Geography in Print: Cultures of Periodical Publishing at the Royal Geographical Society, 1830–1900.

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Abstract

This thesis examines the production and circulation of printed geographical knowledge in the nineteenth century, focusing specifically on the journal of the Royal Geographical Society, established in 1830. Geography's texts have proved fertile ground for studies that have investigated the epistemic and inscriptive practices of authorship, editing, and translation, and how these practices have shaped the circulation of knowledge in print (Keighren, Withers, and Bell, 2015; Mayhew, 2010; Withers and Keighren, 2011). Hitherto, however, only limited attention has been paid to the discipline's principal literary form: the scholarly periodical (Bond, 2017). Informed by work in the history of science, the history of geography, and the geography of the book, this thesis takes the first one-hundred volumes of the society's journal to address this lacuna, revealing how institutional context and printed form mattered in the production and circulation of nineteenth-century geographical knowledge.

By attending to archival records — including personal correspondence, council and committee minutes, accounts books, and published and unpublished journal manuscripts — the thesis charts the journal's nineteenth-century life, reflecting on its importance to the society and the discipline more generally. The thesis reveals the considerable labour, both paid and unpaid, that was required to author, edit, and compile this regular work of geography. As such, the thesis sheds light on the 'invisible hands' that shaped geography's print culture during the century. By elucidating the work of various practitioners in the production of geographical knowledge, the thesis argues that the journal was fundamentally an act of co-production. In so doing, the thesis provides the first account of how a systematic process of peer review developed as a scholarly practice to assess the credibility, topicality, and suitability of geographical writing. Finally, the thesis reflects upon the wider

geographies of the journal; showing the networks through which the volumes were disseminated, it demonstrates the importance of the journal in bringing geography to both popular and academic audiences. In exploring the ways the journal was produced and disseminated, the thesis offers an account of the circulation of scientific knowledge in print; it shows how judgements were made as to the acceptance or rejection of particular forms of knowledge; and it demonstrates how institutional publications were managed by scientific societies. Through its interrogation of the journal's making and mobility, the thesis demonstrates the value and utility of studying geography's culture of periodical print.

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Lastly, to my late-Grandfather, Pete. This thesis is for you.

Declaration of Authorship

I, Benjamin Newman, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented herein is entirely my own and it has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Parts of this thesis are forthcoming in two publications: "Authorising Geographical Knowledge: The Development of Peer Review 1830–*c.*1880" in the *Journal of Historical Geography* and "Worlds into Words — and Back Again" (co-authored with Innes M. Keighren) in *The SAGE Handbook of Historical Geography*.

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Chapter 1

Introduction: Bringing Geography to the Periodical at the Royal Geographical Society

> It would be hard to overestimate the importance of the *Journal* in helping both to popularize geography and to provide data upon which geographers of different disciplines could subsequently and continuously build. The *Journal*, in other words, was a fountain head: a source continually being replenished by the research work of its contributors, and continually feeding new ideas and facts into the stream of geographical development.[1]

Advertising *The Geographical Journal* in the last years of the nineteenth century, the International News Company noted on a flyleaf circular that the journal had "already taken its place as the most popular, as well as the most authoritative, geographical periodical publication in the English language".[2] This was by no means the first time the journal had received such praise. Reviewing the second volume of the Royal Geographical Society's journal, *The Metropolitan Magazine*'s anonymous critic described it as "one of the best [periodicals] we have seen…from any society".[3] "The subjects are excellent", the reviewer declared, the information communicated "of sterling value", and the accompanying maps "perspicuous"; the writer knew of "no society recently established" that promised to be more useful than the Royal Geographical Society and its journal.[4] Praise came, too, from international sources. Reporting on the early numbers he had received, the honorary foreign

[1] Ian Cameron, *To the Farthest Ends of the Earth: The History of the Royal Geographical Society 1830–1930* (London: Macdonald and Jane's, 1980): 220.
[2] The International News Company, "The Geographical Journal: A Monthly Magazine of Travel and Geography," AP 47, RGS-IBG.
[3] Anonymous, "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," *The Metropolitan Magazine: A Monthly Journal of Literature, Science and the Fine Arts* 5, no. 20 (1832): 111.
[4] Anonymous, "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," *The Metropolitan Magazine: A Monthly Journal of Literature, Science and the Fine Arts* 5, no. 20 (1832): 111.

member of the society, Adam Johann von Krusenstern (1770–1846), said the journal was "beyond exception the most valuable publication in Europe relating to geography".[5] Such longstanding (and international) praise owes much to hitherto untold practices of periodical knowledge making and dissemination at the Royal Geographical Society. Published since the society's founding in the mid part of the nineteenth century, the journal represents a record of geography as it was presented by the society.[6] The journal's printed pages, and to some extent the plaudits outlined above, obscure, however, important facets of its production and dissemination. It is with the practices, that shaped the making and circulation of geography in periodical form, that are the central concern of this thesis.

