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Editor’s Comment

This month’s newsletter leads with an article by Paul Star. Paul confronts the historical, and on-going, problem of rabbit-control in New Zealand, asking what lessons we can learn from past experience of the bunny plague. In the final article, I present some future topics for research in environmental history and historical geography.

I had earlier invited Charlie Pederson, President of the Federated Farmers Association, to present a version of his talk of 18 July 2006 in which he attacks modern environmentalism as a ‘religion’ and questions whether the economic and farming costs paid for are too high. I also invited Kath Wallace, Chairperson of the ECO, to comment on Mr Pederson’s talk. Sadly, neither responded, but we welcome any correspondence or articles responding to their views.

The next issue will be edited by Dr. Julian Kuzma. Please continue to send articles or correspondence to me (james.beattie@stonebow.otago.ac.nz)

About Us

This Newsletter aims to provide information about people and upcoming events, including conferences, books, seminars, etc. If you want to contribute articles or reviews of exhibitions or books, or want your details added to the Member’s List, please contact one of the following:

Matthew Morris
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Thanks to Dr Libby Robin, the Australian National University and CRES for hosting this site. Special Thanks to Kyle Matthews for sorting out formatting difficulties and to Patrick Stein for maintaining the site.

Australian scholar Stephen Dovers claims that “the point of environmental history ... [is] to examine the past as it relates to environmental and resource issues in the present”.1 While I do not think historical research has to be justified by reference to its worth for present society, nevertheless, knowledge of environmental history can provide insights not only for historians who interpret the past but also for those of our contemporaries who seek to affect the future.

Take the current “rabbit problem”. New Zealanders have heard a lot about rabbit calcivirus disease (RCD), which, as with myxomatosis in the 1950s, was expected by some to knock back rabbits in sufficient numbers, and sufficiently permanently, to solve the problem they present to sheep farmers in many parts of the South Island. Conscious of the uncertainty both of its effectiveness and of its wider consequences, government decided not to introduce RCD – but farmers, more conscious of the size of their overdrafts and the failure of other methods, introduced it regardless. Although I do not here address this recent development or, indeed, the rabbit problem over the last hundred years, I show that, by learning something of the problem in the nineteenth century, we gain useful insights into ensuing events.

The rabbit story in the late nineteenth century demonstrates tensions within New Zealand society, notably between Otago runholders and small farmers. The conflict between different sectors of New Zealand settler society is, however, a narrow theme compared to the wider conflict between settler society as a whole and the New Zealand environment. It is in this light that a local historian, Irvine Roxburgh, described the rabbit as “nature's trump card”.3

The problem arose consequent with colonists’ ignorance of the complexities both of the ecosystems which preceded them in New Zealand and of the British “agroecosystem” with which they sought to replace it. An “agroecosystem” is “an ecosystem organized for agricultural purposes – a domesticated ecosystem ... a rearrangement, not a repeal, of natural processes”.4 This is precisely what colonists in New Zealand in the late nineteenth century, faced with rabbits,

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2 The problem is considered in its New Zealand context, but the course of events in Australia - including the introduction of RCD - has been similar. After 1997, RCD was increasingly referred to as rabbit haemorrhagic disease (RHD).
discovered. Initially a gradual transforming process took place on the colony's land surface. The “natural” ecosystem known as “the bush”, plus the Māori-modified native grassland ecosystem, were increasingly replaced by pasture of introduced grasses for sheep. By 1870, two processes were taking place. As the more natural ecosystems continued to retreat before a sheep-dominated agroecosystem, a maverick rabbit-dominated ecosystem intruded upon both.

Many early introductions of the rabbit (*Orcytolagus cuniculus*) were conducted with pride, and in the early 1860s, there was general satisfaction at their success. The rabbit “problem” (as it became) began in Kaikoura and in Southland in the late 1860s. In 1876, a “Report on the Rabbit Nuisance” explained that “gradually, and at first scarcely perceptibly, the rabbits moved from place to place until, during the past two years, there appears to have been a vast impulse given to their migration, when at length their presence has become a subject of bitter regret, and the cause of much and increasing anxiety”.5 The rabbits’ “extraordinary fecundity” - often seven litters in a year - ensured their rapid spread.

The report spelt out the “evils attending their occupation”. The trouble was, basically, that the rabbit ate the same food as sheep, but while mutton was widely consumed, few wanted to eat rabbit meat and while everyone wanted wool, rabbit skins were of little value and in limited demand. The rabbit, it was explained, “chooses the English and finest native grasses, yet condescends to snatch a meal off the young tussock grass growth as it springs into existence. Not only does it devour, but it destroys herbage by its pollutions wherever it feeds, driving cattle and sheep away, and rendering the soil a desert.”6 Rabbits decreased the sheep-carrying capacity of the land, while the remaining sheep fattened less well, and produced wool of lesser quantity and quality. This posed a particularly acute problem, since the rabbit infestation struck at a time when the sheep industry accounted for half the total value of New Zealand’s exports.

No-one really knew how to deal with this uncontrolled Frankenstein’s monster. Earlier ecological problems had been manageable. Scab in sheep had been eradicated; the spread of thistles could be accommodated; but rabbits were different.

In seeking a solution, two approaches were adopted in tandem. Some looked to legislation, but many parliamentarians opposed compulsion. The 1876 Rabbit Nuisance Act did not enforce its findings but only established machinery which might be set up by districts, thereby producing only local-level responses. Its limitations became clear as the infestation continued to spread northwards through Otago towards Canterbury. People therefore sought, secondly, effective practical action. The possibilities were debated continually and obsessively. One

6 Ibid., p. 4.
Mechanical solutions emerged first. In 1876, in Southland, this involved “hunting them down with dogs on the plains” and “shooting and hunting them on the edge of the bushes, and in broken ground”. Traps thereafter became standard equipment for rabbiters in New Zealand as they had in Australia. But still these also did not reduce numbers sufficiently. Around 1879 the situation had become so desperate that most landholders used poison. Poisoned oats laced with phosphorus became ubiquitous in the fight against rabbits. Its implementation was not undertaken without thought to side-effects, but financial considerations won the day over the protests of acclimatisation societies worried about losing pheasants. In 1881, a runholder said “the objections of the cure are of course obvious”. He acknowledged that “all imported and native game will suffer severely” but “the rabbit must ... be put down, or else the greater part of the South island will be made useless”. Another runholder, reinforcing these findings, said he “was very fond of birds; but if it came to a question whether he would have birds or sheep, he would certainly vote in favour of the sheep”. While other species might be affected, most were prepared to take the gamble.

