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**REASSESSING
REVITALIZATION
MOVEMENTS**

Perspectives from
North America and
the Pacific Islands

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Bloom 1992). As with any great "us versus them" dualism, Popper's is guilty of great distortions.

5. It should be remembered that St. Augustine himself was the product of a period of turmoil and decline in the late Roman Empire. His awareness of the problematic nature of time was certainly conditioned by these historical forces (see Wills 1999).

I. INDIAN REVOLTS AND CARGO CULTS

Ritual Violence and Revitalization in California
and New Guinea

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Resistance is a word that has been overused in recent years. But it properly describes the militantly anticolonial and sometimes violent aspects of North American prophetic movements, Pacific Island cargo cults, and revitalization movements in other parts of the world. For almost five decades, anthropologists, historians, and religious scholars have deployed Anthony F. C. Wallace's term *revitalization* to categorize a diverse array of past and current movements in non-Western societies undergoing catastrophic social change, including "nativistic" political and religious movements, millenarian cults, and cultural revivals.

Ritual violence—symbolic or corporeal, religiously validated by gods or spirits, old or newly recognized—is often a key element in revitalization and oppositional politico-religious movements. But it has received less analytic attention than it deserves. Anthropologists studying Pacific Island cargo cults, for example, have long been preoccupied instead by what Ralph Linton (1943) calls magical nativism: the supernatural motifs, syncretic inspirations, and ritual strategies outlined in these prophetic movements. Like members of the public in colonial and postcolonial metropolises, we have been fascinated by cargo cults' explicit emphases on appropriation of European technologies and wealth by magical means and their prophecies of events such as return voyages of ancestor spirits to the land of the living. The most important element of cargo cults, though, is their prophecy of a utopian, millennial future in which the living and returned dead share both indigenous abundance and European power—without the Europeans.

Anthropologists have often underemphasized the overtly revolutionary means and goals of cargo cults, their close connection not just to revitalization movements but to other oppositional political movements, uprisings, and revolutions, failed or otherwise. Cargoistic and other

prophetic movements are strategies of cultural transformation, a range of oppositional and potentially violent forms of what Marshall Sahlins calls “the indigenization of modernity” (1993:21). The classic articles by Linton (1943) on nativistic movements and Wallace (1956c) on revitalization, for example, make no explicit mention of violence against the dominant society or colonial power or of its forcible expulsion. But these were often prominent strategies—prophesied and implied if not actualized—in the Pacific, North America, and elsewhere. Colonial administrators in New Guinea made no such oversight, imprisoning and even executing cultists, whom they explicitly recognized as a danger to colonial order.

Cargo cults emphasize magical violence and ritualized attack. This is no surprise, for Melanesian warfare is founded on magical potency and prayers to ancestors, place spirits, and other supernatural beings, by either warrior or ritual specialist. The cargo cult prophet assumes and then transforms preexisting cultural roles: war magician and ritual expert. Comparable traditions of prophecy and ritual violence have long existed in North America, the most famous being the Ghost Dance (Mooney 1965; see also Harkin [ch. 6]). In fact, millennial prophetic movements inspiring ritual violence have erupted around the world for several centuries among ethnic minorities and conquered peoples, as I show later.

There is a continuum of what I am labeling ritual violence. It ranges from magical attack intended to subvert the will of another to rituals enjoined by prophecy to usher in the apocalypse, magical attacks that practitioner and victim think lead to death, and sorcery attacks that include the use of poison. It continues with the corporeal assaults of warfare when warrior and weapon are ritually blessed or decorated to invoke divine power and convey invulnerability. Prophecies predicting the departure of European colonials or settlers may advocate or foretell any of these forms of ritual violence; many Europeans, perceiving the world differently, acknowledge only physical attacks as forms of violence.

In the Southwest Pacific, Islanders, by contrast, explicitly recognize magic, sorcery, and witchcraft as ritual attacks, the subversion of another’s autonomous will and bodily integrity, whether by love or by war magic. Indigenous Californians have similarly recognized the potentially destructive powers of shamanic and other ritual attacks. In Alta California, Spanish military and religious authorities occasionally identified indigenous prophecies and related ceremonies as threats to colo-

onial hegemony. In other cases they ignored or were oblivious to them until they sparked armed insurrection. Still other times they were unaware of the religious inspirations that triggered uprisings. In colonial New Guinea, British and Australian officers recognized prophecies and magical attacks—those they learned of—as subversion. They invoked indigenous spirits, objects, and rituals to sow fear in enemies, potentially unifying indigenous groups and threatening colonial social order and control. Classifying sorcery as a crime, colonial officers, for example, imprisoned its most notorious practitioners from the islands of southeastern New Guinea, and they hanged the leaders of cargoistic uprisings that led to ritual attacks on Europeans.

In this chapter I explore ritual violence, anticolonial resistance, and their implications for rethinking revitalization by comparing and contextualizing two little-known cases, one from North America and one from the Pacific. The first is an Indian uprising over two hundred years ago near the Pueblo of Los Angeles, and the second is a series of cargoistic revelations and revolts unfolding in the islands of southeastern New Guinea over the course of the 20th century. As an ethnographer of Pacific islands long roiled by cargoistic prophecies, more recently beginning research on California, when I encountered stories of the revolt at Mission San Gabriel I found its key motifs, events, and historical contexts strangely familiar.

The Toyupurina Uprising: Mission San Gabriel, Province of the Californias, New Spain, 1785

When Spanish interrogators at Mission San Gabriel asked Toyupurina, a 24-year-old woman and a shaman, “Didn’t you come here armed to kill the Padres and the soldiers?” she answered instead, her interpreter said, with the grievance that generated the revolt of 1785: “She states that it is true that she sent chief Tomasajaquichi to persuade the Christians not to believe the Padres, but only her and that she advised him that it was because she was angry with the Padres and with everyone at the Mission because we are living here in their land” (Archivo General de la Nación 1785–87). Mission San Gabriel Arcangel was founded in 1771. Its original location (Misión Viejo, Old Mission) was a few miles farther south, where the San Gabriel River and the Rio Hondo wind near each other in the marshlands between two hills, a spot now known as Whittier Narrows. The mission complex was relocated in 1774 or 1775 to the fertile, oak-dotted uplands above the rivers, which were far

less flood prone; better for growing corn, beans, and wheat; and closer to indigenous communities, sources of potential converts and labor for the Spanish (Bancroft 1886, vol. 1:179-181; Johnston 1962:129-131). Two Franciscan friars, guarded by a contingent of soldiers commanded from the presidio at San Diego 100 miles down the coast, controlled the adobe-walled compound.

Most of the people whose land they were on kept their distance in the early years. A man who in 1774 was given the Christian name of Nicolas José, later a leader of the 1785 revolt, was only the 87th to accept baptism. The people at first thought that the Spanish might be spirits. Still, they largely rejected the radical change in belief, autonomy, and subsistence that they were offered, for some years compelling women who gave birth to light-skinned offspring to kill them and go through a lengthy purification ceremony. But by October 1785, more than 1,270 Indians had been baptized, double the number just two years earlier. The majority—those who had neither fled nor died of European diseases—lived at or near the mission, spending their days working for the padres and soldiers (Bancroft 1886, vol. 1:459; Heizer 1968; Mission San Gabriel 1774-85).

A small pueblo (town), its name later shortened to Los Angeles, was founded in 1781 by Spanish-speaking mestizos from what is now northern Mexico, who walked from Mission San Gabriel a final nine miles toward the ocean to settle on the west bank of the Los Angeles River. Mission and pueblo lay in the center of the territory of the most culturally influential ethnolinguistic group in Southern California. They later became known as the Gabrielino or Gabrieleno—~~from~~ the Spanish Gabrieleno—after the mission (Bancroft 1886, vol. 1:333; Bean and Smith 1978; Kroeber 1925; McCawley 1996). Many of their descendants now call themselves Tongva.¹

Lieutenant Pedro Fages, the governor of Alta California, reported from the provincial capital at Monterey on December 5, 1785, to his commanding officer, Comandante General Jose Antonio Rengel in Arispe, Chihuahua: "Since on last November 5, I was advised by the Comandante of the Presidio of San Diego that the Christian and pagan Indians of the Mission of San Gabriel, having been deceived by a superstitious pagan woman, went on the night of October 25 to the home of the missionary Padres inspired to kill them, believing that the soldiers were already dead because of the said instigator; but upon the corporal of the guard learning this prepared a defense, and taking advantage of

the situation, gathered his men to frighten them, such that neither side used arms, and then the Indians, seeing they had been deceived, fled in fear." Busy with the "regular ship from the Philippines," which had first called at San Diego and from there brought reports of the affray to Monterey, Governor Fages did not depart on the 13-day overland ride to San Gabriel until December 14. He stopped en route at the presidio of Santa Barbara to pick up Sergeant Jose Ignacio Olivera, who later interrogated the four accused ringleaders. Meanwhile, at San Gabriel a few days after the revolt soldiers rounded up 16 Indian men near the mission. They were held in chains in the soldiers' barracks, part of the mission compound. One of them was Toypurina's brother.

Toypurina came from a nearby *ranchería*, written as Jachivit (Japchavit, Jaichivit) by the Spanish, which lay in a lower canyon of the steep San Gabriel Mountains north of the mission. Her brother and father were chiefs (*capitanes*).² Toypurina was "accused of having been the instigator [*inductadora*]" of the revolt, wrote Fages. One of the other alleged leaders was Tomajasaquichi (also written by the Spanish as Temesajaquichi), chief of Juyuvit, possibly meaning Tujubit—from Tuhunga (Tujunga in Spanish)—some 15 miles northwest of the mission, where Big Tujunga Wash, a tributary of the Los Angeles River, leaves the San Gabriel front range (cf. Johnston 1962:126). Ajivivi (also written as Ajillivit) was the third alleged leader and chief of Jajamovit (from Hahamongna), "three leagues" from the mission, northwest at the base of the San Gabriel Mountains by the gorge of the Arroyo Seco, the Los Angeles River's most important tributary.

The fourth of the accused "heads" of the insurrection, Nicolas José, a 33-year-old married man from Sibapet (Sibangna or Shevaanga, just southeast of Mission San Gabriel), was the only neophyte—or baptized Indian. He lived at the mission itself, and his indigenous name is unknown. He had, he admitted, instigated an earlier, failed uprising at San Gabriel in 1779 and had been imprisoned and warned. Nicolas José and the other three told the Spanish in 1785 that he had helped spread Toypurina's message, inciting Christian Indians to revolt, and that he was responsible for coordinating the armed attack. He testified, his soldier/translator said, that "he was angry with the Padres and the corporal since they would not allow them to have their dances and pagan abuses [*bailes y abusos gentiles*]." And he said that "he himself went to help the pagan Toypurina and gave her beads in order that she call the other pagans, and that he gathered the Christians."

Temejasaquichi "stated that he came in a fighting spirit . . . the pagan Indian woman deceived him into coming, and that the Christian Nicolas urged him to act." Sergeant Olivera writes, "Nicolas added that the others were there out of fear of Toypurina, whom they held to be very wise, and who could kill them by will alone." The shaman Toypurina, unarmed, accompanied the warriors, she testified, "because the Indian Nicolas José persuaded her, she came with the rest because they gave her beads, and she came to inspire them that they might have the heart to fight."

The Spanish *asesor* (legal counsel) in Chihuahua, Pedro Galindo Navarro, reviewing the charges and recommending sentences for the *co-mandante general* in 1787, notes that Toypurina was "known among her people as one of the most learned and wise [*la mas instruida y Sabia*]" and that she was given "beads and other trifles [*Abalorios y otras bagatelas*]" by Nicolas José. It was Tongva custom to give strings of marine Olivella shells, or Olivella shell disc beads, to shamans when requesting their help in healing or divination. Shell necklaces were also presented to allies before commencing a joint attack. They were a major item of exchange by coastal peoples in trading networks that archaeological evidence shows had extended as far inland as New Mexico for at least 1,000 years and linked most of Southern California for 5,000 years or more (e.g., Bean and Smith 1978; Boscana 1978:69; Kroeber 1925; McCawley 1996). It is likely, then, that Olivella shell disc necklaces and related ritual wealth items were the "beads" presented to Toypurina. Among Tongva and their neighbors, shamans had great influence through their powers to communicate with spirits, ~~divine~~ the future, heal the sick, kill enemies by magical attack, and transform themselves into grizzly bears and other potent beings. Along with chiefly families with whom they overlapped, shamans constituted a political and ritual elite in coastal Southern California (Bean and Smith 1978; Heizer 1968; Kroeber 1925).

Inspired by Toypurina's prophecies, warriors from more than eight rancherías joined the attack on the mission. Five bands came from the mountains ("Sierras"), three from the valleys, and various others from elsewhere, Nicolas José testified. Toypurina said that six rancherías came with their capitanes (chiefs) and that others came alone. They carried bows and arrows. Were these newly made in accordance with prophecy? The warriors and their weapons were likely consecrated by shamans, according to custom—perhaps some or all by Toypurina herself.

This was a regional uprising, involving at least two dialect areas of Tongva. It may also have included other ethnolinguistic groups: Marin-gayam (Morongo), Kitanemuk, Tataviam (Alliklik), or Vanyume, collectively known locally since the late 18th century as "Serranos" (mountain dwellers). Speakers of four other Takic languages, they came from the north, northwest, and east of the Los Angeles Basin: the eastern San Gabriel Mountains, the San Bernardino Mountains still farther east, the transverse mountain ranges north of the San Fernando Valley, and adjacent desert canyons over the mountains (King and Blackburn 1978; Kroeber 1925:611-619). Nicolas José's reference to mountain rancherías is ambiguous. There were Kitanemuk neophytes at Mission San Gabriel (the Franciscans later recorded their language as "Guiguigtamcar") (Engelhardt 1927:97; Kroeber 1925:621). Tongva mission run-aways and unconverted Tongva whose valleys had been taken over by the Spanish for wheat growing and cattle grazing fled in the 1780s and later to remote mountain canyons and desert oases to live among Serranos, outside the effective zone of mission control. They and their hosts could well have heard the 1785 Toypurina prophecy and joined the attack.

Settlements whose names appear in the Spanish interrogation of 1785-86 as sending warriors to attack Mission San Gabriel are Jaichivit (home to Toypurina and her brother), Jajamovit (Hahamongna), and Juvit or Juyubit, all at the base of the mountains or in their lower canyons, as well as Sibapet and Azucavit on the alluvial plain. Other places go unnamed. The homes of the warriors, thus, at minimum covered a territory stretching more than 40 miles, from present-day Tujunga, against the mountains north of the San Fernando Valley, to Azusa in the eastern San Gabriel Valley. Inhabitants from each ranchería show up in mission baptismal records—and burial records—of the period. Some of the combatants' relatives and former neighbors were living at Mission San Gabriel under Spanish control.

As Governor Fages confirms, Toypurina's prophecy was, in part, that the warriors, slipping over the mission walls, would find the soldiers already dead from her shamanic power to kill at a distance. Then the Franciscan padres, undefended by the soldiers' guns and the mission cannon, could easily be killed by the warriors; the Christian neophytes could return to their rancherías; and the old way of life would resume—though perhaps transformed in some now unknown way by the moral guidance of Toypurina's prophetic revelations. The full details of her prophecies were likely never known to the Spanish, as I discuss below.

The uprising was foiled when the corporal of the guard, José María Verdugo, somehow hearing of the upcoming attack, informed the two padres, Miguel Sanchez and Antonio Cruzado, and ordered his soldiers to lie in wait for the invaders (Archivo General de la Nación 1785–87). If the plot had not been discovered, the revolt might have succeeded and driven off the Spanish—for a while. Toyupurina and the Tongva had surely heard that their trading partners, the Yuma, had successfully destroyed two Spanish settlements on the Colorado River, some 150 miles east, seven years earlier. And they would have known of the bloody revolt in 1775 at Mission San Diego, when the resident priest was killed (Bancroft 1886, vol. 1; Bolton 1930; Mason 1975). This common knowledge was part of the rational calculus of Tongva ritual violence.

Governor Pedro Fages was an experienced Indian fighter, a veteran of actions against the Seri of Sonora, the Apache, and three campaigns following the Yuma revolt of 1778, when he rescued 63 Spanish captives and buried the corpses of 91 dead, including two padres (Bancroft 1886, vol. 1). Fages drew up an *Ynterrogatorio*, a list of ten questions to be put to Toyupurina and the captive warriors by Sergeant Olivera. The questions, and the prisoners' answers, were translated by a 21-year-old soldier stationed at the mission, José María Pico.³

Fages's third question—"What moved you to try your luck, knowing that it was impossible to kill the soldiers, since they could have killed so many of you by firing their cannon?"—is oddly evocative of white responses, a century later, to Ghost Dancers who believed themselves impervious to bullets when wearing their sacred ghost shirts (Mooney 1965:115–118). What induced the Tongva, and later the Ghost Dancers, was religious prophecy, supernatural aid invoked through ritual and shamanic intercession, and belief in the moral rightness of their cause: ridding the land of Europeans and returning to old, harmonious relations with the land and indigenous, though reenvisioned, spirits.

