Abstracts and speaker biographies
30 June, 1-2 July 2016

Robert Aldrich, University of Sydney
Curiosity and the Spirit of Empire
Day 2 July 1, Session 1 Empire and Exploration, 9.30-11.00

The work of John Gascoigne has revealed and analysed the key roles of science and the ideas of the Enlightenment in European overseas ventures. The quest for discovery – of new lands, flora and fauna, and people – and a spirit of curiosity were prime movers behind European exploration and imperialism. Historians concentrating on economic taproots, geopolitical imperatives or the ‘Orientalist’ inflections in colonial endeavours have sometimes undervalued these motives, or seen them only in connection with more mercantile and strategic objectives. Yet that emotional and intellectual interest in the new, a desire to catalogue and collect what was unknown, and an effort to make sense of different cultures animated voyagers, including the colonialists among them, at the time of the exploration of the South Seas and long afterwards. Like their eighteenth century predecessors, many of the men and women of empire of the nineteenth and early twentieth century were inspired by curiosity. Amateurs as well as professional scholars, casual travellers alongside those carrying out official missions, writers of travelogues as well as authors of scientific tomes, they contributed to knowledge of the wider world sometimes as promoters of colonialism but at other times as ardent critics of the colonial system. This paper looks at the phenomenon of curiosity and the work of gentleman and gentlewoman voyaging scholars in the late 1800s and early 1900s, with a particular focus on such travellers in Asia as French women in the Himalayas.

Robert Aldrich is Professor of European History at the University of Sydney and author of works on colonial history and the history of sexuality, most recently The Routledge History of Western Empires (co-edited with Kirsten McKenzie) and Cultural Encounters and Homoeroticism in Sri Lanka: Sex and Serendipity. A collection co-edited with Cindy McCreery, Crowns and Colonies: European Monarchies and Overseas Empires, will be published in mid-2016.

Matthew Allen, University of New England
Temperance and the Invention of Australian Masculinity
Day 3 July 2, Session 2 Visions for Society: Gender and Social Movements 11.30-1.00

Ian Tyrell’s interest in temperance has taken many forms. He has written on the origins and development of a distinctive American tradition of temperance; he has analysed the transnational feminism of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union and used temperance as a foil in his study of Australian campaigns against tobacco. As he has shown, temperance
was an international and progressive movement which, whatever its faults, played a significant role in improving the lives of women and expanding female agency in the English-speaking world.

In deliberate contrast, my paper focuses on the emergence of a parochial, masculine and misogynist cultural movement in late nineteenth-century Australia, partly in reaction to temperance. The invention of Russel Ward’s legendary Australian during the peak years of the temperance movement was no coincidence. Temperance was a crucial symbol of nineteenth-century respectability, an ethic that was roundly rejected by the emerging nationalists of Australian letters, who instead idolised the drunken, egalitarian fraternity of the public bar. Ironically, the temperance movement reinforced this masculine culture through its campaign to protect women from the consequences of male drunkenness. By branding public drinking as disreputable and unfeminine, temperance helped to establish the gender-segregated drinking norms which reinforced the larger sexism of Australian culture.

Dr Matthew Allen is a Lecturer in Historical Criminology at the University of New England. His research explores drinking and drunkenness, magistrates and summary justice, and religion and secularisation in the nineteenth-century British world. He is currently writing a history of alcohol in colonial New South Wales.

Tony Ballantyne, University of Otago
Exploration, knowledge and the work of empire
Day 2 July 1, Keynote address in honour of John Gascoigne, 3.30-4.30

This lecture explores the connections between exploration and knowledge-production within the modern British empire, a recurrent concern in the work of Professor John Gascoigne. Grounded in a case study of southern New Zealand, it explores the multiple contexts that framed the production of knowledge in a cross-cultural context at the most distant edge of the British empire. It particularly focuses on the centrality of mobility in shaping the development of the imperial knowledge order, highlighting the ways in which mobility conditioned the generation and ordering of knowledge on the frontiers of empire and how it determined the circulation, reception, and influence of “knowledge artefacts”, from maps to books, from paintings to government reports. The lecture concludes by exploring the transition from empire to colonialism, tracing the ways in which early forms of imperial activity inflected the traditions of sociability, lines of argument, and forms of intellectual organisation that shaped a developing colonial society.