There were also “natural solutions”, of varying subtlety, which encouraged nature to do the work of destroying rabbits. For a start, existing native predators, especially hawks and weka, could be encouraged. A few colonists admitted their use, but it was hard to imagine native birds playing a major part in rabbit control while at the same time believing, as many did, that because they were indigenous species they were inferior and declining. This implied that their value could only be, at best, auxiliary, and that any real solution must lie elsewhere.

Other vermin could be introduced to kill the rabbits. In 1879, someone proposed bringing in the Australian “tiger-cat” to solve the rabbit problem. This is the Spotted-tailed Quoll (*Dasyurus maculatus*), a carnivorous marsupial not unlike the Tasmanian Devil, which kills birds and rats by biting the back of the
neck. Action to prevent such an introduction was prompt. The quoll might have been a cheap option, but it was an unknown colonial, perhaps therefore inferior, and certainly not a “natural” enemy of the rabbit, like the weasel. Mustelids – that is, weasels (*Mustela nivalis*), stoats (*Mustela erminea*) and ferrets (*Mustela furo*) – have habits similar to the quoll, but they could only be obtained at great cost from the other side of the world. They were difficult to transport and perhaps not hardy enough to survive the harsh winters of parts of South Island. But, in their favour, they were British.

Colonists had long considered the introduction of mustelids to control rabbits, but Government pursued the option only once men with guns, voluntary legislation, poison, and compulsory legislation, had each in turn proved ineffective. The eventual introduction of mustelids represented the victory of income over the environment, of landholders' desperation over scientific foreboding.

Professor Alfred Newton of Cambridge had spearheaded a campaign in 1876 to ban mustelids in New Zealand, because of their likely effect on bird life. However, all his warnings were swept aside with the new Rabbit Nuisance Act of 1881. Thereafter, mustelids were a protected species, with a £10 fine for killing them. They became the “fourth column” in the “rabbit wars”. Benjamin Bayly, the Inspector of Rabbits, masterminded campaigns in the 1880s, with a crusading zeal unmatched until Major Yerex organised the “deer wars” in the 1930s.

Rather ironically, Bayly released stoats and weasels just when he felt (quite wrongly) that his poisoning programmes had more or less beaten the rabbit problem. His fears had begun to centre not so much on the infested areas but rather on their margins, and in particular on the “waste lands” – meaning the native forest or “bush”. In fact, rabbits only ever occupy the edges of the bush, or clearances in it, and dense bush impedes their spread. But for Bayly in 1884, “the huge areas of unoccupied waste lands fringing the West Coast, mostly unknown and inaccessible, will be a standing menace to the occupied country adjoining them, especially that near the provincial boundary of Canterbury.”

Where possible, the settlement of land in advance of the rabbit received every encouragement. An 1884 Parliamentary Committee called for “immediate steps to provide for the occupation of unoccupied Crown lands and reserves ... which afford breeding grounds for the pest”. However, this did not seem a quick enough solution beyond the Lakes and towards the West Coast, where the bush

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13 Otago Acclimatisation Society minutes, 15 Aug. 1879 (Hocken Library, Dunedin).
14 NZPD, 1876, 23, p. 612.
15 NZPD, 1882, 41, p. 597.
remained dominant. So when the first Government shipment of weasels and stoats arrived later that year, Bayly had the weasels “released on a peninsula of about 8,000 acres, on Wanaka Lake”; the stoats he had “turned out on the east side of Hawea Lake”.18

By 1886, Bayly could claim complete success with the weasels in the former location, where “an area of badly-infested country ... has been permanently cleared at an expense of about £5000”. However, he noted that “in other localities where these animals have been liberated the same conditions do not exist.” The “natural enemy” was “rapidly gaining ground, and is favourably reported upon; but they require to be turned out in large numbers and the ground worked systematically before they become effective: even then the transitional stage must necessarily take a long time prior to a balance being attained.” The answer, for Bayly, seemed to be more mustelids.19

Others disagreed. The Otago Institute heard that, “by some unaccountable blunder, some of the ferrets so rashly introduced to keep down the rabbits have been liberated on the western side of Lake Manapouri, where there are no rabbits, but large numbers of flightless birds ... and unless vigorous measures are taken to counteract this foolish - nay, criminal act, the most interesting members of our unique avifauna will be doomed to speedy extinction”.20 You did not have to be a scientist to see such devastation. In 1887 a sixteen-year old walked twenty miles up the Hollyford Valley and counted “twenty dead kakapo all freshly killed by weasels”.21

But the releases continued. During the 1888-89 season, for instance, a thousand stoats and weasels were liberated by the Awatere Rabbit Board in the Marlborough area. Nevertheless, overall, the situation grew grimmer. Rabbits returned in force to the infested areas of Otago and moved from there into South Canterbury, while another population spread from Kaikoura through the Amuri District into North Canterbury. Ten million rabbit skins exported in a typical year represented only a fraction of those killed, and the dead numbered far fewer than the living. Bayly acknowledged that “we have not yet arrived at the solution of the difficulty”, and talk began to turn to the use of disease to wipe out rabbits, if a suitable one could be found.22

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21 John Hall-Jones, Martins Bay, Invercargill, 1987, p. 150. The kakapo (Strigops habroptilus), a flightless ground parrot endemic to New Zealand, is now a severely endangered species.
Not syphilis. It had already been experimented with in Australia to kill rabbits, but this was stopped because it ruined the market for rabbit meat. In 1883, the *Otago Witness* still considered the use of any disease “fraught with danger to other animals, and even to human beings, and ... certainly a repulsive method, which we should adopt with reluctance”. But, as another journalist put it, “as a desperate remedy we require a desperate disease”.

