbolic locus of power transfer,
3. a new eschatology,
4. a syncretistic belief system,
5. a speculative reconstruction of pre-Christian values, and
6. a mythologization of the worship structure.

All these are dynamic and evolving factors. The extent of their development

will depend on the impact they make on the community and the reaction of the civil authorities and church, or any other against whom they may be directed. In the above features I have omitted the immoral dimension because it is not a constant, but when it appears it is usually the major factor, as in the case of the Hahalis Welfare Society, in which the Baby Garden was to provide the society ultimately with the birth of the messiah.

The Indigenous Church

We should not imagine that the entire world of Melanesian traditional Christianity has dissolved into revolutionary nativistic cults. Statistically they represent only a small percentage of the island world population. Possibly the biggest of them would be covering twenty or so villages. Over against this we have numerous churches of 200,000 practising members. The process whereby these strong indigenous churches have emerged is clearly evolutionary rather than revolutionary or rebellious.²⁸ These churches conduct their own business, social, and religious affairs on the village, national, and international level; and where they still have white workers (fraternal workers rather than missionaries), they are under the authority and discipline of the island churches. These island churches manage their own property, administer their own finances, pastor their own churches, train their own leaders (except perhaps at the highest level for which they may be sent overseas), and integrate their own evangelistic efforts, publication programs, social service projects, and in every way represent the voice of the church in the community. Furthermore they belong to the new world of our day and interact with the representatives of other churches in international conferences.

Yet although they have retained many of the traditional church structures, they differ from their prototypes in many ways. They maintain a basic continuity especially in their theological foundations. They study the Bible in

groups all over the country and regard it as their norm for faith and practice. They retain many features of the old preaching pattern, although this had already assumed some indigenous features in former times. Their hymnologies are well developed and theologically biblical, and many of the hymns are their own composition, for island hymn writers are very creative when given the opportunity. They will have no dealings with any attempt to speculate on, or seek to recover anything of the pre-Christian mythology, and are quick to detect and oppose syncretism with old myths. They are vocal in opposition to anything approaching a nativistic movement, and if one arises in a small group or village they immediately



discipline the offender as “backsliders” who have “fallen from grace.”

On the other hand, they differ from the prewar missionary church structures at a number of significant points. The white foreign missionary has no longer any authority over them. Where they have fraternal workers, they have been invited to be there by the island church bodies and have been stationed by them through the regular elective and appointive mechanisms, which deal also with indigenous appointments.

I remember myself once being assigned a clerical task by my Fijian colleagues somewhere about thirty years ago. Two of us had to eliminate the adjectives

“European” and “Native” from the Fijian lawbook, which was in their language. A Fijian-controlled synod had appointed and instructed us in our assignment, and told us to bring a revised script for discussion and ratification at the following synod. If I remember correctly the Fijian to Australian ratio of that legislative body was about fifteen to one. When I first went down to Fiji before the war, the most critical issues were determined by a European synod, which was the highest court of appeal in the island church. It was comprised entirely of missionaries. About the end of the war I was involved in the procedures which disposed of their synod. It could only be done by the Europeans of the synod organising their own demise. The matter was discussed over a series of conferences by the composition of the text of a new constitution, which was then submitted to the Fijians, who discussed it for some days on their own. And suddenly the European synod had gone, and with it a century of white missionary authority. Fijians and missionaries alike were now “pastors,” “catechists,” “teachers,” and so on without adjectival descriptors. About a dozen white workers found themselves in the midst of 160 Fijians. They had no longer the power of autonomy. They were a minority voice. Thereafter the Fijians determined our appointments.

At the World Methodist Conference in 1956 I presented a paper on these developments, and I identified three highly developed configurations in the island world:

1. an increasing responsibility in leadership roles on the level of local church activities,
2. constitutional developments constructively moving in the direction of indigenous government and autonomy, and
3. the emergence of new and indigenous forms of evangelism.²⁹

As far as Fiji was concerned, this stage lasted for seventeen years. Over this time as the European missionaries

retired one by one, they were frequently replaced by indigenous nominees. Theological training was strengthened, select people were groomed for responsible positions, and a bilateral curriculum was developed for ten transitional years to provide indigenous ministers for the very different rural and urban (and academic) ministries.³⁰ Some cooperative beginnings were launched to bring Fijian, Tongan, and Samoan programs into step as a move towards the standardisation of entrance requirements for a hoped-for central theological seminary in the South Pacific where a divinity degree might be obtained. Eventually after the T.E.F. (Theological Education Fund) Consultation on Theological Education in the South Pacific this dream materialised.³¹ The Pacific churches now have both university and seminary resources in Fiji.

