Joseph Banks: Science, Culture and Exploration, 1743–1820
Conference 14–16 September 2017

ABSTRACTS

Thursday Keynote Lecture

The questions they asked: Joseph Banks and natural scientists in the Pacific Ocean
David Igler, University of California, Irvine

Did Arcadia actually exist as a place? How do species evolve? Would it be possible to harness and tame a whale for human use? Natural scientists and explorers pondered a range of fascinating – and sometimes amusing – questions as they circumnavigated the globe in search of novel discoveries. Yet historians and other scholars tend to privilege the end results of scientific exploration rather than the process of inquiry itself. Joseph Banks initiated the role of naturalist-at-sea for government-sponsored voyages in the Pacific Ocean; among his legacies was a long genealogy of both highly trained naturalists and amateurish collectors on voyages from many imperial nations. What questions did these naturalists pose and who contributed to the alleged answers?

Friday Keynote Lecture

From Soho Square to 'open air': wanderers, strangers and the investment of meaning in 'collected' artefacts
Kapil Raj, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris

During the three workshops organized under the 'Joseph Banks, Science, Culture and the Remaking of the Indo-Pacific World' project, Banks himself has, understandably, been the focus of the vast majority of contributions. In this talk, I would like to move away from the central figure, his networks and crucial importance in the making of Britain's empire in the East, to what made his centrality possible: the act of gathering knowledge, individual objects, or constituted collections (whether of natural objects, representations or verbal accounts) in far-flung places. This is usually the turf of historians of 'travel literature' who often conceive of the 'traveller' as a mere proto 'planetary probe' foraging for nuggets of information to be converted to knowledge back in the 'metropolis'. Using examples from early-modern South Asia, and inspired by Georg Simmel's distinction between the 'wanderer' (one who comes today and goes tomorrow) and the 'stranger' (one who comes today and *stays* tomorrow), I shall try and show that at the extremity of these global tentacles was not a 'rolling stone' unable to leave a mark of the page of history, but rather, the 'stranger' who had to spend time in the host community, letting down roots while still belonging to another culture. This tension was the *sine qua non* that enabled the necessary interactions and negotiations with local cultures, rendering it possible to at once collect and confer intelligibility on collections and knowledge.

Abstracts – Thursday (in programme order)

Beyond the 'common Centre of we discoverers': Joseph Banks and the meanings of maritime exploration in eighteenth-century Europe
Sünne Juterczenka, University of Göttingen

The success of the *Endeavour* voyage enabled Joseph Banks to become one of the main promotors of maritime exploration and a mentor to those who took part in it. By 1780, he was 'the common Centre of we discoverers' (James King), a group of veteran and aspiring young explorers based in and around London. As President of the Royal Society, he recruited personnel for expeditions, acted as advisor and helped prepare the publication of accounts and scientific works that resulted from voyages. Even beyond naval and scholarly circles, Banks was recognized as a leading light in an important new field of interest: he regularly appeared in the press, and numerous members of the public approached him, suggesting new areas for investigation or wishing to join future voyages.

Banks was thus located at the epicentre of maritime exploration in Britain, where he was able to influence both its scientific objectives and public portrayal. Elsewhere, others occupied similar positions, such as Charles de Brosses and Louis-Antoine de Bougainville in France, or Johann Reinhold Forster and his son Georg in Germany. Through their publications and correspondences, they formed a transnational web of expertise and presented themselves as public experts. In this capacity, they generated media coverage and publicized the value of circumnavigation to science and to society as a whole. Most pertinent to the present paper is that they made the notions of 'exploration' and 'discovery' a conversational topic. Initially conceived in the context of diplomatic and military espionage, these notions had only taken on a scientific connotation during the previous century. Since then, maritime expeditions had been spurred by geopolitical rivalries as well as by cross-border cooperation in an increasingly international scientific community. The older meaning of 'exploration' that yoked it together with military conquest lost its appeal, and it became associated instead with key Enlightenment ideas like 'progress' and 'civilization'. 'Discovery', which earlier denoted a single act carried out by an individual, now came to refer to a continuous and collaborative procedure, one of the signature activities of the Enlightenment movement.

