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# PROTEST MOVEMENTS AND PROTO-COOPERATIVES IN THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

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The commercial trading systems in many of the Pacific archipelagoes show a generalised sequence of development. First came the itinerant traders who sailed around the islands bartering for cargoes where and when they could. This was followed by the establishment of central trading bases and the dispersion of resident traders among the outer islands. A few of the bases grew as port towns to which the merchant companies eventually came, and the resident traders on the outer islands acted as company agents. In recent years a retreat of company and other resident traders has taken place from the outer islands. This has been due, in some cases, to the rise of government-sponsored cooperative societies. While the type of sequential development outlined is basically true for many archipelagoes it is a somewhat Eurocentric approach, for the people of the islands have seldom been purely passive observers of the ebb and flow of commercial interests. Not only did they have their own indigenous trading systems, which continued to endure and to re-distribute the new "European" goods, but they made repeated attempts to participate in the commercial trading system of the Europeans and even to usurp entirely the role of the alien traders. This paper deals briefly with five such attempts in the "British" Pacific, all of which were basically "cooperative" in their make-up.<sup>1</sup> They have been designated "proto-cooperatives", for in terms of acculturation they lie between the movements which sought to obtain the goods and profits of the Europeans by mystical means and the

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BACKGROUND OF THE PROTO-COOPERATIVES

The organized movements aimed at taking over island commerce in the early part of this century were themselves the culmination of a series of protests and boycotts of the traders by island people. As early as 1864 coconut oil extraction machinery in Fiji was brought to a standstill when the Fijians refused to supply the cocoanuts.<sup>(62)</sup> In Tonga the Godeffroy Company of Hamburg was boycotted during 1872 when they reduced the price paid for copra. The people took their produce to the mission instead, and although the copra may eventually have reached the Godeffroy Company through that channel the move did demonstrate a will against commercial exploitation.<sup>(63)</sup> Similarly, in the Gilbert Islands a Scots trader complained in 1883 that the *Kam-Full* 'old men' had raised the price of copra on Arorae and had forbidden sales at a lower price.<sup>(64)</sup> These, and other sporadic boycotts were successful in improving the bargaining position of the people in many areas but they never threatened the dominance of the European or Asiatic in island commerce.

By the turn of the century commercial power in many parts of the Pacific was in the hands of a few large companies, and many of the small traders had lost their former independence. In the Gilbert and Ellice Islands the firms of On Chong & Co. (of Sydney and Canton), Burns Philp, and the German Jaluit Gesellschaft controlled the trade.<sup>(65)</sup> In Samoa and Tonga, the Deutsche Handels-und-Plantagen Gesellschaft (DHPG) was dominant; although in Tonga by 1906 Burns Philp had become the largest single purchaser of copra. The Cook Islands received traders from Tahiti and New Zealand but it was the firm of Donald and Edenborough of Auckland that became the most influential commercial organization in the Group. In Fiji, likewise, Anglo-Australasian companies began to dominate after an amalgamation of interests between 1880 and 1912. This left the firms of Henry Marks (which later amalgamated with Morris Hedstrom), Brown and Joske (later to form part of W. R. Carpenter) and Burns Philp as the most powerful combines.<sup>(66)</sup>

There is little doubt that the wealth of the companies impressed local people, and since it was, apparently, obtained from island trade it increased their desire to participate in commerce other than as mere producers and consumers. Many of the smaller European traders were also disgruntled with company bondage.<sup>(67)</sup> It was at this stage that the proto-cooperatives appeared. In Tonga, Fiji and Samoa the movements were often supported by a few Europeans and part-Europeans. What the real motives of these people were are of little relevance here; the important

2. Consul Letter Book, 1864:324.  
 3. Greenwood to Rabone, 5th July 1872.  
 4. Lee Hunt 1883:13.  
 5. *Cyclopaedia of Fiji*:58.  
 6. Kerham 1958.  
 7. Osborne 1924:29. Osborne was a trader at Butaritari in the Gilbert Islands in the early years of this century. He left some accounts of trade in that archipelago and also wrote a semi-fictional book *The Copra Traders* in which he described the lot of the European resident traders under the companies.

