food supplies, resented this behavior as a trick, personalizing events that were largely of a cultural kind. As often, the “structure of the conjuncture,” as envisioned by Marshall Sahlins, contained more “disjunction” than “conjuncture” of viewpoints on the two sides.

Schieffelin and Crittenden’s book is, of course, a more scholarly contribution. Its eleven chapters are written by specialists on segments of Hides’s 1935 journey to the Strickland and Purari rivers, ethnographers who have all made detailed studies in these areas. As a result, one can compare Hides’s accounts with those of their informants, and can understand the fear and misunderstandings that existed on both sides, as well as being able to follow the curious alternations of friendship and hostility which Hides’s expedition met with along the way. An awkward turning point came with Hides’s entry into the Huli area (which he called Tari Furoro). His experience with Papuan coastal peoples began to tell against him here, and while he himself delighted in having come across the Huli, after some hostile encounters and killings his luck turned against him. One wonders what would have happened in reverse, if the Leahys had attempted to apply “highland models” to an exploration of Papua.

These two books tell comparable stories from very different perspectives. Leahy’s text in some ways appears itself rather frozen in time, and reading it one travels not only into the depths of the interior of New Guinea but also into the mind-set of an older generation of Australian explorers: shrewd and brave, but never regarding the “native” as an existential equal or contemporary. Schieffelin and Crittenden’s volume amply rectifies such deficiencies, and gives scholarly and thoughtful reconstructions and interpretations of events from indigenous testimony as well as archival and published sources.

One impression emerges overall: whereas cosmologies differed, attitudes to violence were rather similar throughout this wide region. Leahy managed to make his way through these attitudes, while Hides’s enterprise was more and more entangled in them, issuing in progressive misunderstandings and disasters. Strikingly, however, both of these explorers were also writers and in their own way ethnographers, a fact that has led to the enrichment of testimony regarding “first contacts” as well as bringing with it the challenge to reinterpretation so ably and charmingly encompassed by the editors and all the contributors to the volume.

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Early meetings in New Zealand between local Maori peoples and the first explorers to step ashore were invariably eventful. Such encounters have spawned a far-reaching primary and reflective record. Two Worlds synthesizes much of this vast record, and is itself an extensive primary study
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of first meetings, with a contemporary undertone where indigenous perspectives—content and methodological—are enjoying something of a renaissance in, and exerting new demands on, New Zealand scholarship. *Two Worlds* is also a reflective piece—what might these encounters have meant to the Maori, and how might we know. Salmond is well placed to contemplate such matters; she has long demonstrated a keen research interest in Maori anthropology, primarily among Ngati Porou, the East Coast tribe where she has concentrated her research.

*Two Worlds* deals with four of the earliest explorer encounters with New Zealand's native inhabitants, the Maori. Dutchman Abel Tasman was the first, encountering the Ngati Tumatakoki people of Taitapu, near Nelson, at sunset on 18 December 1642. Tasman was on a voyage of navigation along the southwest coast of Zealandia Nova, with crews aboard the vessels *Zeehaen* and *Heemskerck*. Shortly after the ships anchored, local Maori were observed in numbers, approaching in small canoes; tentatively, across a short stretch of water, the two peoples eyed each other. This was the first Maori-European encounter, a momentous point in New Zealand's history.

Dutch descriptions of these first Maori to be sighted by Europeans were curious, says Salmond. There was "no indication of facial or body tattoo, nor of any carving on the canoes that came out to their ships" (79). Tasman considered the Maori "of ordinary height; they had rough voices and strong bones, the colour of their skin between brown and yellow" (79). Much of the intense exchange that followed was, from the Maori point of view, probably equivocal and hostile after early protocols of encounter had not been recognized. The next day, one of Tasman's cockboats was attacked and three sailors killed. Though the Dutch were not unaccustomed to violence, they were nonetheless outraged. Their subsequent descriptions of this encounter "gave Maori a bloodthirsty reputation in Europe" (82), when abstracts of Tasman's diaries were later published.

Cook's later extended circumnavigation of the New Zealand coast is also given extensive coverage, as is Surville's visit to Doubtless Bay in 1769 and Marion du Fresne's visit to the Bay of Islands in 1772. Extensive accounts of these visits were recorded by individuals sailing with Cook, Surville, and du Fresne. Salmond has drawn heavily on much of this primary material to sustain her narrative of these many and disparate early encounters. Cook's surgeon, Monkhouse, described a series of fishing settlements at Turanga-nui near Gisborne, the first Maori settlements to be so recorded. Surville warily traded fish for cotton in the Taitokerau area (the far north of New Zealand) before succumbing to guarded hospitality from two local communities while engaging in intensive observations. Du Fresne also confined himself to the Taitokerau area, meeting and mingling with local Maori tribes before, perhaps in an ironic reenactment of Taitapu, meeting his death at the hands of a people whose encounter responses were always, ultimately, liable to ambivalence and sudden violence.