One of the accused, Ajiyivi, chief of Jajamovit (Hahamongna), had with his nephew killed "two cows belonging to a soldier from this company" a few days earlier, implying that he was acting in coordination with Nicolas José and perhaps with Toyupurina's prophecy. The other three principals testified that, as Toyupurina puts it, "Nicolas sent others to take the sheep and he offered to share them with her . . . and that Nicolas also sent for three cows, but they did not take them." The shepherds, mission neophytes, willingly gave up the sheep. Ajiyivi states that "no one invited him" to the attack: "He came because he ran into the rioters,

and knowing that they came to fight, and seeing them so excited, he wanted to come and see if their courage was real." This seems to be a reference to Toyupurina's prophecy of magical death for the soldiers.

Governor Fages, after hearing the interrogations of the four principal prisoners, on January 4, 1786, wrote to Comandante General Rengel in Chihuahua, "The pagan Indian named Tomasajaquichi, in addition to being an accomplice, is also charged with having been sent by said Toyupurina to corrupt the Christians with her sorceries [*su Ecbiserias*]." Fages ordered Nicolas José, Tomasajaquichi, and Ajiyivi imprisoned in the presidio in San Diego and Toyupurina imprisoned at Mission San Gabriel until he received further orders. He also commanded that the other 16 or so prisoners, alleged major figures in the revolt, including Toyupurina's brother, receive 20 lashes (25 for those who were involved in the 1779 revolt) and then be set free: "The sentence will be carried out before all in order that the punishment be for all. And on my behalf, they will be given the most severe warnings about their ingratitude, condemning their perversities, and showing them the deception with which the said woman dominated them, and that their pagan abuses have no power against those of us who are Catholics."

The interrogatories, and Fages's correspondence, make it clear that the Spanish saw Toyupurina, her prophecies (her "deception"), and the "pagan abuses" of her followers as powerful threats to their own political and religious control and that Toyupurina saw the priests and soldiers as rivals for the moral, spiritual, and political leadership of her people. By the night of the uprising, Father Antonio Cruzado had, just two days earlier, performed the mission's 1,278th baptism, of a man from Aluibit who took the name Juan Capistrano. As in other times and places in the Spanish borderlands, an Indian woman or mestiza was called witch or sorcerer for resisting—subverting through devilish and magical means in Spanish eyes—the moral order of colonial social hierarchies: male over female; Christian over pagan; Spanish over Indian or mestizo; and, as colonial domination intensified on the frontier, landowner versus landless (cf. Behar 1989; Castañeda 1998; Erickson n.d.). But Fages, by his own standards, added a plea for mercy for Toyupurina: "Since the Padres of this Mission have informed me that the pagan Indian woman prisoner Toyupurina pretends to be a Christian, and since it is known positively that the pagan Indians who participated in the disturbance because of her persuasions, respect and fear of her and her superstitions threaten her with death if she goes free, because she deceived them and

they have been punished, I, the Governor, therefore ask the Comandante General if he will consider that if the said woman is baptized, she might be sent to another Mission, far from this one, where she might marry and remain free from said danger?"

In Arispe, Comandante General Ugarte consulted Asesor Navarro, who agreed with Fages, submitting to Ugarte on December 14, 1787, his recommendations for sentencing the four remaining prisoners. The way Navarro reports the event, based on the investigation and interrogations at San Gabriel (and possibly in consultation with Fages, who was in Arispe at that point), is that Nicolas José persuaded Toypurina "to seduce those from six Rancherías to participate in the event, making them believe that when they got to the Mission they would kill the Padres with their crafty superstitions, and that they only had to capture the Corporal and soldiers whom they would find unprepared." Thomas Temple (1958) also tells the story this way (see note 2). The original testimony as translated and recorded by the Spanish in 1785-86 is that Toypurina and her followers would find the soldiers already dead from magical attack and needed to kill only the (unarmed) padres.

In either case, Navarro states that because the rebels were "seduced and deceived" by Toypurina into attempting murder, Têmesajaquichi and Ajillivit should be released after two years' imprisonment. Nicolas José should be further imprisoned, and both he and Toypurina should be perpetually exiled because of the risk that they would return to San Gabriel to incite another rebellion. Comandante General Ugarte ordered, "Do as the Asesor advises."

Nicolas José was sentenced to six more years of hard labor in leg shackles, Governor Fages wrote on December 14, 1787, "in the Presidio furthest from said Mission, and to perpetual exile therefrom, and after completion of the six years he shall be sent to one of the furthest missions where there will be no chance that he will return to live among his people."

Three years later, during the provincial census of 1790, "Nicolás, indio, prisoner at this Presidio from San Gabriel" aged 40 was the 38th of 41 persons enumerated at San Francisco, and the only prisoner to be counted. He was one of only 26 Indians listed in the Alta California census, most of them women married to Spanish soldiers (Mason 1998:2, 104). The ultimate fate of Nicolas José is unknown.

Toypurina was baptized at Mission San Gabriel on March 8, 1787, by Padre Miguel Sanchez, whose death by ritual violence she had prophe-

sied in 1785. She had been a prisoner for a year and a half, awaiting a heavy sentence. The possibility that she was coerced is strong, especially in light of Fages's letter suggesting that she be baptized and married off (to a Christian) in her exile. She could also have "pretended to be a Christian" as a pragmatic course of action in her desperate circumstances, which allegedly included death threats by her fellow prisoners. Or this could have been a sincere profession of faith in the new religion by an indigenous leader and philosopher facing a world transformed. Her baptism, in a group of eight adults, was the 1,408th since the mission's founding in 1771. She was renamed Regina (Queen) Josefa Toypurina.

Toypurina was sentenced by Governor Fages "to perpetual exile from the Mission San Gabriel, and [to] be taken to one of the furthest missions where she [would] have no chance to return to her relatives nor cause further rebellions through her influence and deceit" (Archivo General de la Nación 1787). Comandante General Ugarte's December 12 "Decree Punishing Certain Indians" uses nearly identical language, permanently exiling "the Indian woman named Toypurina . . . that she be taken to another mission where she will have no hope or rejoining her relatives, nor of causing new revolts with her influence and deceptions" (Mission Santa Barbara 1787).

Governor Fages wrote Father Fermin de Lasuén, who had succeeded Junipero Serra as president of the Franciscans in Alta California, to ask which distant mission would be the best place of exile for "Maria Regina, alias Toypurina of San Gabriel." Lasuén responded on June 14 with strong reluctance to have the missions host any prisoners, especially "such decidedly pernicious persons" known for fomenting revolt. In letters dated June 10 and June 15, 1788, Fages—who notes Toypurina's sex, her unmarried state, and her status as a convert to Christianity—first proposed sending her to Mission San Antonio, which lies in a remote valley in the Coast Range southeast of Monterey. In his second letter he offers Lasuén two options: San Antonio or Mission Santa Clara on San Francisco Bay. Lasuén bowed to secular authority, writing on June 15 that "[s]he will be welcomed enthusiastically at which ever mission Your Excellency desires to send her" (Mission Santa Barbara 1788).

The first stage of her journey into exile remains a mystery, but one year later, on July 26, 1789, in the mission chapel at Carmel, Toypurina married Manuel Montero, a Spanish soldier stationed at nearby Monterey. Again there is no way of knowing whether her marriage to the sol-

dier Montero—in a frontier society where there was a drastic shortage of marriageable Catholic women—was by her own free will or by the will of Governor Fages himself, laid out in his 1787 letter. She may have met Montero at San Gabriel while she was a prisoner and he was stationed there or at the nearby pueblo of Los Angeles. Toyupurina evidently lived among the Spanish-speaking townspeople, at least after her marriage. Manuel Montero was enumerated in 1790 in the Alta California provincial census as living at Monterey—his “caste,” or racial designation, noted as *español*—with his wife Regina—caste *india*—and a child, whom parish records show was a one-year-old son named Cesario. Toyupurina and her husband had four children in all. None of her descendants ever returned to live in her homeland. Toyupurina’s sentence by the Spanish authorities of perpetual exile turned out to be devastatingly effective. It has in a sense already lasted more than two centuries.⁴

Toyupurina died at the early age of 38. She was buried on May 22, 1799, in an unmarked grave at Mission San Juan Bautista, founded only two years earlier, a day’s march south of San Francisco Bay. She probably lies in the shade of the old olive grove just east of the mission church, whose still lumpy and uneven ground, right on the San Andreas Fault, pungent from a carpet of fallen uncured olives, is the site of a mass grave of several thousand baptized Indians.

Prophetic Movements and Ritual Violence on the California Frontier
 Prophetic movements that generate ritual violence are likely, I suggest, to cross ethnolinguistic boundaries, linking indigenous people from a wide region under conditions of colonial domination. The 1785 Toyupurina uprising, an 1810-11 rebellion at San Gabriel, and a series of outbreaks in Chumash country culminating in revolts at three missions in 1824 were all regional in scope.

These eruptions of ritual violence were, I believe, connected not only to one another but also to the prophecies and revelations of a new religious movement. Based on veneration of the deity Chingichinich and adherence to his ritual and moral codes, it spread up to 300 miles along the coast and well inland, especially in the first three generations after the Spanish arrival. The Tongva were the originators of the new religion. It was first described in writing in the 1820s by Father Geronimo Boscana of Mission San Juan Capistrano, nine miles south of Tongva territory.

Chingichinich was born, or first appeared, either at San Clemente

or Santa Catalina Island or on the coast at Puvungna, near the estuary formed by the mouths of the San Gabriel and Los Angeles Rivers, now the twin ports of Long Beach and Los Angeles. From his origin in the Tongva homeland, descendants and scholars agree, his prophecies, moral codes, myths, and ceremonies reached north and east to Kitanemuk, mountain Cahuilla, and Southern Yokuts and east to Acjachemem (Juaneños), Quechnajuichom (Luisenños), Cupeños, and the northern Yuman (Hokan)-speaking Diegueños (Ipai, Tipai). Steatite carvings from Catalina Island of whale dorsal fins and the dolphins that guard the world, rock paintings of men in bird costumes, and the ritual use of hallucinogenic datura may mean that the new religion reached Chumash country, the northern Channel Islands and the mainland around Santa Barbara and San Luis Obispo. Pimu, Catalina Island, is one of the sacred places represented in sand paintings central to initiation and mourning rituals honoring Chingichinich. A golden eagle chief deity, prayers to sun and moon, and a puberty rite for boys using datura are signs that the religion spread even further north to the Hokan-speaking Salinans of the Salinas Valley and southern Big Sur coast. Diffusion of the new religion to the southeast of Tongva country took several generations, from the mid-1780s to 1850 and beyond. Ceremonies related to it have continued up to the present in a few remote communities southeast of the Tongva homeland.

Spreading around the time, or just before, the first missions were established in Alta California in 1769, the new prophecies gave an explanation—moral disorder—for the great epidemic waves of infectious European diseases that ravaged the people and caused their catastrophic death rates compared with that of Spanish speakers, epidemics that struck even before the Spanish invasion. The new religion synergized earlier beliefs and ceremonies with prophecies catalyzed by and in opposition to the new revelations of Catholic religious philosophy.⁵

The Christian influences and parallels of the Chingichinich religion may be drawn too sharply in the written record from the 1820s to the 1920s. First filtered through the sensibilities of the Franciscan Boscana, they are amplified by testimonies of baptized, often forcibly missionized Tongva, Acjachemem, and Quechnajuichom (Luisenño) adherents to recorders such as Hugo Reid, Constance DuBois, and J. P. Harrington. The religion’s original prophecies and inspirations, like Toyupurina’s, were never written down, and like all enduring religious movements, it changed and evolved to meet new circumstances. But it had deep

roots in indigenous rituals and continuities with beliefs that predated the Franciscans' arrival in Alta California. There is clear evidence of related practices in Tongva territory in 1602. On the sacred island of Pimu (Catalina), home to prosperous communities of maritime traders, Islanders had constructed a ceremonial enclosure, decorated with feathers, possibly encircling a sand painting, and a sacred figure flanked by representations of the sun and moon. They also venerated huge crows or ravens that frequented the ceremonial grounds.⁶ The Chinigchinich religion did not arise, an entirely new entity, from inspired prophecies of the early mission period. We cannot now know just what the pre-mission-era rituals and moral philosophies were, if or how they spread from Pimu to the mainland and across the region, and how they were transformed during the period of religious ferment and existential doubt that followed the Spanish soldiers and friars into the Tongva homelands.

Archaeological evidence from coastal Southern California shows that ritual objects associated in the last 200 years with the veneration of Chinigchinich, such as long quartz crystals, charm stones, and ceremonial bundles, were in use many centuries earlier (e.g., Bean and Smith 1978; Kroeber 1925). Linguistic evidence suggests that Southern California Taktic terms for ranked shamanic and chiefly elites predated the advent of the Spanish in Alta California by many centuries (Kroeber 1907). The ritual use of datura was central to the new religion. *Datura meteloides*, a shrub with dramatically large, bell-shaped white flowers, grows prolifically across much of Southern California. Its hallucinogenic, medicinal, and potentially poisonous properties, of its seeds especially, would have been known since people first tried to make a salad of it, suggesting that it has been in some kind of ritual use for millennia. Rituals using datura, particularly by shamans and at male puberty ceremonies but also by individuals seeking contact with spirits, extended as far north as the Costanoans of San Francisco Bay; inland to the Miwok, Valley and Foothill Yokuts, and Kawaiisu; and into the deserts of the California border among the Chemehuevi, Quechan, Mohave, and Cocopa (Bean and Vane 1978:668–669; Levy 1978:489–490; Spier 1978:482; Wallace 1978:456–459). It is also used in northern Mexico, as among the Yaqui.

The inspirations of the Chinigchinich religion, as they spread across the region from the 1780s to the 1850s, and its sacred objects, laws, prophecies, and shamanic and social orders must have been creatively reconfigured, through prophecies and other communications with spirit

beings, from an ancient matrix of religious philosophy and practice. What 18th-century Tongva prophets incorporated from Catholic theology, if anything, will never be clear. What is clear is that prophecies and rituals associated with Chinigchinich intensified and spread just as the Franciscans came to the homelands to proselytize, backed by soldiers with cannons and harquebuses to guard the missions, round up potential converts, and hunt down runaways. The Chinigchinich religion reached many thousands of people, spreading 300 miles across ethnolinguistic boundaries in the Franciscan era and beyond, as an indigenous, secret moral philosophy and alternative to Catholicism. Its shamanic prophets grew in influence in opposition to the missionaries and soldiers and to the miasma of violence, environmental destruction, and epidemic disease that the Spanish brought with them. The Chinigchinich religion took hold across Southern California as a ritual of resistance to the theological, moral, and political crises of the Spanish and Mexican occupations.

Chinigchinich was born (or appeared) after the death by poison of Wiyot, who was reborn as the moon. In some origin accounts Wiyot was born at Puvungna, to Sirout ("Handful of Tobacco," who is also a comet) and his wife Ikaiut ("Above"; possibly Ukai in Tongva). He was the ruler of the first beings—including certain named stars, mountains, minerals, plants, animals, and human ancestors—born of, or descended from, the primordial sister and brother, earth and sky (night), who were wife and husband. Wiyot became a tyrant in some accounts, but his murder brought death into the cosmos. Wiyot also lives on an island to the west, *tohmul*, land of the dead. After Wiyot's death and rebirth, the male creator night divided the first beings, including the ancestors of humans, and assigned them their languages and places (Boscana 1978:31–32; DuBois 1908; Harrington 1933:117, 147–148; Kroeber 1925:623, 637, 677–678).

Chinigchinich is also known as Ouiamot, which is similar to Wiyot (Ouiot) and may be his name in childhood before initiation (Harrington 1933:128). His other names, linguistically Tongva, are Saor, before he was initiated; Tobet, which refers to his dancing and is the word for the feathered dancing costume he taught people to make; and Quaguar, after he had ascended to the stars (Boscana 1978:30; Quaguar also appears as Qua-o-ar, as collected in 1852 by Hugo Reid from Tongva elders [Heizer 1968]; Kwawar [Kroeber 1925:638]; or K(w)á'uwar [Harrington 1933:139]). His parents were Tacu and Auзар, in the Tongva language.

In other accounts he was born of Tamáayawut, earth, "he had neither father nor mother," or he came from the stars (Boscana 1978:29, 33; Harrington 1933:127, 153, 227; Kroeber 1925:637). There has been debate for over two centuries on whether Chinigchinich was always a deity or, rather, was a great prophet of religious renewal who became deified. There are parallels between him and Jesus, each born on earth in unsettled times and risen into heaven, a newer god than the original creator, and a promulgator of a new moral code. In the early 20th century, consultants volunteered to Harrington that Chinigchinich was the "Indian Christ" and Wiyot, the "Indian God" (1933:127). Boscana reported in the 1820s that it was Chinigchinich who changed many first beings into animal and plant spirits and heavenly bodies.