The development of the journal — a principal aim of the society on its founding in 1830 — marked a significant moment in the way geography was communicated to post-Enlightenment readers in Britain and more widely. Whilst other scientific communities had developed a significant catalogue of specialist periodicals, geography remained largely the preserve of the book-length monograph, the atlas, and the geographical grammar.[7] The Paris-based Société de Géographie did publish the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* (1822–1899), but as an English-language disciplinary periodical, the journal was unrivalled in its scope and content. Throughout the nineteenth century, under a number of different title variants — *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* (1830–1880), *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* (1878–1892), and *The Geographical Journal* (1893–date) — the journal routinely published the latest geographical information received by the society. The journal stands, then, as a record of the society — the material embodiment of an institution that governed the publication of geography.

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[5] Adam Johann von Krusenstern to [John Washington], 22 January 1839, CB2/287, RGS-IBG.
[6] For explanation of the society and geography's development in the nineteenth century, see, David R. Stoddart, "The RGS and the 'New Geography': Changing Aims and Changing Roles in Nineteenth Century Science," *The Geographical Journal* 146, no.2 (1980).
[7] Robert Mayhew, "Materialist Hermeneutics, Textuality and the History of Geography: Print Spaces in British Geography, *c.*1500–1900," *Journal of Historical Geography* 33, no.3 (2007).

It is curious that, until recently, scholarly investigation of the society's journal — and of geographical periodicals more generally — has been limited in its scope and ambition.[8] Other sites of geography's textual making and circulation, most notably the publishing house, have been examined for what they reveal about geography's epistemic and material cultures.[9] Recently, however, periodicals have been shown to be useful sources for understanding the communication of geography in the context of Enlightenment Germany.[10] This work has led to calls for (renewed) attention to be given to periodical publications — what Dean Bond has called "periodical geography".[11] This thesis is, then, a response to such calls, situating the periodical in the landscape of nineteenth-century science and geography. In answering this call, and taking the geographical periodical seriously as a scholarly focus, the thesis seeks to bring new perspectives on the production and dissemination of learned and institutional scientific print.

The journal of the society has been the subject of some, albeit limited, scholarly attention. Content analysis of the journal's published material by Dorothy Middleton has illuminated authorial identities and thematic trends in the publication, but this approach says little about how the journal came into being (as a material and epistemic object) or anything of its subsequent circulation and reception.[12] Likewise, details of its form and function have been recorded in official histories of the society, but these are often superficial, functioning only

[8] There are some notable exceptions. See, for example, Charles W. J. Withers, "Towards a History of Geography in the Public Sphere," *History of Science* 36 (1999).
[9] See, in particular, Innes M. Keighren, Charles W. J. Withers, and Bill Bell, *Travels into Print: Exploration, Writing, and Publishing with John Murray, 1773–1859* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2015).
[10] Dean Bond, "Plagiarists, Enthusiasts and Periodical Geography: A.F. Büsching and the Making of Geographical Print Culture in the German Enlightenment, c.1750–1800," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 42, no.1 (2016).
[11] Dean Bond, "Plagiarists, Enthusiasts and Periodical Geography".
[12] Dorothy Middleton, "Guide to the Publications of the Royal Geographical Society 1830–1892," *The Geographical Journal* 144, no.1 (1978). Middleton was a former assistant editor of *The Geographical Journal* and later a vice president of the society.

as a side note of a broader institutional history. As Hugh Robert Mill noted in his centenary study of the society, "if space had permitted", there were numerous interesting incidents to relay:

> the loyalty with which copies were laid before His Majesty…the pride with which a second edition of the earlier issues was called for, the chagrin when the publisher declined to warehouse the accumulating piles of later numbers…the bickerings as to the commission payable to the august publisher, the experiments with an independent editor…and the difficulties as to the distribution to Fellows.[13]

This thesis takes seriously events such as those outlined by Mill, although it attends to them for a different reason than Mill himself would have. These episodes are, here, read for what they reveal about the cultures of periodical geography at the society — they recount the journal's modes of production and its means of dissemination.

Funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council as a Collaborative Doctoral Award, the work presented herein was developed in collaboration with the Royal Geographical Society (with Institute of British Geographers). Therefore, this thesis is the product of sustained examination of archival sources that are stored at the society. The work is primarily underpinned by the society's Journal Manuscript Collection (JMS) — a holding of thousands of original published and unpublished manuscripts with their associated correspondence, referee's reports, and illustrative material. Whilst some of these manuscripts have been subject to attention from archival readers, hitherto, the JMS collection as a whole, has been overlooked for what it reveals about geography's wider disciplinary and institutional print culture. The thesis is also built upon other complimentary sources housed as part of the society's collection, including, official council and committee minutes, the correspondence of relevant actors, and additional records related to the

[13] Hugh Robert Mill, *Record of the Royal Geographical Society, 1830–1930* (London: Royal Geographical Society, 1930), 49–50.

publishing of the journal. Taken together then, attention to these sources allows the thesis to contend, that what might be thought of a "small stories" of geographical print, of publishing a learned and geographical journal, tell us much about the culture of the discipline as a whole — how authority and accuracy were assessed, how relevance and interest were judged, how knowledge was packaged and presented, and how ideas were made to flow between places and among different audiences.[14]

By exploring the journal, my broader aim is to understand processes by which geographical knowledge was made and circulated (or not) in the guise of the periodical. My intention is, in so doing, to make new claims about the nature of geography's making and movement in print. Informed by advances in the geography of the book and the history of science in particular, this thesis positions the society's journal in the wider context of nineteenth-century scientific periodical publishing. The aims of my thesis are, then, as follows. To outline the development of the journal, in order to move beyond Middleton's guide, and develop a deeper understanding of the rationale for its establishment, its changing form across the century, and its content, focus, and intended audience. Another aim is to examine the journal's means of production by paying attention to the institutional policies and procedures that shaped geographical knowledge, and to the persons entrusted with the task of assembling, assessing, revising, presenting, and disseminating that knowledge. In so doing, the thesis seeks to reveal the hitherto unrecognised labours and institutional structures that shaped the production of printed geographical knowledge in the nineteenth century. In asking how the society disseminated its knowledge in periodical form, the thesis reflects more broadly on the consumption of nineteenth-century geography, the means by which different audiences were identified and reached, and the various ends to which geographical knowledge was put in the service of science, commerce, and government. The

[14] Hayden Lorimer, "Telling Small Stories: Spaces of Knowledge and the Practice of Geography," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 28, no.2 (2003).

overall ambition of the thesis is to show that periodicals are an important part of geography's disciplinary history and that in subjecting them to detailed scrutiny we can better understand the culture of periodical publishing and its relationship with geography.

Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 2 positions the thesis in light of the intellectual work that has inspired and shaped it. It demonstrates how work that has considered geography's textual histories has drawn extensively on scholarship from the disciplines of the history of science and book history. These disciplinary areas — each informed by the work of geographers of the book — is shown to have informed this thesis' understanding of the production, circulation, and reception of textual knowledge. Discussion of allied scholars' investigations of the cultural production and social history of lay and learned periodicals, outlines the intellectual and historical significance of this genre of print. Chapter 3 shows how this work — attentive to questions of the making and mobility of knowledge in print — has informed my methodological approach. In order to contextualise properly the journal and provide a basis by which to examine the production and dissemination of periodical geography at the society, Chapter 4 outlines the journal's chronological development. From its origins as *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* to *The Geographical Journal* at the end of the century, the chapter charts the journal's material and epistemic transformation and the rationale for these changes. By providing a detailed account of a subject that has hitherto been fragmentary and interspersed in histories of the society, this thesis presents the first detailed overview of the journal's nineteenth-century life — as such, its contribution is both contextual and historiographical.

Both Chapters 5 and 6 consider the journal's production and its associated labours. The former is concerned with the journal's composition; the practical and administrative work

necessary to transform individual manuscripts into printed journal. In considering the authorship, editing, translation, and compilation of knowledge, this chapter identifies the multiple hands that were required to produce a regular geographical periodical. Chapter 6 is concerned less with the composition of the journal and more with evaluation of individual manuscripts. This chapter details the emergence of peer review as a scholarly practice at the society. In attempting to produce an authoritative, topical, and interesting geographical periodical, the council relied upon a close network of trusted referees to oversee the acceptance or repudiation of manuscripts. In attending to the people and processes involved in the methods of evaluation, the chapter brings the history of geography into conversation with wider discussions about the development of scientific and systematic peer review at other learned societies in the nineteenth century. Having considered the cultural production of the journal, Chapter 7 examines its circulation to diverse reading publics. This chapter provides an opportunity to consider the journal's mobility variously as commercial object, gift, and item of esteem and exchange. In taking seriously the networks through which the journal was (and was not) disseminated, the thesis illuminates the institutional parameters that governed the circulation of geographical knowledge. The chapter also shows how knowledge flowed from the pages of the journal to appear, often in adapted form, in other periodical publications, both scholarly and lay, and hence demonstrates the wider circulation of scientific ideas in the nineteenth century.