THE COOK ISLAND *Au*

In the 1890s many of the Cook Island *Au* 'councils' and chiefs were enforcing local laws which forbade Europeans setting up permanent stores in the villages and required that all buying and selling be done in the native owned Market-houses.<sup>(68)</sup> On the 25th August, 1890, a trader employed with Donald and Edenborough was forcibly expelled from Mangataia by a strong faction of islanders. They claimed that all resident traders caused debts and that goods were always dearer than when bought at their own Market-houses.<sup>(69)</sup> It was also reported from Aitutaki that Mr Mason, a resident agent for Donald and Edenborough, had been ordered off the island for similar reasons.<sup>(70)</sup>

Some of the resistance to resident traders in the Cooks was undoubtedly at the instigation of the European missionaries who frequently objected to the presence and habits of other Europeans. The use of the Market-house in turn no doubt benefited the chiefs to the disadvantage of the people, for the *ariki* were by island law the collectors of market-house trade money and the distributors of the proceeds.<sup>(71)</sup> But the situation varied between islands, and there were some genuine cooperative attempts to compete with the traders.

In 1891, for example, the Rarotongan possessed a schooner with which they traded to Tahiti, and another of 90 to 100 tons was being constructed.<sup>(72)</sup> There were also several schooners owned by other islands. However, the operating of such vessels was the least profitable of the Cook Islanders' trading ventures. They were normally purchased from Europeans and the payments for the ships, and the subsequent debts incurred in operating them, involved the island *Au* in protracted litigations and financial losses.<sup>(73)</sup> Nevertheless, as a Judicial Commissioner for the Western Pacific High Commission stated when he saw the Penrhyn vessel virtually derelict, "... it is a pity as these people without a vessel are entirely at the traders' mercy."<sup>(74)</sup> The possession of an island schooner acted, in other words, as "countervailing power" to the companies, and they were valued as such by the islanders.

The *Au* in the Cook Islands also adapted the ancient custom of *ra'ui* (traditionally a method of husbanding scarce foods) to the commercial trading situation. They would "fix" the price of produce and fine people who broke the *ra'ui* and sold at a lower price.<sup>(75)</sup> This caused many disputes with the buyers; but Sir John Pendergast, likewise, reported to the Gover-

8. Moss 1891a.  
 9. AJHR, A-3, 1891:8.  
 10. AJHR, A-3, 1891:12.  
 11. AJHR, A-3, 1888:21.  
 12. Moss 1891a.  
 13. The best-known cases were those involving the *Norval* in 1893, the *Tora* in 1894, the *Tongareva* in 1899, and the dispute with Dexter and Winchester in 1901. Ship-owning venture by Pacific islanders is the subject of an article to be published by the writer.  
 14. Ross 1893.  
 15. AJHR, A-3, 1898:14.

In a few instances, during the late 19th century, the *Mt* was actually functioning as a full trading company.<sup>(17)</sup> Commander Tupper of HMS *Pytlades* described one of these local trading organizations after his visit to Rakahanga in 1899:

It is conducted on co-operative principles, it is under the control of the Hau, and they appoint a man to look after it. The bank is a large shed, at one end is a store, which contains all sorts of European goods, and provisions, and under the counter the money is kept in a big drawer, the other end has partitions for copra; the walls of this house are only of matting, and anyone could get in. But it has never been robbed. When any natives have copra to sell they bring it to their Bank, and get trade gear for it at value of 4 cents per lb. The copra is put into the store, for any trader that comes. The bank will also buy cocoanuts and make copra themselves.

The Hau has plenty of money, and turn over about 1000 dollars (Chilian), per quarter, and I understand that the profits are distributed to the people.<sup>(18)</sup>

The European companies in the Cook Islands had, however, the great advantage of controlling almost all the import and export channels. Where-as local schooners could make the voyage to Tahiti they seldom attempted to reach Auckland, the main market and entrepot.<sup>(19)</sup> The companies were also in the position of controlling the supply of copra bags and fruit cases to local trading groups, and they finally formed a price ring in order to dictate terms to the islanders.