These semantic shifts, like the growing interest in maritime exploration more generally, can be observed across Europe, as evidenced in the changing meanings of the French *découverte* or the German *Entdeckung*. Such shifts hint at changing attitudes towards scientific modes of operation and at a changing relationship between science and society, and eighteenth-century Pacific exploration has indeed long been appreciated as formative in the history of science. More recently, its implication in globalization as well as colonization and empire building has come into focus. Drawing on such recent interpretations, my paper looks beyond Banks' more immediate sphere of influence to investigate how he and his colleagues intervened in the public representation of maritime exploration. On the one hand, I argue that in redefining 'exploration' and 'discovery', they forged a new role for themselves as publically acknowledged protagonists of scientific inquiry. On the other, I show how they encouraged readers to become active participants in the ongoing scientific appropriation of the world.

Sir Joseph Banks and British botanical diplomacy
Ekaterina Heath, University of Sydney

British Botanical diplomacy, initiated by Sir Joseph Banks around the turn of and into the nineteenth century, played an important role in the management of continental European relations at this time. The paper will highlight the dramatic increase in use of sophisticated botanical gifts to influence foreign potentates, arguing that in contrast to the previous trend of avoiding gifts that contained veiled meanings, Joseph Banks sent shipments of plants communicating a variety of different messages that depended on the political environment of the day. Their aim was at communicating a specific meaning to the monarchs using the 'language of plants'. In these gifts the plants stood for their countries of origin. For example, the bird-of–paradise flower represented South Africa and the scarlet Banksia symbolized Australia. By including plants from new world locations, all British colonies, Joseph Banks communicated the Empire's size and power. Post the Napoleonic war, the tacit communication contained in these gifts changed. During the period of the Congress of Vienna Congress in 1814, the message of the size of the empire was removed from the gifts (plants from the Cape of Good Hope were no longer included) to hide British colonial gains made during the Napoleonic wars.

Documents demonstrate that during the twenty five years of Botanical diplomacy coinciding with Banks' reign at Kew, there was a shift from giving potentially antagonistic presents to messages of friendship. For example, in 1795 a gift of plants to the Russian Grand Duchess Maria Fedorovna contained a plant called *Phormium tenax* which was intended as a veiled hint at the British desire for self-sufficiency in naval supplies whereas most of the later gifts primarily contained decorative plants. *Phormium tenax* was one of the reasons Joseph Banks wanted to establish a colony in Sydney. It was designed as a nursery for this plant which had very strong fibres vitally important for the British navy. During this period Britain depended on Russian flax and as the relationships between the countries worsened, Joseph Banks looked for plants which would make the country independent from Russia. The plant featured very prominently in this gift; Joseph Banks included its seeds, its drawing and a finished product - woven fabric made from it. The 1796 gift to Russia along with a message of friendship thus contained a veiled threat to the Russian economy which gained large sums of money from selling flax to Britain. In the beginning of the nineteenth century gifts primarily contained decorative plants because such plants were more likely to be put on display in the garden thus openly

promoting the alliance with Britain to the gardens' visitors. They combined beauty and rarity and did not require Joseph Banks to share any strategically important plants.

It is noteworthy that the plants sent by Joseph Banks to the members of the anti-Napoleonic coalition in 1814-15 were almost identical. In this way, the era of nationalism was heralded by the gesture of scientific cosmopolitanism that united the gardens of the leading Royal houses of Europe. The gifts from Kew made these gardens communicate their belonging to an alliance of countries that participated in the taking down of Napoleon and establishment of a new order in Europe. The plants created a network of visible connections in their host gardens by becoming tangible symbols of an abstract alliance.

