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Tracing Conservation and Development Trajectories in the Colonial Environment of
Taveuni, Fiji¹

追尋斐濟 Taveuni 島殖民時期的環境保育與發展計畫

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Abstract

Famed as the “Garden Island” of Fiji, Taveuni is known for its fertile volcanic soil, top-notch agricultural exports, forest and nature reserves and conservation/ecotourism ventures. These modern endeavors are the pillars of the island economy and foundation for community development, especially for the rugged Bouma region located on the eastern side of the island. What is problematic, however, is how the image of Taveuni as a pristine nature is constructed despite its expanding agricultural activities, which has currently contributed to deforestation and encroachment on the island. Using colonial as well as church documents, this archival research attempts to explore the making of “Garden Island” through different agencies: the early planters, missionaries, and colonial governance, and how they interacted with local communities and negotiate ideas of space, conservation and development. This study shows that the “natural environment” on which modern environmental projects thrive was shaped by contradictory colonial concerns and different historical actors.

摘要

Taveuni 島號稱是斐濟的「花園之島」，以肥沃的火山土壤、頂級的外銷農產品、自然森林保育區和生態旅遊聞名。這些條件與產業活動是島上的重要經濟支柱，更提供了島上村落發展的機會。然而，Taveuni「原始的自然」是如何形成的？這個問題始終沒有被討論過，特別是在島上不斷擴張的農業活動造成種種環境問題的今日。此文獻研究根據殖民記錄與教會檔案追溯 Taveuni「花園之島」形象是如何透過早期白人莊園地主、傳教士和殖民官員建構出來，以及他們又是如何與當地斐濟社群協調島上空間、環境保育、發展等議題。此研究指出當代環境發展計畫下的「自然環境」有其錯綜的殖民背景，並且是在不同的力量下形塑出來的。

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The Making of the “Garden Island” 1862- 1870

Taveuni is the third largest island of the Fiji Islands, with an area of 435 km² and a population estimated around 17,000 people¹, more than 77% of which being indigenous Fijians. Nicknamed as the “Garden Island of Fiji” by the late 19th century European planters, Taveuni currently contributed to 70% of the total taro exports of Fiji. Copra and kava (*Piper methysticum*) cultivations are also one of the strongest in the country. These agricultural activities benefit from the volcanism that formed the island’s topography and recently deposited soil from 5 million years ago, as well as the prevailing south-eastern trade winds and high quantity of rainfalls (up to 13,000 mm per annum in the central mountains).

The earliest human activities on the island can be traced back to around 2000 B.P. in the southern region. Pottery shreds with an impressed decoration were discovered, which could be linked with similar pottery traditions in Viti Levu, the main island of Fiji. In around 700 B.P., potteries with a new kind of incised motifs emerged. Around the same time, many fortifications with defensive ditches began to be established throughout the hilltops of Taveuni (Frost 1974). This reflected the warring state of Fijian tribes well documented by missionaries even into the 19th century. In 1912, by collecting oral histories and legends in the northern part of Fiji Islands, anthropologist A. M. Hocart was able to reconstruct the early political structures of Taveuni before frequent contact with westerners in the 19th century (Hocart 1952:61). The island was originally divided between two states, Vuna in the south-west and Wainikeli in the north-east. The ancestor-gods of Vuna were said to be originated from Nakauvadra in Viti Levu. Politically they were centralized. Their power was once so prominent that in the early 19th century Taveuni was known as Opuna (O Vuna) by European traders (Lockerby 1809[1925]:203-4). As for Wainikeli, it is said that they “do not come from elsewhere. They always were in Taveuni” (Hocart 1952:69). It is also a centralized polity and controlled several village-states in the north, including a region called Bouma located in the rugged eastern corner of Taveuni between Wainikeli and Vuna. In my own fieldwork in Bouma, I was told that the original people in Bouma, the Lekutu people (forest people), came from Nakauvadra with the Vuna ancestors and divided the island into half. It was stressed that they were the true autochthons in Taveuni while the Wainikeli people emigrated later from Vanua Levu in the north.

No matter which version the migratory legend is for those Taveunians, in the 18th

¹ The 2007 national census put 13,372 people on the island, while a study in 2010 has estimated 17,000 (McGregor et al. 2011). Islands with similar area of land as Taveuni can be found at Nuku Hiva, French Polynesia (339 km²; 2,660 ppl.); Grenada (344 km²; 110,000 ppl.); Saint Vincent (345 km²; 100,000 ppl.); Lana’i, Hawai’i Islands (364 km²; 3,102 ppl.); Barbados (431 km²; 284,589 ppl.); Curaçao (444 km²; 142,180 ppl.); 舟山島 (476km²; 440,000 ppl.) ; Guam (541km²; 159,358 ppl.).

century a group of people derived from the I-Sokula clan rose to power in Vauna Levu and in the early 1800s moved to Taveuni and gradually subjugated the whole island (Sayes 1984). Led by the paramount chief Tui Cakau (king of reefs), the I-Sokula people formed kinship and tributary relationships with local polities, engaged in warfare with those who did not comply, and established the great Cakaudrove chiefdom whose sphere of influence included neighboring islands and southeast Vanua Levu. During the same period of time, pockets of Viti Levu and Vanua Levu started to see Western traders settling for sandalwood and bêche-de-mer. Not known for both resources, coupled with the reputation of fierce cannibals on the island, Taveuni experienced limited European contact, if any, in the first half of the 19th century. The seat of Tui Cakau is at Somosomo, a village located at the western side of Taveuni. The place was soon known as the capital of Taveuni and became the meeting ground between outsiders and Cakaudrove.

In October 12, 1835 two British Methodist missionaries William Cross and David Cargill came to the shore of Lakeba in the Lau Islands, east to Taveuni, and introduced Christianity to the Fiji Islands². In 1837, a fleet of 25 canoes, 1000 people led by Tui Cakau Ratu Yavala himself arrived at Lakeba for trading. Impressed by the foreign goods brought by the missionaries, he soon expressed a desire to have a mission station in Taveuni as well. It is at this meeting that Tui Cakau's eldest son Ratu Tuikilakila made the famous remark: "True! Everything is true that comes from the white man's country. Muskets and gunpowder are true and your religion must be true." (Calvert 1858)

In July 1839, missionaries John Hunt and Richard Lyth were sent to settle in Somosomo and formally began the foreign presence in Taveuni. Their letters and diaries became the earliest ethnographic accounts of the island. In February 1840, the island was visited by the United States Exploring Expedition led by Captain Charles Wilkes as well as the ethnologist/philologist Horatio Hale for a few days (Hale 1846; Wilkes 1845). In late 1840, a British beachcomber/adventurist William Diaper also came to stay in Somosomo for a lengthy period of time (and returned again in 1845, see Erskine 1853).

The two Methodist missionaries were later on succeeded by Thomas Williams in August, 1843 and David Hazlewood in September, 1844. Due to constant warfare and passive interest from the local chiefs, the station was evacuated in September, 1847. In 1851, the Roman Catholic Church who first set foot in the Fiji Islands in August, 1844, also made an attempt to set up a mission at Somosomo, led by Fr. Jean-Baptiste Breheret. It was greeted by hostile attitudes by the Somosomo chiefs and they left in

² Before them, there were three Tahitian Methodist teachers at Lakeba in 1830 and established the first place for regular Christian worship at Oneata in 1832.

