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too directly, by suggesting that Indian nations must not let those inside or outside the tribe co-opt and commodify their spiritual centers. Zobel's argument that the future stability of the tribe might be jeopardized from within gives her novel strength. Rather than blame the world beyond the tribe as solely responsible for problems tribal people face, Zobel suggests threats can come from within the tribe itself, particularly when those like the deluded Obed Mockko become obsessed with power or find themselves unknowingly used by people outside the tribe.

Although the world may seem in dire need of spiritual direction, Indians like the fictitious Yantuck can be rightly guided by a vital tribal-centeredness that has been with the tribe since its beginnings, if only it can be properly channeled. To achieve a true sense of spirituality, Zobel argues, the tribe and its people must maintain their connection to the natural world and to traditions configured in tribal mythologies. Technology may erode relationships and leave people with decentered lives, but those with a connection to the earth, to each other, and to the past can feel secure and centered in an otherwise fractured world.

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Reassessing Revitalization Movements: Perspectives from North America and the Pacific Islands. Edited by Michael D. Harkin. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004. 341 pages. \$45.00 cloth.

Having conceptualized a course back in the early 1980s that I originally called Revitalization Movements (now Visions, Messiahs, and Utopias), I was delighted to discover a book with "revitalization" in the title. I abandoned the original title of my course for a very pragmatic reason: Nobody knew what revitalization movements were anymore. Nobody talked about, wrote about, or thought about them.

So whatever happened to revitalization movements? Did they just disappear? This book's answer is, yes, they have indeed largely disappeared. Only Maria Lopowsky and Paul Roscoe on New Guinea, Ann McMullen on New England tribes, Larry Nesper on the revival of Lac du Flambeau identity through the use of torch fishing as a symbol for treaty rights, Lisa Henry on Tahitian nationalism, and Laurence Marshall Carucci's discussion of returned exiles' invention of a locally culturized equivalent of the Christmas celebration on the infamously nuclear-test-contaminated Enewetak address contemporary situations. Six of the thirteen authors specifically analyze cases from the nineteenth or mid-twentieth centuries.

The approach to and use of Wallace's "revitalization" model varies widely among the thirteen authors. Only four authors approach and discuss events and situations that were conceptualized as revitalization movements by those who first wrote about them: the 1785 Toypurina uprising at Mission San Gabriel in Spanish California that culminated in the 1824 Chumash revolt

and its association with images and symbols of Chinigchinich (Lopowsky); a Rennell Island movement in the 1930s in which property and sexual morality were destroyed (Jukka Siikala); Yuchi Peyotism (Jason Baird Jackson); and the Warm House cult among a number of Oregon tribes (Harkin). Fitted into the model are everything from Cree fascination with "Great Books," interpreted by a Hudson's Bay clerk as "unmeaning scratches—traced on wood or paper" (113) that distracted them from hunting in the 1840s (Jennifer S. H. Brown), to Cherokee Catherine Brown's conversion to Christianity in the 1820s (Joel W. Martin) to the revival of ethnomedicine on Tahiti (Henry).

Dissenters to the model include Poyer on Modekngai, a wartime Micronesian movement; Roscoe on movements in New Guinea (1971) similar to those described by Peter Lawrence in *Road Belong Cargo*; Harkin in his introduction; and Wallace in his preface. Poyer interprets Modekngai as filling a social vacuum and actually denies that it was a revitalization movement; rather, it was social action focused on symbols of group identity. Poyer does not deny that revitalization movements have occurred but insists that revivals and inventions of tradition are not necessarily ipso facto revitalization movements. In a field of intercultural reality, globalization, and recognition of power differentials, Poyer calls for new terminology and analytical tools. Wallace's model is too static; movements are not just responses to stress or deprivation.

Roscoe predicts that movements starting out as "ritual-based movements" (182) will evolve into secular actions. He interprets "Yangorus' early movements [as] acts of capitalization" in which they perceived the "foreigners and their powers and goods as not only 'theirs' but also 'ours'" (170). Roscoe interprets his case study as reflecting Yangorus' attempts to extend prevailing ideas about the universe "to encompass and deal with previously unencountered phenomena" (164), much in the same way Western science does, and he predicts the demise of ritual-based movements with increased education in an interpretation reminiscent of Vittorio Lanternari's perspective in *Religions of the Oppressed: A Study of Modern Messianic Cults* (1965) or Peter Worsley's suggestion in *The Trumpet Shall Sound* (1968, 254) that cargo cults in Melanesia were "the first stirrings of nationalism."

Anthony F. C. Wallace, the inventor of the revitalization paradigm, now seems to regard phenomena he at one time would have subsumed under the rubric *revitalization* and regarded as eminently predictable by it as too random to predict. In his foreword he suggests that chaos theory may be a more appropriate predictor, or perhaps nonpredictor, of revitalistic events and situations. Harkin in his introduction seems to call for a return to an anthropology more familiar to those who came of professional age in the 1960s and 1970s, and he expresses a distinct disenchantment with the conceptualization of the anthropologist as wielding vast political power by controlling big hegemonic ideas about other people. Harkin insists that anthropologists really do have important, objective things to say, and he praises the revitalization model as useful because it embodies the classical virtues of anthropology (xiv): It is holistic, considering material reality alongside ideology and psychology, but it does not privilege any level. Harkin warns anthropologists not to discard the theory just because it has remedial problems.