The plants that were sent to monarchs were rare and expensive and they were in the very latest state of cultivation. This was a deliberate statement about the superiority of the British Empire. Joseph Banks considered a competition to access plants as crucial and wished to go into extraordinary lengths to make sure the Kew gardens collection was superior to any other collection in Europe. During this period giving plants was perceived as a demonstration of power hence local governors paid so much attention to the development of their own gardens and distributing seeds.

The paper is a first attempt at interpreting the vast amount of primary documents that relate to Joseph Banks' diplomatic activities, which have never been analyzed before. It explains the cultural meanings of flowers in diplomatic relationships around the turn of the nineteenth century.

Humphry Davy all at sea: Banks's best protégé and the Navy
Tim Fulford, De Montfort University

Humphry Davy's meteoric rise to fame was a result not only of his abilities as a chemical experimentalist but also of his assiduity in cultivating the patronage of Banks. At the Royal Institution he kept alive the Banksian agenda of useful applied science when it seemed likely it would become mostly a venue for fashionable literary lectures. At the Geological Society he acquiesced in Banks's wishes by resigning when a conflict of interest with the Royal Society seemed likely. He served as a Secretary of the Royal Society under Banks; he sought Banks's approval for his miners' safety lamp: that invention was branded as the epitome of the Banksian vision of science benefitting humanity. And he succeeded as President of the Royal Society after Banks's death in 1820.

In this paper I will explore Davy's handling of two aspects of the Banksian role he took upon himself while President of the Royal Society – those of advisor to the Admiralty and promoter of voyages of exploration. I will suggest that, despite his institutional power and personal prestige, Davy was unable to perpetuate Banks's influence in these areas – a failure that is illustrative not only of his comparative lack of social authority and diplomatic skill but also of the growing institutionalization of naval government. I will examine in detail his relations with the Navy over his scheme to protect its ships from corrosion by electrochemical means and over his efforts to gain its sponsorship of the Arctic voyages of William Scoresby. Throughout, I shall make use of unpublished correspondence and records that I am currently editing for publication in *The Collected Letters of Sir Humphry Davy* (OUP, 2018).

"Le rendez-vous des personnes qui cultivent les sciences" – 32 Soho Square as the contact zone for European naturalists and global specimens in the late eighteenth century
Dominik Hünniger, University of Göttingen

Barthélemy Faujas de Saint-Fond's characterization of 32, Soho Square summarizes the attraction of Banks' 'home-cum-research-institute' (Gascoigne) to many contemporary continental Europeans. Visiting scholars from the continent played important roles in shaping the collections and publicizing their virtue. Travel accounts, letters and taxonomic literature by German, French, Dutch, Swedish and Russian natural historians all speak of the importance of Banks and his collections in the creation of new forms and systems of natural history knowledge. Thus, the presentation will focus on the mechanisms and media instrumental to the production and dissemination of knowledge about the global natural world around 1800. It adds to the growing awareness that collections and especially the first hand encounter with specimens and objects were the distinct features of 18th century science.

The social aspect of these encounters was very important too and many visitors valued the interactions between scholars at Banks 'philosophical breakfasts' greatly. By working alongside in the collection and exchanging knowledge and specimen they produced further insights into an ever growing assembly and interpretation of the natural world. These guests, however, did not only take advantage of the facilities. They themselves brought their expertise, provided contacts as well as further specimens and procured books from around the globe.

Soho Square was thus a site of material exchange where some scholars could take duplicates for their own collections and provided colleagues with the newest arrivals from overseas. This material exchange also always included the transfer of ideas. Hence natural history systematics developed as a relational encounter between scholars, collectors, specimen and books. The presentation will show why exactly Great Britain and especially the collections in the empire's metropolis, particularly Banks' house were the contact zones for continental European natural historians in the eighteenth century.