Through attention to the production and circulation of the journal — by careful analysis of materials that exist in the archives of the Royal Geographical Society — this thesis advances new perspectives: on the society as a publishing institution; on the people involved in the production of geographical knowledge; on the way in which knowledge was assessed, mediated, and made credible; and on the influence of genre on material and epistemic flows of the journal. In short, what follows is concerned with a particular institutional periodical geography.

Chapter 2

Geography, Scientific Print, and the Making and Dissemination of Knowledge

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Since the late 1980s a transformation has occurred in the way geographers tell and retell the history of their discipline — a transformation influenced, in part, by work in the history of science and cultural studies that has emphasised the importance of constructivist, feminist, and plural approaches to the writing of history.[1] Prior to this transformation, writing in the history of geography was often characterised by uncritical recollections of the discipline's past and the actions and achievements of its 'founding fathers'.[2] For Rose and Driver, "works of the geographical establishment were treated as foundation stones" on which the discipline was built; its historiography was, therefore, often masculine and hagiographic in focus and form.[3] Written in this way, the history of geography was the history of its insiders — those who fitted, in one way or another, into a reassuring narrative of progress and the triumph of exploration and discovery.

Twentieth-century scholars have been criticised for telling a history of geography distorted by presentism and internalism — studies with particular authorial agendas that drew out

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[1] Jan Golinski, *Making Natural Knowledge: Constructivism and the History of Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Golinski uses the term constructivism to point systematically to the role of human beings as social actors in the construction of scientific knowledge.
[2] David N. Livingstone, *The Geographical Tradition: Episodes in the History of a Contested Enterprise* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992).
[3] Felix Driver and Gillian Rose, "Towards New Histories of Geographical Knowledge," in *Nature and Science: Essays in the History of Geographical Knowledge*, eds Felix Driver and Gillian Rose (London: Royal Geographical Society, 1992), 1.

selective histories of the discipline.[4] Presentist histories gave an account of geography based only on its relationship with the present. In short, telling a history of geography was only seen as worthwhile when it drew upon past disciplinary tropes to explain the current state of geography. Richard Hartstone's *The Nature of Geography* (1939), for example, declared the study of geography's past to be essential to understanding the future of the discipline.[5] Margarita Bowen's *Empiricism and Geographical Thought* (1981) had similar intentions to that of Hartstone, her work illustrating a compendium of well-known names' contribution to her own ecological-vision of geography.[6] As Roy Porter notes, while Bowen's intention to construct a more satisfactory history of geography was laudable, her search to find "echoes" or "precursors" that fitted her reformist agenda, resulted in past geographers being "dragooned into modern philosophical camps".[7] Others, too, have been singled out for criticism. Robert E. Dickinson's *The Makers of Modern Geography* (1969), for example, has been criticised for limiting its interrogation to geographers' contribution to regional geography, resulting in past personalities being drawn into the methodological debates of the 1960s.[8] One critic described it as a "superficial catalogue of the work of German and French professors of geography".[9] The implication of these histories is often, then, to "filter out contradictions…dispute, inconsistency or sheer messiness", the result being to present geography as a "unified, coherent intellectual tradition".[10]

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[4] Nick Spedding, "The Geographical Tradition (1992): David Livingstone," in *Key Texts in Human Geography*, eds Paul Hubbard, Rob Kitchin, and Gill Valentine (London: SAGE, 2008).
[5] Richard Hartstone, *The Nature of Geography: A Critical Survey of Current Thought in the Light of the Past* (Lancaster, PA: Association of American Geographers, 1939).
[6] Margarita Bowen, *Empiricism and Geographical Thought: From Francis Bacon to Alexander Von Humboldt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).
[7] Roy Porter, review of *Empiricism and Geographical Thought*: *From Francis Bacon to Alexander Von Humboldt*, by Margarita Bowen, *The British Journal for the History of Science* 16, no.3 (1983): 301–2.
[8] Robert E. Dickinson, *The Makers of Modern Geography* (New York, NY: Fredrick A. Praeger, 1969).
[9] William H. Goetzmann, review of *The Makers of Modern Geography*, by Robert E. Dickinson, *Isis* 63, no.2 (1972) 262–3.
[10] Livingstone, *The Geographical Tradition*, 8.