Today the Fijian church, over 200,000 strong, is completely indigenous, and by its own choice has affiliated with the Australasian General Conference as a full status and equal body with Australian and Island Conference on an international level. I have used the Fijian Methodists because I knew them best and have served under them, but this is only one of many examples I might have cited for an indigenous church.

The indigenous church is the diametric opposite of the nativistic cult, both at the theological level and at the level of harmonious working with the mother church. In both these respects one rebels and the other develops, one is revolutionary the other evolutionary. Both have in a way withdrawn from the parent body. Both have undergone dramatic change in the process, but one is reactionary, the other cooperative.

Before passing on to the third type, I should point out that the attitude of the white missionaries undoubtedly was one of the crucial factors in each case. In the former they were authoritarian, unbending, and paternalistic. In the latter they recognised that the

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traditional missionary churches had to change with the changing times; that the church was a dynamic organism and could not be treated as a static organisation. They accepted the notion of change as appropriate. The task was not always easy. It was like navigating a banana raft on a flooded river and trying to keep in the current without upsetting the craft. The missionaries recognised this and let the current carry the raft, working themselves with their poling, not to increase momentum but to keep them facing in the right direction.

Independent Churches

The question now arises: what happens when the people do not desire to return to pre-Christian mythology, and when the Christian faith meets their needs but the missionaries continue to be paternalistic and resistant to change?

The natural thing is for them to break away from the missionary church and to form an independent church of their own. To this extent they are revolutionary, and they may be quite anti-white; but they keep nearer to Christian Scripture, are strongly evangelistic, and their new theological emphases are Bible based. Often these are indigenous elaborations of some biblical ingredient which had been neglected in the missionaries' training program, maybe, say, the doctrine of the Spirit or the rites of healing, and there are some elaborate developments of baptism. Africa can supply us with hundreds of documented examples of this, but we do meet them also in Oceania. Another strong element is catharsis.³²

They are often prophetic or charismatic, strongly liturgical, and present us with an abundance of functional substitutes for the Christian vestments, rituals, and

sacred paraphernalia. They have less syncretism than the nativistic movements, but some are borderline cases. Their main difference is that the independent movements are clearly Christian. They have not rejected the Christian religion of the white man and his sacred book. Rather they want to claim it for themselves, and they want to be able to achieve status beyond what they can in the white church, and to express themselves indigenously in participant roles. They do not strive to recapture the ancient animism from which their fathers departed.

The probability with this revolutionary departure from traditional Christianity is that it leads to a rapid institutionalisation of the breakaway movement that ultimately becomes quite rigid. The forms become set. They do not have the internal flexibility of the indigenous churches mentioned above, or their intellectual exchange from outside contacts, or the quality of their theological training. Most cases that I know or have read about have manifested these shortcomings, and I think it probably natural because whereas in the indigenous church, missionary controls have been phased out slowly over a period of time in a smooth evolutionary manner, in the other, the revolutionary cutoff has demanded a whole complex of institutions "overnight" and the new officials have not been properly trained for it.³³

Usually such an independent church will be forced to work out its constitution to get public recognition, and if it has day schools they will be at a much lower educational level.³⁴

Sometimes we meet with borderline cases between the nativistic cult and the independent church. The borderline marks not so much the degree of syncretism, as to whether or not it is

consciously and deliberately intended to go back to native values which predate the white man's presence, or whether it is a failure of a theologically unsophisticated prophet to discriminate between what is Christian and what is not. It may well be that the prophet believes he is biblical and claims the right to his own interpretation.³⁵ Such men have often argued that as each denomination interprets Scripture in its own way, why should not a Melanesian also do so.³⁶

However, the common point between the nativistic cult and the independent church is the revolutionary character of the breakaway, as opposed to the evolutionary character of the passage from mission to church in the case of the indigenous church.