Joseph Banks and indigenous scientific intermediaries
John Gascoigne, University of New South Wales

The vast network constructed by Banks to promote his global scientific enterprises encompassed a very diverse range of collaborators – among them government officials, merchants, missionaries and medical practitioners. Linking with this wide array of informants were indigenous intermediaries who played a significant role in making available data on the natural and human world which was not readily accessible by Europeans. The possibilities of this intersection of indigenous and European voyagers had been utilized by Banks on his early voyages. His journal of his voyage to Newfoundland and Labrador in 1766 included comments on the Canadian Indians and their use of local resources which were probably influenced by his continuing association with the Moravian missionaries. Much more significant was the great *Endeavour* voyage of 1768-71 and his utilization of Polynesian sources of information – above all, that provided by that foremost Polynesian intermediary, the Tahitian priest, Tupaia. After his return to London Banks was no longer in direct contact with non-European intermediaries but, nonetheless, continued to draw on the information they provided in amassing his great 'center of calculation' in his Soho home. Such an extension of Banks's reach into indigenous culture is evident, for example, in the way in which the reports by his clients in Australia such as George Caley or Matthew Flinders included information derived from Aboriginal collectors and collaborators. Such examples will illustrate the way in which the world of Banksian scholarship can engage with the emerging body of literature on the role of 'intermediaries'.

Banks and Hunter: where the Royal Academy meets the Royal Society
Helen McCormack, Glasgow School of Art

During the second half of the eighteenth century London emerged as the centre of a growing scientific community, motivated and stimulated by an expanding empire. Within this closely connected metropolitan network, the figures of Sir Joseph Banks (1743–1820) and Dr William Hunter (1718–1783) exemplify the model of gentlemanly naturalist, each dynamically engaged in the pursuit of their interrelated interests in human and comparative anatomy, zoology and botany. Banks and Hunter inhabited the city at a time of tremendous advances in all the arts and sciences and their own personal interests contributed to the progress of public conceptions of the capital (Gwynn, 1766). While John Gascoigne has argued that as imperial science came to be utilized by the state, collections such as Hunter's and Banks's became anachronistic, no longer able to fulfill the purpose of enlightened instruction, this paper reassess these early scientific collections to explain how the personalized domestic interior remained critically important for the production of scientific knowledge (Opitz, 2016).

William Hunter's Anatomy School at 16 Great Windmill Street was a short stroll from Sir Joseph Banks's mansion at Soho Square, and these homes of the first Professor of Anatomy at the Royal Academy of Arts and of the President of the Royal Society, respectively, acted as centres to the periphery, combining the accumulated knowledge of both institutions behind the domestic façade of their London houses. Elements of the gentlemanly ethos of the collector dominated both Banks's and Hunter's Enlightenment view of science as part of a general polite culture, and this is particularly recognizable in their pursuit of an exemplary collection, encapsulating their 'curious' approach. Both

individuals in their public and private roles favoured ‘an empirical habit of vision’ (Smith, 1985) encouraging the artists they employed to develop a method of recording that was as truthful to the original as possible. This empirical method appeared to be contrary to the ethos of the Royal Academy under its President, Sir Joshua Reynolds, who advocated a generalized form of abstracted nature. However, the Academy’s original aims are reflected in a poem from 1768, *The Triumph of the Arts*, which proclaims: ‘Where Art may join with Nature and with Sense’, fulfilling this aim with the appointment of Hunter as its First Professor of Anatomy. In the second half of the eighteenth-century, Hunter’s and Banks’s homes demonstrated an immediacy of experiences of Enlightenment science, where their specific conceptions of the world were on display. They were not yet anachronisms, instead they represent the collation of knowledge by these ‘living voyagers’ (Pennant, 1771), committed to the capacity of images and objects to instruct in a way not readily reducible to language or description. As the antiquarian Thomas Falconer remarked to Banks, the study of the natural world required ‘an enlarged view’ (Falconer, 1772) one that captured the expansive reach of the natural sciences, possible even within the setting of the domestic interior, the drawing room, library, herbarium and study, as this paper illustrates.