Critics of presentist histories have called for scholars to take a more 'contextual' approach to telling geography's disciplinary history. This contextual approach, it has been argued, would also address the problem of 'internalism', where disciplinary histories were written paying scant attention to the wider context and intimate relationship between science and social life. In situating science as a 'relativistic cultural product', it was recognised that there was a need to pay attention to "the intellectual and social context within which geographical knowledge was produced".[11] David Livingstone's *The Geographical Tradition* (1992) is the most notable work to articulate these aims, arguing for a distancing between the past and the present and a greater appreciation of the relationship between science and society. Livingstone's call is ultimately for a greater sensitivity to the geographical and historical context in which the production and consumption of geography occurred. In doing so, Livingstone's approach recognises that the discipline can be thought of, in Driver's words, as a "landscape of discontinuity".[12] As Mayhew has summarised:

> A history of geography…should be concerned with the past for its own sake, which in this context must mean the ways in which geography was understood at the time, rather than the ways in which it can be understood in the light of present day practice of the subject.[13]

By conceiving geography as always multiple and messy, shaped by specific contexts, locations, and circumstances, there has been an increasing recognition of the fact that geography did not develop as one coherent discipline informed by a common set of paradigms.[14] Emerging from this contextual historiography has been a greater attention to the located and spatialized nature of geography's history — the so-called 'spatial turn'. That

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[11] Livingstone, *The Geographical Tradition*, 23.
[12] Felix Driver, "Geography's Empire: Histories of Geographical Knowledge," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 10 (1992): 35.
[13] Robert J. Mayhew, "The Effacement of Early Modern Geography (*c.*1600–1850): A Historiographical Essay," *Progress in Human Geography* 25, no.3 (2001): 387.
[14] David N. Livingstone, "In Defence of Situated Messiness: Geographical Knowledge and the History of Science," *Geojournal* 26 (1992): 228–9.

might be thought of as a historiographical approach that pays greater attention to geography's diverse sites and practitioners.[15]

That geographers had paid so little attention to the spatial in their disciplinary history is somewhat ironic given their attentiveness to space in other geographical pursuits.[16] The growing concern with the spaces of science is grounded within a sociological approach that pointed toward the significance of "different social and cultural millieux on the making and marketing of scientific claims".[17] Looking at *where* things happen is crucial in understanding both *how* and *why* they occurred.[18] This approach risks, however, privileging the local circumstances of knowledge making that excluded wider reflections on the larger-scale trajectories of science. As Jim Secord warned in his now seminal address at a joint meeting of American, British, and Canadian historians of science, attention to the local risks scholars making "grand epistemological conquests", when in fact they are only "studying a few practitioners of a relatively esoteric activity, whose wider importance is assumed rather than demonstrated".[19] Various geographical taxonomies have been suggested that, in part, reposition the local as part of a wider set of practices in scientific knowledge making. Recognising the wider significance of socio-spatial micro-geographies, is to acknowledge the impact of science on culture and *vice versa*.

To argue that place matters in the construction of knowledge is also to "insist on the importance of practices and institutions" and to recognise that "discourses always do their

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[15] Diarmid A. Finnegan, "The Spatial Turn: Geographical Approaches in the History of Science," *Journal of the History of Biology* 41 (2008).
[16] David N. Livingstone, "The Spaces of Knowledge: Contributions Towards a Historical Geography of Science," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 13, no. 1 (1995): 5.
[17] Finnegan, "The Spatial Turn," 370.
[18] David N. Livingstone and Charles W. J. Withers, "Thinking Conceptually about Nineteenth-Century Science," in *Geographies of Nineteenth-Century Science*, eds David N. Livingstone and Charles W. J. Withers (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 2011).
[19] James A. Secord, "Knowledge in Transit," *Isis* 95, no.4 (2004): 659.

work in specific social contexts with material consequences; social and cultural relationships structure both reading and writing, experiencing, and seeing".[20] Paying attention to particular sites, venues, or places is central to understanding the production and circulation of knowledge, and in doing so historical geographers and historians of science have rejected a universalist approach to investigating scientific and geographical knowledge making — science is *not* the same everywhere. As Charles Withers notes, it is now "generally recognised that science everywhere bears the imprint of local circumstances".[21] On first inspection, however, sites of science such as the laboratory, museum, botanical garden, or scientific society may appear relatively static and fixed. Yet, as Steven Shapin notes, attention to place is not simply about sites of production but also about the dynamic interplay between those places.[22] In the case of the Enlightenment, for example, debates over 'where' science was produced and consumed led to a suggestion of multiple intellectual enlightenments owing to the "variant geographical expression and nature of this intellectual movement and moment".[23] Likewise, by focusing on the meetings of British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS) between 1831 and 1939 — and that institution's different material and communicative means (the lecture, presidential address, field excursion, and international travel) — Withers suggests that we lose sight of the BAAS as "one thing…[and] in its stead, different practices are revealed in different venues".[24] As such, the institutional space of the BAAS reflects that fact that science and geography are "always likely to be inflicted in one way or another by the places in which it was made, communicated, and received".[25] In sum, attention to the various spaces in which geography