By 1919 the resident traders were refusing to pay more than 2s. 6d. per case for fruit, and some Cook islanders formed a marketing organisation in an attempt to circumvent the companies, entirely and export produce directly to New Zealand. This new venture involved many returned servicemen; they were particularly incensed with the trading companies and there were reports of attacks on trade stores.<sup>(20)</sup> Fortunately, the Administration upheld the right of the Cook Islanders to overseas shipping space and were able to report:

So far this new departure has had very satisfactory results for the natives, for the fruit which the buyers tried to make them take 2s. 6d. a case they cleared 10s. 0d. a case; in subsequent shipments they have done even better than that.<sup>(21)</sup>

The period at the turn of the century saw many examples of local enterprise in the Cooks, and between 1890 and 1901, in particular, there were many attempts by Cook Islanders to form and operate their own shipping and trading organisations. Only a few of these were really successful by commercial standards; but the attempts, especially at ship-owning.

16. AJHR, A-3, 1898:50.
17. Exham 1893.
18. Tupper 1899.
19. Moss 1891b.
20. AJHR, A-3, 1919:2.
21. *Ibid.*

became widely known and may have influenced the course of events in other parts of the Pacific.<sup>(22)</sup>

THE *MALO* OF SAMOA<sup>(23)</sup>

In 1904 a part-Samoan, who had recently returned from overseas, proposed that the *Malo* of Mulinu'u should form a trading company in opposition to the D.H.P.C. They agreed, and decided that capital would be raised by a levy on all villages, and that they would buy copra from the people at a price much higher than the merchants were paying.

The Government, which had close relations with the D.H.P.C., attempted to discourage the movement and to prohibit the raising of the village levy. Some people were arrested during the campaign but members of the *Malo* broke into the jail and released them. This action caused many of the leaders to abandon the project and it ended in 1905. The idea of a Samoan organisation capable of competing with the D.H.P.C. was not, however, forgotten.

It appeared again in 1914 as the Taina Club. This group traded in copra and bought a small vessel which entered into competition for freights and passengers on the Samoan coast. The organisation ran into financial difficulties and was soon forced into liquidation.

The two Samoan movements were manifestations of island entrepreneurship and also of the discontent of people economically and politically underprivileged. A significant feature of the ventures was the collaboration between Samoans, discontented Europeans and part-Samoans. It was this, Professor Davidson points out, that particularly disturbed the Government of 1905.

*Tonga ma Tonga Kautaha*

It was at a time when these early attempts at cooperatives were taking place in the Cook Islands and Samoa that a similar movement made an ephemeral appearance in Tonga. During 1909 a European, A. D. Cameron, organised an association in Nukunaloa with the characteristic Tongan title of *Tonga ma Tonga Kautaha*, 'Association of Tonga for the Tongans'. At the first meeting Cameron described the movement as "a trading company on somewhat cooperative lines for the sole benefit of the Tongans". He said that copra was to be sent to the white man's land and the people were to receive the correct value of their produce. Cameron went on to claim that the Europeans had grown fat upon the profits made out of them [the Tongans] for several years.<sup>(24)</sup>

The TMTK was immediately acclaimed, and spread to Hapai and Vavau during 1909. About 4,000 people joined the movement in the first year,<sup>(25)</sup> and some sort of oath or resolution appears to have been proposed in 1924 two cooperative societies operated in the Cooks. The Government sponsored 'Karotoanga Fruit Company' and the 'Cook Islands Native Association'. The former was wound up in 1927 owing to a change in Government policy. The latter survived until 1940 under the management of Mr. J. D. Campbell. There was a revival in 1928 of the 'Karotoanga Fruit Company', without official support. It soon ran into difficulties caused by a too liberal credit policy, but nevertheless survived on a small scale up to the present time.

This brief outline is, with the author's kind permission, based on Professor J. W. Davidson's study *Samoa no Samoa*.

24. *Tonga Government Gazette*, No. 8, 1911.
25. *The Times*, 5th October, 1910.

which proclaimed that "no one shall deal with Messrs. Burns Philp & Co. Ltd. up to their death".<sup>(26)</sup> The association purchased the schooner *Makamailie* for inter-isular trading, opened stores at the main centres, appointed agents at Auckland and Sydney, and commenced importing and exporting.<sup>(27)</sup> Their success was, however, short lived.