The first Professor of Biology at Auckland University College was superbly qualified to investigate this kind of solution. Before coming to New Zealand, A. P. Thomas had been commissioned by the Royal Agricultural Society of Britain to investigate the life cycle of the parasitic fluke which caused liver rot in sheep. He was now commissioned by the New Zealand Government, in 1888, to investigate the bladder fluke and other disease in rabbits.

Thomas did not find a satisfactory disease, but the publication of his reports introduced many colonists to a scientific approach. Tremendous interest had already developed in the relationship between microscopic organisms and disease. Louis Pasteur’s researches in France received wide coverage in the New Zealand press during the 1880s. Conversely, Pasteur closely followed events in Australia and New Zealand, where everyone began searching for a disease to control rabbits once the New South Wales Government offered £25,000 – a fortune at this time – to whoever could find one.

Pasteur thought he could solve the rabbit problem with chicken cholera. He had already experimented with the disease in Europe, where the closely allied Asiatic cholera was a major cause of human death. His nephew arrived up in Sydney in 1888, at the invitation of the New South Wales government and duly set up a laboratory on Rodd Island, in a remote part of Sydney Harbour across the way from Callan Park Lunatic Asylum, and here began work on chicken cholera for rabbits. This experiment might have taken place in New Zealand. In 1888, a Marlborough settler urged the Government to import cholera from France, and offered his own run as the perfect place for a trial, or suggested Quail Island in Lyttelton Harbour.

Many Australians, fearful for both the health of themselves and their stock, were very uneasy about what was going on at Rodd Island, so French proposals for...
large scale experiments on mainland Australia were blocked. Nevertheless, in 1895, a Queensland bacteriologist used the disease, with some success, and at much the same time New Zealand’s Chief Veterinary Officer trialled chicken cholera at Clydevale Station in Otago. He found it had some use as a poison (though rather less so than phosphorus), but as a disease it failed to spread effectively. His report appeared in 1897, at which point experiments with this particular disease were abandoned.30

A further practical solution, rabbit-proof fences, had surfaced by then, and for a while they seemed like the way forward, more effective than guns and traps, poisoned grain or mustelids, bladder fluke or chicken cholera. But in 1897 rabbits continued to plague New Zealand’s farmers. This is still the case.

* * *

In 1993, the American historian, William Cronon, compiled a list of what he called “the core lessons that make environmental history useful”.31 We can use these to identify the rabbit story as the stuff of environmental history, and, through Cronon’s words, to point out what lessons may be learnt from it.

Cronon’s first contention is that “all human history has a natural context”. The rabbit problem is certainly a powerful example of human activity, which through the introduction and distribution of rabbits, impacting not only on both agroecosystems and the supposedly natural native ecosystem, but also upon the human social system, as it increased pressure to break up the great estates and reduce squatter influence in New Zealand. John McKenzie, who as Minister of Lands facilitated closer settlement in the 1890s, subscribed to the view that “small holders can manage to keep the pest within reasonable bounds, while the large holders cannot”.32

Cronon’s second finding, in line with current ecological thinking, is that “neither nature nor culture is static”. Environmental history demonstrates that “the relationship between nature and culture should always be viewed as a problem of comparative dynamics, not statics”, in which “the rate and scale of such change can vary enormously”. In this light, we may regard New Zealand as a slowly-changing environment which experienced rapid change with the arrival of Māori, transformation that only accelerated with European settlement. The spread of rabbits is a striking instance of the swift and extensive alteration of an already much-modified and simplified ecosystem.

Cronon’s third finding is that “all environmental knowledge is culturally and historically contingent”. Clearly, the introduction both of rabbits and mustelids to New Zealand went along with a widespread belief that indigenous species were inferior to European ones, and gained support from the theory of their inevitable “displacement”. A gradual rejection by settlers of the assumption of European superiority at a cultural level, plus evidence in the field of a far more complex “ecology” of relationships between different species, encouraged a revision of that theory. Rabbits hopped around people’s minds as much as in their paddocks, and were very much a part of all this. It was becoming culturally appropriate in New Zealand, by 1897, to condemn European rabbits and stoats and to talk of native bird protection.

Cronon’s last finding is that “historical wisdom usually comes in the form of parables, not policy recommendations or certainties”. He believes that “environmental history is at least as important for the way it asks and answers questions ... [as] for any specific problems it may actually solve”. It does not offer solutions in the way that science tries to, but it can be a visual aid when looking at current or continuing concerns.

* * *

Carefully cut stories about human interaction with the environment, such as those of how settlers tried to rid themselves of rabbits, are enlightening. This, surely, is “the ultimate object of the discipline”. Reiteration of these stories, I believe, could have as much value to the modern farmer as it has to the scholar.


James Beattie, ‘Greener Pastures? Future Research Topics on New Zealand’s Environment’

Introduction
Mountains of valuable material lies in archives, newspapers, art galleries and private holdings waiting for eagle-eyed and enthusiastic scholars of New Zealand’s environment to use! The following comprises a list of possible thesis topics for students interested in the history of science, medical history, historical geography and environmental history, with a particular emphasis on the latter. Rather than being an exhaustive list, it aims instead to stimulate interest, and hopefully, will encourage others to contribute similar discussions pieces to the Newsletter. The ideas are drawn from my own thoughts and through discussions with Paul Star and Julian Kuzma.

Under each topic I have included a few readings that interested readers can follow up on.

Introduction to New Zealand Environmental History
No general survey text exists, although a number of collections and individually-themed works provide a reasonable overview of the topic.

Sources

Comparative study
More comparative studies situating New Zealand in a regional and/or global setting are welcome. For instance, comparisons between two or more sites which experienced colonialism around about the same time, or even different times, would be fascinating.

Some questions to consider might be: What were the environmental impacts of the Torrens system of land-use in South Australia and the various New Zealand Company settlements? How and in what ways do South African and New Zealand or New Zealand and Canadian environmental history differ and converge? What were the cultural and ecological impacts of similar social
groups moving to different parts of the globe?

Comparative studies of exchanges of ideas and plant material between different individuals and institutions, such as that written about by Jim Endersby, would also be welcome. That way, actual exchanges between different areas could be charted.

