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This bibliography is the result of thirty-one years’ research in libraries and archives throughout the world. It consists of some 10,000 entries in distinct categories, each giving full bibliographical details, and it ranges in time from the seventeenth century to the mid-1960s. It is non-selective, for, as its author rightly says, no bibliographer knows the purposes for which his work will be used.

Though this work is an essential tool for all workers in the Pacific area, the many vicissitudes it has endured — literally, it has suffered fire, flood, and war — together with its wide range in time and space, make it less than perfect. It is, therefore, published now as a preliminary working edition with the invitation that any new or emending material be sent to the author.

$A10.50
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P. A. Snow, who is now Bursar of Rugby School, spent some fifteen years as Administrative Officer in the western Pacific, after training at Cambridge University in a miscellany of subjects that are almost a microcosm of those covered in the Bibliography, which he began as early as 1937, urged on by his brother C. P. (of Two Cultures fame).

His wide experience in the area gave him unparalleled opportunities to compile the materials in the Bibliography, and he received generous help from friends in the region who brought him in touch with some of its many cultures.

In 1952 Snow returned to England and to intensive work on the Bibliography. He also wrote and broadcast extensively on the Pacific and on educational questions, while still retaining his Pacific connections: many Pacific visitors are his guests and he is Permanent Representative of Fiji on the International Cricket Conference as well as Moderator in the Fijian Language Examination of the Cambridge University Local Examinations Syndicate.
This book was published by ANU Press between 1965–1991. This republication is part of the digitisation project being carried out by Scholarly Information Services/Library and ANU Press. This project aims to make past scholarly works published by The Australian National University available to a global audience under its open-access policy.
A Bibliography of Fiji, Tonga, and Rotuma

Preliminary Working Edition

Philip A. Snow

AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY PRESS
Canberra
To

Anne and Stephanie
The publication of this work
has been generously assisted by grants-in-aid from the
Government of Fiji
and the
Government of the Kingdom of Tonga
to whom the thanks of the compiler and the publisher are due
FOREWORD

The prodigious growth of literature on the South Seas during recent years has made the task of bibliographical control perhaps the most urgent problem facing those responsible for the organisation of Pacific studies today. The work of the 3,000 and more natural and social scientists estimated to be working at the present time on topics related to the Pacific Islands too often suffers from an insufficient acquaintance with what has already been recorded on their own and related fields. This must apply even more to the busy government official, politician, professional worker, technician, journalist, or writer — or even to the intelligent general reader — who needs to be able to locate the information he requires with maximum speed and minimum trouble.

To people actually living in the islands bibliographies are of particular value since a work cited can usually be readily procured from any of the main Pacific research libraries in photocopy form, even though it may not be available in local libraries.

Hence our decision to publish the Bibliography of Fiji, Tonga, and Rotuma in a preliminary offset edition for immediate practical use. It was a decision taken only after long and careful consideration, for it had to be acknowledged at the outset that this was not the polished production of a professionally-trained bibliographer working with all the internal and inter-library resources with which he could legitimately expect to be provided, but rather a collection of entries made in a variety of styles, in many parts of the world, often under adverse conditions, by an enthusiast working single-handed in his spare time during a period of over a quarter of a century.

The compiler, Philip Snow, after graduating with honours in history
at Cambridge University, served in Fiji as a member of the Colonial Administrative Service from 1938 to 1952. His first entries on Fiji were actually made while still a Colonial Probationer at Cambridge, on the advice of his brother C. P. Snow, now Lord Snow of Leicester, who was a Fellow of Christ's College when Philip was an undergraduate there.

The practice of recording every discoverable published reference to the islands was continued throughout his service career, both in Fiji itself and while on leave in England, Australia, and New Zealand. The later extension of the entries to include Tonga was commenced after Snow succeeded Ratu J. L. V. Sukuna as the last Provincial Commissioner of the Tongan-influenced Lau Group, while Rotuma was added through his friendship with the veteran Rotuman scholar, Dr Humphrey Evans.