But Harkin seems to jettison most of the theory in calling for a “truly ethnohistorical approach” that would examine the “dialogic space between the two cultures, rather than the internal dynamics of just one” (xxvii). Referring to renegade semiotic linguist Charles Peirce, Harkin seems to interpret movements such as cargo cults and the Ghost Dance as a sign—a semiotic process communicating a message in a kind of feedback situation. Harkin ends by recommending “deprivation” (xxii–xxiii), a key concept added to Wallace’s model by David Aberle in his *The Peyote Religion among the Navajo* (1965) as a cause to be relegated to historical cases because aboriginal peoples are gaining equality, and replacing it with “change in the social matrix.” Although it is to be hoped for, this assertion might prove a bit optimistic; and the recommendation to interpret revitalization movements as “signs” and to discard the concept of deprivation would seem to knock the experiential stuffing out of Wallace’s model.

It must be said, then, that this book has no unifying theme. Only one chapter, Lepowsky’s chapter on the Mission San Gabriel 1785 Toypurina uprising and cargo cults at Milne Bay and the Louisade Archipelago in New Guinea (1–60), is specifically comparative.

McMullen’s chapter, “‘Canny About Conflict’: Nativism, Revitalization, and the Invention of Tradition in Native Southeastern New England,” concludes the book. As a final statement, it returns to some of the questions Harkin poses in his introduction. It also raises some provocative but largely undigested issues, and it does so in a framework that is not comparative. She interprets New England tribal revivals as fitting the concept of revitalization but only if looked upon as projects rather than events. These projects, she says, are a combination of nationalist rhetoric joined with “created identities and histories.” McMullen asserts that discourse and symbols embodied in access to sacred sites, land issues, powwows, and strategic use of Native languages at public ceremonies are “historical recitations that stress identity rather than culture and tradition: What is said about cultural practice is inextricably bound to explanations of identity” (272).

Noting that culture is continually reinvented, McMullen interprets the Ghost Dance not as an effort to rid the land of the hated colonists and usurpers but rather as it was probably originally intended by its Paiute initiator, Wovoka, and the Numic peoples who continued to dance it through the 1970s and have recently revived it: as “a recharging [of] the cultural world with traditional knowledge and a moral and spiritual state represented by the dead” (275). McMullen seems to suggest that revitalization is, in the end, not really revitalization but rather the constructing of images of cultural continuity that makes “ethnic and national projects” aimed at achieving a particular future *appear* to be revitalizations (275).

McMullen’s ending piece is not in any way a summarizing chapter. The lack of such a chapter that identifies the commonalities among everything discussed in the book as “revitalization,” as well as the absence of a unifying theme and the sheer bulk and diversity of information, make the book problematic for use as a classroom text. Nonetheless, the book is a gold mine of case studies on what used to be called “culture contact and culture change” in

two areas of the world. It will stand as a valuable sourcebook on a wide range of historical events and situations in the Pacific and in North America in the same way compendiums such as Ralph Linton's (ed., 1940) *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes* and William Lessa and Evon Vogt's (eds., 1965) *Reader in Comparative Religion* did for previous generations of scholars, teachers, and students.

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The Red Man's on the Warpath: The Image of the "Indian" and the Second World War. By R. Scott Sheffield. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004. 232 pages. \$85.00 cloth; \$29.95 paper.

R. Scott Sheffield has written a well-researched and richly detailed account of how the dominant English Canadian society viewed the First Nations Indians of Canada, as well as of various events that occurred during the eighteen-year period from 1930 to 1948. The audience for this book consists of historians, sociologists, and psychologists. Because the work is formal and academic, it is not intended for the casual reader. Several black-and-white illustrations are included from newspapers, advertisements, and posters during the period under examination.

The author utilizes secondary sources much more than primary sources, which include newspapers and government records. Sheffield credits himself and his sources when he mentions that the previous work of two authors overlaps with his research chronologically, conceptually, and methodologically (9–10). The author uses five social constructs of the Indian to organize his narrative: the administrative Indian, the public Indian, the Indian-at-war, the Indian victim, and the potential Indian citizen. The bulk of this work discusses how these constructs evolved; it also analyzes the impact of World War II on Canada as viewed through the dominant society's image of the Indian.

The first construct, the administrative Indian, constitutes the way the Indians Affairs Branch (IAB) viewed the Indian. The IAB considered the Indian to be lazy, irresponsible, uncivilized, primitive, morally weak, intractable, stubborn, and culturally and intellectually inferior to whites, which Sheffield characterizes as "a highly conservative, nineteenth-century view of the Indian" (40). Forcing Natives to serve in the military during the war was directly opposed to the voluntary nature of military service in most Canadian Indian cultures. The Natives expressed their anger and distress at being subject to conscription. In reaction, the IAB argued that the First Nations' resistance to conscription resulted from ignorance, a lack of intelligence, and obstinacy, as well as the influence of agitators and subversives. Nevertheless, administrators hoped military experience would teach young First Nations men Western values, not understanding that First Nation people might not want to assimilate. The IAB believed that First Nations' mistrust of its motives was inbred, inherent among Natives, and handed down from generation to