The common point between the indigenous and independent churches is the manifest intention to retain their Christianity, as against the intentional rejection of Christianity by the nativistic cult.

The tragedy of the independent church is that in all probability it need not have happened that way had the mission policy been different. The same may be argued of the nativistic cult. The number of Western features retained by all three types of movement demonstrates the Melanesian readiness for cultural borrowing from the West. Unless there are factors I have not identified, we are left with the following residue:

1. A process of change under the rapid acculturation and end of insularity was inevitable.
2. Ultimate resistance against Western paternalism and overloading authority had to come sooner or later.
3. The Melanesians inevitably had to develop a new self-image adequate for the new day.
4. World War II provided the crisis situation for the emergence of Melanesian prophets and saviors.

These were common factors for all three new and nontraditional forms of religiosity we have discussed. The

Melanesians found three different ways of reacting to these factors, and to some extent at least it may be argued that the manifest operations of the white traders, settlers, and especially the public servants, administrators, and missionaries influenced the precise form of the Melanesian reaction. **IJFM**

Endnotes

¹The phenomenon is not peculiar to Christianity, to the postcolonial age, or to Oceania. History is replete with accounts of such movements in Africa, Asia, and America, but in Africa and Oceania especially they have increased by hundreds since World War II.

²Nativistic movements frequently follow in the aftermath of wars. One of the best studies of this theme is Wallace's investigation of the relation between war and religious group movement in the history of the Delaware Indians (1956, 1–21).

³The passive type, such as the Gandhi resistance in India, does not appear frequently in Melanesia. There have been a few minor strikes among students on mission compounds (see Crocombe 1954, 6–21), but Melanesian movements are notably aggressive, the aggression rising or falling according to the way in which the administration or mission handles the disturbance.

⁴See the bibliographies in Worsley's *The Trumpet Shall Sound* (1957, 277–83), Lawrence's *Road Belong Cargo* (1964, 276–80), Kamma's *Koreri* (1972, 300–19), and Leeson (1952).

⁵Typologies for nativism were developed by Linton (1943, 230–40), Kobben (1960, 117–64), Clemhout (1964, 14–15), Worsley (1957), Turner (1974), and many others.

⁶The concept of "Negritude" was used to describe the resurgence of Bantu paganism, and the exaltation of the African past (Steenberghen 1959, 287–88).

⁷The Christian church in Africa was made widely aware of this phenomenon by a growing body of literature on such movements which appeared about 1948. The most notable work was Sundkler's *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, published in 1948 and updated in 1961. But there are many others—Welbourn (1961), Barrett (1968), and Baeta (1962)—and by Comparative Religionists like Lanternari (1963) and many others.

⁸Early writers on "culture contact" used the term "culture clash," which was subsequently discarded because it gave the impression of a powerful culture destroying

a passive or static one. Later anthropologists pointed out that the less powerful one was not disintegrating, but that sooner or later, after the initial culture shock it would reformulate its structures and continue as an ongoing organism. Culture contact is a two-way process of interaction.

⁹For the report of the research, see *Solomon Islands Christianity* (1967) and in particular pp. 212–14, 217–66.

¹⁰Somewhere in the same source is a report of an interview on this subject with an Anglo Solomon Islander is an acculturated or Westernised native. In this case, despite his acculturation he still subconsciously cherished his tradition.

¹¹*People Movements in Southern Polynesia* (1971) is entirely devoted to this subject. See also *Solomon Islands Christianity* (1967, 42–43, 60).

¹²Christianity entered Fiji in 1835. For a record of its diffusion in statistically large movements, see my monograph *The Christian: Fiji 1835–67* (1954).

¹³This concept developed in a most important essay on "The Functional Theory of Culture" found in *The Dynamics of Culture Change* (1961, 41–51). He also describes these institutions as "systems" and as "instrumental imperatives" (*ibid.*, 46).

¹⁴In my own field research on the Eto Movement, I repeatedly had expressions of this opinion from my Solomon Islander informants.

¹⁵Many movements had secret clearings in the forest with a model of an airplane, for example, setup as a symbol. One example of this was the John Frum movement. The symbol is illustrated in Attenborough's *Quest in Paradise*, facing p. 154.