Using language reminiscent of the Book of Genesis, Boscana writes that Chinigchinich "created man, forming him of clay found upon the borders of a lake" (1978:29; (this is likely Lake Elsinore, east of San Juan Capistrano [cf. Kroeber 1925:678]). He continues, "Both male and female he created" (1978:29; Harrington 1933:129). Chinigchinich was, he told the first beings, "a captain of greater power" than Wiyot. Boscana says, "From this time they looked upon Chinigchinich as God"; his name means "all-powerful or almighty. . . [H]e was ever present and in all places. He saw everything, although it might be in the darkest night, but no one could see him. He was a friend to the good, but the wicked he chastised" (1978:29-30).

It was Chinigchinich who created the high-ranking ritual caste of the *puplem*, shamans (also *puula*; *puur* in Tongva), Boscana writes, teaching people how to initiate boys and girls. His first commandment was the building of a temple or ceremonial enclosure, the *wamkish* or *wankech* (Boscana's *wanquech*, from Acjachemen *wamkitic*; *yuvuar* or *yoba* in Tongva; Hugo Reid's "Yobagnar"). The *puplem*, and those of chiefly rank, were initiated into his mysteries during puberty ceremonies and enjoined to keep them secret. Male initiations, certain mourning ceremonies, and other rituals involved the use of the sacred hallucinogen datura (*tolouache* in Mexican and California Spanish), sometimes mixed with a native species of tobacco or saltwater. Sun and moon, highly sacred beings, were venerated with Chinigchinich, represented on the *wamkish* and in sand paintings used at initiations. So were icons of crow, raven, owl, eagle, bear, mountain lion, coyote, rattlesnake, and beings such as the Milky Way, night (sky), Pleiades, Orion, Altaír, Mount San Gorgonio, Catalina Island (Pimu), the *tolouache* mortar and pestle,

and winnowing basket, representing offerings and Chinigchinich himself. The *wamkish* and its sacred pole were decorated with feathers of eagles, red-shafted flickers, and other offered birds (Boscana 1978:28-29; DuBois 1908; Harrington 1933:153, 195; Kroeber 1925:628, 637-638, 662-664; cf. Bean and Smith 1978; Bean and Vane 1978; Johnston 1962).

It was a stern religion for chaotic and troubling times. The raven, or large crow, was Chinigchinich's primary messenger and oracle, reporting to Chinigchinich and his most adept shamans any secret transgressions of his moral code. His sacred animals, plants, and rock forms avenged the insult of disobedience with suffering and death. California's fiercest animals—including grizzly bears, mountain lions, rattlesnakes, black widow spiders, tarantulas, and stingrays and especially golden or white-headed eagles and condors—were among his sacred beings. In addition, stinging nettles, thorny wild rose, and long quartz crystals—his arrows, shot by ravens—were sacred to him. These were all among the first beings created (Boscana 1978:29, 43, 72; DuBois 1908:99, 130-142; Harrington 1933:130-134). His father Tacu (Takwish or Tacué, sometimes called Sirout, like Wiyot's father) also appears as a comet or meteor, a messenger from spirit beings, including high chiefs and shamans, who have ascended to the stars, one of Chinigchinich's abodes. Tacu is a harbinger of death who takes people's spirits; in many accounts he is a cannibal, with a home on Mount San Jacinto at the desert's edge (Boscana 1978:77; DuBois 1908:126; Harrington 1933:147, 153, 184; Kroeber 1925:679-680, 713).

In what Boscana sees as a kind of purgatory, Chinigchinich "doomed" the spirits of those "not of noble rank" to "the borders of the sea, or to the hills, mountains, valleys, or forests. There they remained an indefinite time while Chinigchinich made them do penance for the faults they had committed in not obeying his precepts" (1978:77). Boscana does not give many details of these precepts besides the ceremonies that the new deity ordained. Other laws of Chinigchinich, given at initiations, are to keep the rituals secret, to observe ritual fasting, to bathe daily at dawn, for the young not to eat before the elderly or finish the last of the harvest of acorns and seeds, to eat sparingly, to be kind to the elderly and generous to strangers, and to never whip children, whose spirits would be stolen by other lingering spirits, causing them to die (DuBois 1908:82-83, 96; this child-rearing philosophy is in stark contrast to that of the 18th-century colonial Spanish, visible in the missions' appalling

record of floggings and deaths of young people, and it no doubt helped the people explain the deaths).

Chinigichinich also lives with other beings in *tolmec* (*tolmal*), probably *tolmar* in Tongva), an "earthly paradise," Boscana writes, inside the earth, where people other than high chiefs and shamans go after death. This is the navel of the universe, home of the dead. (The same term was applied to Wiyot's western island of the dead, perhaps an earlier religious belief.) Boscana was told that in *tolmec* "there was plenty to eat and drink and to wear, that there was constant dancing and festivity, that no one labored, no one was sorrowful, but on the contrary, all were contented and happy, every-one did as he pleased, and selected the number of wives he wished." The reader will compare this belief with the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. It was taught by the moderns undoubtedly, and since their conversion to Christianity, for the old men at the time of their gentility had no such idea" (1978:76; cf. Harrington 1933:139, 199; Heizer 1968: Letters 4, 15; Kroeber 1925:637-638, 662-664).

A new style of ritual dancing on Chinigichinich's ceremonial grounds was central to his worship. By dancing, "their wants could be relieved. The sick would be cured, and the hungry receive food" (Boscana 1978:34). "This new manner is full of gestures and violent motions," Constance DuBois says, "while the old style of dancing, still to be seen among the Diegueños of Manzanita, was performed in a quiet and restrained manner" (1908:75). The style associated with Chinigichinich was "a continued and very rapid whirling," reports Kroeber (1925:660). (Both ethnologists were eyewitnesses in Luiseno country, in 1906 and 1904, respectively.) Chinigichinich's name, *Tobet*, refers to his initiation dance and the ceremonial costume he taught people to wear. Painted black and red, in his skirt of golden eagle or condor feathers and his eagle feather headdress, dancing as *Tobet*, he ascends to the stars, becoming *Quagoar* (Boscana 1978:30, 57-60; Harrington 1933:139-140, 175-177).

The reason given by Nicolas José for the 1785 revolt at Mission San Gabriel, the soldier-interpreter Pico said, was that the padres had forbidden "their dances and pagan abuses." Because honoring Chinigichinich, supplicating him for health and prosperity, meant long nights of dancing in the style sacred to him, the anger of the Tongva at having their dances prohibited, and the opposition of the Franciscans, may become clearer. Did *Toypurina* receive prophetic revelations from Chinig-

chinich? Was she a key figure in the elaboration and spread of the new religion, with its moral codes, explanations of disease and death, and hopes for relief from suffering? Did she receive new revelations that to live in harmony according to Chinigichinich's moral laws the Spanish must be killed and that the mission must be driven out of the homeland? Or was she the prophet of revelations from other beings, related or unrelated to him?

The timing and setting of her prophecies are exactly right to place *Toypurina* at the center of the evolving Chinigichinich religion. The year 1785 was a likely peak of religious intensification related to Chinigichinich in Tongva country, and San Gabriel was the primary mission to which Tongva from across the homelands, including *Puvungna*, were being forcibly removed in the early 1780s. Constance DuBois, on the basis of detailed oral histories collected from elderly Luisenos in 1906, has calculated that the Chinigichinich religion first reached their country 120 years earlier, meaning around 1786. This suggests either an initial or an intensified wave of Chinigichinich prophecies and ritual elaboration just beforehand in Tongva territory, their universally acknowledged place of origin.⁷

In most existing accounts, up to the recent past, the veneration of Chinigichinich was led by a secret society of male shamans (e.g., for Luisenos, DuBois 1908; Kroeber 1925). Would *Toypurina*, a woman, likely have participated in his rituals or have received prophecies from him? Whether her shamanic powers came through *toloache* or other avenues of communication with spirits can never be known. During the 19th and 20th centuries, the *toloache* ritual, central to the initiation of males, was not normally part of female initiation. But *Toypurina* was an acknowledged shaman and a chief's daughter, a *manisar*, a title indicating a melding of political and religious power. The term comes from the word *manit*, which means both *datura* and the *toloache* ritual (Kroeber 1925:623, 640). This suggests a close tie between the politico-religious office she held, use of the sacred hallucinogen, and Chinigichinich, who in contemporary religious thought instructed people to use it. Similarly, although *toloache* and the ceremonial grounds were restricted mainly to shamans and male initiates (but also to girls at initiation and mourners of both sexes), elderly Tongva told Hugo Reid at San Gabriel in 1852 that "female singers"—ritual practitioners—were allowed on the *Yobagnar* (Harrington 1933:138; Heizer 1968). There are other accounts from the mission era of indigenous women taking *datura* and receiving messages

from spirits. Toyपुरina's revelations could have come, of course, from communication with other spirit beings. If so, in light of later prophetic movements in Southern California, discussed below, another possibility is that they came from Tamáyawut, or earth, mother to Chinigchinich in some accounts and ultimately of almost all beings. Both deities held powers over health and illness in this time of great sickness and dying. And Toyपुरina is the one who said that "she was angry with the Padres and with everyone at the Mission" because "estamos viviendo aqui en su Tierra" [we are living here in their land, their soil, their earth].

The Chinigchinich religion, as reflected in early written accounts, did not direct ritual attacks against Europeans. Its ritual violence was internal. Violators of Chinigchinich's moral laws would be killed by grizzly bears, mountain lions, rattlesnakes, black widow spiders, or other of his sacred animals, sent to attack by the deity or his high shamans, or executed by the people themselves. Offenders could seek shelter in Chinigchinich's sacred enclosure until their cases were heard by a council of chiefs and shamans. But if the guilty were not killed and offered to him, then Chinigchinich would send plagues and early death to all (Boscana 1978:43; DuBois 1908; Kroeber 1925:639).

There is evidence that throughout the mission era underlying and evolving indigenous religious beliefs—the Chinigchinich religion, the veneration of earth (Tamáyawut in Tongva, Chupu in the Chumash language)—were periodically catalyzed by new prophetic revelations, like Toyपुरina's, into divinely inspired acts of external ritual violence: attacks against the Spanish and Mexicans. After these were suppressed, the religions again went underground; ritual dances and initiations were held largely in secret; and shamans, chiefs, and the people awaited the aid and blessings of the deities and further revelations. A review of rebellions against Spanish missions and presidios in Southern California shows—in spite of the pervasive element of secrecy and the sparse written and oral historical evidence that survives—clear manifestations of ritual violence and inspired prophecies in many. The sheer number of uprisings belies the stereotype long held in anglophone California histories and taught in public schools of docile "mission Indians" gratefully accepting Spanish political, economic, and religious rule.

The Toyपुरina revolt, the first that came to Spanish attention as involving indigenous beliefs and prophecy, was neither the first nor the last at Mission San Gabriel. The Tongva opposed the founding of the mission from the beginning. According to the Spanish, even their initial

confrontation contained mystical elements. In an often retold story—recorded later by Father Palóu (who was not present) and repeated in Bancroft's *History of California*—on August 6, 1771, a party of two Franciscans and 18 Spanish soldiers and muleteers set out from San Diego to establish the new mission, two days' hard march to the north. As Bancroft recounts, closely paraphrasing Palóu, "At first a large force of natives presented themselves under two chieftains and attempted by hostile demonstrations to prevent the purpose of the Spaniards; but when one of the padres held up a painting of the virgin, the savages instantly threw down their arms and their two captains ran up to lay their necklaces at the feet of the beautiful queen, thus signifying their desire for peace" (1886, vol. 1:179–180).

The Indians continued to make "offerings of pine-nuts and acorns to the image of Our Lady" in the weeks following the raising of the cross on September 8 and during the construction of the first *tule* (marsh reed thatch)-roofed, wooden mission building (Bancroft 1886, vol. 1:179–180). Father Junipero Serra, who was not present either, recorded in 1773 that it was the Indian women who offered "seeds and eatables" to the "holy image" (Engelhardt 1927:3–6, 10). An oil painting of a long-faced, pallid Virgin Mary, in three-quarters view, dark eyes gazing heavenward—described in a pamphlet for visitors as the very painting that accompanied the first Franciscan missionaries—still stands in the Mission San Gabriel chapel on an ornate eight-foot stand of iron and beaten copper just to the left of the altar.⁸

By October 9, 1771, the beatific interlude of intercultural harmony and Indian ritual offerings to the Virgin, as remembered by mission commentators for two centuries, had ended. The chief of a nearby hamlet led an attack on the soldiers guarding the rough stockade at the Misión Viejo, seeking revenge for his wife, lassoed and raped by a Spanish soldier. The chief shot an arrow at the rapist, who deflected it with his shield and fired his musket. The chief fell dead. His corpse was beheaded by the soldiers, who left his head to decay on a pole stuck in the stockade. The Franciscans a few days later learned the attack's provocation and, appalled by the rape, returned the head to relatives who pleaded for it. Rapes and abductions of Indian women (boys too, Father Serra says) by soldiers at Mission San Gabriel continued for years to precipitate anger and insurrection according to both Franciscans and military officers, but there were no more officially recorded deaths (Bancroft 1886, vol. 1:180–182, 202, 314–315; Engelhardt 1927:6–15).

At San Diego and San Juan Capistrano, armed uprisings continued. A regional revolt by 800 warriors from nine villages destroyed Mission San Diego in 1775. The corporal of the guard, Antonio Briones, was killed in battle near San Diego two years later (Cook 1943:66). That same year, Corporal Guillermo Carrillo led a party from San Diego on a punitive raid against Alocuachomi, near Mission San Juan Capistrano (founded a year earlier), whose people allegedly threatened mission neophytes. The Spanish killed three men and wounded others. Bancroft records their grievance as "disorders among the soldiers," a euphemism for sexual assault and revenge on a "native chieftain" who furnished soldiers with women—the chief received 15 lashes, and the soldiers were merely transferred to the presidio at San Diego (1886, vol. 1:314–315). At San Diego in 1778, Carrillo's forces captured men from several bands (Ipai, Tipai, Kumeyaay—the so-called Diegueños), seizing "eighty bows, 1500 arrows, and a large number of clubs"; the men received 30–40 lashes apiece. Aachil, Aalcuinn, Aaraan, and Taguagui, alleged leaders, were sentenced to death by two volleys of musket shots in front of the assembled Spanish troops and the "Christian rancherías" (Bancroft 1886, vol. 1:315–316).

As the interrogatory of the 1785 Toyupurina uprising at Mission San Gabriel shows, Nicolas José himself helped lead a 1779 revolt and was imprisoned. The Spanish claimed that a Tongva chief threatened revolt in 1786, while Toyupurina was still a prisoner at Mission San Gabriel (and Nicolas José, Temejasaquichi, and Ajiyivi were imprisoned at San Diego), but the Spanish for some reason allowed the matter to drop (Bancroft 1886, vol. 1:460). The last major Indian uprising against Mission San Gabriel took place a generation later, from 1810 to 1811. It involved some eight hundred neophytes and non-Christians, desert- and mountain-dwelling Cahuillas and Serranos as well as Tongva, an alliance reaching across 100 miles. It ended months later, after Spanish reinforcements were sent from Northern California, in defeat and capture, the forcible baptism and removal of children to the mission, mass whippings, and the imprisonment, lashing, and forced labor at the presidio of Santa Barbara of some 33 alleged leaders (Heizer 1968; Mason 1984). This was no placid acceptance of Spanish control and the Catholic faith.

The Spanish colonists had planted the fertile uplands around San Gabriel with corn and wheat; turned sheep and cattle out to graze driving out deer and antelope; and cut down prolific, acorn-bearing coast live oaks and deciduous Engelmann oaks half a thousand years old to use

for firewood. European wild oats and other exotic grasses quickly spread from cattle forage, outcompeting indigenous bunch grasses and forbs, from which the people gathered seeds, and suppressing the resprouting of oaks. So it is logical that just before the 1785 attack, the mission shepherds—Tongva neophytes—were giving away mission sheep for slaughter and distribution by the rebels. Similarly, in 1778, after a chief's wife "eloped"—or was abducted—to Antigua California, Acajemem from three rancherías assembled and threatened to attack Mission San Juan Capistrano "to avenge the death of their comrades slain the year before [in the earlier uprising]; also claiming that the Spaniards were really devils come to destroy the crops by drought" (Bancroft 1886, vol. 1:314–315). Here contemporary Spanish documents, used by Bancroft, confirm a grievance against environmental degradation and destruction of the (wild) food supply. These accounts also implicitly testify to anger at the destruction of sacred places where powerful supernatural beings control the fertility and health of land and people. The reference to the Spanish as devils (as the Spanish understood it), or beings with malevolent supernatural powers to be combated, suggests elements of ritual violence and religious prophecy.