1852.

In September, 1859, the Methodist Mission was reopened in Taveuni but moved to Wairiki, a village south to Somosomo. Missionaries Joseph Waterhouse and Jesse Carey were stationed there, as well as a Tongan minister Joeli Bulu. In May, 1860, they were visited by the German-born, British educated botanist Berthold Seemann, who later gave a detailed account of the natural and human environment of Taveuni. From his writings, we learn that the native population of Taveuni was dwindling. For example, the capital Somosomo, was “a mere collection of ten houses, with neither heathen temple, Christian church, nor respectable strangers’ house.” (Seemann 1862:20-21). This was the same sentiment felt by the Methodist missionaries as they shifted the station across the strait to Waikava, southeast Vanua Levu. This obviously did not help the foreign presence in Taveuni. Into the second half of the 19th century, Taveuni still saw few whites taking up residence on the island (Seemann 1862:20). One of them was a Sydney company Joubert and Wilson who established a small coconut estate in Somosomo. They imported several Rotuman workers and utilized local water-power to extract coconut oil. This is the earliest documentation of a foreign estate on Taveuni.

A watershed event of Taveuni history took place in 1862 when a great array of Tongan armies led by their military leader Wainiqolo invaded Taveuni. They had already seized Somosomo and captured the old Tui Cakau Ratu Raivalita. In September at the shore of Wairiki, they were met by 3000 thousand Cakaudrove warriors led by Raivalita’s brother Ratu Golea, who would later on become the next Tui Cakau. The Tongans were defeated at the scrimmage and Wainiqolo was killed at the site. Two significant changes happened after the war. One is that the new Tui Cakau Ratu Golea proclaimed all Taveuni subjects Catholics for he saw the invasion as a conspiracy from the Methodist Tongans. A small piece of land called Betelema in Wairiki was given to Fr. Loresio Favre to establish the Catholic Church thus began the dominance of Catholicism on the island. The second is that to retaliate those places that sided with the Tongans, or simply coveting for foreign goods, Tui Cakau began to sell massive areas of lands to foreign planters. Outer isles such as Kanacea, Laucala, Naitauba, and Rabi were sold respectively around this time, creating many displaced Fijian communities. Inside Taveuni, in my fieldsite in Bouma for example, favorable alluvial lands along the Vurevure bay were sold in July 1863. Almost all of these lands were purchased for opening up cotton fields, as it was during the time of American Civil War and cotton price was at its highest.

The reputation of Taveuni as a planters’ paradise soon spread out, even after the collapse of the global cotton boom in 1865. In a report in *The Sydney Morning Herald* on December 13th 1867, it was said:

The island of Taviuni is one which has commanded considerable attention lately, several good purchases of land having been made there by late comers as well as old residents. It is about 2000 feet high, but is exceedingly fertile to its very summit ... The chief, Tui Cakau, is not disinclined to sell large plots, but he asks now from 3 s. to 4 s. per acre. There are comparatively few natives up on the island; nearly all, however, profess the Roman Catholic religion. This island, it is thought, will become one of the principal white settlements in Fiji.

In another report in the *Argus*, October 19th, 1870, a more detailed and somewhat sentimental account was given:

The principal planting of the windward islands is on Taviuni ... It is clothed with dense forests, the result of an unusually large rainfall, and this beautiful wilderness is called, on account of its luxuriant vegetation, *the garden of Fiji* ... The native inhabitants, as yet uncontaminated by association with white men, moved about the peaceful vales of this Eden, sometimes linked hand in hand, like our first parents, but apparently wholly unconscious of the enchantment of the scene. Yet a few years, and their happy, lazy life, rounded with frequent sleeps, and supported without enforced exertion in this genial clime, where eternal spring combining with eternal autumn produces simultaneously the blossom and the fruit, will be changed to the laborious lot of the white man's plantation hand; for this rich soil, which has been gathering fertility from the repose of centuries, will not much longer be permitted to lavish its strength in magnificent but useless vegetation. Possession of their birthright parted with, the aboriginal owners of the land will see their tufted groves cut down to make room for the white man's dwelling, the brilliant enamel of their meadows furrowed by the plough, and all their rich diversity of foliage supplanted by prosaic rows of cotton trees.

As a result, more and more planters flocked to Taveuni to pursue fortune. They opened up plantations, particularly in Vuna in the south and along the western coast of Taveuni to the north and northeast. After the cotton enterprise failed, they planted sugar, coffee, cocoa, and finally copra, which fundamentally altered the landscape of Taveuni. It was estimated that in 1870 there were over 100 planters on the island (Britton 1870:63). The land alienation process was so rapid that Brookfield concluded that in the 1870s, "Taveuni was no longer a Fijian Island except in name" (Brookfield 1978:33).

Environmental Planning on Taveuni: 1909-1959

As discussed above, the image of Taveuni as the “Garden Island” has a colonial interest lurking in the background, even before the formal annexation of Fiji in 1874. It was not just a Western gaze of the exotic. It was a practice of land-grabbing and resource-extracting under the global capitalist expansion of the British Empire. This process was further increased by the opening of the Suez Canal in November 1869, after which regular trades between England and the Oceania colonies via steamships became possible in the 1880s. During such time, the Fiji Islands were in regular steam communication with Sydney and New Zealand. The importance of Fiji in the network of imperial commerce was already well-established.

Despite the growing presence of white planters in Fiji, when the first Governor of Fiji, Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon came into office in 1875, it was decided that all land alienation should cease. Determined to safeguard the decaying indigenous Fijian society, Gordon appointed a Land Claims Commission to review all lands transactions prior to the cession. The very first hearing was held at Wairiki, Taveuni on December 10th 1875, possibly due to the messy situation of land tenure on the island. Between 1875 and 1881, of all the cases heard, less than 40% were granted³. Lands were then categorized into three types: Native Lands (owned by native Fijian land-owning units), Crown Lands (owned by the government), and Freehold (lands approved to be transacted to white planters before 1874). Such a land system remained with little changes to this day and currently 83% of the lands in the Fiji Islands are native-owned, while 9% belongs to the state and only 8% are freehold. This policy, however, could not reverse the drastic land sale in Taveuni from 1862 to 1870. According to data accumulated in the 70s by Brookfield, almost half of Taveuni (49.5%) were freehold.

Paralleled to this process was a growing awareness of nature protection in the British colonies in the later half of the 19th century where major environmental changes were observed (Grove 1989). These concerns were translated into government actions and conservation policies were implemented. In 1877 the British botanist John Horne was invited by Governor Gordon to examine the native flora in the Fiji Islands. He visited many islands, including Taveuni, in a year-round travel program. At the end of his visit, he suggested that a Forest Ordinance for Fiji to be formed in order to construct reserve areas. His primary concern is to protect the

³ The total number of applications received by the Lands Office was 1683 and the total number of reports sent in by the Commission has been 1327, and with repeated numbers (such as 583 A & B), the number slightly increased to 1335. Among them, 517 were granted; 390 were disallowed as of right but granted “ex gratia” with whole or partial modifications; 361 were disallowed; 56 were disposed of; and 11 were not decided.

supply of water in the rivers and streams generating from mountains and forest catchments (Horne 1881). This is especially true for Taveuni since all of its streams flow from the central mountain ridge.