Sources

Marine histories
David Young’s book on the Whanganui River offers an excellent model for anyone wanting to look at New Zealand’s waterways. It is particularly strong in the ways in which it brings together European and Māori histories. Marine and estuarine areas also require far more attention. Marine histories have the added advantage in that they can be transnational and often do not take into account political boundaries.

Sources

Natural theology
John Stenhouse and I have discovered a plethora of material in this area, enough to occupy several researchers over several lifetimes. Topics range from missionary environmental and medical appraisals and the role of nature symbolism in church services, to the connections between churches and conservation as well as overseas missions and environmental appraisal. Individual biographies of prominent missionary and reverend botanists and their families, such as William Colenso or the Taylors, are badly needed.

Sources

Waitangi Tribunal Reports
More extensive use needs to be made of the rich material collected in these reports. Wai-262 offers a good starting point. Perhaps a study of the way in which these reports are written in terms of their environmental history would be worthwhile.

Sources

Biography
Herbert Guthrie-Smith deserves a new biography, as do many other prominent individuals, including, to name but a few: W.T.L. Travers, Leonard Cockayne, etc. Some excellent recent (and not so recent) works include Ross Galbreath’s study of Buller, Robin Hodge’s article and thesis on Perrine Moncrieff and Mary McEwan’s biography of Charles Fleming.

Sources

Gender and Children
More work needs to be done on the role of missionary wives and female flower illustrators as well as the popularity of botany among women and children.
Popular nature writing in the press, as explored by Paul Star’s masters thesis on T.H. Potts or Tom Griffiths and Stephen in Australia are also good models (see below under Themed Studies).

Sources

**Site/Institutional Histories**
A history of the Royal Forest and Bird Protection Society of New Zealand is required, as is one for the Department of Lands and Survey. Also, specific studies could focus on public and private gardens, perhaps as sites for the exchange of environmental ideas and material. Mission Stations or shore based whaling stations would be particularly worthwhile areas to study, with the former having the advantage of (usually) extensive archival material.

Sources

**Themed Studies**
A book on the history of botany in New Zealand is sorely needed. In this respect, David Allan’s study on this topic in the UK is one successful model. Works looking into the scientific and artistic contribution of overseas scholars both visiting and studying New Zealand’s species overseas are required. These could utilize much of the material already published (some of which is listed below).

Sources
ENNZ: Environment and Nature in New Zealand


**War and the Environment**
Judith Bennett is writing on the environmental impact of war in the Pacific Islands, and a number of other scholars have pursued this elsewhere. What was the environmental impact of New Zealanders in combat in Europe and North Africa; what demands did the war economy place on New Zealand’s environment? What impact did the likes of the Land Wars of the nineteenth century have on New Zealand’s environment?

**Sources**

**Food**
Food is integral to life, and food production has had a great impact on the way in which societies have been organized and vice versa. How have New Zealand’s changing patterns of consumption impacted upon environmental production and quality? What role have international markets played in guiding New Zealand land use? How and why did these markets change?

**Sources**

**Art and Environment**
How have different artists conceptualized of New Zealand, its people, plants and animals? How have these representations changed over time? What role have artists played in environmental protection or destruction?

**Sources**
**Power and the Environment**

How have New Zealand’s energy needs changed over its history? Why have these demands changed? What have been the environmental impacts of these changing demands? Much existing work has focused on waterways while Rebecca Priestly is working on a Ph.D. at Auckland University thesis about nuclear energy debates in New Zealand, Jo Whittle on transport and power provision in Auckland.

**Sources**


**Exploration and Environmental History**

Researchers need to address many different aspects of exploration, for instance the contribution of military science, both amateur and professional, to the investigation and development of New Zealand’s environment.

**Sources**


Olive Wright, editor and translator, *The Voyage of the Astrolabe – 1840: An English rendering of the journals of Dumont d’Urville and his officers of their visit to New Zealand in 1840, together with some account of Bishop Pompallier and Charles, Baron de Thierry*, Wellington, 1955.

**Medicine and Environment**

Environment and medicine are strongly connected, yet environmental historians in New Zealand have been somewhat reluctant to explore this. This association was particularly close when ideas about miasma were dominant; but nevertheless have continued to play an important role, such as through air and water pollution, ozone levels, global warming, and so on.

In what ways did Europeans adopt Māori plant classifications and knowledge into Western scientific literature? How were asylums and hospitals landscaped and how was environment thought to influence patients? Have how New
Zealanders’ association with the outdoors impacted upon their health?

**Sources**

**Urban Areas**
Urban areas remain sorely underrepresented in New Zealand’s environmental history. Studies of air pollution, energy and food demands, urban protection societies, etc., are urgently required.

**Sources**

**Transport**
Transport has been crucial to New Zealand’s economic, social and political history, but so too its environmental history, being responsible for both the intentional and unintentional spread of plants and animals as well as vast landscape alterations. How did coastal vessels impact upon settlement patterns and environments use in these areas? What effect did the spread of roads and railways have upon Māori and European colonization?

How did the extension of telegraphs, and later phone lines, to New Zealand influence the spread, but also the content, of environmental ideas and information?

**Sources**
Announcements

Kahikatea forest, Westland  Nancy Adams

Trans-Tasman Forest History: First announcement

Seventh Conference of the Australian Forest History Society
29 January to 2 February 2007
Christchurch, New Zealand

Where? ..... For the first time, there is to be a forest history conference in New Zealand! The AFHS conference will be held in University Hall, a residential college of the University of Canterbury in Christchurch, with additional facilities provided by the University’s forestry school. The Hall has a conference room, accommodation in single rooms, and provision for meals. For those preferring other accommodation, a list of nearby motels will be provided in mid-2006 with the registration brochure.

Christchurch is the largest city in the South Island of New Zealand, with direct flight links to Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Auckland, Wellington, Dunedin, and elsewhere. As one of the least forested parts of New Zealand at the time of European settlement, Canterbury Province became an early centre both for indigenous conservation and for exotic afforestation.

Visitors to Christchurch who wish to experience native forest in its fullest glory, both nothofagus and mixed podocarp, need only travel via Arthur’s Pass to the
ENNZ: Environment and Nature in New Zealand

West Coast.