Originally intended for his own use, the bibliography gradually became an end in itself and assumed such proportions that Snow was urged to have it published. At this stage he was offered the position of Bursar of Rugby School while on leave and, feeling that he had exhausted the locally available material, he decided to remain in England. Here the work was continued with the documentary resources of the Old World at his disposal and, for the first time and at this late stage, with the assistance and advice of professional librarians, among whom Miss B. J. Kirkpatrick, the Librarian of the Royal Anthropological Institute, deserves special mention.

As illustrations of some of the vicissitudes which attended the preparation of this work it may be mentioned that the first draft was lost during one of the Rewa River floods, while the second was burnt when a petrol lantern caught fire at Naduruloulou. It is therefore through no fault of the compiler, who indeed deserves high praise for his pertinacity in overcoming obstacles which would have daunted most of us, that the entries are often inconsistent in form and sometimes defective, while a few betray the fact that not all could be checked by direct examination of the item cited.

Despite these technical imperfections the work fills a long-felt lacuna in our detailed knowledge of Pacific Islands literature. In addition to already-published bibliographies, some of which are mentioned in the Preface, works are being prepared at the present time on New Guinea, the Central Pacific, and several of the smaller islands or groups such as Niue and Pitcairn. The main gaps
Foreword

left are therefore seen to be Fiji, Tonga, Samoa and the Cook Islands, and a work which covers the greater portion of these major groups of Western Polynesia should, in our opinion, be made immediately available, especially as there appears to be no prospect of any comparable compilation being prepared in the foreseeable future.

Detailed inspection and actual use by research workers have shown, furthermore, that the Bibliography of Fiji, Tonga, and Rotuma is a remarkably comprehensive and useful work which satisfies the primary practical demands made of a bibliography: the listing of published material in a form which enables its identification and therefore its eventual location. In short, it is a complete, retrospective regional bibliography covering three separate island groups: the most useful and at the same time the most difficult of all bibliographical tools to compile.

The word 'complete' is used here in a relative sense, for in practice absolute completeness can never be achieved. The present bibliography's approach to the ideal can, however, be gauged by comparing its over 10,000 entries with those of the most comprehensive of its predecessors, which contains 967, and by realising that it is not confined (as, for example is Taylor's A Pacific Bibliography) to selected works on a more or less narrow segment of human knowledge, but extends to the whole range of published material relating, even if only in part, to the area. As should be the case in any National Bibliography worthy of the name, it is left to the user to make his selection of what he requires for his purpose and no attempt is made by the compiler to select or evaluate in advance what he considers the reader should consult.

Recognising its value to Pacific studies, members of the staff of the Department of Pacific History, and notably Mrs Susan De Marco, Mrs Jennifer Terrell, Mrs Jean Cooksley and Miss Marney Anderson, assisted for some months by Mrs Anne-Marie Johnson, have worked at preparing the bibliography for publication intermittently over a period of three years. This has enabled the addition of several hundred entries, most of which would have been unknown outside the Antipodes, and the checking of numbers of existing entries against those given in other reference lists. It has not, however, permitted a check of more than a fraction of the citations against the actual works themselves.

The Bibliography of Fiji, Tonga, and Rotuma is therefore being
A Bibliography of Fiji, Tonga, and Rotuma

published as a practical working tool for the use of all interested in this important sector of the South Seas, not least among them the peoples of these groups themselves, now rapidly reaching the stage where they are requiring reliable guides to all that has been written on their islands.

To emphasise the tentative and provisional character of the present edition it is being reproduced in typescript by offset process instead of in print. Those who have occasion to consult it are cordially invited to assist in correcting imperfections by writing either to the compiler or the Department of Pacific History pointing out any errors, omissions, or inconsistencies discovered, so that a second edition of what we are hopeful will eventually become the standard bibliographical work on these islands may be technically impeccable and at the same time even more comprehensive.