In December 1909, a report on “Forest Reservation, Island of Taveuni” was submitted to the Colonial Secretary Office by the Commissioner of the Lands Department, Dyson Blair (CSO F32-18). It was stated that in Taveuni, “[t]he soil is a scoria and volcanic loam with which quickly absorbs moisture but does not retain it well, and it is on that account that the question of forest reservation is so important in that island.” Moreover, “[e]ven where no deforestation has taken place it is remarkable how soon after rain the streams cease to run or dwindle to a trickle, and very short droughts seriously affect stock in Taveuni.” As a result, Blair proposed that an area of 29,900 acres (121 km², about 30% of the island) in the central mountain to be declared as “Forest Reserve”⁴.

In 1913, the Forest Ordinance in Fiji was formally enacted in the colonial Legislative Council. The first reserve in the colony was then proclaimed, covering the river bank mangrove area outside of the capital Suva and Namuka Harbor in Viti Levu. In the following year (1914), the central mountain of Taveuni was also proclaimed a forest reserve. It became the first and to this day the largest mountain forest reserve in Fiji. Such a proposal was possible might be due to the miserable state of native population on the island. According to Blair’s report, there were only 1107 indigenous Fijians on Taveuni in 1909, spread out in 9 to 10 villages/settlements, occupying a mere total of 40 km² of lands. However, their traditional communal territory extended much beyond their residential space and stretched further into the forest area. The decision to set up a forest reserve was essentially an act of land alienation from the natives. Such was a time when the Governor of Fiji was Everard im Thurn (1904-1910), who was an opponent of the paternalistic protective native land system. He felt that since the native Fijian population was declining, more of the land they occupied should be made available to others who would be able to put it to better use (Howard 1991:37). Native Fijian land was made alienable again from 1905 until such a policy was overturned in 1908, except for a provision allowing the government to assume land for public interest. The customary land tenure within the Taveuni Forest Reserve was not explored until 1935-36 under the survey of the Native Lands Commission. To this day the boundary of ownership is still very much confusing and is currently under another government survey by the Forestry Department.

⁴ In one of the earliest survey maps of Taveuni which was dated on June 30th, 1880, a Taveuni Forest Reserve as well as Ravilevu Nature Reserve can clearly be seen on the map. This shows that the idea of reserves on Taveuni occurred earlier than the 1909 report.

The “Taveuni Forest Reserve” is not the only large chunk of land on Taveuni that has been designated for nature protection usage. A 9930-acre (40.2 km²) land called Ravilevu located at the southeastern coast of Taveuni was also declared as “Nature Reserve” in 1959. According to colonial records, it was purchased from the native owners in June, 1914 for the sum of £3,750 and became a “Crown Land” (CSO Memo No.28/54, F37/49-1). No particular decision has been made afterwards, except for granting a license to a local Fijian in the late 40s to collect coconuts along the coastline at a fee of £10 per annum. In 1953, a British Captain H.M. Frewen applied for a lease to establish a timber mill on Ravilevu but was rejected. Later in the same year, the District Officer of Taveuni noted that there were several other applicants for the land, to whom he replied that it was not available for leasing (CSO F31/566, F37/49-1). However, in 1955 a lease of 524 acres within Ravilevu was granted to a planter N.D.McGowan to produce copra.

In March 1854, the Governor of Fiji Ronald Garvey inquired that if the land could be used for the relocation of part-European communities to solve their problem of over-population. A survey led by government soil scientists and agricultural officers was immediately conducted to see if the land could be developed. The result concluded that Ravilevu was covered with heavy bush and rises steeply, making it almost inaccessible and unsuitable for cultivation.

In February 1958 at a meeting regarding nature and scenic reserves in Fiji, the Chairman of the Nature Protection Committee of the Fiji Society, Hubert W. Simmonds, threw out the idea of making Ravilevu a “Nature Reserve” (CSO F32/135). He mentioned that during the survey, a tree frog grey and green in color was discovered which was believed to be a species hitherto unknown, which greatly strengthened the case for the necessity to have a nature reserve established. In June 1959, the Forestry Board of Fiji unanimously recommended that the whole of the Taveuni Forest Reserve and Ravilevu be declared together a Nature Reserve (CSO Memo No.5711/249, F37/49-1). This is when the issue of native customary rights was finally raised. As explained by the Executive Council in August 1959,

Under section 13(1) of the Forest Ordinance the Conservator has absolute control of all reserved forest whether on Crown or Native Land. This control is exercised through a licensing system. However, all native customary rights of hunting, fishing, and gathering wild fruits and vegetables are normally preserved. Royalties from forest produce on reserved forest on native land goes to the native owners. In a nature reserve all the rights of Fijians are lost. The purpose is to protect and make possible future regeneration. (Ex.Co.No.244, F37/49-1).

Given that there were substantial areas of customary lands inside the Taveuni Forest Reserve, the secretary for Fijian Affairs was cautious about turning it into a Nature Reserve as it would involve the loss of native rights. He further argued that a considerable of lands on Taveuni had already been alienated and the inclusion of native land in the proposed nature reserve would reduce the areas of land available to the indigenous Fijian communities. Finally, in October 1959 the Executive Council advised that Ravilevu should be proclaimed as Nature Reserve by itself.

The Present Environmental Development of Taveuni

Since the enactment of reserves on Taveuni in the first half of the 20th century, the management of Taveuni Forest Reserve and Ravilevu Nature Reserve were considered passive at best. There were no active on-site authorities. The Forestry Department provided limited resource to maintain the territories. Brookfield noted that since 1965 Fijian cultivation had penetrated the forest reserve at several points, while other sections had been included in modern leases and lease applications by Fijians (Brookfield 1978:40). After Independence in the mid-1970s, there was timber project started by a Fijian settlement on the Qeleni Road which extended deeply into the forest reserve (Brookfield 1988:223). The situation worsened in the late 1980s when a Korean logging operation was established on the island under the consent of the then Tui Cakau Ratu Penaia Ganilau. Initially the operation was carried out unsustainably in the Waica area on the western side of the island. Then in 1988 it attempted to incorporate Bouma into their scheme (Crosby 2002). Some of the villagers who were aware of the sustainable development movement beginning in Fiji decided to approach the Native Lands Trust Board (NLTB) for their assistance to initiate a program that can protect their forest, provide tourism opportunities, and most importantly conserve their cultural heritage that is rooted in the forest. In November 1990 with funding from the New Zealand Overseas Development Agency (NZODA) and management assistance from Fiji's Forestry Department, an area of 14 km² was designated as the Bouma National Heritage Park. The major difference between Bouma National Heritage Park and the previous two reserves is that it is managed by the community members themselves and is eco-tourism oriented, with each of the four major villages in Bouma running their own project. Today a local NGO, NatureFiji (MareqetiViti) is working towards combining all three reserve areas on Taveuni into a single "Taveuni National Park". As this study aims to demonstrate, each of the three reserves has its own historical context and issues. Moreover, the "pristine nature" of the "Garden Island" was constructed through a series of contradictory concerns and different agencies.

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Pictures



1: Nicholas House, Suva, where the Catholic Archives are located.