**What?** ..... In line with the six previous conferences, the New Zealand conference welcomes papers and presentations on every aspect of Australian forest history, and it is anticipated that there will be a strong attendance from Australia. As the first Society conference in NZ, however, there will undoubtedly also be a major contribution from New Zealanders, with greater than usual emphasis on NZ environmental and forest history.

The conference has been described as a Trans-Tasman Forest History Conference to encourage participants to consider links and comparisons between NZ and Australia’s environmental experience. Historical outlooks on both indigenous and exotic forestry and forests, as well as some papers on other environments, will be included.

For New Zealanders interested in their past and present forests, this is a unique opportunity to assess their country’s experience and to place it in an international context. Those from beyond the Tasman are also encouraged to attend and share their knowledge and perspectives.

**When?** ..... The conference will run from the evening of Monday 29 January through to the end of Friday 2 February 2007 and will include two full days and one half-day of papers, one afternoon and one full-day field trip, and a conference dinner. Field trips will be at least to Riccarton Bush and Banks’ Peninsula, with other possibilities further from Christchurch.

**Who?** ..... Australian Forest History Society conferences aim to be inclusive and sociable. They attract people from many different disciplines, occupations and walks of life. They provide a venue for the exchange of knowledge and outlook between foresters, activists, local people, and historians, geographers, biologists and other academics. Everyone is welcome.

**About Us:** ..... The Australian Forest History Society was formed in 1988 and has members in Australia, New Zealand and other countries. It has held six earlier national conferences, in ACT, Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, Tasmania and Western Australia. Earlier conference proceedings have been published, most of them in association with the Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies in the Australian National University, Canberra, ACT. The Society produces a regular newsletter and maintains contact with similar organizations devoted to environmental and forest history in other countries.

The aim of the Society is to advance historical understanding of human interactions with the environment. While the Society’s main emphasis has been on Australian forest and woodland environments, previous conferences have
also included contributions on forest environments in New Zealand, Asia and the Pacific, and on ecosystems other than forests. The Society does not provide a forum for advocacy of environmental or forest policy, but welcomes different perspectives. The Society operates without sponsorship. New members are welcome, but membership is not a condition for conference attendance.

For more information on the Australian Forest History Society Inc. and the latest information on the New Zealand conference, see the AFHS website: http://cres.anu.edu.au/environhist/afhsociety.html

Please e-mail the following details to starmulq@es.co.nz or mail them to Paul Star/Australian Forest History Society, History Department, University of Otago, PO Box 56, Dunedin, New Zealand.

**Expression of Interest Form**

Please record my interest in the seventh AFHS conference 2007 and send me further details when they are available.

Title...... First Name ................................ Surname ..............................................
Address..........................................
..........................................
...............Post Code ..............
Telephone .....................
E-mail ..............................
I am interested in attending............
I would like to offer a paper on ...........
For accommodation I would prefer:
Single room in University Hall..........
Self-book in nearby motel................
Make own arrangements ...............

Are you interested in nature writing, reading and scholarship?

Check out a new Trans-Tasman branch of the global literature & environment network ASLE at: www.asle-anz.asn.au

Conferences, prizes & fellowships listed.
Environment and Nature in Asia: Special Symposium

Where?
St. Margaret’s College
333 Leith Street
Dunedin

When?
9.30 a.m. – 5.30 p.m.
2 September 2006

Cost?
FREE!

What?
This special one-day symposium will explore Asia’s dynamic environmental history as well as some of the connections between Asia and Australasia.

Topics
Chinese Poetry and New Zealand and Chinese Natures
Japanese People and the Japanese Bear
Japanese Gardens
Chinese Gardens
Imperial Expansion and Environment in Central Asia
Asian Animals in Australasia
Development and Nature on Ogasawara Islands, Japan
Science in the Philippines

Sponsorship
Thanks to the following for their financial support:
Asia New Zealand Foundation
‘Asia in New Zealand’ Research Cluster, University of Otago

Publication
A Special Edition of the New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies in June 2007 will be devoted to selected papers from the symposium, as well as those by
invited contributors.

**More information**

For more information contact Dr. James Beattie (james.beattie@stonebow.otago.ac.nz).

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**The Cabinet of Natural History**

The Department of History and Philosophy of Science, University of Cambridge ([http://www.hps.cam.ac.uk/seminars/cabinet.html](http://www.hps.cam.ac.uk/seminars/cabinet.html)) welcomes papers on all aspects of the history of Natural History, including environmental history, and is a good venue for New Zealand historians to present work and receive feedback from an international audience.
Members’ List

Name: John P. Adam

Institutional Affiliation: Independent Scholar and UNITEC, Auckland.

Qualifications: Dip. Hort., Lincoln; Dip. Parks & Recreation, Lincoln; Bachelor of Arts in Anthropology, University of Auckland.

E-mail: jpadam@kiwilink.co.nz

Address: 2/32 Brighton Road, Parnell, Auckland

Interests:
- New Zealand Botanic Garden and Medical garden history.
- Links to Australian and North American institutions; History of 19th and 20th century Urban preservation societies: Auckland Scenery Preservation Society; Auckland Civic League.
- Ecological histories. Spatial and temporal understanding and practice in public landscapes.
- History of New Zealand plant cultivation. Plant collection history.
- The origins of the practice of New Zealand Landscape Architecture.

Current Projects:
- Percy Scenic Reserve Conservation plan, (with Louise Beaumont) for Hutt City.
- Tree survey and historical assessment of all trees on Maungawhau/Mt Eden. For Auckland City.
- Japanese gardens with Dr. James Beattie and Jasper Heinzen.

Recent Publications (2004-5):
- Two part story on the 19th and 20th century historical links between The Pah, One Tree Hill Domain and Prospect farm [Cornwall Park]. Common Ground. For Landscape New Zealand, January 2004 and February. 2005.
- Roundtable paper with Matthew Bradbury for Council of Educators in Landscape Architecture [CELA], Lincoln University. June. Title: Fred Tschopp. Landscape Architect. The American Practice, 1938-1970. [Published in Landscape Research.]
Published: short “New Zealand” section in *The Oxford Companion to Australian Gardens* Edited by Richard Aitken & Michael Looker.