Tony Ballantyne is Professor of History at the University of Otago, Pro-Vice-Chancellor (Humanities), and Director of the University’s Centre for Research on Colonial Culture. His research focuses on the cultural history of the British Empire during the 19th century. He has worked extensively on the development of colonial knowledge, changing understandings of language, religion and race, and the uneven ‘webs’ of exchange and connection that gave the empire shape. Tony has also explored the changing place of New Zealand within the British Empire. His most recent book is Entanglements of Empire: Missionaries, Māori and the Question of the Body, published both by Duke University Press and Auckland University Press.

His current research focuses primarily on the development of colonial knowledge in southern New Zealand, a long-running project that was supported by a grant from the Marsden Fund of the Royal Society of New Zealand. He is currently working on a set of related monographs on this material, including a study of the collector and historian Herries Beattie and the production of cultural memory; and a volume examining debates over resource use and
economic life in colonial Otago. Tony is a Fellow of the Royal Society of New Zealand. He also edits, with Barbara Brookes, the New Zealand Journal of History.

Brett Bennett, Western Sydney University
Decolonisation, Nationalism and the Rise of Ecological Consciousness in the Anglo Southern Hemisphere

Paper will be posted online
This paper proposes that decolonisation, also known as de-dominionisation, played a significant but hitherto unrecognised role in encouraging the celebration of indigenous species and ecosystems in the former British dominions of Australia, South Africa and New Zealand. Environmental historians studying these countries have given surprisingly little consideration to how decolonisation influenced the reshaping of environmental attitudes. Most histories downplay the continuing importance of the ethnic identity of British-descended English-speakers, an oversight that in turn leads scholars to de-emphasise the importance of decolonisation. Decolonisation offers a central, missing explanation for why the conservation movement, which was associated with empire and colonialism, rapidly declined in popularity the 1960s and 1970s, the same decades when new environmental ethics and values associate with environmentalism appeared. The theory advanced in this paper helps explain why concerns about the preservation of indigenous ecosystems and species are so pronounced in former dominions compared to other countries, such as the United States, where the “indigenous” plays a less prominent role in public intellectual life and ecological consciousness.

Brett Bennett is Senior Lecturer in History at Western Sydney University and a Senior Research Associate in History at the University of Johannesburg. He is the author of Plantations and protected areas: a global history of forest management (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 2015), co-author with Frederick J. Kruger of Forestry and water conservation in South Africa: history, science, policy (Canberra: ANU Press, 2015), and co-author with Gregory Barton of the forthcoming Saving the world the first time: ideas of climate change before global warming (Reaktion Press). He has authored articles for a variety of leading international journals and his work has been featured in numerous national and international media outlets including The New Republic, ABC Radio’s The Science Show and Hindsight, The Australian, The Canberra Times and The Mail and Guardian (South Africa). Bennett is currently a Co-Chief Investigator on an ARC Discovery Project, The Crisis in International Heritage Conservation in an Age of Shifting Global Power (2014-2016) with Tim Winter (Deakin) and Lynn Meskell (Stanford). His other ongoing research focuses on changing scientific and popular valuations of indigenous and exotic species, rent-seeking and resource conservation in South Africa and developing methods to pursue interdisciplinary research between scientists and historians.

Deirdre Coleman, University of Melbourne
Joseph Banks and the Flycatcher

Day 2 July 1, Session 1 Empires and Exploration, 9.30-11.00

When his voyaging was over, Joseph Banks settled into the role of a ‘cabinet collector’ with many paid ‘practical naturalists’ working for him around the world. Most of these field collectors are invisible or only glimpsed in correspondence. One exception is the flycatcher Henry Smeathman (1742-86), a self-taught naturalist who collected on the west coast of Africa and in the West Indies from 1771 until 1778. He is best known today as the author of a landmark essay on the West African termite, published as a letter to Banks in the Transactions of the Royal Society (1781). This paper explores his friendship with Banks in a
class-bound world in which relationships were mediated by a complex economy of gifts, purchases, loans, and exchanges. Of particular interest is a letter Smeathman wrote to Banks from West Africa which throws a good deal of light on the economics of gratitude. Living on the slave coast, Smeathman had become particularly attuned to debt servitude and the ways in which he was himself caught up in frustrating webs of obligation and honour with his sponsors.