2. National Archives, Suva, where the colonial archives are located.

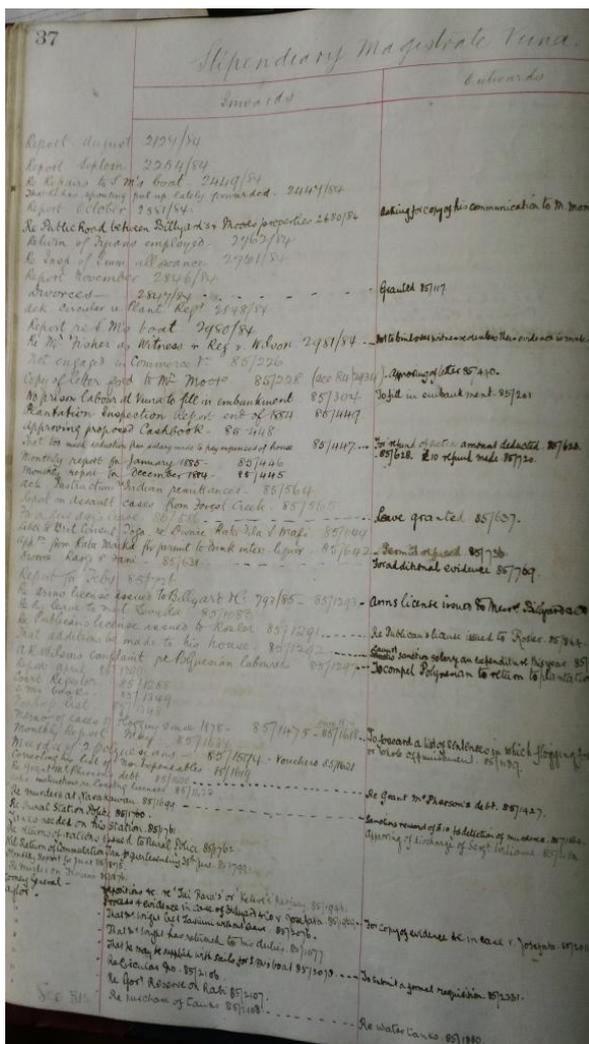


3. Reading files from the Colonial Secretary Office

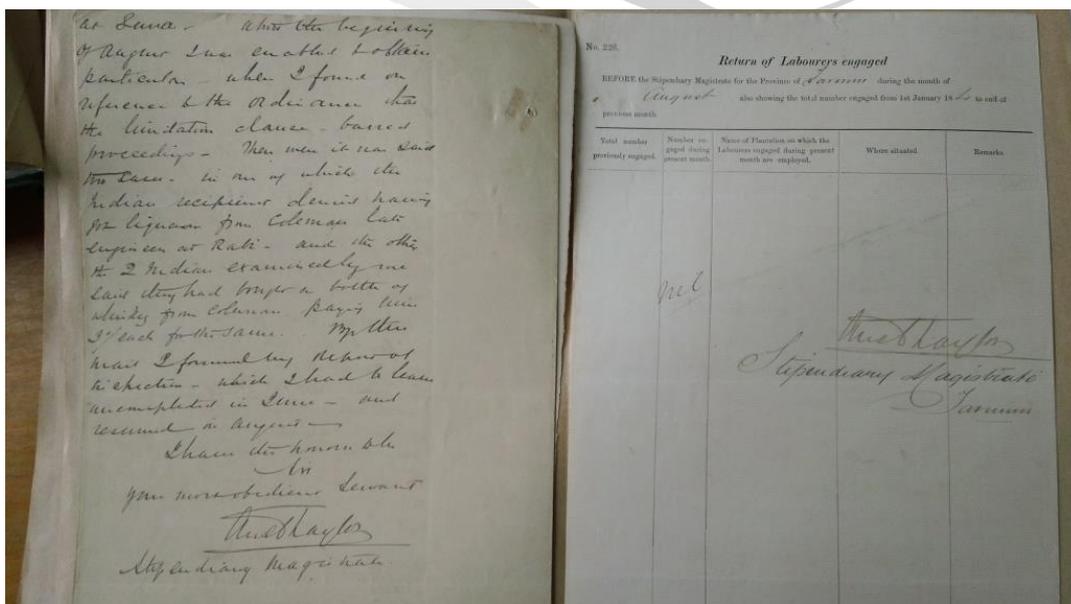
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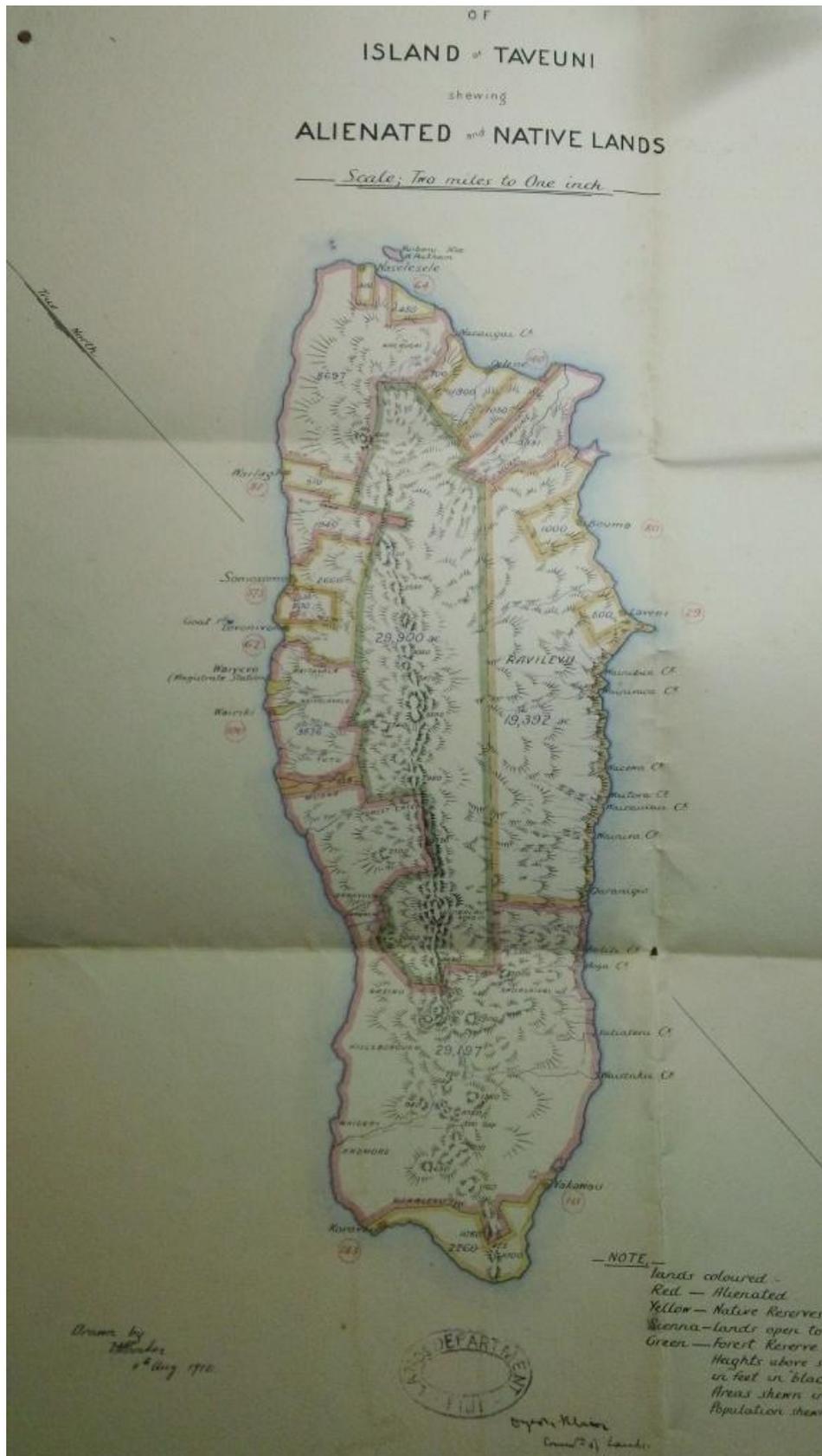
4. Index of topics of the colonial files