*Contextual Historical Overview* for Christchurch City Heritage Inventory. With project team including, Salmond Reed Ltd, Matthews & Matthews; Boffa Miskell; Dr John Wilson and Heritage Solutions. [Landscape research, site visits, literature review and assessment etc.] For Heritage Team, Christchurch City Council.

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**Name:** Ruth Barton  
**Institutional Affiliation:** University of Auckland  
**Qualifications:** MSc with distinction (mathematics, Wellington), PhD (history and sociology of science, Pennsylvania)  
**E-mail:** r.barton@auckland.ac.nz  
**Address:** History Department, University of Auckland, Private Bag 92019, Auckland.  
**Interests:** History of science: N.Z. 1800-1940; Britain, c.1800-1900.  
**Current Projects:**  
The X Club (famous white male, imperial scientists, located in London)  
The scientific community in N.Z. (c.1860-1910)  

**Recent Publications (2004-6):**  
Name: James Beattie  
Institutional Affiliation:  
“Asia in New Zealand” Research Fellow, University of Otago  
Qualifications:  
B.A. Hons, Ph.D.  
E-mail: james.beattie@stonebow.otago.ac.nz  
Address:  
Department of History, University of Otago, P.O. Box 56, Dunedin, New Zealand  
Website: http://www.otago.ac.nz/history/staff/james_b.html  
Interests:  
Environmental history of New Zealand, India, Australia and China, colonial art history, comparative environmental history, nineteenth century German and Scottish science, medical history  
Current Projects:  
Chinese-New Zealand gardens; Japanese gardens in New Zealand; Asian-New Zealand nineteenth century medical science and natural history; Scientists educated in Scotland and northern Europe in British Empire and their contribution to natural history; colonial artist Alfred Sharpe; medical history; comparative Australian-New Zealand environmental history; ‘The Forgotten Romantic: Environment, Literature and Art in New Zealand, 1840-1920 (with Julian Kuzma); natural theology (with John Stenhouse).  
Recent Publications (2004-6):  
• ‘Tsugaru to Otago no shizen hogo’ (‘The Preservation of Tsugaru and Otago’s Nature’) in Nanyan Guo, ed., Kita Nihon to Minami Nyuuji-rando no hikakuenkyuu (Comparative Research on Northern Japan and Southern New Zealand [provisional title], University of Hirosaki Press, 2006). (with Nanyan Guo and Paul Star)  
• “W. L. Lindsay, Scottish environmentalism, and the ‘improvement’ of nineteenth-century New Zealand”, in Tony Ballantyne and Judith A. Bennett, eds., Landscape/Community: Perspectives from New Zealand History, Dunedin, 2005, pp.43-56.  
ENNZ: Environment and Nature in New Zealand


Other comments:
I am book reviews editor for the New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies.

Name: James Braund
Institutional Affiliation:
Deptartment of German and Slavonic Studies (SELL), Auckland University.
Qualifications:
Ph.D.
E-mail: j.braund@auckland.ac.nz
Address: The University of Auckland, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1001
Interests:
German connections with NZ and the Pacific, esp. German-Pacific scientific connections prior to WWI; European exploration of the Pacific; German anthropological interest in the South Pacific; Science History; Environmental History.
Current Projects:
German perspectives on environmental change in 19th century NZ; J.R. and G. Forster in NZ (1773 & 1774).
Recent Publications (2004-6):
(Select list only)
- 2006. "'die Königinn der südlichen Welt?'. Georg Forster und Neuseeland", Georg-Forster-Studien XI [forthcoming].
- 2005. Im Schatten zweier Kriege: Deutsche und Österreicher in Neuseeland im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert, ed. by James N. Bade with the assistance of Gabriele
**Name:** Tom Brooking  
**Institutional Affiliation:** Professor of History, University of Otago  
**Qualifications:** Ph.D.  
**E-mail:** tom.brooking@stonebow.otago.ac.nz  
**Address:** History Department, University of Otago, PO Box 56, Dunedin, New Zealand  
**Interests:** Agricultural sustainability, environmental impacts of farming, environmental history of New Zealand and New World comparisons, impact of British heritage, practice and attitudes on the environmental history of New Zealand.  
**Current Projects:**  
Marsden funded project on Empires of grass: The transformation of the New Zealand Grasslands, 1850s-1920s. This involves a team of 8 historians and geographers and will result and several articles and co-author book and University of Otago Humanities’ research cluster on the impact of sheep and dairy farming on the Mataura river basin in Southland, 1945 to the present. This involves working with a rural sociologist cum anthropologist of food and an ecologist.  
**Recent Publications (2004-6):**  

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**Name:** Duncan Campbell  
**Institutional Affiliation:** Victoria University of Wellington  
**Email:** Duncan.Campbell@vuw.ac.nz  
**Address:** Chinese Programme, SAELC, Victoria University of Wellington, PO Box 600, Wellington, NZ  
**Interests:**
ENNZ: Environment and Nature in New Zealand

Environmental history; garden history; literary & artistic representation of landscape

Current Projects:
The Dumbarton Oaks Readings on Chinese Gardens
Fire & War: A History of Private Libraries in Late Imperial China

Recent Publications:

Name: Charles Dawson
Institutional Affiliation: Waitangi Tribunal
Qualifications:
BA (Hist/Engl); MA(American studies) PhD (Brit Col)
E-mail:
charles.dawson@justice.govt.nz
Address:
C/- Waitangi Tribunal PO Box 5022 Wellington
Interests:
Environmental history; literatures/arts & the environment; Te reo Maori, Treaty history, ‘ecocriticism’; rivers/water and literature/culture/law
Current Projects:
Vice-President, Australasian branch of a global literature and environment network (www.asle-anz.asn.au); work on Wai 262 flora and fauna and cultural IP claim; occasional work on a book entitled Writing the memory of rivers
Recent Publications (2004-6):
Reviews in Takahe and Canadian Literature on environmental, indigenous rights and Māori language books; catalogue essay for Turi Park’s exhibit at www.idiom.co.nz
Other comments:
The ASLE literature and environment network complements this one (includes environmental historians/ecologists)
Name: Mark Derby  
Institutional Affiliation:  
Waitangi Tribunal  
Qualifications:  
Masters of NZ Studies  
E-mail:  
mark.derby@justice.govt.nz  
Address:  
C/- Waitangi Tribunal PO Box 5022 Wellington  
Interests:  
Te reo Maori, Treaty history, Tutira (curated permanent exhibition at Hawkes Bay Museum), architecture  
Current Projects:  
Curating exhibition on 1913 strike for Museum of Wellington, City and Sea, working as researcher on Waitangi Tribunal’s East Coast and Tongariro National Park inquiries  
Recent Publications (2004-6):  