Canberra
April 1968

H. E. Maude
PREFACE

Despite the aura of romance that has been associated with them almost from the day of their discovery by the western world, the Pacific Islands were a remote and relatively little-known area up to World War II. Then it was demonstrated that, although of minimal economic value, they possessed considerable strategic and political importance as linking, geographically, the civilisations of Europe and America with Asia: the ultimate frontier where the two cultural streams west and east finally met.

Since then improvements in transport, and in particular the development of an air network reaching to all the principal, and many of the minor, island groups, have brought an ever-increasing flood of visitors to the South Seas and enabled the region and its peoples to be studied in detail as never before — a process which has been aided by the establishment of the South Pacific Commission and other regional governmental agencies, together with new academic organisations such as the Research School of Pacific Studies of The Australian National University in Canberra, the East-West Center in Honolulu, and the Institute of South Pacific Studies at the University of California in Santa Cruz.

One inevitable result has been a spate of literature ever-swelling in volume and variety. The number of publications referring in whole or part to the South Pacific produced in the brief space of twenty-two years since the end of the war exceeds the output of the entire period of over three centuries from the era of European discovery to Pearl Harbour.

Even thirty years ago when the Bibliography was started, the then rare Pacific specialist could hopefully essay to know a fair proportion
of the literature relating to the islands in which he was interested; today he would find it hard to learn of the existence of many publications which could be of importance to his work. Hence the justification of bibliographies: whether covering the whole area (and therefore necessarily selective in content), such as C. R. / H. Taylor's *A Pacific Bibliography*, one of the recognised sub-areas, such as H. Utinomi's *Bibliography of Micronesia*, or confined to a group or groups, such as Patrick O'Reilly’s bibliographies of New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, Wallis and Futuna, and Tahiti. The principal bibliographies have themselves been listed in Ida Leeson’s *Bibliography of Bibliographies*, a work which is still valuable though somewhat dated.

Perhaps the most notable gap still remaining is a natural grouping formed by the Colony of Fiji, the Kingdom of Tonga, and the Dependency of Rotuma, a trio of territories straddling the artificial line dividing the Melanesian western from the Polynesian eastern Pacific. A diversity of reasons, whether of propinquity, cultural attachment, historical development, administrative contact, or linguistic affinity, makes it logical for the three to be included in one bibliography; and it is rare indeed to find a study focused on one of the three archipelagoes which does not have to take into account intrusions from another.

The links are admittedly not so much between all three as between pairs: Rotuma, for instance, is politically a dependency of Fiji but, being at least more Polynesian than anything else, is socially and linguistically distinct.

In spite of their ethnic differences, the Fijian and Tongan Groups are culturally close (the Fijian province of Lau, which I administered for a time, is in part as much Tongan in culture as it is Fijian), but Fiji has been a Crown Colony for nearly a century and Tonga an independent, or virtually independent, kingdom from time immemorial.

Between Tonga and Rotuma, as between the other two pairs, there is the important factor of propinquity, for in the Pacific distances of merely a few hundred miles separate near-neighbours; and this has been supplemented by a tradition of inter-island visits stretching far back in history.

It should be emphasised that in compiling the following bibliography of works relating to one or more of these areas I have endeavoured to
be as inclusive as possible and to avoid any temptation to evaluate the items cited. I have included, for instance, records of the impressions of travellers, however jejune and superficial, and however wrong they may be by scholarly standards. Such impressions often portray, in a vivid way, the feeling and atmosphere of a locality that either escapes, or is deliberately avoided by, more scientific writers. Somerset Maugham, for example, made a brief visit to Fiji some years ago and, though his views are neither profound nor accurate, and are of little value in adding to our factual knowledge, his record of how the places which he visited impressed a sensitive mind is of significance.

I have held, in brief, that it should be the duty of the bibliographer not to discriminate but rather to be objective and catholic, particularly since the nature of the research for which a bibliography may be consulted cannot be predicted in advance.

There occurs a time — a quite arbitrary date — when a reference work has to see the light of day to be of any value. Although, as already stated, the bibliography aims at comprehensiveness, it must be expected that, despite all care, some fish will have escaped the net. In a subject as detailed, extensive, and infinite as this (work on it has been spread over thirty years), it would be lacking in the humility that the task of compilation soon imposes to claim that all errors of omission and commission have been avoided, and I should be very grateful if any noted by users could be pointed out to me.