One can only imagine what the local Maori people made of these encounters. Maori people variously repre-
sented their rituals of encounter; where they did, it would seem that they were formally acknowledging the significance of these occasions. However, the recollections of Horeta Te Taniwha (87) exemplify some of the problems in this area of contact studies. Taniwha’s early recollections of the Endeavour arriving at Whitianga in 1769 when he was a small child, illustrate the fact that a particular Maori memory, whether substantive or fleeting, is a different thing from traditional Maori forms of historical recall enshrined in tradition or whakapapa (remembered form of primarily genealogical recall incorporating people, places, and events of significance). Both are important in reconstructing a Maori view of the past, and Maori processes of recall that might contribute to Maori history, whether traditional or otherwise. As one might expect, Salmond points out that Taniwha’s account “rested firmly on Maori assumptions about the world, and that Europeans and their behaviours were grasped (with some puzzlement) in the light of local experience” (89) and so indeed this memory, and others quoted, must have been. The visitors aboard the Endeavour were equated with “tupua [who] were visible beings . . . of supernatural origin, regarded with a mixture of terror and awe, and placated with karakia [prayer]” (88, italics added).

Maori traditions of the earliest European visits are, however, rare. This is because tribal histories are constructed, over time, within Maori interpretive frameworks that have their own ways of organizing people, places, and events for the ultimate enhancement of those who have gone before and those who follow. Only those Maori who lived in the coastal regions of the areas visited by explorers were likely to have been involved in the encounters, and were likely to have retained a particular memory of these events passed over by the ever-aggregating tribal histories. Consequently, early accounts of visitation are, as might be expected, founded almost exclusively on European sources and attendant cultural perceptions.

This does not mean the accounts are not interesting; they are. They contain a certain confirming resonance of what might have been. The European bias, however, one of one-sided evidence, is a dilemma identified by Salmond in reference to contact studies. Such a dilemma is encountered frequently in contemporary New Zealand research seeking to incorporate indigenous perspectives. Certainly Salmond has posed a conundrum, where tribal histories and processes of recall, traditional or otherwise, sit awkwardly on the periphery of mainstream New Zealand history.

Furthermore, Salmond’s thesis that recollections of first meetings have not found a resting place in local tribal traditions is well made; though, again, whether one can expect first meetings to be so enshrined is an equally valid point. For those who work within a contact studies framework, the Maori response to encounter situations is, of course, significant, and will continue to generate research. Salmond has made an important contribution to this contact studies framework, particularly by devoting some time to constructing an ancient Maori physical world with an effort to understand
local Maori political situations by reference to political and genealogical histories. To make some sense of what the Maori response might have been, she attempts to construct a landscape drawn from archaeological records and evidence available from other visiting crews, with these broad descriptions of pre-European New Zealand, presented through the intellectual world of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe, showing the frameworks used by explorers at the time to interpret the world.

Lest this sound overly tedious, it is not; the book is carefully detailed with interesting narratives of events, people, contacts, and the vicissitudes of human nature. A flowing narrative style is sustained throughout with the book moving along crisply to the finale of du Fresne's death and the notorious vengeance visited on the supposed perpetrators. A benefit of Salmond's study is the revealing of another history that nonetheless remains ill-defined, given that encounters with explorers were then largely incidental to the continuing nature of Maori being (temporal and spiritual), interaction, and survival that would find its way into tribal tradition.

In the end, Salmond is compelled to rely on an overwhelming weight of evidence from European crews for her accounts of the first meetings between the Maori and Pakeha worlds. Perhaps, given her framework, that was all Salmond was able to do, or indeed set out to do. "Two Worlds [is] an experimental essay in construing an adequate scholarship of the beginnings of New Zealand's shared history," writes Salmond (432), before offering a concluding chant from Eruera Stirling of Ngati Porou, a chant of unity with very broad application.

Particular Maori memories of those encounters are, however, fascinating to read, containing as they do echoes of encounter and contact, a part of the Maori past. We should not overly weight nor expect that these, presented within a contact studies framework, can ever represent a total approach to the Maori past. Such an approach must begin with the tribal histories that have so far been at the periphery.

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Geoffrey White's analysis of the manner in which the Cheke Holo of Santa Isabel in the Solomon Islands use their historical narratives to construct their history is a thoroughly intelligent book. Its argument, although not in itself completely novel, persuades through the clarity with which it encompasses, interrelates, and contextualizes extensive and complex data drawn from written documents and ethnographic encounters. Interested as much in transformations of affect as in changes in structure, White pursues his subject "from the vantage point of reflexive selves" (4): he is concerned