Deirdre Coleman researches eighteenth-century literature and cultural history, focusing in particular on natural history, colonialism, the anti-slavery movement, and racial ideology. She has published in *ELH, Eighteenth-Century Life and Eighteenth-Century Studies*, and is the author of *Romantic Colonization and British Anti-Slavery* (Cambridge University Press, 2005). More recently she co-edited (with Hilary Fraser) *Minds, Bodies, Machines, 1770-1930* (Palgrave, 2011). Her new book on the life and times of Henry Smeathman (1742-86) is entitled *The Flycatcher: Natural History, Slavery, and Empire in the late 18th century*. She holds the Robert Wallace Chair of English at the University of Melbourne.

**Douglas Craig, Australian National University**

**Leonard Wood: A ‘Political General’ Runs for President in 1920**

*Day 3 July 2, Session 1 Historiography: American Exceptionalism and Transnational History, 9.30-11.00*

Major-General Leonard Wood won fame at the sharp end of the American Empire early in the twentieth century – first with Theodore Roosevelt in Cuba during the Spanish American War and then in the Philippines as Governor of Moro Province, where he led the brutal suppression of an indigenous rebellion between 1903 and 1906. Wood next served as Army Chief of Staff between 1910 and 1914, and then argued very publicly for American military preparedness as World War I engulfed the rest of the western world. Along the way Wood grew ever closer to the Republican Party, and to TR, and alienated the Democratic Wilson administration.

Denied a field command after the US entered World War I, Wood ran for the Republican presidential nomination in 1920. Although he arrived at the GOP national convention with the support of nearly 30% of its delegates, Wood failed to win the nomination amidst fears that he as too closely identified with militarism to win the general election. He retired from the Army in 1921 and was appointed Governor-General of the Philippines until his death in 1927.

My paper focuses upon Wood’s run for the presidency in 1920, and argues that its conduct and fate reveal much about the ambiguous response of American political culture to the immediate consequences of World War I. As a prominent ‘political general’, Wood’s persona and platform seemed suddenly and bewilderingly out of step with the political and electoral climate only two years after the end of the Great War. In exploring Leonard Wood’s thwarted presidential dreams, my paper will also add a postscript to the political consequences of the American Empire that Wood helped to create, and that Ian Tyrrell has done so much to explore during his distinguished career.


John Gascoigne, University of New South Wales

Address
Day 2 July 1, 4.30-5.00

John Gascoigne is Emeritus Professor of History at the University of New South Wales. He was educated at the University of Sydney (BA hons 1), and Princeton (MA) and Cambridge Universities (PhD and Litt.D) and is a fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities. He has taught in Papua New Guinea and has been at UNSW since 1980. His publications have dealt with the impact of the Scientific Revolution and the Enlightenment along with eighteenth-century exploration. His most recent monographs are Captain Cook. Voyager between Worlds (Continuum, 2007), winner of the Frank Broeze biennial prize of the Australian Maritime History Association and Encountering the Pacific in the Age of the Enlightenment (Cambridge University Press, 2014), winner of the 2014 NSW Premier’s History Prize (General Category) and short-listed for the 2015 Prime Minister’s Literary Awards (Non-fiction). In 2016-7 he will be taking up the position of Gough Whitlam and Malcolm Fraser Chair of Australian Studies at Harvard University.

David Goodman, University of Melbourne

Thinking transnationally about the Georgia gold rush
Day 3 July 2, Session 1 Historiography: American Exceptionalism and Transnational History, 9.30-11.00

The paper considers how we might think differently about the great cycle of nineteenth century Pacific rim gold rushes if we begin with the little-studied 1828 Georgia (USA) gold rush. The specific thread I want to trace in this paper is the one by which individualist wealth seeking in the nineteenth century gold rushes came to acquire an association with democratic politics – in Australia represented most memorably in the protest that culminated at the Eureka Stockade. There were after all other possibilities – that the gold could have been reserved for public use, or gold production could have been more highly taxed. Between the 1830s and 1850s, those contrary views about the possible public rather than private benefits of gold were becoming more and more securely the preserve of conservatives and reactionaries, and hence less and less likely to prevail in these self-consciously progressive and democratic societies. This politicisation of the public/private argument about gold helped ensure that public good advocates were positioned as the spokesmen for the past not the future. It was not until the Progressive era, as Ian Tyrrell’s recent Crisis of the Wasteful Nation demonstrates, that concern about natural resources in the public domain took on a more positive valence. The paper reflects on Ian’s arguments about transnational history as it traces these shifts in attitudes towards the public domain and public good.