During 1910 allegations of fraud were made against the promoters of the TMTK and the Government of Tonga dissolved the Association and seized its premises and books. There were difficulties in bringing the manager and treasurer before a jury, for, by then, the support was so strong that the *Tonga Law Reports* stated "It would be practically a case of the bulk of the taxpayers against the government . . ."<sup>(28)</sup> There were, in fact, no circumstances of the liquidation were highly suspect.<sup>(29)</sup> A former colonial officer went as far as accusing the British Agent in Tonga of duplicity in the affair, and he went on to point out:

It is stated that all this [the breaking of the TMTK] was done at the instigations of a large European firm, and that directly the Kautaha was closed the price of imported goods rose again.<sup>(30)</sup>

Cameron himself gave three reasons for the failure; a lack of time to accumulate sufficient capital, too few people educated enough to help him, and the activities of the *papalagi* "Europeans" working against the Association.<sup>(31)</sup> The TMTK was completely disbanded and despite its initial popularity no further attempts were made in Tonga to organise cooperatives, as such, in opposition to the merchant companies.<sup>(32)</sup>

#### THE VITI COMPANY AND THE APOLOSI MOVEMENT

Almost three years after the banning of the TMTK the Government of Fiji received reports about a group of Fijians who were forming a company, on cooperative lines, for the export of products and the import of goods. The first reports came from Lau and shortly afterwards from Kadavu and Colo East, in eastern Viti Levu. The Viti Company, as it came to be called, had the support of some Europeans and part-Europeans in Suva. However, the leader of the movement soon emerged as Apolosi R. Nawai, a 36-year old Fijian commoner born in the Nadi district of western Viti Levu. The Europeans for their part played only a minor role in directing the company; but this was an unfortunate beginning, in some respects, for neither Apolosi nor anyone around him appeared to have had the commercial skills necessary for the success of the venture.

This new movement aroused even more opposition than did the TMTK. Guiart in his paper on the subject could refer only briefly to the Viti Company and Apolosi, but he made the point:

26. *Tonga Government Gazette, Extraordinary*, No. 25, 1910, page 37.
27. *Tonga Government Gazette*, No. 8, 1911.
28. *Tonga Law Reports*, 1908-1959, page 6.
29. *Fiji Times*, 5th October, 1910.
30. Potts to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1912, Appendix A.
31. *Tonga Government Gazette*, No. 8, 1911, documents C and L.
32. Cameron subsequently brought an action for damages against the British Agent in Tonga which was heard at the High Commission Court for the Western Pacific on August 11th, 1918. However, as the Tongan Government had authorised the closing of the *Kautaha* the court could not enquire into the legality of the act. *Fiji Law Reports*, Volume 3, pp. 88-97.

Le silence que l'on fait officiellement autour de lui est peut-être bien une des meilleures indications sur l'importance de son rôle. Espérons qu'un jour prochain, nous disposerons sur le mouvement Apolosi de documents détaillés.<sup>(33)</sup>

The following outline may rectify some of this, and show also that the movement was, historically, part of a general reaction by villagers to those largely unseen and external economic forces of the market which now controlled so much of their day to day activities.

The aims of the movement were clearly laid out in a letter distributed to the *bulis* 'Government chiefs' during April, 1914. In Fijian part of the circular stated:

A market is being established in Australia and one will be built in Suva to accommodate all our things for sale in accordance with what is mentioned above. The cause [or the beginning] of this thing is through the Europeans here in Fiji swindling us, the price of all our things are different, as we have seen in years past until the present day. Their swindling us will never cease. This is why I am writing to you my friends, the Chiefs of Fiji, to be good natured and sit [or move] yourselves with the spirit of confidence and let us help in helping this matter to be of use to your people, and to us in the sale of all our things . . . a young gentleman from Australia is with us. I wrote to him to come to Fiji to help us in this important matter . . . The cost of the various things which is now hidden can only be made known to us by the forming of this Company.<sup>(34)</sup>