Exploring the relationship between Charles Blagden and Joseph Banks: scientific exchange between London and Paris
Hannah Wills, University College London and Royal Society

Charles Blagden was secretary of the Royal Society between 1784 and 1797, during the presidency of Joseph Banks. Frequently examined as one of the key ‘go-betweens’ of the period, Blagden is often described simply as Banks’s ‘right hand’, but seldom as a person of interest in his own right. In describing their relationship in this manner, scholars have failed to investigate the complex nature of Blagden’s association with Banks. This paper explores a new perspective on Banks, by arguing that Charles Blagden, usually considered a minor figure operating on the periphery, played a significant role within Banks’s scientific enterprise, particularly regarding Banks’s scientific interests on the continent. During my PhD, I have been transcribing some of Blagden’s extensive diary housed within the Royal Society’s archive. These manuscripts, along with Blagden’s correspondence, offer a valuable insight into the nature of Blagden’s work with Banks, particularly in relation to his marshalling of information concerning chemistry across the English Channel, as well as some of the central features of Blagden and Banks’s sometimes fraught relationship. Though scholars have typically viewed Blagden’s work in Paris in isolation from his earlier life and work in London, this paper will seek to reconnect Blagden’s operations in London and Paris through his connection to Banks.

Abstracts – Friday (in programme order)

Sir Joseph Banks, Thomas Henty and the colonization of Port Phillip
Harriet Edquist RMIT University, Victoria, Australia

In 1810, Thomas Young of Worthing wrote to Sir Joseph Banks that he had ‘seen from the papers that you have been interesting yourself respecting the arrangement of a micrometer for the purpose of measuring the diameter of fibres of different kinds of wool’. Young had invented a simple instrument, what he called his ‘Agricultural Micrometer’ for just this purpose, and his letter listed fibre numbers from various sources including green baize, South Down, beaver and Anglo Merino ‘from a flock of Mr Henty Church Place Tarring’. The letter was included in the sheep and wool correspondence of Banks published by Harold Carter in 1979. Elsewhere in the correspondence are requests by Banks for information on the first importation of merino from the Cape to New South Wales in the late 18th century and opinions as to the suitability of the breed for that colony.

As the correspondence demonstrates, Banks was instrumental in securing the merino for the Kings Flock in the late eighteenth century and subsequently ensuring, through selective breeding and open sales that its bloodlines became a valuable export. He was a key actor in what became a global network of scientific experiment, expertise, and entrepreneurship that saw the merino, for hundreds of years the pride and monopoly of Spain, gradually adopted throughout Europe, Nth America and Australia.

Thomas Henty, who provided Young a sample of wool for his micrometer in 1810, was 35 and had been farming at Tarring for about 14 years. How he acquired his first merinos is not known. Possibly at the sales from the Kings flocks in 1804 where John McArthur from NSW was a conspicuous buyer, but possibly earlier, in the late 1790s. By the end of the Napoleonic Wars he was one of the most successful sheep breeders in south-east England and throughout the 1820s he maintained a correspondence with sheep breeders in NSW who bought from his flock and sought his opinion.

Thus is was through the agency of an already globalized wool industry supported by Banks that Henty contemplated migration with his family, over 40 dependents, valuable merino stock and horses, to the Swan River Colony in 1829. The family comprised Thomas and his wife Frances, seven surviving sons and a daughter, and much of the success of their enterprise lay in their ability to diversify their business practices. For while Henty's aim was to establish himself as a colonial sheep farmer in the Swan River Colony, this was only the starting point of a multi-faceted family enterprise, known as Henty & Co, that operated from the Swan, Launceston, Portland Bay and Melbourne and extended its interests to Mauritius, the Cape, England, New Zealand and the Americas. This paper will situate the Henty family within a colonial enterprise-driven and global modality, that characterized migration in the time of the free land grants at the Swan and Van Diemen's Land in the 1820s and the illegal 'squatting' era of the Port Phillip District of NSW in the 1830s and 1840s.