David Goodman teaches American history at the University of Melbourne. He is the author of Radio’s Civic Ambition: American Broadcasting and Democracy in the 1930s (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011) and two articles on ‘The Transnational History of Radio Listening Groups’ that will appear in consecutive issues of the Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television this year (but are already available online from the journal).
Tom Griffiths, Australian National University
Global dreaming: Australia in the world

Day 1 June 30 Public Keynote Address in honour of John Gascoigne and Ian Tyrrell, 7pm
Gallery Room, State Library of New South Wales

Tom Griffiths is the W K Hancock Professor of History in the Research School of Social Sciences at the Australian National University, Chair of the Editorial Board of the Australian Dictionary of Biography and Director of the Centre for Environmental History at ANU. Tom’s books and essays have won prizes in history, science, literature, politics and journalism including the Douglas Stewart Prize for Non-Fiction, the Eureka Science Book Prize, the Alfred Deakin Prize for an Essay Advancing Public Debate and the Prime Minister’s Prize for Australian History. His books include Hunters and Collectors (1996), Forests of Ash: An Environmental History (2001), Slicing the Silence: Voyaging to Antarctica (2007) and Living with Fire (with Christine Hansen, 2012). Tom’s new book, The Art of Time Travel: Historians and their Craft (Black Inc., 2016), explores the craft of discipline and imagination that is history by portraying fourteen writers of non-fiction at work. Tom is a Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities and was appointed an Officer of the Order of Australia in 2014.

Patricia Grimshaw, University of Melbourne
Exploring Conservative Women in Social Movements: The Case of Evangelical Christians in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century Australia
Day 3 July 2, Session 2 Visions for Society: Gender and Social Movements, 11.30-1.00

In 1991 Ian Tyrrell published his path breaking Woman’s World, Woman’s Empire: The Woman’s Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective. This paper considers the significance of this book within contemporary issues in women’s history, and pursues its historical and historiographical relevance in the areas of the women’s movement and the mission movement in Australia.


James Keating, University of New South Wales
‘How I wish we inter-colonial people could see more of each other!’: Correspondence, Intimacy, and the Limits of Australasian Suffrage Internationalism
Day 3 July 2, Session 2 Visions for Society: Gender and Social Movements, 11.30-1.00

In March 1902 the New Zealand feminist Margaret Sievwright expressed what appeared to be a vision of Australasian feminist solidarity. Writing to Rose Scott in Sydney, she professed ‘I wish we inter-colonial people could see more of each other! Writing, at best, is unsatisfactory; & intercourse (personal) so strengthening, encouraging and helpful in every way’. Read out of context, Sievwright’s evocation of the power of correspondence to bring
dispersed activists into the same imagined world appears to be a perfect example of what Charlotte Macdonald terms ‘the intimacy of the envelope’. However, looking for intimacy can obscure as well as illuminate the past. Despite Sievwright’s earnest tones, she barely knew Scott, and they only came into contact to discuss a procedural dispute within the International Council of Women.

Inspired by Ian Tyrrell’s ground-breaking work on the organisational history of fin-de-siècle internationalism and his insistence on the connection between lofty international ideals and parochial ends, this paper unsettles the focus on intimacy in the study of cross-border networks. Focusing on letters written by New Zealand and New South Wales suffragists, I argue—in contrast to recent histories of Euro-American suffrage elites—that colonial women developed few intimate relationships with overseas correspondents. Instead, their internationalism was sustained by the routine, unglamorous and impersonal work of organisational correspondence. Rather than look for intimate friendships, I contend that examining the organisational records of Australasian women’s interaction with the emerging international women’s movement provides a fuller picture of their early international endeavours.

James Keating is a PhD candidate in History at the University of New South Wales. He holds an MA from Victoria University of Wellington, and has worked as a historian for the Office of Treaty Settlements in New Zealand. His doctoral research considers the individual and organisational networks that linked Australasian women’s rights activists with their counterparts across the world in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

David Philip Miller, University of New South Wales
When Worlds Collide: Enlightenment and Interest at the Intersections of Joseph Banks and James Watt
Day 2 July 1, Session 3 Revolutions in Science and Philosophy, 2.00-3.00