By mid-1914 the Viti Company was well established in eastern Viti Levu and had scattered branches extending from the Lau Islands in the east to the Yasawas in the west, as well as at various places on Vanua Levu. "The Company", said Ratu Vakatorovo at a meeting in Buca Bay, "was of Fijians only and for Fijians only, and they were all to receive high prices for their produce."<sup>(35)</sup>

There is little evidence of any real commercial successes. What appears to have been the first shipment of Company bananas was condemned by the produce inspectors during the loading of the *Mama* and *Tofua* about November, 1914.<sup>(36)</sup> The Viti Company claimed that the Europeans had bribed the inspectors to condemn the fruit.<sup>(37)</sup> This allegation contributed to a boycott by Fijian producers of the European banana buyers in the Rewa district during December, 1914; and bananas which could not be handled by the company were destroyed, "although there were European buyers on the spot anxious to buy surplus bananas".<sup>(38)</sup>

33. *Guinea* 1957:26.
34. *Viti Company Papers*, Memo 271.14.
35. *Viti Company Papers*, Letter 5409.14. The apparent contradiction between the claim by Ratu Vakatorovo and the boat that a European had come from Australia to help the company (which was untrue), the Europeans involved were already in Fiji) was continually reappearing. The Company was quasi-nationalistic but the fact that Europeans were assisting gave it, paradoxically, more credence among the Fijians. The claims were not, therefore, so illogical. Burridge (1960:41) points out that even in some less sophisticated cargo movements it is recognised that " . . . the objects of Cargo can only be achieved with the help of white men."
36. *Viti Company Papers*, Memo 10313-14.
37. *Ibid.*, Memo 3902-14.
38. *Ibid.*, Memo 257-14.

The influence of the Viti Company was particularly strong in the Rewa area. Apolosi called a meeting at Draubuta village during January 1915, and between 3,000 and 4,000 people attended. The meeting is said to have lasted three to four weeks; it disrupted local government (*butis* attended without leave) and interfered with communal duties.<sup>(49)</sup> Amongst other things the Assembly at Draubuta passed the following resolutions: . . . (4) Contracts would be made with the Company "with the idea of keeping our lands in our own hands and all the produce therefrom both things found in the water and things that grow on land"; (5) The Company should have a store in every locality, these should be built and there should be no more dealings with Europeans therefrom . . . (21) There should be a native shipbuilding yard in each province and the company should have its own Police and Church.<sup>(40)</sup>

Following the meeting of company supporters the Government was asked by the district commissioner of Lautoka (Apolosi's home area) to consider acts of Apolosi R. Nawai in connection with the so-called Viti Company as dangerous to the peace and good order of the Colony.<sup>(41)</sup> The Colonial Secretary agreed that there appeared to be seditious actions involved.<sup>(42)</sup> Apolosi was also accused of robbing the people and seducing their women—and what was even more disturbing, for some people, he had a European mistress travelling with him.<sup>(43)</sup> Mgr. Blanc, writing in 1926, states that Apolosi was indeed living on a grand scale and frittering away the company's funds;<sup>(44)</sup> there seems to be little doubt that this was in fact the case.

From its inception there were contradictory and irrational elements in the aims of the Viti Company. Apolosi claimed he had an interview with the King of England and that all whites were to leave the Colony.<sup>(45)</sup> A former *Bull* was telling the people in the Wainimala not to pay their taxes, that the Government approved of the white man and the native would be reversed, the land was to be returned to native owners, and only the Company's store would remain in Suva; there was talk that the Company was not started by human beings—"the white man at the head of it has the appearance of a God".<sup>(46)</sup> As it gained in numbers and dispersed among the villages the Company became the vehicle for local grievances, political discontent, and the fears of the people for their land. Only the Viti Company could protect the land from the "capitalists".<sup>(47)</sup> Basically, however, it was a secular movement and the economic aim of by-passing the European