Restoration of the land and of religious practices likely were closely linked goals of all uprisings against the Spanish missions. The religious philosophies of Tongva, Acjachemem, and their neighbors stressed harmonious relations with supernatural beings—many appearing in animal form—dwelling in sacred mountain peaks, rock outcroppings, lakes, and trees (e.g., Boscana 1978; Heizer 1968; Johnston 1962; McCawley 1996). The land was occupied, its flora and fauna were displaced, and contemporary Spanish documents record that mission neophytes and residents of nearby rancherías alike periodically suffered from hunger. In the year before the Toyupurina uprising, the inhabitants of Los Angeles alone produced 4,500 bushels of grain, mostly corn and wheat, primarily using unpaid or poorly paid Indian labor. Vast nearby fields were planted in grain under the control of Mission San Gabriel, one of the most productive missions in the Californias. Townspeople complained that Indian labor was in short supply, as people in adjacent rancherías—not restricted in their movements and obliged to work, as in the missions—were busy with their own seasonal gathering (this would be the autumn acorn crops, piñon nuts, and annual grass seeds [Bancroft 1886, vol. 1]). Environmental destruction by oppressive outsiders is a key grievance underlying the efflorescence of prophetic movements, including, no-

tably, the Ghost Dance, which found its most famous adherents among peoples of the northern Great Plains suffering the catastrophic collapse of the great buffalo herds.⁹

Seizure of lands, loss of food supply, desecration of sacred sites, imprisonment, forced labor, murder, rape, abduction, and assault are more than sufficient precipitating causes for uprisings against the Spanish invaders. But the Spanish, locked in what the padres saw as a holy war against the devil for the souls of the Indians, were highly unlikely to learn of secret prophecies of religious renewal and ritual attack that accompanied, or precipitated, the acts of resistance that continued against the California missions through the 1820s.

Toypurina was not the only female prophet on the early California frontier. In Santa Barbara, 100 miles northwest of Mission San Gabriel and 16 years later, another young woman, inspired by a powerful deity, prescribed new forms of ritual violence against the mission. This time, more details of the prophecy were recorded, and possible links to the Chinigchinich religion can be discerned. In 1941 Robert Heizer, prospecting in Berkeley's Bancroft Library, found a letter dated 1805 from Father Estevan Tapis (president of the Franciscans in Alta California) to Governor Arillaga describing what Heizer calls "a messianic movement . . . the earliest historical record of such a movement in California. Although much has been written on the Ghost Dance in California [in 1870], we have little or no knowledge of defeatist cults which originated in the state. It is possible that this type of reaction, explainable as a desperate expedient to seek relief from oppression, was fairly common in the mission district of California in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. There are certain indications that the major revolt, in 1824, of the Santa Barbara Channel missions is explainable in these terms" (1941:128).

Heizer, who suggests combing mission archives for corroborating evidence, is quite correct, I think, that similar prophecies were "fairly common" in the mission zone of influence from the 1770s to well beyond the 1820s. The Toypurina revolt of 1785, of which he was unaware, may have been part of the first major "messianic movement" in California, inspired by prophecies related to the ascended Chimigchinich or another sacred being. As Father Tapis writes:

In the year 1801 when an epidemic of pneumonia and a waist ailment (pleurisy? [Heizer queries]) caused the deaths of many pagans and Christians, a

single female neophyte succeeded in deceiving the Christian Indians of Santa Barbara. It happened that after a pretended trance she said that Chupu (an idol worshipped in the Channel region), appeared to her and told her that the pagan Indians were to die if they were not baptized, and that the same fate was to befall the Christian Indians who would not give alms [offerings] to Chupu, and who would refuse to wash their heads with a certain water . . . the news spread immediately through all the houses of the Mission; almost all the neophytes, the *alcaldes* included, went to the house of the visionary to present beads and seeds, and to go through the rite of renouncing Christianity . . . the fashion extended to all the Indian settlements of the Channel [coast and islands] and of the Sierra [Mountains], and . . . the missionaries did not know about it. Chupu had revealed at the same time that all those who would report the affair to the missionaries would die immediately. For three days we remained ignorant of this event until a neophyte, overcoming his fears, told us what was happening. If the Indian woman had added, that in order to stop the epidemics, it was necessary to kill the missionaries and the soldiers of the guard, the *alcaldes* and the rest of the natives would have believed it too. . . . Who would have escaped death . . . ? [S]uch a thing might have happened . . . the neophytes know how to scheme their plots at night with such a secrecy and reserve so that the custody of the missions with a thousand neophytes altogether should not be entrusted to two, three, or a few more soldiers who compose their guard. [Heizer 1941:128-129]

Chupu in Chumash religious thought was the earth, a female being with three aspects: wind, rain, and fire. She was venerated along with sun, a male deity, in ceremonies involving ritual use of *toloache*, presided over by the secret society of shamans, *'antap*.¹⁰ Father Tapis immediately sees and comments on the potential for overt violence implicit in prophecies of counterbaptisms to Chupu and ritual renunciation of a Christianity linked to deadly epidemics. He rightly emphasizes the secrecy with which the movement spread to more than one thousand Chumash. Common themes in the 1801 outbreak and the 1785 revolt thus include a young woman prophet, the prescriptions of secrecy (probably supernaturally sanctioned in both cases), rapid regional diffusion of the prophecy, and the gifting of "beads and seeds" (similar to presents of "beads and other trifles" to Toypurina).

Tongva and Chumash religious philosophies and shamanic practices had much in common. Shamans from both ethnolinguistic groups—more often males, who came from shamanic or chiefly families—were

part of an interethnic political association of shamans, *ʔantap* among the Chumash and *yovauarekam* among the Tongva (e.g., Bean and Vane 1978; McCawley 1996:95–96). Like Toypurina, the young woman prophet of Santa Barbara may have been a recognized shaman, her communications with spirits thus given immediate credence. Some accounts say that a healer gave her *datura*—associated with shamanic trances, initiations, ceremonies, and healing and with Chinigchinich—before she had her vision (cf. Sandos 1985:119). In any case, she was both participating in and transforming shamanic traditions in receiving and communicating her revelations from Chupu. The much later Chumash prophecies may differ from Toypurina's in their syncretic incorporation of Christian elements, such as pouring sacred water on the head in dedication to Chupu. But details of Toypurina's prophecies, and ritual acts she prescribed besides the attack on the mission, are barely known from the Spanish interrogations and may also have had syncretic elements.

The largest uprising in the California missions was the Chumash revolt of 1824. A classic example of ritual violence and the clandestine and oppositional nature of religious prophecies under conditions of colonial hegemony, it was a coordinated revolt across a wide region, with attacks at three different missions, each a day's journey from the next: Santa Barbara, Santa Ynés, and La Purísima. Documents from official investigations were lost, and most chroniclers seem unaware of indigenous prophecies as precipitating causes, though Bancroft says that “some local event” triggered it (1886, vol. 2:527–537; Osio 1996:55–69). But Heizer (1941:128) suggests that the 1824 revolt was tied to a messianic movement and that prophecies that the unnamed Chumash woman received from Chupu in 1801 circulated clandestinely among her people for a generation. Kroeber notes, “The god *Achup* or *Chupu*, whose ‘worship’ a missionary report of 1810 mentions as being uprooted among the Purísima natives, may or may not have had connection with the *toloache* cult,” closely associated with Chinigchinich (1925:567). Offerings at shrines to Chupu persisted into the 1820s among the Chumash (Grant 1978:513).

Father Boscana's contemporary account, from 1825 at San Juan Capistrano, 150 miles to the southeast, suggests that revelations associated with Chinigchinich and the return of powerful spirits underlay the 1824 Santa Barbara revolt and continued to circulate in the region afterward:

About the middle of December, 1823, a comet appeared in the north which was visible until the latter part of January of the ensuing year. In September, 1825, another was seen. . . . The Indians, who had observed them, believing they were their deceased chiefs, consulted together as to the cause of their appearance and were all of the opinion that they denoted some important change in their destiny; but how or in what manner it would be, they were ignorant. Some thought that they would return to their primitive mode of life; that it was Sirout, whom they had seen, he, who was the father of their grand captain, Quiot; and when he came he ever brought good things, for their profit and happiness. Others believed that it denoted that they were to live free and do whatever they pleased, without being under subjection to any-one; although they would still remain occupants of the mission.

The elder ones said Sirout foretold that another people would come who would treat them as slaves and abuse them; that they would suffer much hunger and misery; and that the chief thus appeared to call them away from the impending calamity. Still others said that the comet was Tacu, the father of Quiamot or Chinigchinich, which was generally assented to. [1978:89]

In Southern California religious beliefs, a comet generally signifies a chief or shaman returning to earth, bearing a message. Stars are the hearts, or spirits, of powerful beings, including high chiefs and shamans. The term for comet in Acjachemem (better documented than the related Tongva language) means star with a headband tied around its head. Another term for comet means “his life's spirit is making a (medicinal) smudge” (Boscana 1978:77, 89; Harrington 1933:200–201, 226). Headband can also mean Milky Way (Harrington 1933:201). It is a symbol of the spirits, and it is the sacred net personified in the male initiation ritual of *wanaawut*, also represented in the outer ring of sand paintings used in male and female initiations and mourning ceremonies. All of this is associated with Chinigchinich.

Headbands have further ritual connotations. A pad of human hair, bound by a special cord (sometimes also of hair), held the eagle feathers of the ceremonial headdress worn by human and spirit dancers on the wamkash and the ritual emblem of rank used at the installation of a new Tongva chief. They were used in shamanic divination and were blessed by shamans for use in battle (DuBois 1908:85–88; Kroeber 1925:640, 645, 662–664, 671–672). By the end of January, a month after its apparition, the bright comet of 1823–24, also recorded by European as-

tronomers, had developed two tails, one pointing toward the sun and the other, away (Harrington 1933:226). The 1824 Chumash uprising began in February, days later.¹¹

In 1914 John Peabody Harrington collected oral historical accounts of the revolt from Maria Solares, a descendant of Chumash participants from Mission Santa Ynés. The story is laced with elements of ritual violence and religious prophecy. According to Maria Solares, before the attack the Indians used *pespibata*, an indigenous tobacco (*Nicotiana sp.*, used ceremonially and by shamans in much of Southern California, often with *datura*). At Mission Santa Ynés, upon hearing that the soldiers planned to attack them, “some of the Indians said, ‘The priest cannot hurt me—I am a medicine man.’ Many Indians said thus.” Several captured Chumash at Mission La Purísima were bound, blindfolded, and shot by the soldiers. One man survived. The soldiers “examined him and found that he had an ‘atiswin [amulet] of woven human hair about his neck, and that was the reason he did not die. They broke this and all shot at him again and then the man died. . . . The Ineseños were all saying something like this: ‘If they shoot at me, water will come out of the cannon; if they shoot at me, the bullet will not enter my flesh’” (Blackburn 1975:123–126).

Human hair symbolizes the spirit in the theology of the Chinichinich religion. Hair ropes were used in ritual sand paintings at each of the four cardinal directions to represent the world and as the “sacred rope” of initiation. Male initiation in the toloache ritual itself conveyed “impenetrability to arrows” (Kroeber 1925:626, 658).

The immediate trigger of the uprising was the flogging of a neophyte at Mission Santa Ynés, which was then burned nearly to the ground (e.g., Castillo 1978:103). A Chumash messenger from La Purísima, en route to the revolt at Santa Ynés, killed a Spaniard and took his clothes and horse. When a suspicious Spanish soldier named Valentín tried to capture him, the messenger “disappeared when he jumped on the horse, giving a cry as he did so. Horse and rider had disappeared, and Valentín was holding pure air.” There are also stories by Chumash descendants that, at Santa Ynés, two armed Indians were able to slip into the mission guardhouse through the keyhole. Chumash men several times used a “magic string”—a headband, the *takulsaximas*, “a woven band such as Coyote used” worn around the head in battle—in divination ceremonies to find out if they would live or die in the 1824 revolt. One man cut the band in half and placed it on the ground in the form of a cross, to

the consternation of others present (Blackburn 1975:123–126; Sandos 1985:125, 128).

There is a paradox here. The ritual violence and prophecies of revitalization of the 1824 Chumash uprising were also part of an intellectual synergy on the California frontier that included quintessentially rationalist, Enlightenment ideals of individual liberty. In 1821 Mexico declared independence from the Spanish Crown. A short-lived empire was proclaimed in May 1822, but the distant province of Alta California seven months later became part of the new republic of Mexico. A minority of provincial officials and Hispanic landowners had long held the liberal, republican, and anticlerical views, directly influenced by the French Enlightenment and French Revolution, that galvanized Mexican revolutionary leaders. In Alta California this included the conviction that Christian Indians, too, had individual rights as citizens and should be liberated from the tyranny of the missions and given property as individuals (e.g., Monroy 1990:117–123; Osio 1996). More cynically, of course, expelling the mission would also free huge, fertile tracts of land for ownership by Californios—Spanish-speaking settlers—and provide a large, additional pool of cheap or free Indian labor. The order to secularize the missions, and dispossess the Franciscans, finally came from Mexico City in 1833. The official goal of the Franciscan missions, since the 1770s, had been to civilize the Indians and hold mission lands in trust for them, presumably for ten years. As decades passed, the padres and provincial governors, justifying continuation of the mission system, blamed Indians for refusing to give up their savage ways (e.g., Bancroft 1886, vol. 1; Monroy 1990:117–123). Father Boscana, describing Acajemem and Tongva interpretations of the 1823–24 comet as portending the advent of a new people come to enslave them, from whom they should escape, says, “These ideas undoubtedly have arisen from the fact that when the declaration of independence was proclaimed in Mexico, the Indians were made to believe that they would no longer be subject to the regulation of the missions; and that each family, or person would live separately as colonists. But the government considering them unfit for such a condition has not made any innovation up to the present time of November, 1825” (1978:89–90).

Boscana states that at San Diego, when the Mexican Empire was proclaimed in 1822, “there were many Indians present who listened attentively to the declaration that Mexico no longer acknowledged the Spanish authority” (1978:88–89). He alleges that in a related incident

of internally directed ritual violence a few months later, at a regional eight-day "grand feast," San Diego area Indians burned alive a tyrannical chief and put another in his place. When censured by pueblo authorities, they cited the Mexican revolution and the execution of the Spanish viceroy (Boscana 1978:88–89). Ideas of liberty, tyranny, citizenship, and the rights of man were much discussed among Californios and apparently indigenous Californians as well in the revolutionary years of the early 1820s, including at the presidios of Santa Barbara and San Diego. The Chumash uprising was led by fluent Spanish speakers, many second-generation Catholics, who would have heard and likely participated in some of these conversations, heated debates, and proclamations.

From at least the time of the 1785 uprising at Mission San Gabriel, inspired by the prophecies of Toypurina, through the 1820s, politicoreligious movements swept the California frontier and occasionally erupted into armed resistance. They combined a rational calculus and politically revolutionary goals with revelations from ancient and newly revealed sacred beings and creative reinterpretations of European philosophies of religion and society. They occasionally reached the attention of Spanish and Mexican authorities in their corporeal manifestations of ritual violence. The transformative insights and revelations that underlay these movements have evolved and continued, almost unnoticed by outsiders, in secret and sacred ceremonies on dancing grounds in remote Southern California valleys, inspired by prophecies of moral renewal and social harmony related to those that moved Toypurina and the Tongva of Mission San Gabriel in 1785. Prophetic movements arising under extreme conditions of colonial oppression have been similarly and surprisingly long-lived in other parts of the world as well.

Cargo Cults and Ritual Violence: Milne Bay and the Louisiade Archipelago, New Guinea, 1880s–1990s

Hearing Lily Burfitt's story on the beach at the Grass Island feast some 20 years ago is what made me grasp the realities of the violent core of many prophetic movements. A barefoot woman in her sixties in a blue-flowered cotton dress with smooth, light brown skin, long gray hair, gray eyes, and a powerful gaze, she was what in Papuan pidgin is called a *hapkas*, a half-caste, or mixed-race person. Daughter of an English gold miner and a woman from Vanatinai (or Sudest, the largest island in the Louisiade Archipelago, 200 miles southeast of mainland New

Guinea), she was one of the few half-castes in the region. I later read other versions of the events that transformed her life in the distancing prose of yellowed, typed reports at the government station on Misima Island.

Lily married George Burfitt, who like her had an English miner and trader for a father. His mother was from Misima Island. George and Lily took up the lease on a coconut plantation at Panawina Island, in the Calvados Chain of small islands running between Misima and Vanatinai, and also ran a "canteen," a small trade store. In early 1942 the Australian colonial government and white civilians made a panicked and disorderly withdrawal from the islands ahead of the Japanese naval advance; then came the Battle of the Coral Sea, fought over the Louisiade Archipelago, which marked and ended this southernmost advance of the Japanese in the Pacific during World War II. About ten months after the colonial government withdrawal, the Australian Lieutenant Mader and his party, including six Papuan police, sailed to the Louisiade to establish a military government. Until that point, Islanders told me years later, they had thought that the Europeans were gone for good.