Collecting collections – Joseph Banks and the history of natural history
Hanna Hodacs, University of Dalarna, Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences and University of Warwick

Eighteenth century global developments generated a huge influx of species new to European scholars; simultaneously London evolved into a centre for natural history. To no small degree this reflects on Joseph Banks's role as a promotor of science at a time when the British Empire expanded greatly. This paper will focus on an overlooked aspect of this process by discussing Banks's acquisition of natural history collections from across northern Europe, and how he thereby reshaped not only London's role but also the history of natural history.

More precisely the paper will explore Banks's purchases of herbaria with a Linnaean provenience, including those previously owned by George Clifford III (1685-1760), Johan Frederik Gronovius (1668-1762), Laurens Theodorus Gronovius (1730-1777), and Paul Herman (1646-1696). Preparing for the publication of works such as *Hortus Cliffordianus*, *Flora Virginica*, *Flora Zeylanica* and *Species plantarum* these herbaria had been consulted by the Swedish naturalists Carolus Linnaeus, during the early period of his career. Via commissioners in Leiden and Copenhagen Banks bought Clifford's and Herman's collections and brought them to London in the 1790s, where he also purchased the Gronovius's collections from Lord Bute's estate when it was put up for sale in 1794. By then London/England already housed Linnaeus's own collection, which Banks also had shown a strong interest in after the death of Linnaeus senior in 1778. In the end it was James Edward Smith who in 1784, following the death of Linnaeus junior, bought the collection and transported it to London.

Several different changes are reflected in the re-locations outlined above. New trends and aesthetics made natural history collections passé (and inexpensive) among fashionable circles on the continent at the end of the eighteenth century. Revolution and wars created further havoc to the markets for natural history specimens, especially in the Dutch Republic. London had also attracted several of Linnaeus's former students, most notably Daniel Solander and Jonas Carlsson Dryander, both of whom came to play a significant role introducing Linnaean taxonomy to London naturalists, foremost to Banks who employed both naturalists.

The argument put forward in this paper is that by bringing collections with a strong Linnaean provenance to one place, and making them accessible to visiting naturalists, Banks helped not only to conserve the physical specimen but also the Linnaean order. Specimens Linnaeus had used were given a 'second life' as reference material for a new generation of naturalists, thereby off-setting radical changes to the system Linnaeus had invented, not least to his binary names still in use today. In this respect Banks's selective purchasing and conserving reinforced not only London's role as a scholarly centre but also led to a new history of natural history according to which collections without Linnaean provenance belonged to the past, while those with belonged to the present, and the future.

The mirror of folly
Michelle Hetherington, National Museum of Australia

In the twelve months following his return from the South Seas on board HMB *Endeavour* in July 1771, Joseph Banks enjoyed a measure of fame that brought his name into the public sphere and increased the value of his acquaintance. The remarkable collection of natural history specimens, ethnographic objects and visual records he had acquired was examined and enjoyed by London's elite, from the King down. He sat for three portraits, struggled to attend the many dinners to which he was now invited, and made elaborate preparations for a speedy return to the Pacific. When news broke that Banks had withdrawn from his planned voyage on HMS *Resolution*, those who had enjoyed the stories of his triumphs could now follow his widely reported disappointment and humiliation in magazines and newspapers.

Matthew and Mary Darly quickly capitalised on Joseph Banks's newfound notoriety, enrolling him among the ranks of the Macaroni - initially a band of wealthy young men who had made the Grand Tour, and whose taste for macaroni and the extremes of fashion had made them a byword for luxurious self-indulgence and foolish self-regard. The Darlys' satirical portrait of Banks as the *Fly-Catching Macaroni* was published on the very day he sailed for Iceland and their portrait of Banks's colleague and fellow circumnavigator Dr Daniel Solander as the *Simpling Macaroni*, appeared the following day on 13 July 1772, as the *Resolution* sailed for the Pacific. On the 14th of July, in an act of skilled self-promotion, the Darlys published an engraving of their premises in Fleet Street as the *Macaroni Print Shop*, its windows displaying dozens of Macaroni prints, prominent among them the *Fly-Catching Macaroni.*