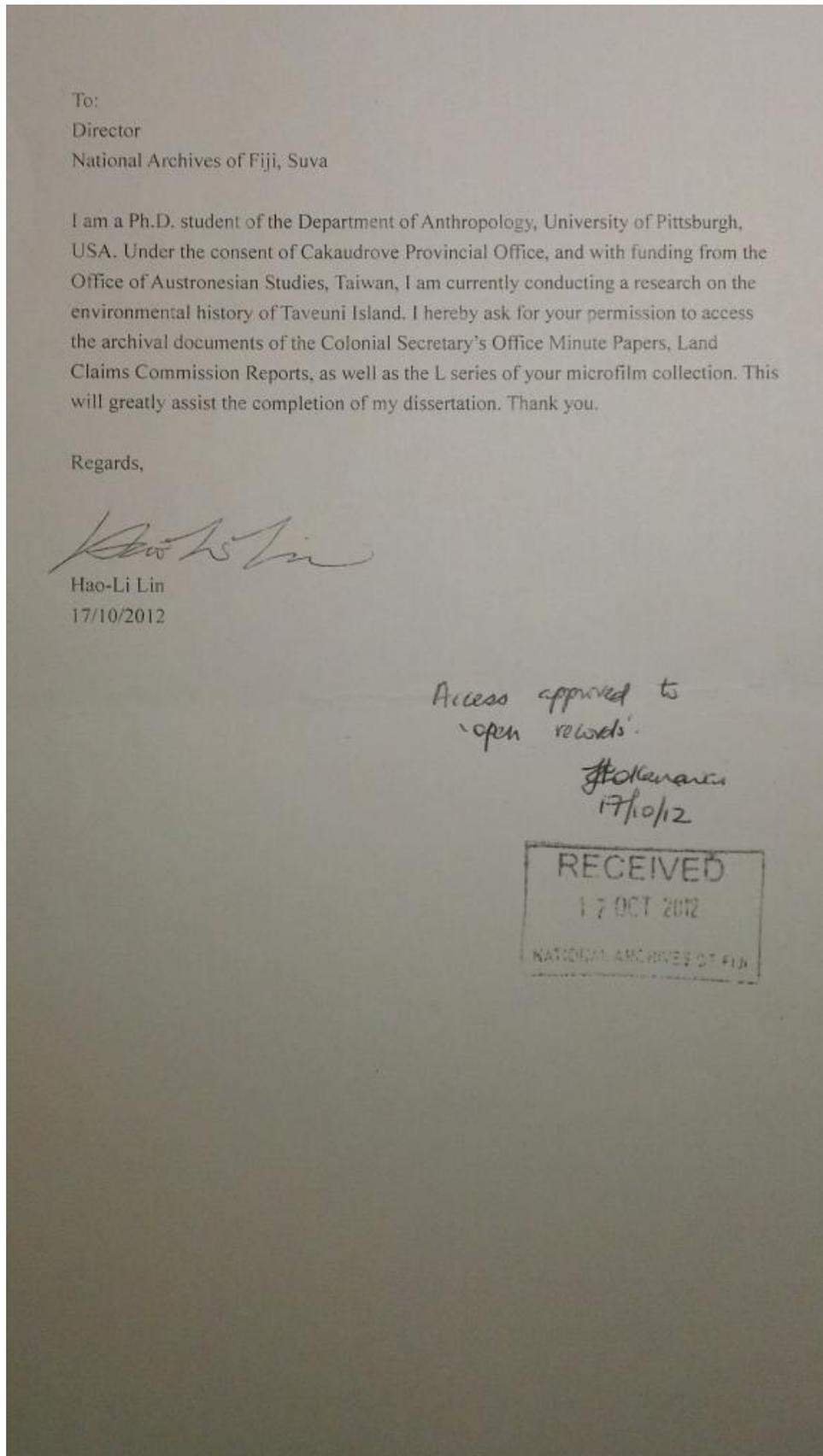
5. Index of the topics from the magistrate of Vuna (Taveuni) in the late 19th century.



6. A monthly report from the District Officer of Taveuni in 1890.



7.A 1909 map of Taveuni, produced by the Lands Department.



8.The Confirmation letter from the National Archives of my archival research.


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Lands 1879-1887" Report
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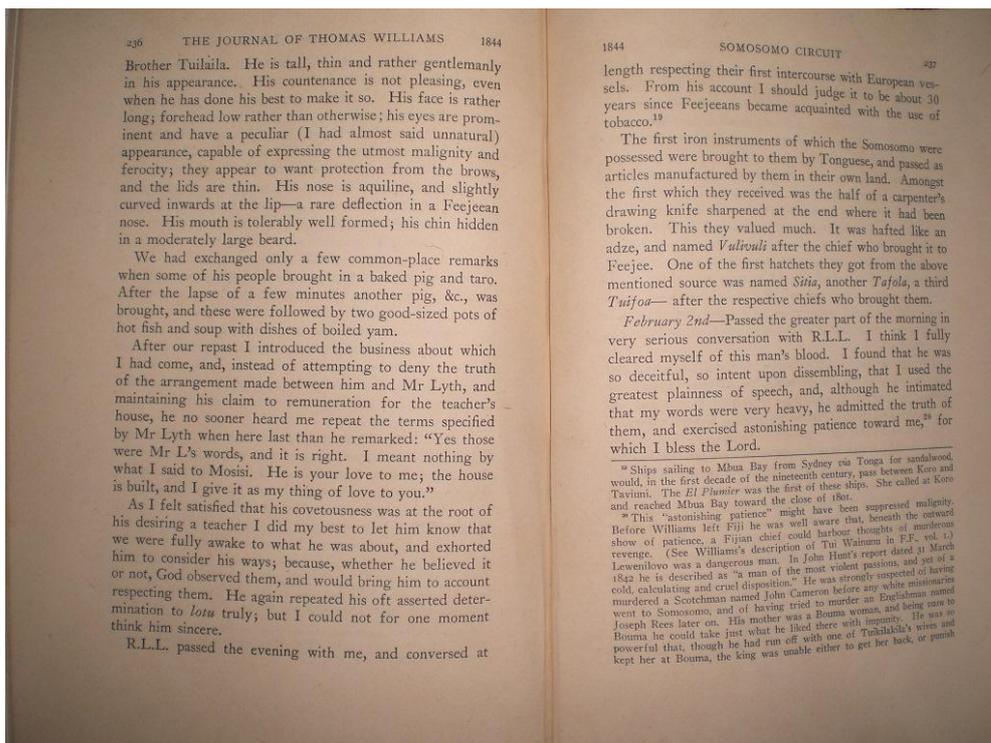
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5. In house use		5. Monographs	11. Photos
		6. Periodicals	12. Newspapers

Other comments:

9.A National Archives request form.