About one hundred fifty island men, followers of the prophet Buriga (or Bulega) of Misima Island, planned to carry out the bloodiest part of his prophecy: kill all the white and mixed-race people in the islands, the world as we know it will end, and the spirits of the dead will come sailing back with all the cargo, or material wealth, that the Europeans have unfairly diverted from the Islanders. Lieutenant Mader and his party, hearing of the planned revolt, set out to capture Buriga's men. Just as the small government boat was anchoring in the shallows off Motorina Island, in the Calvados Chain, Lieutenant Mader was stabbed in the back—with a black palm spear, the traditional weapon of war. A key symbol of ritual violence, its use was part of the prophecy. (Accounts of non-cult-related warfare from the 1890s to the 1920s mostly describe Islanders attacking with captured or illegally obtained Snider rifles or with steel bush knives, machetes.)

George Burfitt, who had joined the Australian military party as a local pilot through the treacherous coral reefs, was the next man speared by the cultists; his body shoved overboard into the lagoon. He was followed in death by six Papuan members of the military party. An elderly half-Filipino, half-Papuan pearl trader was murdered on his boat a few days later. In another incident a "native policeman" who came to recruit men to labor for the Allies at Milne Bay (at the tip of the New Guinea

mainland) was speared to death on the beach. Eyewitnesses told me that right before this last attack, one man from the Calvados Chain said, "Why should we go and die for the *lumolumo* [Europeans]?"

Buriga and his men were eventually rounded up, and the ringleaders were hanged before the entire, forcibly assembled populace of Misima Island—one man, a child at the time, told me that he still sees this scene in his nightmares. Buriga managed to hang himself in his cell the night before. Most of the raiders were sentenced to long jail terms, further impoverishing and embittering their home communities. The ancestors never returned with the cargo. Lily Burfitt spent the rest of her life as a childless widow, managing a remote plantation by herself.

By the time I met Lily Burfitt I already knew of several interwoven strands of cargoistic belief, prophecy, and action that had swept the archipelago since the 1930s, when Buriga first began to proselytize. The Vanatinai people had not joined the World War II-era revolt, which found its largest number of adherents among the small, infertile Calvados Chain islands to the northwest. Speakers of a different language, they intermittently traded with and (until the 1920s) raided Vanatinai. At least one Vanatinai man was speared by the cultists in 1942, in revenge for his alleged sorcery murders. My Vanatinai neighbors, regionally notorious for the power of their sorcery, spent much of the period of the uprising hiding in the upland forests, avoiding further attacks—and the suddenly increased chances of unwanted contact with *gvamanani*, the colonial government, now personified by officers of the Australian military administration.

It was not that Vanatinai people disbelieved in the return of the ancestors with cargo. They just did not believe Buriga. One of their most often told myths continues to be that of Alagh, who lived at the summit of Mt. Rio, home of the ancestor spirits, with his two wives. A carpenter, he disturbed the sleep of Rodyo (the spirit "owner" of the mountain and of the dead) with his constant hammering and sawing. Rodyo ordered Alagh to leave. Alagh took one of his wives and his assistant and sailed away on his European-style boat, *Buliliti*, to the "land of Europeans." He took the noisy things (*bigibigi*; in pidgin, *cargo*) that offended Rodyo: engines, hammers, nails, saws, chickens, cattle, and gold (extracted with powerful machinery in European-owned island mines). This is why Europeans are so rich, and Papuans have only shell valuables. The corollary, of course, is that one day Alagh and the other spirits might sail back with the cargo.

Prophecy and Ritual Violence in New Guinea

According to Lieutenant Sidney Smith, who investigated the World War II cargoistic murders in the Louisiade Archipelago, one man involved "in the murder of Lt. Mader and his party . . . returned to his village [where] he boasted of his deeds and hoisted a flag made out of scraps of calico, saying that the Government had now been killed and they would fly their own flag. After these latest murders it seems quite definite that every native in the Calvados Chain . . . had decided that Government control had more or less ceased to exist and they could return to their old fashions and kill with impunity" (Misima Station 1943b; I was once this man's houseguest at a Panawina Island mortuary feast). Another wartime officer, sentencing a Vanatinai sorcerer to six months of hard labor, writes, "This native said he did not give two pins for the Government and that he would kill anyone by sorcery if he so wished. Apparently thought he had seen the last of the Government in this district" (Misima Station 1943a).

The Louisiade Archipelago cargo cult uprising's anticolonial message was explicit. So was its targeted violence, inspired by prophecies of a new moral and social order revealed by communications with spirits. Similar themes had appeared in the former British New Guinea (after 1906 the Australian-ruled Territory of Papua) since at least the 1880s. In the earliest manifestations recognized by the British (who first declared southeastern New Guinea a "Possession" in 1884), the theme of antiwhite violence, embedded in inspired prophecies, was implicit. But colonial administrators and missionaries immediately perceived the threat that these prophecies posed to colonial social order and their potential for eruptions of armed attack.

These politico-religious movements, including the 20th-century efflorescences that came to be known as cargo cults, have characterized the entire swath of Melanesia from Fiji to Dutch New Guinea. There are striking similarities among these phenomena, from the 1880s Tuka movement of Fiji to the cargoistic prophecies of the late-20th-century Louisiade Archipelago.¹² The similarities of these Pacific prophetic movements are quite unlikely to be the result of diffusion, over 4,000 miles, from a single point of origin. Clearly, some of their diagnostic features must result from similar situations of colonial domination: political, economic, and religious. These overlay analogous Melanesian cultural substrates, particularly Melanesian magico-religious philosophies and worldviews as they relate to, and explain, the careers and fortunes

of people and objects. Nevertheless, the degree to which earlier waves of prophecy and ritual violence have been remembered and periodically transformed over decades and generations has, I believe, been underevaluated by European colonial authorities and some anthropologists.

The coasts, hinterlands, and islands of southeastern New Guinea, for example, have been linked for centuries by overlapping (though continually shifting and reforming) webs of trade and ceremonial exchange that cross ethnolinguistic boundaries. These routinely bring "foreigners" and new ideas and customs to local communities. This is one way in which prophecies, cults, and details of cargoistic outbreaks in distant places spread across wide regions. I can personally attest to this from having heard about contemporary movements partly from visitors arriving by outrigger sailing canoe at Vanatinai, one of the most out-of-the-way islands in the Pacific.

Colonial situations in British New Guinea and Papua intensified interethnic contacts. The increasingly effective suppression of warfare allowed more freedom of movement and more trade in some areas and for some groups, including new markets for foodstuffs and tropical commodities exchanged for cash or credit at European-owned trade stores. The system of indenture, whereby young men signed two-year contracts to labor for Europeans in distant coconut plantations or goldmines or to be personal servants, moved people from their home communities and, while restricting their freedoms, put them in close contact with men from ethnic groups in other parts of the colony. As Keesing (1978) notes, workforces of colonial plantations and mines throughout Melanesia effectively amplified and diffused cargoistic prophecies and practices.

As on the California frontier and elsewhere in the world, Melanesian religious movements or armed attacks that involve more than one ethnolinguistic group and sweep across larger regions are more likely to involve politico-religious prophecies and elements of ritual violence. Secrecy is usually a key element of the prophecies, just as in California. This is consistent with Melanesian magico-religious beliefs more generally, whether of love, exchange, or warfare. They lose their potency for the owner when revealed to others, particularly their targets—lovers, exchange partners, enemies. So, again as in California, many movements and their prophetic origins and details have remained unknown, or poorly known, to colonial or postcolonial authorities.

The prophecies of Buriga, who in the 1930s began to preach about the expulsion of Europeans by ritual violence and the return of spirits

with cargo, did not arise from nowhere. Misima and the rest of the Louisiade Archipelago were linked by traditional maritime exchange network to the New Guinea mainland and to islands stretching as far as the Trobriands, through the *kula* trading system made famous by Bronislaw Malinowski (1922) and related networks of exchange (Lepowsky 1993). And beginning in 1888, Europeans have mined gold at Misima: by the 1930s there were hundreds of indentured laborers, from most parts of the Territory of Papua, at work in the mines. Detailed reports, transformed by repetition and the passage of time, of earlier cargoistic prophecies and events became, I suspect, common knowledge on Misima and other islands courtesy of exchange visitors, indentured laborers, and, during World War II, conscripted laborers for the Allies on the mainland. So it is fruitful to compare the cargoistic prophecies and ritual violence of the Louisiade Archipelago during World War II with two better known cases, one and two generations earlier, the Milne Bay Prophet movement of 1893 and the Vailala Madness of 1919. Both involved people from the British New Guinea/Papuan coast with whom Louisiade Islanders had long been in contact, through exchange links in the first case and through indentured laborers at island gold mines in the second case.

The Milne Bay Prophet movement of 1893 was not the first such movement to arise in what became British New Guinea. Colonial and mission accounts (e.g., Abel 1902:111-112) mention Domu, the prophet of Mita, a hamlet somewhere in the Milne Bay region, probably active in the 1870s or early 1880s, whose prophecies were not recorded by the British. But the 1893 movement that originated on the north shore of Milne Bay—at the eastern tip of the great island of New Guinea—is the first well-documented New Guinea prophetic movement. Its details are noted in colonial reports and by a young English missionary, Charles Abel, based at Kwato Island some 30 miles away. Nearly contemporaneous with the second wave of the Ghost Dance in North America, the Milne Bay Prophet movement had an explicit anticolonial theme.

A young man named Tokeriu, from the village of Gabugabuna, one night received a vision from a tree spirit. Based on his vision, Tokeriu prophesied that a cataclysmic earthquake, volcanic eruption, and tidal wave would wash away every coastal village on both shores of the bay. In order to avoid destruction, people must cast away all European goods, such as tin matchboxes and pocketknives, and return to the use of stone implements. As a sign of adherence, they should tuck into their woven

armlets a long *bizare* (this is a narrow, soft, flexible leaf used in beauty and exchange magic, still an item of adornment for dancing at regional mortuary feasts, connoting contact with ancestor spirits). The tree spirit said that people should kill, distribute, and eat all their pigs and consume all their garden food. And they should move away from the coasts, founding new villages inland “where the tidal wave and the white man cannot come near thee,” in Abel’s translation. After the cataclysm, a new island, covered in ripe yams and taro, would rise in the middle of Milne Bay. The wind would always stay to the southeast (the direction of the reliable trade winds, as opposed to the northwest monsoon or the cyclonic storms that come from the southwest). A huge vessel would anchor off the island. On it would be all the spirits of the dead. Tokeriu would then form a government (Abel 1902:107–109, 122–123; Worsley 1968:52).

One notable element of this prophecy is that it is, in some ways, an anti-cargo cult: the people are instructed by the tree spirit, via the prophet, to renounce all European material possessions in order to usher in the new world of Papuan plenty, social harmony, and the return of the dead. The major exception to the anti-cargo cult theme is, of course, the great European-style boat. The prophecy reveals it to be owned by the spirits of the ancestral dead, rather than by the government, the missionaries, or the white traders. And this boat would be larger than the *Merrie England*, the government steamer and visible manifestation of white power. The 1893 movement is thus preoccupied with cargo and its symbolic meanings in contexts of then-increasing colonial control. In ritual and material acts of resistance, Islanders should return to using only precolonial forms of wealth and technology. The dead will then sail back. They will bring not the generalized wealth of the white man’s trade store, symbols of inequity and growing economic dependency in the early stages of a plantation economy, but, rather, the most powerful of all European cargo, the government boat, symbol and reality of armed British colonial domination. After the apocalypse, the prophecy makes clear, indigenous people will have their own formal government, replacing not only the British colonial regime, then only a few years old, but also the small-scale, unstable, big man-dominated polities and alliances that characterized the region before the British arrived. There will be a new moral and social order.

Tokeriu’s home district was not yet under direct missionary influence, but Charles Abel received word of the movement and set off with an-

other missionary, a Mr. Walker, to Wagawaga, on the south shore of Milne Bay (whose people speak a different language), where they found only the “native teacher” (missionary) Biga. Everyone else had moved inland in accordance with the prophecy. After a lengthy harangue, Abel and Walker got up a party of Wagawaga men, unarmed, to confront the prophet at Gabugabuna, across the bay. It too was deserted. At the new, inland cult village, they met a hostile crowd of men. Waiting, uninvited, on a long veranda that linked the row of houses (an architectural innovation that was part of the prophecy), Abel threw a stick of twisted, molasses-cured tobacco to some of the men. It was immediately “hurled back,” he reports, “and struck me on the ear” (1902:116–119). This was a violent act in Papuan terms. The European wealth item, a gift, was rejected by throwing it like a spear at the head of the giver, a deadly insult in local custom.

Abel tried to preach but met only hostility. Tokeriu himself finally appeared, “showing all the symptoms of a man under the strain of a great emotion. The muscles of his face twitched nervously, and all the movements of his body showed he was trying to hold himself under control” (Abel 1902:120). These are startlingly like the spirit possession symptoms that came to be known, 400 miles down the coast and a generation later, as the *Vailala Madness*. As Abel watched, Tokeriu became possessed again by the tree spirit and began to prophesy, the atmosphere grew more threatening, and Abel’s party decided to leave, in fear of their lives. They were pursued to the beach by an “infuriated mob” of “armed shouting natives” brandishing weapons who allowed the outnumbered visitors to escape in their boats. Tokeriu was later arrested by British colonial authorities. Abel (1902:121–127) took a photograph of the prophet, young, lean, and handsome, looking up warily, squatting in leg irons in the yard of Samarai Island Gaol, where he was imprisoned for two years.

Dissident Methodist Charles Abel himself undoubtedly contributed to the cultural matrix that shaped Tokeriu’s prophecies. In Milne Bay and on nearby islands, apocalyptic Christian preaching evoked indigenous awareness of the power of the dead—ancestor spirits—and their close relations with the living, implying new revelations for new times. The tensions between old technologies and religious idioms and new, and the intensifying threat of European control of land and spirit forces, produced a creative synthesis: one that could lead the way to a golden age of Papuan abundance, without the Europeans. By the implications

of the prophecy, Europeans would all be washed away by the tidal wave that brings back the spirits of the dead. This is a classic revitalization movement, containing elements of three of Wallace's (1956c:275-276) "varieties"—he notes that many movements have aspects of more than one type. Both revivalistic and utopian, in Wallace's terms, it contains one key element of an importation movement, the great ship. The Milne Bay Prophet movement's followers also showed hostility to Europeans. The movement and its prophecies were characterized by ritual, though not corporeal, violence.

Half a century later, in 1943, about seven hundred men from Vanatinai and Misima Islands were sent to the northern shore of Milne Bay to build a new wharf at the old Lever Brothers coconut plantation, extend the airstrip, and unload military ships. Americans and Australians continued to use Milne Bay as a staging area for the New Guinea campaign, and a huge number of Allied troops and enormous quantities of war matériel and supplies passed through. I suspect that the cargoistic beliefs of the Milne Bay Prophet movement of 1893 had gone underground but not vanished and that their embers were fanned in this wartime context of cataclysmic social change, material evidence of enormous European wealth and power, armed violence (by Americans, Australians, Japanese, and Papuans), and unprecedented interracial contacts.¹³

The Vailala Madness of 1919 is a classic example of what Wallace calls an importation movement, and it is the first well-documented prophetic movement in New Guinea where the cargo element is a major motif. Another and closely related theme is what Wallace (1956c:276), borrowing from Bruno Bettelheim, calls identification with the aggressor. Its antecedents are illustrated by the Milne Bay prediction that the Papuan ancestral dead will control the great European ship. The Territory of Papua's government anthropologist, F. E. Williams, who wrote a valuable and lengthy report on the movement (see 1923), rather condescendingly describes the politico-religious philosophy of the Vailala Madness as "vague ideas of Papua for the Papuans." Its key elements include a belief that Papuans will turn white and that the ancestors, who will be white, will sail back with the cargo that the Europeans on the scene have diverted from Papuan hands through their trickery. In other words, then, the colonial specimens are the false Europeans, and the Papuan dead are the true ones. The movement was thus both imitative and expulsive, as in the later cargoistic movements in the Louisiade Archipelago I have already described, prophesying control of European

wealth and power but without the currently dominant Europeans. There were several principal Vailala prophets, one of whom early on received spirit messages from a Lifebuoy Soap ad showing a hospital scene. He also received inspiration from one of his prized possessions, a novel called *Love and the Aeroplane*—likely the left-behind reading material of some colonial officer—whose cover art, Williams surmises, evoked local memories of the first plane ever to fly over Papua, a recent and supernaturally portentous event.