If the Macaroni as a type have their antecedents in Restoration Fops, and 18th century Beaux and Fribbles, the Macaroni prints with which the Darlys' are so closely associated have their origins in Matthew Darly's publication from 1756 of George Townshend's caricatures of leading members of Parliament. Townsend's skill in lampooning members of his own class in recognisable caricatures, considered a form of treason by Walpole, introduced the element of portraiture to the vicious political satires Darly published in his denunciations of government policy during the Seven Years War, in his attacks on the Earl of Bute and the Dowager Princess of Wales, and in his subsequent support of John Wilkes.

In his final appearance in a Darly satire, published the day of his return to England in November 1772, Joseph Banks is depicted as the *Botanic Macaroni*. Satire has long functioned as a mirror held up to folly, and in his hands Banks is supplied with a magnifying glass into which he gazes as into just such a mirror. The Darlys' move in the 1770s from political to social satires maps a major transformation in British society as increased opportunities for social mobility collided with the values of a culture based on a supposedly fixed class system. The two globes upon which Joseph Banks balances in the *Fly-Catching Macaroni* effectively represent the world of privilege and power into which he was born and the new world of celebrity status into which his Pacific exploits have thrust him. This paper examines the cultural fault-line that runs between those two worlds and explores just what Joseph Banks might be supposed to have seen in his magnifying glass mirror.

Exotic insect drawings: the visual culture of Enlightenment natural history
Beth Fowkes Tobin, University of Georgia

Drawing was central to the Enlightenment's construction of knowledge about the natural world. Although Linnaeus did not think that illustrations were necessary or even helpful in identifying and classifying plants and animals, Sir Joseph Banks, even as a young man, thought differently. Banks recognized the importance of natural history drawings as a way to record information about animal and plant life, especially specimens that faded with death or were destroyed by the harsh conditions of transportation. For this reason, he employed two artists to accompany him on Cook's first voyage. When Banks sat Sydney Parkinson side by side with Daniel Solander, the artist was coached and coaxed by the Linnaeus-trained taxonomist and together they produced scientifically accurate natural history illustrations. Banks's model for doing natural history included art as a key element in the production of natural knowledge, and his example set in motion the global dispersal of British artists to record the natural world.

This paper will examine Banks's collection of natural history drawings, focusing on insect drawings by Parkinson and others, and it will examine the entomological drawings collected by members of

Banks's circle, specifically those of Dru Drury. A silversmith and amateur entomologist, Drury built one of the largest insect collections of the time and self-published an illustrated three-volume book *Exotic Insects*. Following Banks's example of engaging agents to travel abroad to collect natural history specimens and to make drawings of them, Drury sponsored at least three expeditions, two with the help of Banks, sending naturalist artists to Sierra Leone, the American South, and Australia. The drawings, produced by Henry Smeathman, John Abbot, and John William Lewin respectively, contribute in important ways to the Enlightenment's ongoing project of gathering, describing, drawing, cataloguing, and classifying the natural world.

The bulk of Parkinson's, Abbot's, and Lewin's images are watercolor drawings that circulated as manuscripts and were used within scientific circles to aid in the identification and classification of insects. With wings spread and bodies displayed as if pinned, drawings of butterflies, moths, cicadas, wasps, flies, and beetles portray their subjects as collected specimens waiting to be examined closely by a knowledgeable audience. Drawings, like those produced by Parkinson, Abbot, and Lewin, are remarkable examples of what Lorraine Daston (2011) calls the Enlightenment's 'peculiar economy of attention', her expression for highly trained, attentive, and selective ways of seeing. Because these artists made decisions about which morphological features to include in their drawings that could aid in identifying and classifying insect life, their drawings were 'reasoned images' (Daston and Galison, 2007). Not merely illustrative, these drawings were actively engaged in the complex cognitive functions that structured taxonomic thinking central to Enlightenment natural history.