Name: Kirsty Douglas  
Institutional Affiliation:  
History Programme, Research School of Social Sciences, ANU, Canberra
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Peggy James</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Institutional Affiliation:</strong></td>
<td>University of New South Wales</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Qualifications:</strong></td>
<td>BA, MSc, PhD</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Email:</strong></td>
<td><a href="mailto:hecko@geko.net.au">hecko@geko.net.au</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Address:</strong></td>
<td>17 Hunter Ave, St Ives NSW 2075, AUSTRALIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interests:</strong></td>
<td>urban environmental history, history of environment movements</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Current projects:</strong></td>
<td>Conservationists and planners in Sydney 1900-1950, air pollution control in Sydney and Auckland in the 1950s and 1960s.</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>James Hudson</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Institutional Affiliation:</strong></td>
<td>Centre for Indigenous Governance &amp; Development, Massey University</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Qualifications:</strong></td>
<td>LLM (Victoria University)</td>
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<td><strong>Email:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Address:</strong></td>
<td>Private Bag 11 222, Palmerston North, New Zealand</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Julian Kuzma</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Qualifications:</strong></td>
<td>Ph.D. (Otago)</td>
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<td><a href="mailto:juliankuzma@hotmail.com">juliankuzma@hotmail.com</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Address:</strong></td>
<td>14 Collins Place, Edinburgh, EH3 5JD, Scotland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interests:</strong></td>
<td>Environmental literature and history.</td>
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<td><strong>Current Projects:</strong></td>
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</table>
ENNZ: Environment and Nature in New Zealand

• God’s Own Country: Landscape & Literature in New Zealand – a book on environmental literature.
• With Tom Brooking, ‘Land of the Long Environmental Silence: W. P. Reeves’ Ao Tea Roa as landmark environmental history’.
• Writing a NZ historical romance.

Name: Stephen McDowall
Institutional Affiliation: Victoria University of Wellington
Qualifications:
B.A. (Hons), M.A.
E-mail: mcdowastep@student.vuw.ac.nz
Interests:
Late-imperial Chinese literature, art & society, literary & cultural constructions of landscape, Ming garden & art theory.
Current Projects:
Ph.D. thesis examining Qian Qianyi’s (1582-1664) written account of Yellow Mountain, 1642.
Recent Publications (2004-6):
• ‘Qian Qianyi’s (1582-1664) Reflections on Yellow Mountain’ in New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies 7 (2) December 2005: 134-152.

Name: Gavin McLean
Institutional Affiliation:
Ministry for Culture & Heritage
Qualifications:
Ph.D., DipMusStud
E-mail: Gavin.mclean@mch.govt.nz
Address:
Ministry for Culture & Heritage, PO Box 5364, Wellington
Interests:
Heritage, local, imperial, business, transport history
Current Projects:
• Governor-General history (UOP 06)
• Heartlands: NZ Historians Write About Places Where History happened (Penguin, Apr 06 co-edited with Ky Gentry)
• Chapter on Stone Store for Judith Binney book
• Helicopters (NZ) Ltd (Hazard Press 06)
Name: Lachy Paterson  
Institutional Affiliation: Massey University, Palmerston North  
Qualifications: Ph.D.  
E-mail: L.Paterson@massey.ac.nz  
Address: School of History, Philosophy and Politics, Massey University, Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North  
Interests: New Zealand race relations  
Recent Publications (2004-6):  
Other comments: I am interested in environmental history, although it is not a primary research area.

Name: Robert Peden  
Institutional Affiliation: University of Otago  
Qualifications: BA, BA Hons, MA  
E-mail: robert.susan@xtra.co.nz  
Address: 27 Derrett Place, St Martins, Christchurch  
Interests: Agricultural, Rural, Environmental, Social History  
Current Projects: Ph.D.  

Name: Kerryn Pollock  
Qualifications:
M.A.
E-mail:
kerryn.pollock@paradise.net.nz
Address:
3/21 Waripori Street, Berhampore, Wellington
Interests:
Environmental history (plant introductions and treatment, particularly 19th, settler/colonising adaptations to new environment/treatment of natural environment), Wellington heritage.
Current Projects:
Small publication entitled 'Heritage of Health: a brief history of medicine, maternity hospitals and motorways in Te Aro, Wellington' with Natasha Naus; research assistance for Associate Professor Don Garden (University of Melbourne) on historical El Niño weather patterns in N.Z.

Name: Rebecca Priestley
Institutional Affiliation: University of Canterbury
Qualifications:
BSc Hons (first class) in earth sciences, now working on PhD in HPS
E-mail:
rebeccap@paradise.net.nz
Address:
PO Box 7145, Wellington South
Interests:
New Zealand’s nuclear history; Twentieth century New Zealand science and scientists
Current Projects:
PhD thesis on New Zealand’s nuclear history; *Te Ara Encyclopaedia* entry on Charles Cotton and changing ideas of landscape development in NZ
Recent Publications (2004-6):
Other comments:
• Article on Uranium prospecting on New Zealand’s West Coast, 1950s-1970s (first presented at Historical Geographers Conference in Auckland, December 2003) due to be published in *New Zealand Geographer* in 2006.
• *Te Ara* encyclopaedia entry on the Search for Radioactive Minerals in NZ due to go online in 2006.