The movement spread along the coast and up and down several major rivers. Adherents became possessed by spirits; they were called, in pidgin, head-he-go-round men (a close translation of one of the indigenous terms for the movement's participants). They showed physical evidence of spirit possession, shouted out "English" or "German" phrases—some recognizably of plantation origin—built cult houses with wooden tables and benches and beer bottle vases, and flew village flags. The flagpoles were also for wireless communication with the steamer of the dead. Early on, men performed military-style drills with rifles, which of course greatly alarmed the few whites in the region. Traditional mortuary and male cult ceremonies were discarded, traditional objects were burned, and adherents to the new cult held feasts to honor the spirits. Notably, men and women sat and ate together for the first time. Spirit messages proclaimed the equality of women, intriguingly, the morality of cleanliness, and prohibitions on adultery and theft—the latter prescriptions reminiscent of the Ten Commandments. Elements of Christian theology surfaced not only in the apocalyptic vision of the returning dead but also in transformed concepts of Hedi (Heaven), Yesu (the place of the dead), and Jehova, the younger brother of Jesus, identified with a portrait of King George V. The movement lasted, sporadically, at least a decade, though in more clandestine and less public forms (Williams 1923, 1934). Simultaneously incorporating and opposing Europeans, their ideologies, and their material possessions, it contained strong elements of ritual violence. Adherence to its prophecies was the way to bring on the end of the world and the disappearance of the current run of Europeans—government officers, missionaries, and traders—and usher in a new world of happiness, prosperity, and autonomy. This would be signaled by the return of the ancestral dead with all the European material possessions of which Papuans were deprived by colonial whites.

The Vailala Madness of 1919—erupting at the close of the Great War, a time of disruption of the colonial order even in the distant Territory of

Papua—was particularly widespread among plantation laborers, village constables, interpreters, and former indentured laborers in European-owned gold mines. Many of these men were migrants from rural hinterlands, and they had more direct and sustained contact than most Papuans with European power and wealth. I suspect that information about the Vailala prophecies, and other, more subterranean cargoistic beliefs, reached Misima Island, site of Papua's most productive gold mine of the 1920s and 1930s. Large numbers of indentured laborers from around the territory were employed at the Misima mine, particularly men of the Vailala region, known generically in Papua's eastern islands as "Kiwai." The prophet Buriga's home village of Siagara is just a few miles from the Misima mine.

The motif of the spirits of the dead returning by ship is found in the 1893 Milne Bay Prophet movement, in the 1919 Vailala Madness, in Buriga's prophecies, and in other cargoistic beliefs held by Islanders of the Louisiade Archipelago up to the present. The Vailala prophecy stated that a steamer would return the ancestral dead with cargo that includes a shipment of rifles, as well as more standard European trade store goods such as rice and tobacco. But by the 1940s, and the stunning event of the Australian civilian withdrawal under threat of Japanese invasion, Buriga's prophecies explicitly stated that the dead would not return with the cargo until all the European and mixed-race people had been killed.

Returning home at the close of World War II, the young men from Vanatinai who had labored for the Allies at Milne Bay reported that American soldiers and sailors (temporary sojourners who were not their colonial masters) contrasted sharply with Australians in being immensely rich and generous, giving them food, clothing, tobacco, and money. Black Americans dressed like and worked with whites, and black and white Americans sat down and ate together. Vanatinai Islanders, young and old, concluded from these reports that the spirits of their own dead travel not only to Mt. Rio, the highest mountain on the island, but turn white and go to America, land of the dead. They decided that this must be the land of Europeans described in the Vanatinai myth of Alagh, recounted earlier.

This resembles Buriga's prophecy—but without the homicidal theme. One day the spirits of the dead will sail back from America bringing all the cargo revealed during the war. And this is why Vanatinai people born in the years before World War II firmly believed that I, an American, was

an ancestor spirit, returning to live among them and bringing cargo to share among my neighbors. They eventually decided that I was the spirit of an important and recently deceased woman named Taineghubwa, whose hamlet I was living in with a local family. Although I have always denied all spirit identities, I was never able to change the minds of any of the elders. The people most active in proclaiming my spirit nature on Vanatinai and nearby islands were the men who in their youth had labored for the Americans at Milne Bay. The elders saw me as a portent of a more general return of the spirits, predicted in the myth of Alagh as reconfigured and reinterpreted by wartime insights and prophecies (Lepowsky 1989, 1993).

The "Americanist" theme of many other better-known postwar Melanesian cargo cults is obvious (Guiart 1951, 1952; Keesing 1978; Lindstrom 1989; Worsley 1968). Here the postwar Americanist variant of cargoistic prophecy replaces European enemies (Australian colonials) with Americans (GIs, sailors, and myself) who are really Papuan ancestors, supernatural exchange partners of the coming golden age when Islanders and spirits will live together in harmony and prosperity. Again the cult is simultaneously imitative and expulsive, differentiating between good and bad, true and false, Europeans and supernatural sources of power and wealth. Myths of the origins of European wealth are found from Dobo (Fortune 1963:136) to the Wissel Lakes in former Dutch New Guinea (Worsley 1968:134). They often feature, as in the myth of Alagh, what Michael Young (1983) calls "the theme of the resentful hero," who is treated badly and leaves, taking the valuables with him or her and impoverishing the region. Similarly, the most important myth on Vanatinai tells of a female snake spirit that produces from its excrement the first shell currency but is chased away to neighboring Rossel Island by foolish young men (Lepowsky 1993). The parallels of this myth to the departure of Alagh with European wealth are striking.

Some Australian government reports on Buriga's prophecies testify that he openly proclaimed that the dead turn white (cf. Nelson 1976:46-48). The Vailala Madness was preceded by a report that a missionary pastor, around 1912, had been greeted by "highly excited . . . natives" as a returned ancestor spirit (Worsley 1968:80). Such beliefs have a history in parts of New Guinea as long as contact with Europeans (cf. Sahlins 1995). My own conviction is that beliefs in ancestor-European connections and their millennial connotations—the end of the known world and a coming inversion of existing situations of frontier, colonial, and

postcolonial inequality—are far more pervasive in time and space in the Southwest Pacific than has currently been documented. The believers are, or were, nonliterate; cult practices and philosophies are often secret; and in New Guinea, for example, British, Australian, and Papua New Guinean governments have all punished even verbal expression of such beliefs with jail terms—for the crime of “spreading false rumors.”

Ritual Violence and Revitalization

Rarely, with the exception of officially atheist countries such as the Soviet Union, have armies, or bands of warriors, gone into battle without attempting to secure the blessings of gods, spirits, or divine kings. But revolutionary millenarian movements, to adapt Stern's (1982) useful phrase, invoke supernatural power in new ways during periods of moral crisis, to aid politico-religious campaigns of social transformation.

Movements or armed revolts involving people from a wide region and multiple ethnolinguistic groups are, I propose, the most likely to be generated by prophecies of resistance, ritual attack, and religious renewal in colonial situations. This is so for frontier and colonial California, New Guinea, and around the world. Existing religious philosophies and the political arrangements that they once validated are severely challenged by interlopers' newly revealed religious and material powers. This creates a period of existential doubt and religious ferment, generating inspired and syncretic prophecies, which travel through kinship, ceremonial, and trading relationships. They spread with newly possible rapidity across the region. New forced or voluntary contacts across indigenous ethnic boundaries are created by colonial institutions, as in California's missions, presidios, and ranchos and in New Guinea's plantations and gold mines. The result is widespread oppositional movements advocating ritual violence to expel the oppressors and return to a revitalized and renewed indigenous moral and political order.

Prophetic movements are generated initially by the symbolic and corporeal violence of colonial encounters, developing across the colonial world synergistically with, or in opposition to, Christian proselytizing. They sometimes continue, under conditions of marked inequality and oppression, as largely underground movements in postcolonial states, coming to the notice of authorities when there are visible, corporeal eruptions of ritual violence.

There have been outbreaks in Africa, for example, from the time of the Mahdi of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, whose followers believed

that British bullets would turn to water. Among the Tshidi, forms and symbols of mission-derived Protestantism were indigenized by “inspired leaders.” In apartheid-era South Africa, adherents, “Soldiers of Zion,” wore uniforms and followed prescribed dietary rules and healing rituals, collective forms of “ritualized resistance” to South African neo-colonial hegemony (Comaroff 1985:12, 166–167, 247–248; Comaroff and Comaroff 1997:96–118). The present-day Holy Spirit movement of millenarian, self-described Christians continues to precipitate corporal forms of ritual violence, waging war on Ugandan government troops to usher in a new order of pan-tribal peace and prosperity, following the prophecies of Alice Lukoya, the Lakwena, or “Messenger,” a young Acholi woman from northern Uganda. When believers draw crosses of ash on their bodies, rub themselves with shea nut oil, and go into battle singing and chanting, the Holy Spirit protects them from enemy bullets, which are turned on the troops that fire them. The stones that believers hurl will explode like grenades. Followers who die in battle are sinners, the Lakwena tells journalists, or possessed of insufficient faith (Vanderwood 1994:99–100, 112–119).

In the mountains of Indochina from 1919 to 1921, in what French colonial authorities called the Madman's War, the Hmong, revolting against colonial taxation policies, followed a messianic prophet who climbed trees to receive messages from heaven, staging guerrilla attacks against the French with cannons fashioned from tree trunks (e.g., Fadiman 1997:17; Quincy 1988). And in the Burma of the new millennium, Karen followers of the 12-year-old Htoo twins, Luther and Johnny, who call themselves God's Army, believe Luther's prophecy that the world will soon explode, that he has given them magic bullets, that the twins command 400,000 invisible soldiers, and that bullets and land mines will bounce harmlessly off the child leaders, who are reincarnations of ancient heroes. The God's Army movement, a synthesis of Buddhism, animism, and fundamentalist Christianity, came to international attention in January 2000 when one faction took 800 patients and staff members hostage in a disastrous raid on a hospital in a Thai border town in which ten people died (Mydans 2000).

Prophetic movements that catalyze episodes of symbolic or corporeal ritual violence have flowered in Latin America among Indians and mestizos from 17th-century colonial Peru (Stern 1982) to the 19th-century Rio Negro and Amazonia (Hill 1996); 20th-century Colombia, Peru, Guyana, and Venezuela (Brown 1991; Staats 1996; Taussig 1987;

Vidal and Whitehead in press); and 21st-century Guyana (Whitehead 2007). Well-documented revolutionary movements from Sonora and Sinaloa in northwestern Mexico in the 1880s and 1890s were triggered by the prophecies of Teresa Urrea, the illegitimate mestiza daughter of a rancher and his young servant. She fell into a prolonged trance at age 16 and received a vision from the Virgin Mary empowering her to heal the sick and foretell the future. *Mestizos*, and Mayo and Yaqui Indians, made pilgrimages to “Santa Teresa de Cabora,” who preached about the world’s three greatest evils—priests, money, and doctors—and called on the people to repent or face God’s punishment. Her *mestizo* followers in the mountains of Chihuahua rose up against the federal troops of Porfirio Díaz; Mayo Indians attacked the Sonoran town of Navojoa in reprisal for the expropriation of their lands, using Santa Teresa de Cabora as their battle cry; and a party of Yaquis attacked the Mexican customs station on the Sonora-Arizona border at Nogales, killing several officials. Yaquis found dead after the battle carried “powder and ointments” to “shield the attackers from the bullets of their adversaries”; over the heart of each was a photograph of Teresa Urrea (Vanderwood 1989:229). She was forcibly deported to Arizona in 1892, where she continued a career as a healer and died young of tuberculosis (Erickson n.d.; Vanderwood 1989, 1994, 1998). Her memory continues. Her aid was invoked by striking Mexican American copper mine workers in southern Arizona in the late 20th century (Sharyn Yeoman, personal communication, 2000; cf. Vanderwood 1998).

Other prophetic movements continue in postcolonial, multiethnic states with great disparities of wealth and power. In parts of South America, the ascribed supernatural power of dispossessed or distant indigenes, “the magic of the Indian,” fuses with that of the African slave and the Christian cultist and becomes, for an ethnically diverse range of citizens, a new kind of “Third World modernism, a neocolonial reworking of primitivism” (Taussig 1987:171–172). Ritual violence, with its symbols and practices of supernaturally charged “indigeneity” and the invoked power of the despoiled land, arises in the oppositional politico-religious movements of ethnic minorities. But it can become a tool of the powerful, “the magic of the [postcolonial] state” (Taussig 1997), when charismatic leaders harness supernatural powers to turn the minds of voters, terrorize the populace, and control enemies, as in Duvalier’s Haiti or Forbes Burnham’s Guyana (Vidal and Whitehead in press).

Anthony Wallace’s classic article on revitalization explicitly compares

North America, especially the Handsome Lake movement and the Ghost Dance, with the Pacific Islands, particularly Melanesian cargo cults. In thinking about California revolts and New Guinea cargo cults, the concept of revitalization remains analytically valuable. But Wallace underemphasizes the continuum of ritual violence that underlies many revitalization movements and, thus, their explicitly revolutionary, oppositional nature.

Wallace makes the key point that revitalization movements often embody an ambivalence regarding “traditional and imported cultural material” and that “both the traditional and the foreign model are regarded both positively and negatively. Culture areas seem to have characteristic ways of handling the identification [with the foreign] problem” (1956c:276). North America, he suggests, is a “revival” area, and Melanesia is an “importation area,” for “Melanesians were often subjected to a more direct coercion by foreign police power” and thus identify with the aggressor, whereas “American Indians north of Mexico were never enslaved on a large scale, forced to work on plantations, or levied for labor in lieu of taxes” (1956c:276). Just the reverse is true for the subjugated peoples of the Alta California missions versus the Islanders of the Louisiade Archipelago, where (except on Misima) Islanders could, and can, go for months or even years without seeing a white face. The two principal cases I present here suggest, then, that areal similarities of prophetic movements characteristic of Melanesia and North America must be caused by something else. They more likely, I think, result from regionally similar indigenous cosmologies and religious philosophies, with oppositional revitalization movements often varying according to the stage of European control then current.

The Toyupurina uprising fits what Wallace calls a revival movement. It likely was a utopian movement as well, in his scheme, just as the Chiniginich religion is both. But details of Toyupurina’s prophecies are largely lost. In the islands of southeastern New Guinea, Buriga’s prophecies were a violent form of a classic cargo cult or, in Wallace’s terms, an importation movement. It too was utopian in its vision of a prosperous and harmonious future shared by the living and the dead. The 1893 Milne Bay Prophet movement was a revival and a utopian movement. I think that this is because it was a response to an earlier and less pervasively established phase of colonial domination. But all these movements had common themes: expel Europeans through ritual or corporeal violence; regain control of land, wealth, and personal au-

tonomy; and live harmoniously with spirits, although in new ways, as they are newly revealed by prophecy. The incorporative, or imitative, aspects of the cargoistic prophecies and movements I have described are only one side of them. They are also expulsive and oppositional: case studies of ritual violence, implicit and explicit. Buriga and others may have identified with the aggressors, in psychoanalytic terms, and wanted to become them symbolically. But they also wanted to kill them, replace them, possess their powers and goods, and, fundamentally, reclaim their own.

In California, enough elements of Toypurina's prophecies survive to show clear parallels with later phenomena such as the Ghost Dance: supernatural forces affect enemies and make one impervious to European weapons, ridding the land of despoiling European invaders. They also show clear parallels with Melanesian cargo cults of the Louisiana Archipelago and elsewhere: ritual attacks that use supernatural power and indigenous weapons that ritually protect indigenous warriors against soldiers armed with guns or cannons and, again, ridding the land of European invaders. Ghost Dance prophecies, like cargoistic ones, foretell the return of the spirits of the dead bringing social harmony and prosperity to the living. Toypurina's prophecies, the Chupu revelations, and the advent of the two-tailed comet said to be Tacu, father of Chinigchinich, may well have also.

The Chinigchinich religion and related philosophies and ceremonies of moral and social renewal have outlasted the 20th century among some indigenous Southern Californians less devastated than the Tongva by the disease, violence, and expropriations of white conquest. In addition, a California Indian Renaissance—overlapping, newer revitalization movements—has reached Tongva and neighboring people. Many of these movements explicitly seek to honor and renew indigenous religions and to emphasize both the sacredness of relations with the natural world and the connection between religious practice and political autonomy. The Gabrieleno-Tongva Tribal Council, with over three hundred enrolled members, has petitioned for federal recognition. At its request, and backed by research conducted through the University of California–Los Angeles American Indian Studies Program, Representative Hilda Solis of the San Gabriel Valley (herself a Californiana) in 2001 introduced a bill in Congress “to reaffirm the status of the Gabrieleno/Tongva Nation.” Other groups of Tongva descendants have also organized themselves, as have descendants of the closely related

Fernandeños, who seek federal recognition as well. Tongva descendants speak out through regional media to protect sacred sites, prehistoric villages, and endangered mountain lions. One of these endangered places is Puvungna, home of Chinigchinich, which has been threatened by a proposed strip mall. Ancestral dead whose remains have been disturbed by development and construction are now being repatriated to descendants and ceremonially reburied. A traditional planked canoe was constructed by the Ti'at Voyaging Society, and in 1995 it was ritually dedicated and paddled 25 miles from Catalina Island to the mainland. A Tongva dance troupe performs at Los Angeles area public events, sometimes introduced by speeches in the Tongva language. Other Tongva have dedicated themselves to cultural education—visiting schools, museums, botanical gardens, and other institutions to share their knowledge of indigenous life and history with other Southern Californians and emphasize that the Tongva are still here. Tongva activists have established Harakmongna, an American Indian cultural center, in an old ranger station high in the San Gabriel Mountains. A model Tongva village was dedicated in October 1999 in a park near the San Gabriel River, just below the site of the first Mission San Gabriel, in the Hispanic-majority City of Santa Fe Springs. In San Gabriel itself, a small city park a few hundred yards from the former hamlet of Sibanga reopened in June 2002 dedicated to commemorating the Tongva, its new playground equipment shaped like dolphins, whales, and other sacred animals and Tongva mythology-inspired pavement mosaics much admired by a multiethnic array of local adults and children.