10. Diary of the Methodist missionary Thomas Williams who was stationed on Taveuni from August 1843 to September 1847.

"VUNIVASA ESTATES" – TAVEUNI ISLAND, FIJI.

General: Situated at the north-eastern end of Taveuni Island—the "Garden Island" of Fiji, is Vuni Vasa Estates, an extensive, privately-owned copra plantation and cattle ranch in excess of 3,000 acres of free-simple or freehold land, considered by world-renowned land-management consultants to be unrivalled in the South Pacific. Taveuni Island is the third largest island in Fiji. Unlike some parts of Fiji, or of the world generally, Taveuni has escaped the general pollution and problems associated with too rapid 20th Century development and migration. Taveuni offers a life-style amongst an indigenous people and in an unspoilt environment considered unique today and which is still truly classic South Pacific. Discerning overseas investors have quietly acquired small residential holdings of about 1 acre in size at such places as Soqulu and Dohchi Bay for retirement or investment purposes. Vuni Vasa Estates on Taveuni Island has beautiful contrasting landscapes as the property rises to over 1,200' within 4 miles of the coastline. The estate has over 3 miles of beachfrontage, a protected harbour at Vure Vure Bay, numerous bays, valleys, plateaus, streams, waterfalls, with dense forested areas to the hinterland. Situated some 10 miles south of Mase Airport by public highway maintained by the authorities, the estates and Taveuni generally is served by 3 airlines operating daily scheduled services to other areas of Fiji, with direct flights to Nadi International Airport and to Suva, the capital of Fiji. The subject property enjoys the best climatic conditions of Taveuni having a weak dry season with moderate rainfall (80-100") with a mean annual temperature of 77°F.

Vuni Vasa Estates, besides being a commercially successful copra plantation and cattle ranch, has also been zoned for other uses by Town and Country Planning. Fiji's overall zoning authority charged with approving all development schemes. Optional development zoning usage has been sanctioned for Vuni Vasa Estates by Town and Country Planning as "a resort density Accommodation Development Area. Vure Vure Bay has the largest area of beaches on Taveuni, a beautiful view towards Gamae and Laucale Islands (owned by Mr. Malcolm Forbes) and the possibility of boat cruises to these islands, a protected anchorage, a large developable area adjacent to the beaches and proximity to several hotels and golf courses, marina, small commercial centre, resort cottages, public beaches and a support village" (extract page 131 of UNDP Report on "Tourism Development Programme for Fiji"). The subject property (part only) has also been the subject of another detailed UNDP report, which shows that hydro-electricity, either small or large scale to maximum output of 1,000 kilowatts may be produced ex elevated hinterland sources of the Walubula River, enough to supply the entire island, if necessary. The Walubula River runs for 4 miles within the boundaries of the subject property, providing extensive "in-view" estates with panoramic elevated views across the Tasman Straits to Gamae Island.

Vuni Vasa Estates is of such size and scope that it is expected that the successful purchaser will be a substantial offshore corporation or entrepreneur with existing or proposed interests in Fiji for hotels, agriculture, land development, or interests in airlines and related activities. The Government of Fiji welcomes such offshore investors and developers and provides attractive incentives and aids via legislation, with special tax concessions being offered to developers concerned with hotel, resort and agricultural pursuits. Apart from granting corporate bodies special investment aids, tax and immigration concessions, the Government also offers the individual entrepreneur (investing \$200,000 or more in Fiji) with optional permanent residential status for himself and his immediate family, who may also retain their own citizenship or nationality.

The Fee-Simple or Freehold Landholding Interest: In Fiji, less than 10% of the land is freehold or fee-simple. Vuni Vasa Estates of 3,000 acres encompasses almost the entire area of the promontory and hinterland of Taveuni opposite Gamae Island. Title to the property is contained in 8 separate but contiguous Certificates of Title, offering immediate joint-venture or resale options if not amalgamated into one "master-planned" accommodation/land development project. The topography is as diverse as it is beautiful, there being an overall mild west-to-east slope over the extensive 4 mile west-to-east length of the estates with many individual contrasting landscapes and elevations featured due to the numerous plateaus, valleys, streams, paddocks, waterfalls pastures, forestry and coconut grove plantings of the estates. 1,500 acres of the land is under coconut tree plantations, with 400 acres being new (12-14 yrs.) bearing trees. Over 1,000 head of cattle and 25 horses graze under the plantations and in selected paddocks and pastures. With high protein grasses, the existing pastures are capable of carrying 1,200 head of cattle. The cattle are mix-bred Santa Gertrude stock, Turkey, duck and wood pigeon room at will. 25 miles of picturesque access roading has been constructed linking all areas of the estates, including the pine-forested areas, with the plantation's main residence situated on the seaside facing Gamae Island. No land rates or taxes are payable on the land to any authority, "as is", or if re-developed further. The flora and fauna is as diverse as the contrasting landscapes. Over the past 15 years, the owners have successfully introduced species of flora and fauna from more temperate climates. Next door to a stand of coconuts will be found mature Caribbean pine trees. Wood pigeons and turkeys feed alongside bush tracks. Coffee grows wild.

The Buildings & Improvements: Situated on the seaside facing Gamae Island are the two main residential homesteads. Nearby is the industrial area wherein 6 substantial buildings is housed the plant and machinery necessary for operation of the large-scale copra plantation and cattle ranch. To the south is another homestead and staff quarters. To the north is a guest cottage. Another staff cottage is located inland to the north-west of the main homestead. The two main residences and guest cottages are fully furnished and equipped. The cattle-loading jetty is situated south of the main homestead.

Services: The residential homesteads and the industrial areas are supplied with utilities of water and electricity, with the telephones of the main homestead being to the Fiji main system thus being linked internationally. Electricity is generated by diesel generator of 6 k.v.a. and 2 generators of 2.5 k.v.a. capacity respectively. One of the 2.5 k.v.a. generators produces 110 volt 60 cycle power, while the other 2 sets produce 230 volt 50 cycle power, providing energy versatility.

Furniture, Furnishings, Plant & Equipment: The comprehensive inventory of items (list appended) are included in the sale at the sale price listed, are to be identified at inspection, and form part of the final Contract of Sale. Such items are to be negotiated for separately, if the property realises less than the asking price.

Method of Sale: The vendors have placed the estates on the market for sale at \$43,000 negotiable. Terms may be extended to an acceptable party. The estates are being sold as a property transfer, with costs of same, together with 2% stamp duty, to be borne by the purchasers, including the vendors' solicitors' penal costs. Upon settlement or completion date, vacant possession will be provided to the successful purchaser. Transfer will be in accordance with the laws of Fiji relating to property transfers.

The above report has been prepared by us on information supplied which is considered to be correct, but which is not warranted and prospective purchasers are to rely on their own enquiries.