¹⁶The Marching Rule Movement in Malaita was structured on the model of the U.S. Army. For a description see *Solomon Islands Christianity* (1967, 204–9).

¹⁷The classical example of the symbolization of administration was a wartime movement in Ysabel (Solomon Islands) which spread through Gela, Savo, and San Cristoval, which related to native representation on the Advisory Council. The Melanesians raised a flag together with a wooden chair and a wooden rule. They also agitated for higher wages. As an outcome of this movement, plans were initiated for native courts (see Belshaw 1950).

¹⁸This was certainly so in the Paliau Movement in the Admiralty Islands, researched by Margaret Mead (1961) and Schwartz (1962). (For Mead's reference to electronics see 1961, 141 and 1970, xvii–xviii, 58.)

¹⁹ This was discussed in a lecture I delivered in Melbourne, Australia, in 1947. It was subsequently printed under the title "Fiji's Tomorrow" (1947).

²⁰ A useful aid in identifying the self-image of the movement is to ascertain whether it builds its ritual around a collection of hymns or myths. One might at least start from this position. This would place Etoism as an independent church, in spite of its heavy syncretism with pre-Christian elements.

²¹ Millennial visions and apocalyptic aspects of these movements featured in Linton's original essay (1943) but he did not include them in the classification descriptors in his typology.

²² Of the leaders of the Solomon Islands movements of which I gathered data, Silas Eto was a mission catechist, Paukubatu a teacher, Taosin trained as a teacher also but failed to graduate, Pekokoqore was a discharged policeman, and Timothy George had witnessed the Sydney dock strike in 1913 (Tippett 1967, 201).

²³ Fifteen percent of the leadership of Marching Rule was said to have been borrowed from the Christian churches (Allen 1950, 41). See also Fox's autobiographical account (1962, 127–35, especially p. 134).

²⁴ This movement sought to rid the land of the taint of European money, of European trade, of immigrant natives, and to return to the old customs prescribed by the theocratic Presbyterian Church, as Belshaw puts it (1950). It was both anti-Western economic and anti-Church. See also the writings of Guiart (1956, ix; 5, etc.; 1959).

²⁵ The Eto document did this. When I was living in Wanawana, I procured such a collection of hymns. It became a major source for *Solomon Islands Christianity* (1967, 253–64).

²⁶ The pietism of the Eto Movement prayer pattern was highly institutionalised. Members recorded the score of their prayers by inserting the midrib of a palm frond in the hair. These tallies marked the building up of merit (see Tippett 1967, 233).

²⁷ There is always a key personality in any group movement, either to or from Christianity. Even in communal groups where new group norms are sought, the momentum begins with an individual (see Tippett 1971, 199–214).

²⁸ For my own historical account of the evolutionary emergence of an indigenous church, see "A Church Is Built," which was the feature article of the inauguration program of the autonomous Methodist Conference in Fiji (1964).

²⁹ This was published in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the World Methodist Conference* held at Lake Junaluska, North Carolina, in 1956, under the title "Methodism in the Southwest Pacific."

³⁰ A full account of the emergence of theological education in Fiji was multi-graphed and distributed to delegates at the Theological Education Fund Consultation on Theological Education in the Pacific in 1961. See also the report (Dearing 1961, 65–68) for a synopsis of the same.

³¹ The Pacific Theological College at Suva Point, Fiji.

³² The catharsis relates to the struggle with sin and may be violent. It may recur, and reduce in intensity each time. It is seen as a power encounter with Satan. It may well be stimulated by some kind of rhythmic beating, tapping, or clapping. It may have strong similarities to voodoo and may lead to possession.

³³ A schismatic indigenous church which breaks away from the main body (which retains the institutions and more sophisticated pastors) may be confronted with this same problem as it was the last century in Tonga.

³⁴ In 1967 I pointed this out in the case of Etoism (1967, 225). I understand that since then they have been forced to secure a constitution to gain their recognition, and even be permitted to run schools.

³⁵ For example, Silas Eto argued that the Bible was a reference book which he would cite when needed. It was not for the people to read.

³⁶ For example, the Hauhau Movement, which followed the Maori Wars, was established on this attitude to Scripture.

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