Among the Acjachemem and Quechnajuichom, with whom Tongva have intermarried for more than two hundred years, activists are working to restore indigenous languages (the last speaker from infancy of Quechnajuichom died in the 1990s; the last Tongva speaker from infancy died in the 1970s) (e.g., Hinton 1994; Locklear and Elliott 2002). Acjachemem and Tongva activists lead a yearly “Ancestor Walk” of descendants and supporters to village sites and burial places to commemorate ancestors and protest encroaching, massive development and desecration (e.g., Robles 2002). The Juaneño Band of Mission Indians Acjachemem Nation has some one thousand four hundred enrolled members. Its petition for federal recognition advances at a glacial pace through the bureaucracy of the Branch of Acknowledgment and Research of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, achieving “Ready Status” in 1995. The growing number of heavily advertised casinos, the band-

sponsored intertribal powwows, and the recent casino-based wealth and political influence of federally recognized bands of Serranos, Cahuillas, and Luisños, a short distance away to the east and south, have led to unprecedented regional visibility for indigenous Californians and helped to fund renewed drives toward cultural and religious revitalization.

In the contemporary Pacific Islands, cultural transformation movements range from cargoistic movements like those documented in classic anthropological accounts; to the Clean and Green movement of environmental renewal and economic self-sufficiency among Mortlock Islanders on Pohnpei, in Micronesia; to the overlapping Hawaiian Renaissance, Kanaka Maoli, Hawaiian Sovereignty, and Hawaiian Independence movements, which make sophisticated use of print and electronic media and have powerful, oppositional influences on Hawaiian politics.¹⁴

Back in the Louisiade Archipelago, yet another variant of millennial, cargoistic prophecy has arisen, on Misima Island, in the last 25 years. The prophet is none other than the wartime prophet Buriga's sister's son—this is a matrilineal area—and prophetic rituals are heavily inflected with a syncretic blend of Methodism and ancestor veneration. The wartime theme of violence has been muted into ritual practices that will banish Europeans and current forms of national and local government and will bring back ancestors and cargo. Like his uncle, the most recent prophet has found adherents in the impoverished Calvados Chain islands and among Misima Islanders angry at the stark disparities of wealth made visible by the opening, in the 1980s by a multinational corporation, of one of the world's largest gold mines near Misima's government station.

Disparities of wealth and power, and the continuing loss of autonomy in a neocolonial periphery, still provide fruitful ground for prophetic movements. The Islanders of the Louisiade Archipelago, who unlike the Tongva retain their languages, voyaging canoes, and webs of social relations largely intact, continue to consider cargoistic prophecies and new ritual approaches to the power of spirits and the regeneration of social order. Several times so far, though, the world has failed to end as predicted.

All revitalization movements are oppositional, arising among cultural minorities, catalyzed by the moral and political crises of colonial and postcolonial hegemony. Some are separatist or retreatist, while others are explicitly confrontational. Not all revitalization movements generate

ritual violence. But many do, whether they are separatist or confrontational. Ritual violence predates the rise of a revitalization movement as part of indigenous politico-religious practice. It is then transformed and incorporated into the new movement. Prophetic movements generating ritual violence tend to spread across ethnic boundaries, redefining the borders of social groupings into nascent, religiously linked politics opposed to colonial institutions or the colonial state.

Ritual violence follows a continuum from magic and prayer to the corporeal violence of divinely inspired warriors. The objects of ritual violence follow an intersecting continuum that runs from the most internal to the most external. Ritual attacks, from magical to corporeal, can be directed internally within the kin network, the settlement, or the ethnic group, as in witchcraft, sorcery, shamanic attack, feuding, or raiding. They can cross ethnic boundaries to target members of other indigenous groups through sorcery, raiding, and warfare. They can be directed to internal transgressors of a prophetic or proselytizing religion that has itself crossed ethnic boundaries. Or they can target external enemies, whether by dancing to bring on the end of the world and the disappearance of whites or by ritual attacks, magical or corporeal, on colonial overlords. The targets of ritual violence of a particular ethnic group or religious movement may be fluid, moving over time from internal to external and back again in response to perceived moral transgressions, new prophetic revelations, or further colonial repression. The internally directed destructive powers of witchcraft, sorcery, shamanism, and war magic, which can be turned outward against traditional enemies, may, in response to prophecies like Buriga's, be reconfigured and used against the colonials. After the revolt is suppressed, the movement may return to secret rituals intended to bring on the return of the ancestors with their wealth and power and the disappearance of the colonial or postcolonial state. The ritual violence of the revitalizing Chiniginich religion was internally directed by divine commands to sacred animals and high shamans to kill initiates who disobeyed his moral code or betrayed his secrets, on pain of mass death in his terrible plagues. It may have erupted periodically into armed, ritualized revolt as new epidemics struck, new acts of violence were perpetrated against the people in missions and towns, or inspired prophecies such as those of Toyupurina revealed new insights from him or related spirit beings such as earth. After the uprisings failed, the prophecies and rituals, sacred and secret, went back underground.

Colonial and postcolonial states reserve to themselves the right to commit violence, internally in punishing violators of their laws and codes and externally in making war. This means that all acts of ritual violence by minority peoples are inherently subversive or revolutionary, dangerous both to the institutions and to the very survival of the state in its current form.

Notes

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1. The term *Tongva* has been increasingly preferred by descendants over the last decade or so. The elderly Mrs. James Rosemyre (Narcisca Higuera), 100 years ago near Fort Tejon, told ethnologist C. Hart Merriam that the term *Tongva* was used to describe the inhabitants of the vicinity of Mission San Gabriel (cf. McCawley 1996). There is no presently known collective term that was used by the entire ethnolinguistic group to describe itself in pre-mission times, which is characteristic of most California groups. Speakers of a Takic (California Shoshonean) language, the Tongva/Gabrielino occupied all of what is now the Los Angeles Basin, from the San Gabriel Mountains to the ocean (up the coast as far as Topanga Canyon; Chumash territory begins at Malibu, and the two place-names are derived from the Tongva and Chumash languages, respectively). Tongva territory includes the San Gabriel Valley to the east, the drainage of the Santa Ana River to the southeast and as far southeast as Aliso Creek in what is now Southern Orange County, plus the three southernmost Channel Islands of Santa Catalina, San Clemente, and tiny San Nicolas. Speakers of a closely related dialect, known for two centuries as the *Fernandinos* (after Mission San Fernando, founded in 1797), occupied the San Fernando Valley, north of central Los Angeles. Kroeber (1925:620) suggests that there may actually have been as many as "half a dozen" mainland dialects of this language but that they were later standardized into two dialects because of the two missions. This seems likely. A separate dialect was spoken on Santa Catalina and San Clemente Islands, and yet another was spoken on San Nicolas Island. The Franciscans in 1812 discerned four languages (*idiomas*) among Mission San Gabriel neophytes, "Kokomcar" (location uncertain—coastal Comicranga at Santa Monica Canyon in West Los Angeles?), "Siba" (from Sheevanga, the inland hamlet adjacent to the mission), Carbonanga or Corbonamga (location uncertain—Kawenga, whose name continues at Cahuenga Pass in the Hollywood Hills?), and Guitamcar (Kitanemuk), a separate Takic language once spoken in the mountains north and east of the mission (Engelhardt 1927:97; Kroeber 1925:621; the guesses are mine). The population just before the Spanish mission era was probably 5,000-10,000 (Bean and Smith 1978; Kroeber 1925). Island and related coastal people were sometimes in hostile relations with inland ones, partially disrupting their food supply, particularly fish. Mission neophytes, drawn at first from inland communities, went hungry in early years because of hostilities and crop failures and were turned loose for weeks by the Franciscans to hunt and forage. South of Aliso Creek was the territory of the *Aciachemem* or *Juaneños*—after Mission San Juan Capistrano, founded in 1776—speakers of the northernmost Luiseno dialect. *Luisenos* (Quechnajuchom, Khecham, or Que-esh, from the name of the coastal area near Mission San Luis Rey, founded in 1798) speak a

separate Tatic language (Bancroft 1886, vol. 1:202; Bean and Shipek 1978; Bean and Smith 1978; Kroeber 1925; McCawley 1996).

Unconverted Indians were called gentiles (pagans) by the Spanish. Their settlements, many made up of several extended families though others were larger, were known in California Spanish as *rancherías*—still used in California today to refer to rural Indian communities, most not on officially recognized reservations. Neophytes, baptized Indians, presumably subject to Christian instruction, were compelled to live within, or just outside, the mission walls. If they fled to their home communities or the mountains, Spanish soldiers would track them and bring them in chains back to the mission, where they were whipped, shackled, and sentenced to a term of hard labor. Unknown numbers of Tongva/Gabrielino escaped the missions or moved away from their home territory to join neighboring ethnolinguistic groups to the north, east, and southeast, in the deserts, mountains, and San Joaquin Valley, that remained free of mission control.

2. The suffix *-vit* means “person from a given place”; *-niga* or *-nigua* indicates place. A chief's firstborn daughter held a title, *manitsar*, indicating her high rank. His oldest son, called *tomyaar* (chief), normally succeeded him. The 1785 uprising at Mission San Gabriel is briefly mentioned in the history by Bancroft, based on Spanish documents. Bancroft does not name Toyupurina but relates: “The neophytes and gentiles were tempted by a woman, so at least said the men, into a plan to attack the mission and kill the friars” (1886, vol. 1:460). Similarly, A. J. West's *A History of Los Angeles County* (1889) refers, without attribution, to an “aboriginal eve” who tempted the Indians at San Gabriel into revolt. Father Zephyrin Engelhardt's history of Mission San Gabriel closely paraphrases Bancroft on “neophytes and gentiles tempted by a woman” (1927:60–61).

Thomas Workman Temple II, a lawyer, self-taught genealogist, and amateur historian whose Hispanic ancestors arrived at Mission San Gabriel in the 1770s (and Anglo forebears at Los Angeles in the 1830s and 1840s), says that he heard the story of an Indian revolt at the mission led by a woman from his mother, descended from Mission San Gabriel soldiers born in what is now Mexico. Years later, he says, finding mention of the incident in Bancroft's history (1886, vol. 1) and remembering the story, he located a microfilm copy of the Spanish *Expediente (Proceedings)* at the Bancroft Library and traces of Toyupurina's later life in mission records. Temple's reconstruction of the Toyupurina revolt, published in *The Masterkey*, the Southwest Museum of Los Angeles periodical, is a mixture of fabrication and historically accurate detail traceable to Spanish colonial documents. Temple presents it as historical fact, based on his archival search for documentation of his mother's story, using phrases such as “these are her [Toyupurina's] exact words,” followed by quotations (e.g., 1958:148). But many of his quotations do not match the Spanish archival texts he cites. Temple does not specify what elements of his tale—replete with individually named soldiers

dressing up as priests, feigning death in a mock wake, and lying in wait for the attackers—he received from his mother's *cuento* (story). If he had, then this would be historically and ethnographically valuable testimony from one Californio family's oral traditions, with the reader's understanding that, as Temple puts it, the cuentos were “interpolated with what flourishes succeeding generations had added or subtracted from the storied past of our San Gabriel Valley.” But Temple attributes only general remarks to his mother on “wild Indians in war paint,” “apprehensive padres praying for deliverance,” and “brave soldados.” Absent his testimony on what details of the event he heard through family oral traditions, his account might best be described as historical fiction and should be cited only with caution. Temple (1958:141) also writes that a failed uprising at Mission San Gabriel in 1779 was led by neophyte Nicolas José (a leader of the 1785 revolt), motivated by his “jealous rage” over the “advances” made to his intended bride by a “Baja California neophyte” (a Christianized Indian accompanying the Spanish to Alta California). “The padres and soldiers were also to be killed,” Temple writes. There is no documentary evidence to back up Temple's account of the grievances behind the 1779 revolt. In spite of its failings, Temple's 1958 article has remained the principal source for most later discussions of the 1785 revolt, such as those by Phillips (1975) and Castillo (1991), who cite it in overviews of Indian resistance movements in Southern California, and by Monroy (1990:40) and McCawley (1996:199), who discuss Indian-Spanish relations in 18th-century California. Tongva descendant Louisa Jeffredo-Warden (1999), like Temple (a distant relation through a great-grandmother), heard family stories of Toyupurina in childhood. She uses (though with skepticism) Temple's account but adds brief excerpts from a new translation of Spanish documents. Mason (1975) uses the original Spanish documents in an article on Governor Fages's relations with Indians mentioning the 1785 revolt, as does Castañeda (1998) in a broader gender analysis of pre-gold rush California's multiethnic history. Hackel (n.d.) uses his own translation in analyzing Spanish colonial legal culture, critiquing Temple (1958) and emphasizing the leadership of neophyte Nicolas José in the 1785 uprising. He shows that in summer 1784, hundreds of neophytes were moved to the mission vicinity from coastal communities, then in hostilities with inland people, arguing that this further strained the subsistence economy (already threatened by Spanish farming and grazing) and helped precipitate the 1785 revolt.

As comments in works by Castillo, Castañeda, and Jeffredo-Warden reflect, in the last decade or so Toyupurina has, fittingly, begun to be recovered in Southern California as a heroic icon of indigenous resistance to Spanish colonial domination. Castañeda interviewed Vera Rocha, a Tongva elder and activist, who “received the story of Toyupurina and the Gabrielinos as a very young girl from her great-grandmother, who received it from her mother” (1998:238). Rocha recently worked with UCLA professor and sculptor Judith Baca to create “a prayer

mound dedicated to Toyupurina," public art that is now part of a commuter rail station in the San Gabriel Valley. Toyupurina will be a central figure in a major exhibition on the Tongva planned for the UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History (Cindi Alvitre and Craig Torres, personal communications, 2001). And in a recent storybook for school-age children, called *Great Indians of California*, a final page touting forthcoming titles in the series advises its young readers, "Soon you can read all about the amazing adventures of Toyupurina, The Remarkable Indian Woman Leader" (Knill 1999:47). These books for California children represent a dramatic cultural and philosophical shift since the days when my fourth grade class in Los Angeles read a little book on early local history that our teacher contextualized with derogatory remarks on "Digger Indians."

3. Future father of Pio Pico, a governor of Mexican California, and Andrés Pico, who in 1846 defeated the invading Americans at the Battle of San Pascual, José María Pico came to Alta California with his soldier father in 1775 at the age of about 11. José María, the investigation of the 1785 revolt testifies, "understands well the language of the natives." This is itself an intriguing piece of evidence about life on the early California frontier. The Pico family, from Sinaloa and Sonora, now northwestern Mexico, was primarily of Indian (possibly Yaqui or Mayo) and African ancestry (e.g., Gray 1998; Mason 1998). A Mission San Gabriel Franciscan father says similarly in 1812 that "the settlers in the town [Los Angeles] commonly speak the Indian idiom also, and even better and more fluently than their own language which is the Spanish" (Engelhardt 1927:97). This may have referred to "settlers" (*pobladores*; townspeople) from families living in the pueblo whose fathers were Spanish mestizos and mothers were Tongva, Acjachemem, or Serrano and whose descendants were later counted as Californios, California Hispanics. Tongva was the lingua franca between Spanish speakers and Indians in Los Angeles until around the 1840s (Kroeber 1925).

4. See Mission San Gabriel 1784–85; cf. Mason 1998:96. There is a continuing oral tradition among some Tongva descendants (which Temple [1958] also notes without documentary evidence) that Toyupurina was married at the time of the 1785 revolt, that her marriage was put aside when she accepted Christian baptism. There is no evidence of any previous marriage in mission records of her 1787 baptism or of her 1789 marriage. Correspondence in 1787–88 between Governor Fages and the Franciscans regarding Toyupurina's exile calls her a single woman (*soltera*; see Mission Santa Barbara 1787–88). Jesuit priest and California historian Michael Engh (personal communication, 2001) has informed me that 18th-century Franciscans in Alta California would have recognized the Pauline Exception, an early church doctrine in which a formerly pagan, newly baptized Christian spouse whose partner refuses to convert can have an existing marriage annulled and then marry a Christian. An existing marriage for Toyupurina is thus theoretically possible, although the Pauline Ex-

ception was rarely used in Spanish California. If such a marriage indeed existed, then there would be no way of confirming if it was annulled with Toyupurina's consent or by coercion.