[20] Driver and Rose, "Towards New Histories," 4.
[21] Charles W.J. Withers, *Geography and Science in Britain, 1831–1939: A Study of the British Association for the Advancement of Science* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 4.
[22] Steven Shapin, "Placing the View from Nowhere: Historical and Sociological Problems in the Location of Science," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 23, no.1 (1998).
[23] Charles W. J. Withers, "Place and the "Spatial Turn" in Geography and in History," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 70, no.4 (2009): 655; see also Charles W. J. Withers, *Placing the Enlightenment: Thinking Geographically About the Age of Reason* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 2007).
[24] Withers, *Geography and Science in Britain*, 244.
[25] Withers, *Geography and Science in Britain*, 245.

and science was produced and consumed, the geographical practices that occurred in those spaces, and the intellectual and material artefacts they produced, has been central to writing accounts of disciplinary histories that are attentive to geography's 'small stories'.[26]

Attending to the spaces of geography's production and circulation has been enlivened, in part, by the so-called 'material turn' in geography more generally.[27] The materiality of geography's past intellectual traditions — its tangible manifestations, its 'stuff' — provides an opportunity to consider Shapin's calls for attention to be paid to the interplay between various sites of scientific praxis. In short, the connections between places often have material remnants. This is what Steven Harris refers to as the 'kinematic geography of movement' — tracing the mobility of objects required to undertake or understand science.[28] Taking this seriously, historical geographers have demonstrated how studying objects can reveal otherwise unconsidered geographical practices and cultures. Variously, objects such as lantern slides, maps, and dioramas have been subject to intellectual scrutiny for what they reveal about the wider culture of geography's discursive development.[29] This turn has encouraged scholars to not only focus on abstracted representations of the world, but also the technologies and labours that facilitate their production. Instruments are one such

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[26] Hayden Lorimer, "Telling Small Stories: Spaces of Knowledge and the Practice of Geography," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 28, no.2 (2003); See, for other examples of work that considers the spatiality of geography, Michael Heffernan and Heike Jöns, "Research Travel and Disciplinary Identities in the University of Cambridge, 1885–1955," *British Journal for the History of Science* 46, no.2 (2013); Diarmid A. Finnegan, *Natural History Societies and Civic Culture in Victorian Scotland* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009); Diarmid A. Finnegan, "Finding a Scientific Voice: Performing Science, Space, and Speech in the Nineteenth Century," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 42, no.2 (2017).

[27] This 'turn' has not been without its critics. See, for example, Ben Anderson and John Wylie, "On Geography and Materiality," *Environment and Planning A* 41 (2009).

[28] Steven Harris, "Long Distance Corporations, Big Science, and the Geography of Knowledge," *Configurations* 6 (1998).

[29] Emily Hayes, "Geographical Light: The Magic Lantern, the Reform of the Royal Geographical Society and the Professionalization of Geography c.1885–1894," *Journal of the Historical Geography* 62 (2018); Federico Ferretti, "Pioneers in the History of Cartography: The Geneva Map Collection of Éliseén Reclus and Charles Perron," *Journal of Historical Geography* 43 (2014); Veronica della Dora, "Putting the World in a Box: A Geography of Nineteenth-Century 'Travelling Landscapes'," *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography* 89, no.4 (2007).

example where asking questions of what an object *does* rather than what it *is*, helps historians think through the relationship between object, embodiment, and disciplinary practice. This social constructivist approach necessitates that "scientific facts, and the technological artefacts which produced them should be considered together".[30] It is in a similar vein that geography's printed objects have proved fruitful lines of enquiry — thought of not merely as containers of knowledge but as carefully crafted textual artefacts shaped by various social and scientific processes. The importance of such work to this thesis is that, among much else, it has situated travel guides, books, and periodicals in time and space as part of wider cultures of geographical and scientific knowledge making. Therefore, it is both the spatial and material turns in geography's historiography that inform this thesis.

In investigating the geographies of the Royal Geographical Society's journal from production, through authorship and editing, to its wider circulation, I draw upon work from various disciplines including book history, the history of science, the history of geography, and the geography of the book. This chapter is devoted to summarising these literatures. The chapter presented here is divided into three parts: geography and the book, science and the periodical, and the production of printed knowledge and the institutional governance of knowledge. The rationale for dividing the chapter in this way is to draw attention to the significance of work undertaken by historical geographers on the book, but also to highlight the relative lack of attention paid to the periodical as a form by this scholarly community. I use work by historians of science to contextualise the historical development of periodicals and to develop an understanding of how these sources have been shown to be useful in constructing richer interpretations of the historical evolution of science. Having illustrated the utility of periodicals, I use work from both scholarly communities to demonstrate a

[30] Fraser MacDonald and Charles W. J. Withers, "Geography, Technology and Instruments of Exploration," in *Geography, Technology and Instruments of Exploration*, eds Fraser MacDonald and Charles W. J. Withers (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 4.

shared concern for the making of scientific knowledge in particular institutional spaces — namely other learned societies and publishing houses — and the impact of these actors on the circulation of knowledge. In what follows, I outline how scholars have considered cultural production and dissemination of knowledge in various printed forms and in particular spaces of the publishing trade.