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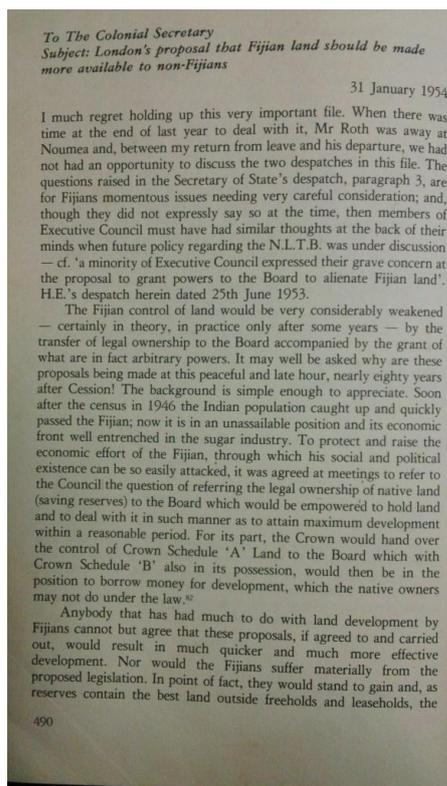
11. A brochure of the Vunivasa Estates, Taveuni, which has been alienated to foreigners in 1863.

W B. *Vista* ou *diversité* *cardis*
 a 7 *dos* *ble* *prop* *sur* *fin* *fonc*
chape *bleu* *conspicue*
 3 *chapelles* *blanches* *bien* *construites*
 3 ——— *ordinaires*
 2 ——— *rouge* *bien* *construites*
 4 ——— *ordinaires*
 7 ——— *noires* *ordinaires*
 2 ——— *ordin.*
 3 ——— *violées*
 1 ——— *verte*
 II a *Humala* 1 ch. *blanche* — Et le plus *beau*
 1 — *rouge* — qui se *ressent* à la
 1 — *violée* *noire* — *abandon* à *St-Jacques*
Belle *chapelle*
bel *hôtel* *garant* *le* *château*
 a *Navi* 1 ch. *blanche* —
 1 — *rouge* (ancien) Et de plus
 1 — *noire* — *ancien* *par* *un*
 a *Noselack* 1 ch. *blanche* —
 1 — *rouge* *avec* *esime*
 1 — *noire*
Autre *chapelle* *dans* *le* *village* *a* *deux*
Bonne (ancien) *Navium* (ancien) *Roma* (ancien)
Cause 2 ch.
 b) 1 *chap* *ordinaires* *blanche*
 1 — *rouge*
 c) 1 *soit* *espérance* *et* *blanc* *très* *ordinaire*
 1 — *rouge*
 d) 2 *ch* *de* *la* *basilique* *ordinaires*
 2 *ch* *de* *rouge*
 4 — *de* *Capitaine*
 e) 3 *autres* *par* *facto*
 4 *ordinaires*
 6 *autres*

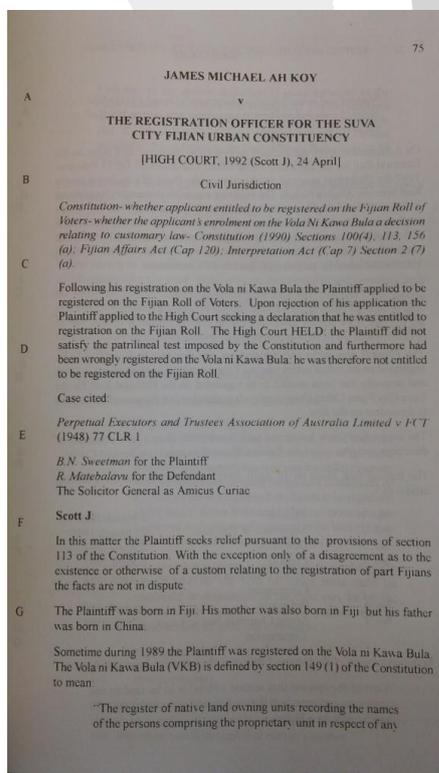
12. A list of Catholic parishes of Taveuni from the Wairiki inventories 1894.

Plantations
 sur 11.000 à Rome
 vudi 3000 dans la foras — *terres* *disponibles* 5.000
 tava : 2.500 dans la foras — 1.500 foras
 yagna : 50 à Rome — 100 dans la foras
 donu : 500 avec garçon (foras) 1000 avec filles
 J'ignore les plantations de Humala, d'ignames, de tava
 des gens de la foras.

13. A list of the crops planted by the Catholic mission from the Wairiki inventories 1895.



15. An excerpt from *Fiji: the three-legged stool: Selected writings of Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna*, 1983.



16. A case regarding the customary law on native status in *Fiji Law Reports* Vol.38, 1992.

NA TAWA VANUA TAUMADA.

KOI AU KO JOSEFA OKANACAGI. AU VOLA TOKA NA
TUKUTUKU ORO ME BALETI IRA NA KENA KAWA DINA
MERA NA VEIQARAVI SE VEILIUJAKI ENA VANUA KO
NASAU SE ENA YAVUSA KO NAISAGAI ENA VEI
TABA GAUNA SA BERA MAI.

KOI RAU NA VUVU NI VANUA ORO KO LEKUTU KEI
NASAU ERAU VEITACINI GA, OASE KO (LATIA NA VANUA)
KA GONE KO (LABALABA). NA TEKITEKIVU NI NODRAU
A GOLA MAI, ENA NODRA A SIRO NOAI E NAKAUVADEA
NAI LAKOLAKO VAKA TURAGA KA PA A YACO ENA DUA NA
NA VANUA MERA MAI YAVU TAKI KINA. E DAIDAI E SA
KILAI TU NA VUNALA ORO ME KO NAYAVU.

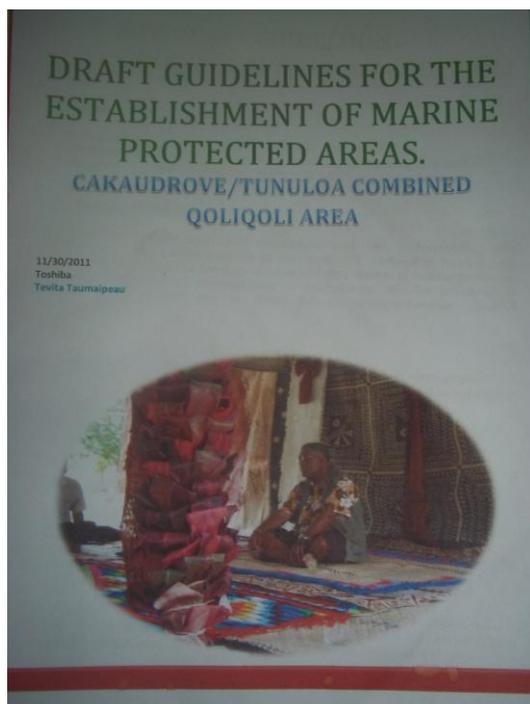
SA VAKA DEI TAKI KUTO NAI TIKOTIKO ~~KA~~ VAKA
TURAGA KO NAYAVU. OI SA QAI RA CAVU BALE TALE
NA LAKOLAKO VAKA TURAGA ENA DUA NA VANUA MERA
LAKI VAKA TUBU KORO KINA NI BERA NIRA DU SEBA
YANI NAI LAKOLAKO VAKA TURAGA ENA NODRA VAKA
SAQARA VANUA ~~KA~~. E DAIDAI ESA KILAI KOTO
NA VANUA ERA LAKI VAKA TUBU KORO KINA ORO ME
KO NAKOROTUBU. VAKA CACA ORO NAI TUKUTUKU LEKA-
LEKA NI NODRAU A GOLA MAI NA VEITACINI TURAGA.