***Visual and material economies of bark cloth in Robert Smirke's* The Cession of the District of Matavai in the Island of Otaheite**
Julia Lum, Yale University

In the decades following the Cook voyages, Joseph Banks was a leading figure in the colonial and evangelical expansion into Oceania. Banks used his considerable influence in government channels to aid the London Missionary Society in establishing its first mission to Tahiti, an enterprise that would have appealed to him as an adjunct to imperial interests and an avenue of access to natural specimens. This first South Seas mission was commemorated by the artist Robert Smirke, whom the LMS commissioned to execute *The cession of the District of Matavai in the Island of Otaheite to Captain James Wilson for the Use of the Missionaries* (1798). Mixing the conventions of landscape, history painting and outdoor conversation piece, this painting was widely circulated as an engraving by Francesco Bartolozzi and was no doubt familiar to Banks. While the work has been given cursory attention, art historical accounts have yet adequately to address the interplay of European linen and Polynesian bark cloth (*tapa*) in Smirke's composition, which I will argue served to consecrate a meeting point of two cultures on a landscape invested with ritual significance.

In many Polynesian cultures, bark cloth plays an important role in ceremonial rites of passage as a means of containing *tapu* (sacred power) and solidifying social relationships. For instance, high status visitors would be greeted with gift of bark cloth, unwrapped from the body of a woman of the *'arioi* priestly class. A number of late eighteenth century British travellers to Polynesia collected and assembled these gifted *tapa* samples as souvenirs. Some of the richest description of bark cloth preparation comes from the *Endeavour* journal of Banks (1769), who was quite literally wrapped in its reciprocal influence, and in *taio* exchange relations, to which his person became bound. My paper argues that Smirke and LMS officials, familiar with the voyage literature and artifacts collected from the Cook voyages and onwards, deployed *tapa* as a recognizable symbol of ritual conduct. To the LMS and its supporters, Smirke's painting supplied visual evidence of the transfer of land to the missionaries, but the prominence of *tapa* opens it up to readings beyond the purely transactional. The visual and material significance of cloth acts as a cross-cultural "countersign" (to use a term coined by Pacific historian Bronwen Douglas), revealing residues of Polynesian actions that drew the missionaries into the Tahitian (*Maohi*) social world. Using this painting and its oil sketch as the starting point of my analysis, I will examine the production, exchange and visual representation of bark cloth as an extension of both British and Polynesian strategies of religious and political diplomacy.

The sartorial science of Sir Joseph Banks

Simon Layton, Queen Mary University of London and Khadija Carroll, University of Birmingham

Sir Joseph Banks was a man of style, but his formative first voyage was not a 'grand tour' writ large, nor a rite of passage, through which a privileged boy became a 'gentleman of science'. As part of a broader project undertaken with the National Maritime Museum, entitled 'Cook's New Clothes', this paper takes a Pacific-centred view of Banks' *Endeavour* voyage, recolouring his experiences of cross-cultural encounters through clothing, ceremony and performance. By bringing historians and contemporary artists together in conversation, we look to challenge the Enlightenment paradigms of artistic science and scientific art, to ask instead how Banks – simultaneously lauded as a learned man and lampooned as a 'macaroni' – recognized the ritual, symbolic, and practical power of aesthetics in the Pacific. What was the function and significance of the myriad colours, materials, fibres and fabrics Banks recorded, and how did he make sense of them in light of his own tastes and fashion? How did he envisage class-structures, hierarchies and fidelities in a world where the art of costume took centre-stage, dictating protocols that governed strangeness and hospitality, conflict and resolution, love, life, and death? How much did he understand of the revered *kaitaka*, the dog-skin cloak that he donned before Benjamin West? Finally, this paper will suggest a new approach to the questions behind Banks' withdrawal from the *Resolution – one* which draws him away from Linnaeus and the Navy, towards a deeper understanding of the classes, cultures and etiquettes that shaped his Pacific experience.