39. *Ibid.* Memo 141-15.  
40. *Ibid.* Memo 1946-15.  
41. *Ibid.* Memo 141-15.  
42. *Ibid.* Memo 1858-15.  
43. *Ibid.* Letter, District Commissioner, 8th June 1915.  
44. *Historie Religieuse de l'Archipel Fidjien*, 1926:179, (cited in Guiart 1957:25).  
45. Viti Company Papers. Letter, District Commissioner, 6th April 1914.  
46. *Ibid.* Memo 311-14.  
47. *Ibid.* Memo 1935-15. The land scare was frequently reiterated by "officials" of the Viti Company during their tours. It must be remembered that the law introduced by Sir Everard Im Thurn, which gave the Government power to acquire Fijian land for any purpose "which it might consider was to the benefit of the Colony", had only been repealed in 1909, but only after 20,000 acres of land had been so acquired (see Burns, 1963:122, 138).

The new company was in difficulties from the beginning. It incurred the hostilities of the white planters and merchants, who strongly resented the appearance of a united body of native rivals in business. The Wesleyan Methodist Mission suffered a huge financial loss, when large numbers of natives transferred the contributions which they would ordinarily have given to the mission to the new company. To the government Apolosi was anathema.<sup>(49)</sup>

#### Tangiang Mtronon

In regions of widely dispersed islands an archipelago-wide marketing movement, of unified control, would be even more difficult to achieve in the face of Government and Company opposition. In the islands of the Gilbert and Ellice trade boycotts and protests appear to have been local affairs. There were also, however, indigenous associations of people known as *mtronons* 'round wheels' which were similar in function to the Tongan *kuwaha* in its original form; they were ephemeral groups bound together for work or in order to achieve a social objective. These *mtronons* adapted to the goods to the commercial era by purchasing goods from the traders and re-selling the goods to themselves at higher prices until sufficient funds were collected to meet a specific communal requirement, then the group would disband. The *mtronons* soon learned that they could get better prices from the traders if they sold their copra cooperatively and purchased stores in bulk.

The small village *mtronons* appear to have been widespread in the Gilberts in the early 1900s, and they were bargaining successfully with the company supercargoes.<sup>(50)</sup> Mahaffy, when he visited the Ellice in 1909, also reported that "the natives are endeavouring to start small 'companies' for the purpose of trading, and the system seems to work satisfactorily".<sup>(51)</sup> The canoe and cutter and returning with store goods for its members. The Association spread to some of the northern and central islands of the Ellice. Apolosi returned to Fiji in 1924 but by this time, it is reported, he was claiming supernatural powers and also the possession of a sacred box lost by the ancestors. He was deported once more to Rotuma in 1930, returned to Fiji in 1940 but received a further sentence and died in Rotuma about 1944.

49. Alexander 1927:72.  
50. Personal communication from Mr N. Chatsfield. Chatsfield was a super-cargo with Burns Philip & Co. in the Gilbert Islands during this period. Some of his recollections appear in Chatsfield 1957.  
51. Mahaffy 1910:7.

Gilbert group by the mid-1930s. It was then organised by a part-European and former supercargo of the Burns Philip company.<sup>(52)</sup> They purchased two schooners for trading, but once again these proved unprofitable; this, and the general indebtedness of the organization, eventually led to its liquidation.

During the 1930s an extension of the *nrnonon* appeared at the island of Abaiang as the *Tangiang Mronon* 'cry [or complain] round wheel'. This movement was a protest against the lower prices obtained for copra, and the higher prices paid for trade goods at Abaiang compared with the centre at Tarawa. The *Tangiang* began buying copra, carrying it to Tarawa by about the same time as the *Tangiangs* were being organized by local people the formal cooperative movement was introduced to this region. The first was started at Nauru in 1921,<sup>(53)</sup> then in the Ellice Islands by D. C. Kennedy in 1926, and at Betu in the Southern Gilberts by H. E. Maude in 1931.<sup>(54)</sup> They eventually rendered the *Tangiang* associations superfluous, but did not entirely replace them. Even after the *Tangiangs* became integrated with the GEC cooperative movement they continued to operate their own inter-island shipping.<sup>(55)</sup> The village *nrnonons* also continued to function and some of them in recent times have, with the Wholesale Society (which supplies the cooperatives) and import directly items of cargo from Fiji and Australia.