It is hoped that the alphabetical index, together with the list of subject categories, all referring to numbered entries, will make consultation simple and quick. The following has been the practice adopted in the arrangement of entries:

Where more than one of the three territories of this bibliography are referred to on any scale, the entry appears under the combined section for Fiji, Tonga, and Rotuma.

Where the publication covers three or more main subjects, the entry will be found under the title ‘General’.

All entries are of printed material, except where otherwise stated. Maps and charts have not been included. Letters, despatches, and other forms of correspondence in manuscript or typescript have only rarely been included: this omission being of less importance since catalogues of the manuscript material on all three territories located in Great Britain is being currently compiled for the forthcoming
Guide to Manuscripts relating to Australia and the South West Pacific, by Miss P. Mander-Jones; a similar catalogue of manuscripts in New Zealand is to be published by the Department of Pacific History at the Australian National University, together with a world list of unpublished theses; while calendars of the documentation on King Cakobau's Government and the beginnings of British administration are being prepared for publication by the Government Archivist, Fiji.

Entries are limited where possible to first editions: reprints and subsequent editions, including translations, are not mentioned unless they are in materially different form.

If titles of works are identical in cases where there are no authors' names to provide a distinction, such entries are to be found in order of date of publication, those with no dates preceding those with dates.

Where a date of publication has not been recorded and is not known, it is marked (n.d.) — no date. If it is possible to attribute a date, this is put in square brackets which, throughout the work generally, indicate that particulars are not positively known.

The titles of some books in the Fijian, Tongan, and Rotuman languages are sometimes misspelt by the printers or authors. Where these misspellings occur, the mistakes have been preserved, with corrections interposed in square brackets.

The Fijian language is always spelt in one of two ways: one as in Fiji for those who know the language and pronunciation, the other often for use outside the country as a guide for pronunciation (Nabucobuco, for instance, would be so spelt in Fiji, but in publications outside the country this might be shown as Nambuthobutho). Throughout this bibliography the spelling as used in Fiji is employed unless it is shown differently on the actual publication.

Entries have not been made for publications making merely a brief mention of Fiji, Tonga, and Rotuma, unless there is some relevant, general, continuing link which might enable anyone interested to follow up the reference usefully. Articles of a general nature in, for example, The Native Medical Practitioner and the Agricultural Journal, Fiji are not included unless a specific reference is made to Fiji, Tonga, or Rotuma.

Reviews and obituaries have been included in cases where there is a connection with subjects in this bibliography or there is a specific mention which might help to bring out a particular point of value if followed up.
Preface

Where parts of a large general book, or parts of a work extending to a number of volumes, refer to Fiji, Tonga, and Rotuma, these are excerpted to form individual entries showing a specific reference; but, in addition, the main work is quoted.

The number of pages in a book or article is indicated after the letters Pp. If the article is limited to one page only, the number of that page is quoted after the letter p. Preliminary pages in a publication by way of introduction, preface, etc., are indicated by small Roman numerals before the number of pages.

If a book includes a bibliography of any substance, this is indicated by the abbreviation ‘Bibliog.’ at the end of the particulars.

Only the most important of the Legislative Council Reports of Fiji are referred to directly. The complete list of Reports is to be found in the Journal of the Legislative Council, published by the Government Printer, Suva.

Individual excerpts have not been made of articles and other material appearing in local newspapers, such as The Fiji Times and its predecessors, or the vernacular Fijian journal, Na Mata, since the complete file would clearly need to be consulted by anyone interested in a particular topic. The same remarks apply to newspapers published outside the area, such as the Auckland Weekly News, the Wellington Times and the Christchurch Press, which make frequent references to the Pacific Islands, the only exceptions being the United Kingdom daily newspapers, The Times and the Daily Telegraph, and Sunday newspapers, The Sunday Times and Sunday Telegraph. The Pacific Islands Monthly has, for the same reason, been treated as a newspaper, more particularly since a comprehensive index to this important regional magazine is about to be published.