Name: Francis Lucian Reid
Institutional Affiliation: Department of History and Philosophy of Science, University of Cambridge
Qualifications:
MPhil, MA (Cantab)
E-mail:
Name: Libby Robin

Institutional Affiliation:
CRES, Australian National University

Qualifications:
Ph.D., B.A. (Hons.), BSc., Dip.Ed. (Melb.)

E-mail:
libby.robin@anu.edu.au

Address:
CRES, Building 43, ANU, Canberra 0200, Australia.

Interests:
History of Australian (and comparative settler society) science

Current Projects:
environmental history of Australia, nationalism and science in settler societies

Recent Publications (2004-5):
• (with Tom Griffiths) ‘Environmental History of Australasia’, Environment and History, 10, 4 (December 2004)
• A Change in the Weather: Climate and Culture in Australia, edited with Tim Sherratt and Tom Griffiths), Canberra: NMA, 2005.
• Strata: Deserts, Past, Present and Future, edited with Mandy Martin and Mike Smith, Canberra: Goann; Mandy Martin, 2005.

In Press:

Other comments: Co-ordinator of (Australian) Environmental History Network

Name: Kirstie Ross
**Institutional Affiliation:**
Curator History, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

**Qualifications:**
MA (First Class Honours) in History

**E-mail:**
kirstier@tepapa.govt.nz

**Address:**
Te Papa, P O Box 467, Wellington

**Interests:**
Cultural history of nature especially the relationship between nature, popular culture, and citizenship. Specific interests include the popularisation of botany and natural history in museums, nature study in schools, tourism and outdoor recreation (especially tramping), the creation of parks and gardens, nature and aesthetics

**Current Projects:**
- Preparing a book about nature, popular culture and citizenship 1900-1960 for publication by AUP in its Studies in Cultural and Social History series (working title ‘A Proper Sense of Country’)

**Recent Publications**

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**Name:** Teresa (Tess) Shewry

**Institutional Affiliation:**
Duke University

**Qualification:**
M.A. in English; Bachelor of Arts in English and Japanese (Victoria University, Wellington)

**Email:**
tjs9@duke.edu

**Address:**
The Program in Literature, Box 90670, Duke University, North Carolina 27708.

**Interests:**
- Cultural and literary studies of ecology and the environment.
- Asia-Pacific literature.
- Speculative Literature (science fiction, utopia, dystopia, fantasy, cyberpunk).
- Postcolonial theory.
- Globalization theory.

**Current Research Project:**
Ph.D. Dissertation on “Black Rainbows: Literature and New Ecological Struggles in the Asia-Pacific.”
**Name:** Paul Star  
**Institutional affiliation:** Postdoctoral fellow, History Department, University of Otago  
**Qualifications:** M.A. (Cantab), M.A. Ph.D. (Otago)  
**E-mail:** starmulq@es.co.nz  
**Address:** 246 Harington Point Road, RD2 Dunedin  
**Interests:** New Zealand environmental history, forest history, agricultural history, history of science  
**Current projects:** Pasture development in New Zealand to 1930; 'People and the environment' chapter for the forthcoming *New Oxford History of New Zealand*  
**Recent publications:**  
**ENNZ: Environment and Nature in New Zealand**


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**Name:** Jonathan West  
**Institutional Affiliation:** University of Otago  
**Qualifications:** BA Double Hons English and Political Studies; Master of Arts Political Studies  
**E-mail:** wesjo856@student.otago.ac.nz  
**Address:** 9 Braeview Cres, Maori Hill, Dunedin.  
**Interests:** Academic: Politics, Local History, Environmental stuff. Personal: tramping, sport, cards, music.  
**Current Projects:** Ph.D. – Environmental History of Otago Peninsula.

---

**Name:** Jo Whittle  
**Institutional Affiliation:** Department of History, University of Auckland  
**Qualifications:** BA, MSc (Resource Management)  
**E-mail:** jo.whittle@gmail.com  
**Address:** 12 Terminus Street, Silverstream, Upper Hutt  
**Interests:** Environmental history, historical geography, concepts of landscape, environment and technology, environment and popular culture  
**Current Projects:** Ph.D.: ‘Electric Landscapes: Electricity and Environment in 20th Century New Zealand’

---

**Name:** Jim Williams  
**Institutional Affiliation:** University of Otago  
**Qualifications:** Ph.D.  
**E-mail:** jim.williams@stonebow.otago.ac.nz
Address: 35 Thorn St., Dunedin

Interests: Environmental history (especially pre-contact)

Current Projects: Ancestral land as a motivator for natural resource management

Recent Publications (2004-6):
- 2005a Research Report Freeman, Claire, Cheyne, Christine, Ellery, Norah, Ding, Paula
- The Impact of Rising Property Prices on Coastal Settlement Communities (My contribution was the material addressing impact on Māori coastal communities)

Name: Vaughan Wood
Institutional Affiliation: Geography Department, University of Canterbury
Qualifications: Ph.D.
E-mail: gareth.wood@canterbury.ac.nz
Current Projects: Empires of Grass (Marsden Fund project)

Name: Graeme Wynn
Institutional Affiliation: The University of British Columbia, Department of Geography
Qualifications: Ph.D. (Toronto, 1974)
E-mail: wynn@geog.ubc.ca
Address: Department of Geography, University of British Columbia, 1984 West Mall, Vancouver, V6T 1Z2, Canada.
Interests: Environmental History, Acclimatisation/invasive species, forest history, historical geography
Current Projects:
Recent Publications (2004-6):

- “A Place for Geography?” New Zealand Geographer, (Special IGU Year Issue: Understanding Our Place in the World: New Voices/ New Directions), 60, 1 (April 2004), pp. 2-11
- “‘Shall We Linger along Ambitionless’? Environmental Perspectives on British Columbia” BC Studies Special issue “On the Environment,” 142/143 (Summer/Fall 2004), pp.5-67
- Lost in Translation, or, Adrift in Interdisciplinary Space,” BC Studies Special issue “On the Environment”, 142/143 (Summer/Fall 2004), pp. 287-95
- “Of canoes, and pines, and rock-bound gardens,” Foreword to Claire Campbell, Shaped by the West Wind (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004) (I am General Editor of the Nature/History/Society Series at UBCP in which this volume appears)