#### CONCLUSION

This paper has outlined a stage in the history of the adoption by Pacific Islanders of European commercial methods. The brief attempts at ship-owning by Kamēhameha I of Hawaii, Pomare II of Tahiti, the Maoris of New Zealand in the 1850's, and, among others, the Kings of Makin and Abemama in the Gilbert Islands were an earlier phase of this history. The chiefs, at least, were confident and optimistic about their ability to compete in commercial trade, and the Europeans, who were—as yet—not economically or politically dominant, supplied vessels to the Chiefs and bought cargoes from them. Several of these island owned vessels made commercial trading voyages to overseas countries. As the Europeans increased in numbers it became more difficult for island people to compete with them, particularly since European merchants came to monopolise the import and export channels. The islands in turn could then use only the power of local boycotts to win price concessions. At this stage, as Belsshaw points out, the role of the entrepreneur becomes institutionalised as belonging to aliens.<sup>(56)</sup>

It has been shown above that this assumption of commercial monopoly by the Europeans was, however, again challenged on a large scale by the proto-cooperatives, many of which sprung from the ordinary people. Unfortunately, cash transactions, the complications of book-keeping, the

52. Shutz 1964.  
53. Maude 1952:2.  
54. Maude 1950.  
55. GEC Cooperative Department Report, 1956:12.  
56. Belsshaw 1955.

various social obligations in island society, and commercial, religious, and political opposition led to the failure of most of these enterprises.

Only when energetic and sympathetic local administrators, like Kennedy and Maude, were able to give genuine guidance to the entrepreneurial aspirations of island people were there lasting successes at this time. The modern cooperatives may thus be seen as a continuation of the process whereby the techniques of "European" commerce are linked with this desire of island people to control again their own means of distribution and exchange. Certainly, at village level the cooperative is often motivated primarily by the desire to displace the resident trader and obtain control over the marketing of local produce and the profits to be derived from the sale of store goods. In this respect the advice given by the Financial Adviser to the Council of Chiefs in Fiji, shortly after the introduction of the cooperatives in 1948, could almost have come directly from the Viti Company:

Until recently you have been content to live the life of a producer without the means of marketing your produce. You have been largely content to produce enough to provide you with the material commodities you have required. You have bartered your produce for store goods and cash and watched others prosper on the results of your labour.<sup>(57)</sup>

57. Report of the Proceedings of the Council of Chiefs, CP 29/1950:6.

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# THE NOTION OF DOUBLE SELF AMONG THE MAENGE

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The aim of this paper is to investigate a set of Melanesian notions underlying the phenomenon of man as seen in relation to other animate beings and inanimate objects. Beginning with semantic data, the analysis will successively embrace rites and beliefs, and finally take into account the contrasted figures of the "big man" and "rubbish man". As will be apparent throughout the description, the representations involved have nothing to do with what centuries of Christian tradition have accustomed us to call "spiritualism".

The Maenge, as they traditionally call themselves, number about 5,000 people located on the South coast of New Britain and two days' walk inland of Pomo, the administrative station.<sup>(1)</sup> One hundred miles distant from Rabaul, their territory is surrounded by that of the following tribes: the Lote and Mamusi on the west, the Nakamai on the north-west, the Kol on the north-east, and the Sulka on the east. 70% of them nowadays live on the coast. Their language is Austronesian, though showing some evidences of Non-Austronesian influences. Their subsistence activities are definitely focused on horticulture, mainly taro growing, while fishing on the coast and hunting in the interior are marginal. Cash cropping, cocoa and

1. The data presented in this paper were collected in the three Census Divisions "East Menggen", "West Menggen" and "Bust" or "Extended Menggen" from December 1966 to May 1968. The Administration spelling "Menggen" is wrong. Grateful acknowledgments are made to both the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, and the Australian National University, Canberra, which supported the research conducted in this area. I am also greatly indebted to Messrs. J. Womersley and M. Coode, Division of Botany, Department of Forests, Lac, who kindly supplied all the botanical identifications used in the present text, and to A. M. Chowning and A. L. Epstein for their comments on a preliminary draft of this paper.

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