The first part of this chapter demonstrates the various ways historical geographers have turned to the book to extend arguments about the making and circulation of geographical knowledge in particular temporal and spatial contexts. The work drawn upon here exemplifies the argument that geography's printed words have "much to tell us about our own disciplinary history and practice".[31] This part of the chapter draws upon literatures that have emphasised the role of the spatial in understanding the production and consumption of geographical texts and shows that geographical knowledge was part of a complex assemblage that involved the mediation, writing, and reading of geography and geographical science differently at different times, in different places, and by different people.[32]

The second section of this chapter turns its attention to the periodical as a specific form of geographical print and shows how historians of the discipline might usefully draw conclusions about geography's contested practices of knowledge making, authorisation, dissemination, and consumption from the interrogation of these texts and their associated archives. In doing so, I suggest ways to move beyond historiographical approaches that have taken periodicals as an unproblematic record of the discipline's history.[33] In examining the specific ways periodicals differ from printed books, I show how their critical appraisal

[31] Innes M. Keighren, "Geography of the Book: Review and Prospect," *Geography Compass* 7, no.11 (2013): 752.
[32] Felix Driver, "New Perspectives on the History and Philosophy of Geography," *Progress in Human* Geography 18, no.1 (1994).
[33] Michael Pacione, *Scottish Geography: A Historiography* (Perth: The Royal Scottish Geographical Society, 2014).

can shed new light on the production of geographical knowledge and thereby enrich the geography of the book as a sub-disciplinary specialism. In order to place my study of the journal of the Royal Geographical Society into its wider intellectual context, I examine, here, the ways book historians, historians of science, and historians of knowledge have used and understood periodicals.

In the third part of this chapter I show how questions concerning the authorisation of knowledge have become a particular focus for interdisciplinary scholarship on the periodical. Whilst historical geographers have considered the epistemic conditions that authorised knowledge in particular contexts, the more formal practices by which geographical knowledge was warranted are underexplored.[34] This fact, in part, reflects the relative lack of engagement with the periodical as a source of geographical interest and is curious given the detailed attention that has been paid elsewhere to the practices of editing employed by publishing houses in the making of nineteenth-century books. In this section of the chapter I show how investigations of peer review, particularly by historians of science, have exposed cultures of authorisation and evaluation in scientific and geographical print.

Situating Geographical Knowledge in the Interdisciplinary Geography of the Book

In recent decades, geographer's investigations of books — conceptualising them as objects that carry particular meanings and authorities — have developed extensively. These developments have been informed by advances in other disciplines, most notably the

[34] Charles W. J. Withers and Innes M. Keighren, "Travels into Print: Authoring, Editing and Narratives of Travel and Exploration, c.1815–c.1857," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 36, no.4 (2011); Ian S. MacLaren "From Exploration to Publication: The Evolution of a Nineteenth-Century Arctic Narrative," *Arctic: Journal of the Arctic Institute of North America* 47, no.1 (1994); David Finklestein, *House of Blackwood: Author-Publisher Relations in the Victorian Era.* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002).

history of the book and the history of science. By showing space and place to be important in understanding the production, consumption, and circulation of printed texts, geographers have advanced a sub-disciplinary focus referred to as the geography of the book. Whilst geographers can claim to have articulated their research with a specific geographical and spatial language, other disciplines have maintained a conscious awareness of, if not direct focus on, the spatial characteristics of books. That is to say that the spatial investigation of print long predates the development of the geography of the book as a special focus — "the geography of the book is as old as the history of the book", as Ogborn and Withers have noted.[35] The foundations of this claim lie largely in the work of book historians in the 1950s, who sought to quantify and spatially locate the mechanical elements involved in the production of print, such as printing presses and paper mills.[36] Over time, this quantitative approach was criticised for the way it side-lined the influence of social actors in books' production and circulation. Adrian Johns, for example, argued that positioning "the author, publisher, and reader" as part of the wider geographies of the book, demonstrated the utility of geography as a theoretical tool.[37] Exploring the actions of particular groups of people, in particular locations, is seen as central to a richer understanding of a book's history. Work considering these spaces of production and consumption by book historians has highlighted the shared geographical sensibilities that have come to inform scholarship on the book in a range of fields.[38] Geographically informed scholarship on the book is, in this sense, a longstanding scholarly focus.[39]

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[35] Miles Ogborn and Charles W. J. Withers, "Introduction: Book Geography: Book History," in *Geographies of the Book,* eds. Miles Ogborn and Charles W.J. Withers (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 1.
[36] See, for example, Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1992); critiques and advancements of this work have been outlined in Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist, and Eleanor F. Shevlin, *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies After Elizabeth L. Eisenstein* (Amherst, M.A.: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007).
[37] Keighren, "Review and Prospect," 746.
[38] James Ryan, "History and Philosophy of Geography: Bringing Geography to the Book, 2000–2001," *Progress in Human Geography* 27, no.2 (2003).
[39] Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992). See also, Keighren, "Review and Prospect".