ENA NODRAU I LAKOLAKA VOLI MAI NA VEI TACINI KEI NA
NODRAU UMA TAMATA, ERATOU A SALA VATA VOLI MAI KEI
NA DUA TALEGA ERATOU MAJA VEITACINI GA NA YARANA
KO BOTONAI.

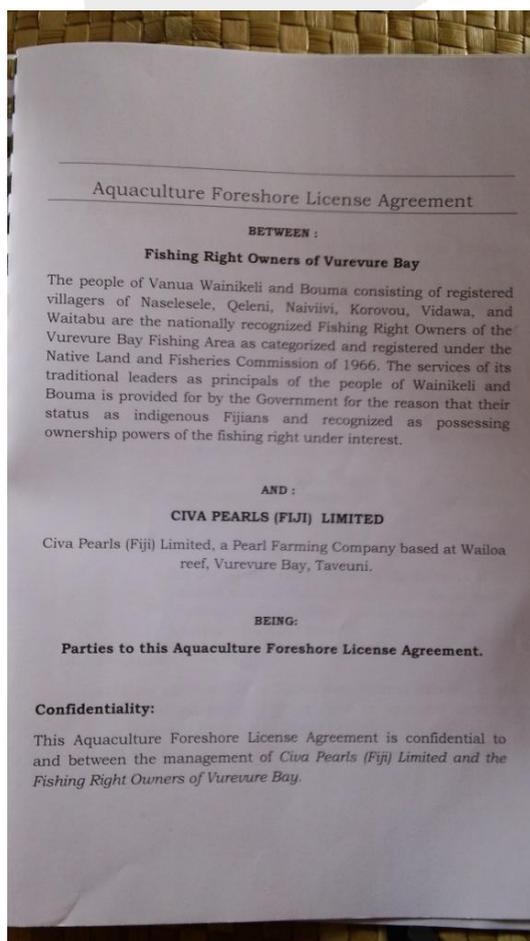
SAI IRATOU NA LEWE TOLU ORO ERATOU A TAWA VANUA
TAUMADA ENA YANUVANU KO TAVUNU.

ENA NODRATOU YACO MAI ERATOU A NOAI VAKAI TIKOTIKO
(KORO) TAUMADA ENA DUA NA VANUA KA SA YACANA
TIKO ENA GAUNA NI KUA ME KO NABILI.

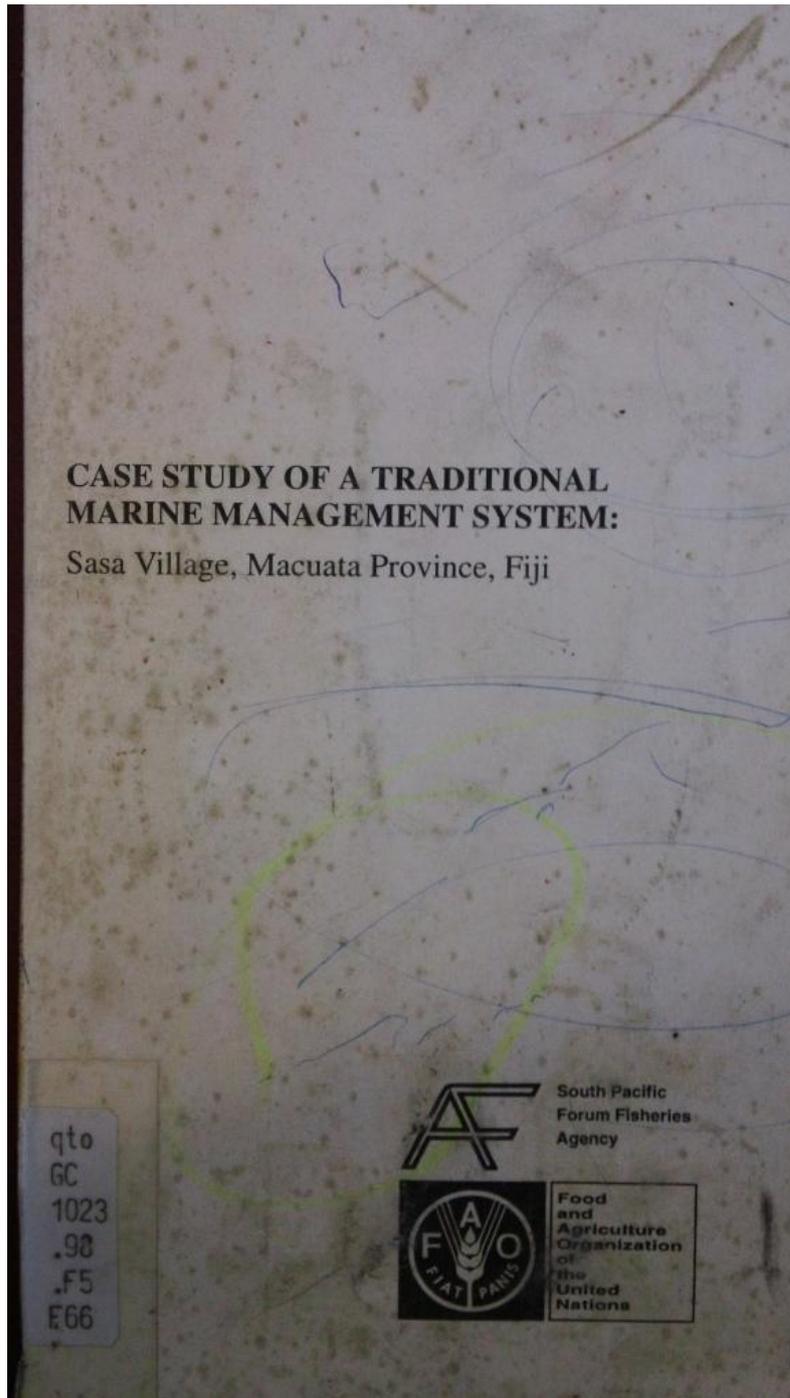
17. A written version of Waitabu history by the late Tui Nasau, Iosefo Kanacagi.



18.A draft regarding the regulations of MPAs for Cakaudrove Province, Taveuni.



19.A draft the agreement between a foreign pearl company and the villages of Waitabu and Vidawa, Taveuni.



20. One of the earliest study of the Fijian marine tenure in 1994 by Gracie Fong.

ⁱ The data of this archival study was primarily gathered from the National Archives at Suva, Fiji. The primary source is the "Colonial Secretary's Office Correspondence files 'F' series 1931-1958", which will appear as CSO in the reference. The Archives of the Catholic Archdiocese of Suva and the Library at the Fiji Museum have also very been very contributive. I would like to thank the assistant librarian Asena Dame at the National Archives, Sister Wati Koroiciri at the Catholic Archives, and Ratu Sela Rayawa at the Fiji Museum for their support.