A separate list of journals and periodicals is appended. Abbreviations adopted for journals, as well as the sequence of details within entries, follow the general bibliographic style recommended by the Survey of Anthropological Journals and Monograph Series in Libraries in the United Kingdom, published by the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland in 1955, and the World List of Scientific Periodicals (London, Butterworth, 1952). Exceptions made in the practice laid down by the latter are Agric. J. for Agric. J., Fiji (Agricultural Journal, Fiji) and N.M.P. for Native Med. Practit. (The Native Medical Practitioner).

Volume numbers of journals are shown in Arabic or Roman
numerals following the manner in which they are printed in the journals, even though the style adopted in some journals varies from time to time.

Where names of journals or organisations have altered in the course of time, the title actually used at the time of publication is shown, e.g. the Fijian Society changed its name first to the Fiji Society of Science and Industry and later to The Fiji Society, and publications of the Society will be found under the names prevailing at the time of publication. The same principle applies to the Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, which later became United Empire, then the Journal of the Royal Commonwealth Society, and now the Commonwealth Institute Journal.

Some entries have more than one author: in these instances the titles will be found under the names of each of the authors (unless there are more than four, in which case only one entry is made, under the name of the first author, followed by the words 'and others'). The full particulars appear under the name of the first author mentioned in the work, whilst the entry under the name of the second, third, or fourth author simply makes a cross-reference to the first author's name and the title.

All the single works of an author are put ahead of any joint works, while works by an author appear before works about an author.

In cases of works which have editors' names but no authors' names, entries are included under the editors' names; in cases where there are both editors' and authors' names, entries appear under the names of authors.

Where no author's name is shown on the publication, as in the case of government reports and unsigned works, the entry appears under the first word (other than an article) of the title.

Where the author's name is double-barrelled, the entry appears under the name before the hyphen.

Where the surname is the same in two cases but one of them carries a rank or title, such as Sir, Lord, Ratu, the order of entry follows the first Christian name, not the first letter of the rank or title. Ranks and titles are spelt as in the style of the particular country to which they belong.

Obituaries or funeral notices in which authorship is not declared will be found in alphabetical order of the surname of the deceased, e.g. an obituary of Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna would be filed under Sukuna,
Preface

rank being ignored in such circumstances. In other cases of title entries (where there is no author or editor and where a person forms the subject of the title) the entry is placed, as with all title entries, under the first word (other than an article), regardless of whether it is part of a rank or style of address: thus 'Mr Sandys invites Fiji . . .' is filed under 'Mister', but indexed under 'Sandys'.

Names with the prefixes De, D', Von and Van are all shown in the alphabetical order of surnames and not of prefix. For example, Comte Rodolphe Festetics de Tolna appears under Tolna. Exceptions to this are names starting with St, listed under 'Saint', and those where the prefix includes an article, such as Du, De la, Des, La, which are to be found under their prefixes.

Names starting with Mc or Mac are to be found as though they all started with Mac.

Initial articles have been disregarded when filing titles in European languages only.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In the course of preparing a Bibliography hundreds of sources have to be consulted not once but several times (this is the scourge of library staffs, to whom I now acknowledge my gratitude for their patience), but the following works have been referred to with the most frequency for general items: the Subject Catalogue of the Library of the Royal Empire Society, formerly Royal Colonial Institute, Volume 2, by P. E. Lewin; the Bibliographie de L'Océanie in the Journal de la Société des Océanistes, by Père Patrick O'Reilly and collaborators; A Pacific Bibliography, by C. R. H. Taylor; and the Survey of Anthropological Journals and Monograph Series in Libraries in the United Kingdom, published by the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. In the specialised spheres of botany and mission history, Professor E. D. Merrill's A Botanical Bibliography of the Islands of the Pacific and Père Patrick O'Reilly's Imprints of the Fiji Catholic Mission including the Loreto Press have been markedly helpful.