The famous voyager, botanist and long-time President of the Royal Society of London, Joseph Banks (1743–1820), and the celebrated inventor and improver of the steam engine, James Watt (1736–1819), were close contemporaries in the scientific world of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This paper examines their intersections in the light of the identification of Banks with the Enlightenment in action (particularly in the writings of John Gascoigne) and the identification of Watt with the turning of natural philosophy to commercial interest (particularly in the writings of David Miller). The intersection of Watt and Banks at the Royal Society of London is my main focus. Banks famously sought to protect the Society from those who would ‘trade upon the FRS’; Watt, far less-famously, tried to engage in such trade. Did their worlds collide? Or did Banks and Watt perhaps collude, the interest in Enlightenment of the one achieving a modus vivendi, or even identity, with the Enlightened self-interest of the other? I suggest that this was indeed the case and that it was the concept of the ‘public interest’ that made the collusion possible. The broader historical ramifications of this story and analysis will be briefly explored.

Emeritus Professor David Philip Miller FAHA, FRHistS, taught in the History and Philosophy of Science at the University of New South Wales for over thirty years before retiring in 2013. He has published on topics ranging from 18th-century natural history to 20th century industrial history and 21st century science and intellectual property. His many publications on James Watt (including James Watt, Chemist: Understanding the Origins of the Steam Age, Pickering & Chatto, 2009) far outweigh his writings on Joseph Banks. He now co-edits the historical journal *Annals of Science*, and is writing a biography of Watt for publication in 2019 on the 200th anniversary of the death of the ‘Great Steamer’. Born and raised in Yorkshire, educated in Bradford, Manchester and Philadelphia, David has acquired
many ‘Australian’ habits, including a certain bluntness of approach, and a love of ocean swimming.

Ruth Morgan, Monash University  
Engineering an Empire: encounters, ecologies and exchange in the engineering of Australian rivers and landscapes, 1788 to 1901  
Day 3 July 2, Session 3 Environmental History, 2.00-3.00

Since the early 1990s at least, Ian Tyrrell’s work has emphasised the importance of widening the scope of historical analysis beyond the political boundaries of the nation-state. His particular focus here was to overcome the prevailing exceptionalism that characterised the scholarship of North America. In his seminal work, True Gardens of the Gods (1999), Tyrrell put his transnational agenda to work, demonstrating the ecological and cultural importance of the environmental exchanges between California and Victoria in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. What Tyrrell showed was not only the potential for understanding the history of North America in transnational ways, but also that such an approach would likewise enrich Australian historiography and open new avenues for historical research.

Among the key environmental exchanges between California and Victoria explored in True Gardens were ideas relating to irrigated agriculture, which would transform both Australia and the American West into white men’s countries. The likes of Alfred Deakin, Elwood Mead and the Chaffey brothers loom large in this particular ‘Pacific exchange’, but they were not alone in their endeavours to transform Australian lands, waters and peoples. In this paper, I situate this ‘Pacific exchange’ in terms of a longer history of urban and rural water management in colonial Australia that routinely sought out international engineering expertise to resolve environmental and economic challenges. Drawing on my own research of the environmental exchanges between British India and the Australian colonies, I propose a parallel ‘Indian Ocean exchange’ of environmental knowledge that shaped the development of Australian water resources into the twentieth century.

Ruth Morgan is an environmental historian and historian of science with a particular focus on Australia, India and the British Empire. After completing her PhD at the University of Western Australia, she joined the History Program at Monash University in mid-2012 where she taught courses in Australian, world, and environmental history as well as historiography and methods. She is now based at the National Centre for Australian Studies at Monash University, where she holds an ARC Discovery Early Career Research Award. Her first book, Running Out? Water in Western Australia, was published by UWA Publishing in 2015.

Patricia O’Brien, Australian National University  
The Long Shadows of Captain Cook: Remembering Empire and Fighting Indigenous Resistance in the Twentieth Century Pacific  
Day 2 July 2, Session 2 Voyages: Cross-cultural encounters in the Pacific, 11.30-1.00

This paper explores the 150-year-commemorations of Cook’s discovery of the Hawai’ian Islands. It will examine the intent and form of these commemorations, and the leading role of Australian politician, Sir Joseph Carruthers, in instigating and seeing them through to fruition in 1928. The paper juxtaposes this indulgent memorialising of the founder of the British Empire in the Pacific with the fraught realities of indigenous resistance at this time, particularly as it related to the Mandated Territory of Western Sāmoa, governed by New Zealand for Britain. There are curious connections between the Sāmoan resistance movement, known as the Mau, and the Cook commemorations, connections all the more
intriguing given Sāmoa was an island group ‘un-Cooked’, that is it was one of the few Pacific polities the great navigator did not encounter.