Manuel Montero's birthplace in the 1790 provincial census is given as Puebla, indicating the colonial city in the Valley of Mexico (Mason 1998:96). But in 1807, at the marriage of his 15-year-old daughter, Juana, to Josef Maria Benavidez at Mission Santa Clara, Manuel is listed as a "native of the Town of Los Angeles" (*nati. de la Puebla de los Angeles*). Los Angeles was founded in 1781, and none of the original settlers had the surname Montero. Because he was married in 1789, Manuel was almost surely born in Mexico but may have been posted to Los Angeles, recorded erroneously as his native town in 1807. Juana's mother is described, eight years after her death, as "Maria Regina (Toyupurina) Yndia dela Misn. De Sn. Gabriel [Indian of the Mission of San Gabriel]" (April 18, 1807; marriage record number 722). Her baptismal name is clearly and simply written at Mission San Gabriel in 1787 as "Regina [Queen] Josefa." Later documents, such as the baptismal and matrimonial records of her children, usually give her name as Maria Regina, Maria Queen, a reference to the Virgin Mary in her aspect as Our Lady Queen of Angels, a reference to the city of Los Angeles, in Toyupurina's homeland, takes its name as well. Other times she is called Maria Regina Teipurina. The name Maria Regina is a subtle but symbolically important transformation. Inscribed by later Spanish authorities, it celebrates her Christian piety rather than her political leadership.

Regina Josefa—Toyupurina—and Manuel Montero's children were Cesario Antonio (baptized at Mission San Luis Obispo, August 27, 1790; baptism number 906), Juana de Dios (baptized at Mission San Luis Obispo, March 7, 1792; baptism number 1095), Josefa (baptized in 1793), and Maria Clementina (baptized at Mission San Carlos [Borromeo] de Monterey, November 24, 1794). Toyupurina thus became grandmother to numerous well-known families of Californios resident in the San Francisco Bay Area, whose surnames include Alviso, Archuleta, Benavidez, Castro, Mesa, Vasquez, Smith, and Vioget (through a granddaughter's marriage to Jean Jacques Vioget, a noted Swiss French gold rush-era San Francisco painter). A daughter, granddaughter, and great-granddaughter each bore her baptismal name of Josefa. I am most grateful to William M. Williams, lineal descendant of Toyupurina, for sharing and discussing the fruits of his years of genealogical research with me.

5. See Boscana 1978; DuBois 1908; Sparkman 1908; Kroeber 1925:567–568, 621–630, 636–641, 662–664, 707–708, 712–716; Harrington 1933; Bean and Smith 1978; Bean and Vane 1978; Wallace 1978:456–459; Hester 1978:502–503; and McCawley 1996. Associated religious practices may have been present in northern Baja California in the 1700s, when the sacred raven and the ritual feather headband were recorded by Venegas (DuBois 1908:75). The new Chinigchinich religion may have first arisen in the Tongva homeland "as a result

of contact with Christian deserters or castaways, since many of its features are reminiscent of Christian themes" (Bean and Vane 1978:699; cf. White 1963). The incorporation of Christian-inspired elements in prophecies related to the Chingichnich religion could have begun before the presidios and missions of Alta California were founded. Word of new and powerful religious mysteries may have spread northward, reaching the maritime trading hubs of San Clemente and Santa Catalina Islands, as indigenous people traveled north and south of the present-day Mexican border to visit relatives, trade statite and Olivella shell beads, and attend healing, initiation, and mourning ceremonies. These kinds of social ties first introduced deadly European diseases to Alta California in the years before the missions. Pablo Tac (1952), a Quechnajuichom seminarian who died in Rome, wrote in 1835 that there were great waves of disease and death near San Luis Rey, his birthplace, just before Spanish settlement (cf. Bean and Smith 1978:540). The first Jesuit missions in Antigua (Baja California) were established in 1697, almost a century earlier. After the Jesuits were expelled by royal decree from all of New Spain, the missions were taken over, in 1768, by Franciscans, who immediately expanded the reach of their missions northward (Crosby 1994; Robertson 1978).

The original spelling, Chingichnich, is Father Geronimo Boscana's, recorded in 1825. Native peoples of Southern California, and anthropologists and linguists of the last century, agree that the name contains only three syllables, not Boscana's four. Other renderings are Chingichngich, Chingichnich, Chungich-nish, Chengüchngetch, and Harrington's "English spelling Chee-ngich-ngich." The accent is on the second syllable, and the approximate pronunciation is "Chingich-ngyich." I use the orthographically inaccurate but common Boscana rendering for historical purposes here. One Tongva tradition, which says that Chingichnich and his prophecies and rituals originated on San Clemente and Santa Catalina Islands, reaching the mainland at Puvungna and then spreading throughout Southern California (John Jeffredo, personal communication, 1995), matches Kroeber's note that "all southern [Luisiño] accounts mention Santa Catalina and San Clemente Islands as the seat of the source of this cult" (1925:621). He refers to the toloache ritual, in which hallucinogenic datara is ceremonially ingested, particularly at initiations. This is, as he says, "intimately associated with beliefs in a deity called Chingichnich or Chungichnich" (1925:622). Other Tongva, Acjachemem, and Quechnajuichom—and Boscana in 1825 (see 1978:127), relying on three aged consultants—describe Puvungna (Pubu, in Boscana) as his birthplace.

Kroeber gives linguistic evidence that key Juanefño and Luisiño religious terms and place-names in myths—recorded by Boscana in the 1820s and by Kroeber himself from Luisiños in the early 20th century—were borrowed from the Gabrielino (Tongva) language, as were many sacred songs. He concludes of Boscana's Chingichnich, "A large part, possibly the bulk, of the information

conveyed by the assiduous and sympathetic priest is certainly of Gabrielino origin" (1925:636). This may have been, he notes (1925:636–637, 644, 659–660), either cultural borrowing in pre-mission times or information from Gabrielinos, a significant minority of the neophytes at Mission San Juan Capistrano. The name Chingichnich was never, in the 1820s to 1920s, collected from explicitly identified Tongva speakers (although Boscana does not identify his consultants or their natal communities). It may be the deity's name in Acjachemem and Quechnajuichom dialects.

6. Dramatic evidence comes from the 1602 voyage of exploration of Sebastián Vizcaino along the California coast, when the Spanish came ashore at the island they named Santa Catalina. Father Antonio de la Ascension of the Barefoot Order of Nuestra Señora del Carmen, who accompanied Vizcaino, describes the encounter of Spanish soldiers on the narrow isthmus dividing the island:

The soldiers ran all over the island and in one part of it fell in with a place of worship or temple where the natives perform their sacrifices and adorations. This was a large flat patio, and in one part of it, where they had what we would call an altar, there was a great circle all surrounded with feathers of various colors and shapes, which must come from the birds they sacrifice. Inside the circle there was a figure like a devil painted in various colors, in the way the Indians of New Spain are accustomed to paint them. At the sides of this were the sun and the moon. When the soldiers reached this place, inside the circle there were two large crows larger than ordinary ones, which flew away when they saw strangers, and alighted on some near-by rocks. One of the soldiers, seeing their size, aimed at them with his harquebus, and discharging it, killed them both. When the Indians saw this they began to weep and display great emotion. In my opinion, the Devil talked to them through these crows, because all the men and women hold them in great respect and fear. I saw with my own eyes some Indian women cleaning some fish on the beach for food for themselves and their husbands and children. Some crows came up to them and took this out of their hands with their bills, while they remained quiet without speaking a word or frightening them away, and were astonished to see the Spaniards throw stones at them. [Wagner 1929:237]

Venegas writes that the painted sacred figure was "holding in its hand a figure of the sun and moon" (DuBois 1908:98–99). In another contemporary account, Vizcaino himself "put the name 'Jesus' over the head of the devil and told the Indians that it was good and from heaven, but that the idol was the Devil" (Wagner 1928:402 n. 137). The response of Vizcaino's men to the island's sacred grounds and its crow oracles, slaughtering them with crude but powerful guns, is iconic of the intercultural encounters that became the Spanish conquest in North America.

This was not the first European contact in Tongva country. Searching for the fabled Straits of Anian, or Northwest Passage, Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo and his men attempted to winter over on Catalina Island in 1542–43. They called it San

Salvador or Isla Capitana but recorded its indigenous name fairly accurately as Limu or Limun (for Pimu, Pimungna, or Pipimar) (Kroeber 1925:634; McCawley 1996:79). The Islanders tried to drive the Spanish away; and, coming to the relief of a watering party under attack, Cabrillo himself, jumping ashore, broke his leg. It turned gangrenous, and he died a few weeks later. He lies buried at an unknown and unmarked spot on Pimu, Catalina Island (Kelsey 1986:157-159, 230).

7. DuBois calls the spread of the Chinigchinich religion, with its prescription to "give toloache" in initiations and new styles of ceremonial songs and dancing, a "genuine missionary movement" that "had every requisite of a conquering faith. It had a distinct and difficult rule of life requiring obedience, fasting, and self-sacrifice. It had the sanction of fear . . . and imposing and picturesque ritual. And above all it had the seal of an inviolable secrecy" (1908:76). Conversion to it "occurred comparatively late in time, and was carried on under the very eyes of the Spanish and Mexican priests by their Christian converts, whose zeal for their ancient religion may have been increased by the example of missionary effort shown on their behalf by white men" (DuBois 1908:74). It "came to the mountains from the coast," spread at first by visitors from the (Acjachemem) village near Mission San Juan Capistrano south to the region of San Luis Rey. From there each community in turn converted its neighbor to the eastward: Pala, Pauma, Potrero, and La Jolla (DuBois 1908:75). Lucario Cuevish, born at Mission San Luis Rey, told DuBois that Chinigchinich's "religious dances" were performed by Indians living at the mission in the 1830s and 1840s: "The padres never objected to this. The Indians who could not talk Spanish were allowed to pray in Indian in the church; but they kept up the old dances outside." DuBois notes that "it is not likely that any of the fathers except Boscana fully realized the significance of the Indian dances" (1908:74-75). Apparently, at Mission San Gabriel in 1785, with the mission in an early and precarious stage, the Franciscans and soldiers did recognize the threat that Tongva "dances and pagan abuses" posed to Spanish religious and political control.

8. This is the third mission building. Its cornerstone was laid in 1791, but it was not finished until 1805. Designed by Father Antonio Cruzado, born in the Córdoba region of Andalusia (who baptized a convert the week of the 1785 revolt), it is Moorish in design, built of stone and mortar (cf. Engelhardt 1927:71, 286-287). The church is still used for special masses and weddings. The 1785 revolt took place in the second mission structure, the first built of stone at the new location.

9. Conflicts over land and subsistence between Indians and settlers, and their potential to generate unrest and armed rebellion, were noted ten years after the Toyupurina uprising by an astute governor of Alta California, Diego de Borica. He warned the viceroy in 1795 that settlers' numerous cattle were despoiling the wild fruit, seeds, water supply, and forests, causing anger among the Indians that

might lead them to revolt, as with the Comanches and Navajos who threw out the settlers and soldiers in New Mexico. Therefore, he advised, facing numerous petitions from soldiers finishing military service in Alta California, it would be unwise to grant additional ranchos to would-be settlers unless the grants respected the preexisting rights of the pueblos, missions, and settlements of gentile (pagan) Indians (Mason 1984:125-128). Wallace (1956c:269) astutely lists "floral and faunal change" as a type of "systemic stress" that may generate revitalization movements. Harkin (ch. 6) points out that this was clearly so in the Smohalla movement, whose adherents saw farming as violence against the earth. For comparable examples from lowland South America, see Vidal and Whitehead in press.

10. See Kroeber 1925:567; Blackburn 1974; Grant 1978:513; Bean and Vane 1978:669; Hudson and Underhay 1978:20-23, 72; and Sandos 1985:119. Chinigchinich was born of Tamáayawut, the Tongva name for earth, in some accounts of the origin myth.

11. James Sandos (1985), using newly located Spanish and Mexican documents and Harrington's unpublished field notes, has also proposed that the 1824 uprising was linked to the comet's apparition. He calls it a "cultural revitalization," particularly based on eyewitness reports of its aftermath and the socially reconfigured lives of rebels who fled inland to the San Joaquin Valley. The southern end of the great Central Valley and its surrounding mountains had for five decades already been a refuge area for Tongva and other people from the south fleeing mission control, who undoubtedly contributed religious practices and customs to their hosts. Two generations after the Santa Barbara uprisings, this homeland of the Southern Valley Yokuts was swept by the 1870 Ghost Dance, with its prophecies of the return of the dead—and the destruction of whites—relief from sickness, peace, and prosperity (DuBois 1939; Gayton 1930; Wallace 1978:460). The involvement of this ethnically mixed group of resisters and survivors in the southern San Joaquin Valley in successive waves of prophetic movements and ritual violence—the Chinigchinich religion (among Tongva, Chumash, and Southern Yokuts), the 1824 Chumash revolt, and the 1870 Ghost Dance—suggests that these movements have cultural connections over time of belief, ritual, prophecy, and receptivity to new revelations. These connections have not previously been noted. I suggest similar interethnic cultural continuities and receptivity over several generations in the New Guinea prophetic movements I describe later.

12. For an overview, see Worsley 1968. Astute anthropological commentators have stressed the incipiently or overtly revolutionary nature of cargoistic movements. Martha Kaplan (1995), writing about the Tuka movement of 1880s colonial Fiji, coins the useful phrase "ritual politics." With its prophet Ndugumoi, who foresaw a return of the ancestors, sailing back led by twin sons of the banished carpenter god, after which whites will serve natives and

chiefs will serve commoners, and finally whites will be driven into the sea—the Tuka movement is an early Pacific example of ritual violence and resistance in an era of intensifying colonial control. Jean Guiart (1951) half a century ago aptly called World War II and postwar cargo cults “forerunners of Melanesian nationalism.” Roger Keesing similarly describes the postwar Maasina (Marching) Rule “politico-religious movement” of Malaita in the Solomon Islands as a “continuation and expansion” of 50 years of related movements lying between “the pole of millenarianism (the classic cargo cults) and the pole of anticolonial politics” (1978:241–242).

13. Keesing (1978, 1982a, 1982b, 1992) analyzes comparable wartime examples from the Solomon Islands.

14. For Hawaii, see Linnekin 1983 and Trask 1999; for New Zealand Maori, see Hanson 1989; and for Pohnpei, Alice Oleson, personal communication, 1999. Haunani-Kay Trask, in a preface to essays on Hawaiian cultural nationalism, American colonialism, and Hawaiian sovereignty, invokes her ancestors “from the Pūlani and Kamehameha lines especially, who believed the dignity and inheritance of my Hawaiian people could only be taken in war” (1999). Labeling cultural nationalist or revitalization movements as the invention of tradition (after Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983) infuriates indigenous activists and intellectuals for good reason. Compare, for example, the nationwide controversy in New Zealand that greeted the publication of Hanson’s (1989) anthropological article on the Maori renaissance and Trask’s (1999:123–135) scathing repudiation of an array of anthropologists’ analyses of Native Hawaiian movements. When anthropologists or historians label elements of indigenous cultural practices as creations or inventions, no amount of appeals to history or cultural relativism—“All traditions/customs are created/invented”—will soften the reality that such labels attack the authenticity, and thus challenge the validity and political potency, of the movements of historically or contemporaneously oppressed minorities. Persisting makes us into political enemies. The culture business, which anthropologists are in, can be an uncomfortable one, putting us, if we are not careful, in opposition to those we study and seemingly allied with their historical oppressors or present-day opponents. The strength of their anger becomes clearer when we acknowledge that they are trying to make a cultural, and thus a political, revolution.

2. VISIONS OF REVITALIZATION IN THE EASTERN WOODLANDS

Can a Middle-Aged Theory Stretch to Embrace the First Cherokee Converts?

Joel W. Martin

In those days [that is, before the 1830s], our people must have believed that being considered civilized would save us from the forced exile to Indian Territory which many other Eastern nations had already suffered. — Cynthia Kasee (Cherokee), “Homecoming”

On July 10, 1817, a young Cherokee woman named Catharine Brown requested permission to enroll at Brainerd, a new mission school in southeastern Tennessee. Cyrus Kingsbury, the missionary who interviewed her, responded with skepticism. Her wealth, beauty, and confidence unsettled him: “With all her gentleness and apparent modesty, she had a high opinion of herself, and was fond of displaying the clothing and ornaments in which she was arrayed. At our first interview, I was impressed with the idea, that her feelings would not easily yield to the discipline of our schools, especially to that part of it, which requires manual labor of the scholars” (Anderson 1825:18). Kingsbury told Brown to think it over, but he could not dissuade her. She had traveled 100 miles from her home region of Creek Path and Will’s Valley, Alabama, to join the school, and join she did. Although initially received “with some reluctance” (Hall 1824), in the end she proved to be a sincere and dedicated student, a favorite of the missionaries, and something of a celebrity in their circles.

Indeed, Catharine Brown the pupil became Catharine Brown the teacher and Christian missionary. In 1820 she helped found a school for the Cherokee women of her home valley in northeastern Alabama. This made her the very first female Cherokee schoolteacher (Brainerd Mission 1820; Phillips and Phillips 1998:176). Through these and other efforts Brown helped bring Christianity to many Cherokees, including her siblings and parents, to African Americans, and to other American