There have been numerous other general helpers, not least the anonymous compilers of indexes of some journals and other periodicals who have saved my having to look through every issue, in some instances in series of over a hundred or more years.

The following individuals and institutions have generously assisted me over the years in this work, and I am very appreciative of their advice and support in a variety of ways:

In Australia: The Australian National University and its Publications Committee for making the public appearance of this work possible; Mr Harry E. Maude, formerly Resident Commissioner of the Gilbert
and Ellice Islands and now Professorial Fellow in Pacific History, Australian National University, for his encouragement, practical advice, and material assistance culminating in publication and for also kindly contributing the Foreword; Mrs Susan De Marco, Research Assistant, Department of Pacific History, Australian National University, for her constructive co-operation and devoted work in further research and competent checking and cross-checking of all the detail, not once but on many occasions, resulting in the final polish, including the revision of the Index after a total renum­bering of the entries; and Mrs Jennifer Terrell, Assistant Editor, Journal of Pacific History, Mrs Anne-Marie Johnson and Mrs Jean Cooksley, Research Assistants, for their similarly valued helpfulness; Professor Sir John Crawford, Vice-Chancellor of the Australian National University, and Professor J. W. Davidson, Professor of Pacific History, and the Cartographic Section of the Geography Department at the same University; Mrs Marjorie Hancock, Deputy Librarian, and the staff of the Mitchell Library, Sydney, and Mr Reginald R. C. Caten, formerly Deputy Registrar, Supreme Court, Fiji.

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In Rotuma: Mrs Munivai McGoon (née ‘Aisake).

In Samoa: Mr B. E. Vincent Parham, formerly Director of Agriculture, and Deputy Director of Agriculture, Fiji.

In New Zealand: Mrs G. M. Strathern, Librarian, the Hocken Library, University of Otago, Dunedin; Professor W. David McIntyre, Professor of History, Canterbury University; Mr Clyde R. H. Taylor, formerly Chief Librarian, the Turnbull Library, Wellington; and the staff of the Auckland Public Library.

In South Africa: Mr A. M. Lewin Robinson, Acting Chief Librarian, the South African Public Library, Capetown.

In America: Mr Christopher C. Legge, Custodian of Collections, Anthropology Department, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Illinois, and formerly Commissioner, Fiji, for an indefatigable transatlantic supply of material; Mrs Marjory Stoneman Douglas and Mrs Jane B. Gaffin, formerly Directors of the Press, University of Miami; Mr Stanley Yates, Reference Librarian, University of Wyoming; the staffs of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., and of the Peabody Museum Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

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In Sweden: Karl Erik Larsson, of Etnografiska Museet, Göteborg.
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The gruelling nature of the checking in general that a bibliography demands above all other types of publications cannot be over-
Acknowledgements

estimated. While the responsibility for errors of commission and omission is mine, Anne and Stephanie must take much of any credit that might be given to the checking side of the work done in this country. They have grown to live with its permanent presence wherever we have resided. Its going to print has left something of a vacuum — in one stage or another it has always been an ineluctable part of the family.

P. A. Snow

Naduruloulou, Rewa River,
Fiji Islands 1938

The Bursary, Rugby School,
ABBREVIATIONS

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<td>Bibliog.</td>
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xxvi
GUIDE TO ARRANGEMENT OF SUBJECT CATEGORIES

The following list is an alphabetical one for ease of reference. The actual placing of categories in order under (1) Fiji, Tonga, and Rotuma, (2) Fiji, (3) Tonga, (4) Rotuma is, in each of these four territorial sections, in three sets. The first set, beginning with Bibliographies, Research, Biography, Origins, etc., is principally General, Anthropology, Ethnography and allied subjects, mostly indigenous. The second set, starting with Agriculture, Amphibiology, etc., is Sciences, mostly introduced. Architecture, Commerce, etc., start the third set, which is a collection of other subjects, mostly introduced.

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### A Bibliography of Fiji, Tonga, and Rotuma

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<td>Cruises</td>
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<td>Engineering</td>
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<td>Material culture (including tapa, tattooing, canoes; excluding art)</td>
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