**Patricia O’Brien** is an Australian Research Council Future Fellow in the School of History at Australian National University. In 2012 she was the J. D. Stout Fellow in New Zealand Studies at Victoria University Wellington. In 2011 she was the Jay I. Kislak Fellow in American Studies at the John W. Kluge Center at the Library of Congress, Washington DC. From 2001 to 2013 she was visiting Associate Professor in the Center for Australian, New Zealand and Pacific Studies and the Department of History in the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University, Washington DC. She is the author of *The Pacific Muse: Exotic Femininity and the Colonial Pacific* (Seattle 2006), as well as numerous chapters and articles on gender, empire, race and colonial cultural history spanning the Pacific. Her current projects include a biography of Sāmoan nationalist leader Ta'isi O. F. Nelson (forthcoming, Hawai'i University Press), an edited book on the League of Nations, a biography of Errol Flynn and additional publications on Ta’isi O. F. Nelson, the Sāmoan Mau and colonial violence and indigenous resistance in the Pacific.

**Jackson Perry, Georgetown University**

**Eucalyptus and the modern Mediterranean (1848-1896): Roads to the Anthropocene**

*Day 2, Session 3 Environmental History 2.00-3.00*

Eucalyptus has become one of the two most widely planted tree genera in the world. The genus first began to spread overseas in the nineteenth century thanks to the promotional efforts of German-Australian botanist Ferdinand von Mueller (1825-1896). Mueller made the Royal Botanic Gardens in Melbourne a hub of eucalyptus research and the most common starting point for the worldwide journeys of eucalyptus seeds. Mueller and his fellow eucalyptographers in imperial networks of science proselytized ‘the gospel of the gum’ in Mediterranean climatic zones in particular. Nineteenth-century settler colonial societies in French Algeria, Italy, California, and South America planted the tree genus by the millions, for its quick growth and its allegedly anti-malarial properties. In addition to advancing further with such a political and medical history of the anthropogenic spread of exotic tree species in the modern period, this paper also introduces new themes from the history of emotions and evolutionary history to the global environmental history of biological exchange. It charts the evocative diversity of journeys along the roads that have converged in the global eucalyptus forest that characterizes the arboreal Anthropocene.

**Jackson Perry** is a third-year PhD Fellow in environmental history at Georgetown University. His dissertation examines the spread of the eucalyptus tree genus to the Middle East and Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He focuses on the politics and science of forestry in the modern Mediterranean, the establishment of transregional scientific networks and institutions, and the anthropogenic transformation of the world’s forests. Jackson holds an MA in Near Eastern Studies from New York University.

**Margaret Sankey, University of Sydney**

**Abbé Jean Paulmier and the writing of history: imagining *Terra australis* in seventeenth and eighteenth century France**

*Day 2 July 1, Session 1 Empires and Exploration, 9.30-11.00*

The impetus behind French voyaging to the Southern Hemisphere in the eighteenth century was the search for Gonneville’s land, first mentioned by Abbé Jean Paulmier in his *Mémoires touchant l’établissement d’une mission chrétienne dans le troisième monde*:

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*Note: The text above is a direct transcription of the content provided, with no additions or omissions.*
utrement appelé, la terre australe, méridionale, antarctique & inconnue of 1663-4, addressed to Pope Alexander VII. In his work, the Abbé requested permission for the French to establish a mission in the Terres australes, claiming that France had this right and responsibility because the French navigator, Gonneville, had landed there in 1504, after losing his way in a storm on the way to the Spice Islands.

Recent research, however, questions the existence of Gonneville and consequently of the land he is reputed to have discovered. In this paper I shall explore further the historiography and historical dimensions of the Gonneville story and its implications for early French exploration of the Southern Hemisphere.

Margaret Sankey FAHA is Professor Emerita in French Studies at the University of Sydney. She has published a critical edition of the Mémoires of Abbé Jean Paulmier (1664) and works on early French notions of the Terres Australes. She also works on the ARC-funded Baudin Legacy project (sydney.edu.au/arts/research/baudin) and has published extensively on different aspects of this early nineteenth-century French expedition.

Tiffany Shellam, Deakin University
Techniques of encounter: Voyaging with Intermediaries
Day 2, July 1, Session 2 Voyages: Cross-cultural Encounters in the Pacific, 11.30-1.00

In recent years scholars studying the exploration and colonization of Africa and the Americas have highlighted the role of the go-between in facilitating knowledge collection by European newcomers and providing valuable local information. Australian scholars are now turning their attention to Indigenous intermediaries whose very presence on board maritime expeditions enabled the opening up of communication between explorers and local Aboriginal people they met with. Exploration archives indicate that European explorers were well aware of the ways in which the presence of a ‘native aid’ or ‘intermediary’ altered the dynamic of encounters. They stress, for instance, the unfamiliarity of the intermediaries with new environments, the limits of their languages, and the misunderstandings that arose between them and the Aboriginal people they encountered. However, they also document success in communication and their value in being able to offer cultural assessments to the crew about Aboriginal belongings they came across, for example, the making of weapons and tools and their practical and ritual use. In this paper I will discuss the experience of Boongaree, Bundle and Miago – Aboriginal intermediaries who voyaged on the ships: Investigator, Mermaid, Bathurst and Beagle in the early nineteenth century. How did these intermediaries converse with strangers? What skills or techniques did they draw on? Were they directed how to mediate by the crew, or were they free to broker in their own ways?

Tiffany Shellam is a Senior Lecturer in History at Deakin University. She publishes on the history of encounters between Aboriginal people and Europeans in the contexts of exploration, early settlement and mission stations in the nineteenth century. Her book Shaking Hands on the Fringe: Negotiating the Aboriginal World at King George’s Sound was published by UWA Publishing in 2009. She is co-editor of two recent volumes (with Shino Konishi and Maria Nugent) Indigenous Intermediaries: New Perspectives on Exploration Archives (ANU Press, 2015), and (with Shino Konishi, Maria Nugent and Allison Cadzow), Brokers and Boundaries: colonial exploration in Indigenous territories (ANU Press, 2016).
This paper charts the struggle to control the meanings invested in friendship during the three-year salt-pork trade between the early colonial government under Governor King and the Pomares of Tahiti. Private merchants continued the trade until the 1830s, however the region’s political instability and the Tahitian elites’ decision to ‘reserve hogs for musquets’ brought the government trade to a halt in 1803. I argue that friendship became a site of contestation between two political orders opportunistically pursuing their own ends through performances of sociability. Governor King’s hope that gestures of friendship could obligate Tahitians to commercial exchange and provide a system of order in an uncertain political terrain collided with the Pomares’ control of the terms of the trade whose most acceptable currency – guns – was oriented towards war. During the salt-pork trade the meaning and performance of friendship altered in accordance with shifts in the balance of power. What began as a negotiation, enacted through presents and friendship, became more explicitly commercial: objects were accorded precise values, and gifts joined the world of commodities. Examining Enlightenment exhortations of disinterested friendship alongside Oceanian customs of friendship as trade, this paper draws upon John Gascoigne’s work on the Enlightenment in the Pacific, by tracing friendship’s changing meanings between Britain, Port Jackson and Matavai Bay.

Alecia Simmonds teaches Pacific World History at NYU Sydney. She is also the Chancellor’s Postdoctoral Research Fellow in the Faculty of Law at UTS and the Book Review editor of Law and History. She is an inter-disciplinary scholar whose work on the relationship between emotion, imperialism and law in the Pacific has been published in a range of international and domestic journals. Her book Wild Man: The True Story of a Police Killing, Mental Illness and the Law (Affirm Press) was published in 2015. Dr Simmonds’ current research project is a longue durée history of the legal regulation of intimacy using Breach of Promise of Marriage cases from 1823-1976.

Ian Tyrrell was Scientia Professor of History at the University of New South Wales until retirement in 2012 and is Emeritus Professor of History. From 1999 to 2001 he was head of UNSW’s School of History. He has taught in visiting positions at UCLA and the EHESS and was Harold Vyvyan Harmsworth Professor of American History at Oxford University in 2010-11, the only non-American citizen to hold the chair. His interests include the fields of social movements, historiography, environmental history and American Empire. He is the author of nine books and editor of two others, and many influential articles, including ‘American Exceptionalism in An Age of International History’, American Historical Review (1991). His most recent books include Reforming the World: The Creation of America’s Moral Empire (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010) and Crisis of the Wasteful Nation: Empire and Conservation in Theodore Roosevelt’s America (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015). He is at present engaged on an historicisation of the concept of American exceptionalism for an ARC Discovery Grant; and an environmental history of the Cooks River, in draft, tentatively entitled River of Dreams: People, Landscape, and Environment on the Cooks River. He was President of the Australian and New Zealand American Studies Association 2002-6 and is a Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities.
Tim Verhoeven, Monash University
Religion, Secularism and American Exceptionalism in the Nineteenth Century
Day 3 July 2, Session 1 Historiography: American Exceptionalism and Transnational History, 9.30-11.00

In Reforming the World: the Creation of America’s Moral Empire (2010), Ian Tyrrell investigated what he terms 'the complicated dialectic between the national and the transnational' in the context of moral reform movements abroad. Amongst its other achievements, this work brought together two fields which have only rarely been considered together, religious and transnational history. The intense religiosity of the United States, it is often argued, is one of the last great markers of that nation’s exceptionalism. In particular, it has become a commonplace to speak of a transatlantic divide, neatly summarised as secular Europe vs religious America.

In this paper, I would like to build on Ian’s work into transnational connections in the religious sphere through my own research into the history of nineteenth-century secularism. Particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century, American secularists were at the heart of an international network. These connections were personal, ideological and institutional. For example, the most famous American secularist after the Civil War, Robert G. Ingersoll, corresponded with the British freethinker George Holyoake, and the United States sent delegates to major international gatherings of secularists. More broadly, as a range of constituencies debated the public role of religion, the example of other nations, particularly in western and central Europe, was a constant reference point. There is still much work to do to bridge the purported trans-Atlantic divide in religious history.

Dr Tim Verhoeven is a Senior Lecturer and ARC Early Career Fellow in the School of Philosophical, International and Historical Studies at Monash University. His first book, Transatlantic Anti-Catholicism: France and the United States in the Nineteenth Century, appeared in 2010. He has published in a range of journals, including Church History, French Historical Studies and the Journal of the History of Sexuality. His current project investigates the history of secularism in the nineteenth-century United States, focusing on a series of Church/State battles – over Sabbath laws, Bible-teaching in schools, the taxation of church property and others – and drawing on a series of hitherto neglected sources, particularly legislative petitions.

Richard White, Stanford University
Crossing Borders
Day 3 July 2, Keynote Address in Honour of Ian Tyrrell, 3.30-4.30

Ian Tyrrell’s scholarship crossed national boundaries and disciplinary boundaries long before such things became fashionable. In this he has both continued a tradition of Australian scholarship, and has pushed it, and historical scholarship in general, in fruitful new directions.

Richard White is the Margaret Byrne Professor of American History at Stanford. He is a Pulitzer Prize nominated historian specialising in the history of the American west, environmental history and Native American history. Professor White has won both a MacArthur Fellowship and the Andrew J. Mellon Foundation Distinguished Achievement Award in the Humanities. He is author of The Middle Ground, The Organic Machine, and most recently, Railroaded.
The journal *Notes and Queries*, now published by OUP, was first issued in 1849. Its motto, 'When found, make a note of it', was a remark associated with a character in Charles Dickens’ *Dombey and Son* (1848). Of course, its editor could have deferred to the much older legacy of humanist note-taking in commonplace books — a practice established in grammar schools, universities, and private scholarship by the 16th century. However, ‘notes’ and ‘queries’ were not considered as natural partners in the 1500s. ‘Notes’ were produced by excerpting and copying choice passages from major authors — the method known as *ars excerpendi*. The notion of ‘queries’ as a regular part of note-taking came later: one example is the lists of queries formulated by the early Royal Society of London (from 1660), particularly by one of its key members, Robert Boyle (1627-1691). These lists (a precursor of the ‘questionnaire’) were given to travellers and explorers as a means of collecting information about foreign lands. This last practice clearly resonates with John Gascoigne’s work on Enlightenment voyages in the South Pacific; but so, too, does the older method of commonplacing, embedded as it was in the Cambridge curriculum he analysed in his first book, *Cambridge in the age of the Enlightenment* (CUP, 1989).

My aim in this paper is to explore assumptions underlying both traditional notes and new queries, together with changes in methods of note-taking during the 17th century. Do these assumptions and methods reveal a quiet revolution in approaches to scholarly and scientific inquiry?