Underpinned by work in various fields, explicit attentiveness by geographers to the geography of the book has, perhaps most importantly, positioned these studies as part of transdisciplinary concerns.[40] By accepting that books refuse to be "contained within the confines of a single discipline when treated as objects of study", scholars have produced numerous works that critically investigate the book from its production through to its reception and afterlife.[41] This scholarship has been shown to contribute to two distinct strands of the geography of the book. Firstly, a geography *of* books (concerned with *where* books are produced, distributed to, and consumed in) and, secondly, an awareness of geography *in* books (in which geographical themes are the subject matter of the texts).[42] Much of the work that has taken geography's printed texts as objects of intellectual scrutiny has focused exclusively on the book rather than print more generally. The epistemic concerns of these studies, the questions they ask of books, and the approaches taken in these investigations are, however, worthy of further attention here in order to show how a geography of periodicals is informed by the work that geographers have undertaken thus far on the printed book. While there have been many thematic lines of enquiry and methodological innovations brought about by geographers of the book, as this thesis is explicitly focused on the periodical and its relationship with development of geography and its associated textual practices, I limit my summary of the extant literature to those scholars dealing specifically with these themes.[43]

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[40] Withers and Keighren, "Travels into Print".
[41] Robert Darnton, "What is the History of Books?," *Daedalus* 111, no3. (1982): 81.
[42] Keighren, "Review and Prospect".
[43] See, for example, on print culture and production in empire, Miles Ogborn, "The Amusements of Posterity: Print Against Empire in Late Eighteenth-Century Bengal," in *Geographies of the Book,* eds. Miles Ogborn and Charles W. J. Withers (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010); for geographical methods as innovation see, Fiona A. Black, Bertrum H. MacDonald and J. Malcolm W. Black, "Geographic Information Systems: A New Research Method for Book History," *Book History* 1, no.1 (1998); for examples of the diverse range of sources used by historical geographers of the book see, Heather Winlow, "Anthropometric Cartography: Constructing Scottish Racial Identity in the Early Twentieth Century," *Journal of Historical Geography* 27, no.4 (2001); Miles Ogborn, *Indian Ink: Script and Print in the Making of the English East India Company* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press,

Historical geographers have examined the construction of knowledge in the printed book at varying scales. Scholars have, for example, drawn upon the work of literary theorists to argue for the significance of paratextual devices in the construction of geography in print. Coined by the French literary theorist Gérard Genette, 'paratext' describe the textual conventions and components that frame a printed book — the author's name, title, contents page, foreword, or dust jacket for example.[44] The appearance of one or all of these devices is important, Genette argues, because their appearance and distribution actively shapes the consumption and reception of text. In Genette's (translated) words, these devices "surround and extend" the main narrative of a book in order to "present it".[45] Donald McKenzie has also written about the importance of examining the sociology of texts. In his study of William Congreve's three-volume *Works*, McKenzie demonstrates how printers and publishers utilised "varied typefaces and printed ornaments" in the 1710 edition of that book to overcome earlier critiques of the work.[46] McKenzie's analysis exemplifies the fact that the physical form of the book and the space of the page are central to the printed work's expressive meaning. Taking Genette's and McKenzie's intellectual framework as a starting point, Robert Mayhew has demonstrated that a history of geography can be told through close attention to the printed page.[47] His approach represents a fusion of sociology, literary studies, and geography that is attentive to both spatiality and textuality.

2007); Rachel Hunt, "Books, Bothies and Thinking in Place : A New Contribution to Geographies of the Book," *cultural geographies* 24, no.4 (2017).

[44] Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation,* trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

[45] Genette, *Paratexts*, 1.

[46] Robert J. Mayhew, "Materialist Hermeneutics, Textuality and the History of Geography: Print Spaces in British Geography, *c.* 1500–1900," *Journal of Historical Geography* 33, no. 3 (2007): 470.

[47] Donald F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

By focusing on a variety of geographical texts — from Peter Heylyn's *Microcosmos* (1621), to William Guthrie's *Geographical Grammar* (1770), and James Bell's *System of Geography* (1852) — Mayhew demonstrates how the physical arrangement of works of geography changed over time. For example, excessive prefaces, elaborate dedications, and polemic praise of the author gradually began to disappear from such works as conventions of the genre shifted. As Genette has noted, "the ways and means of paratext change continually, depending on period, culture, genre, author, work, and edition".[48] Through attention to the organisation of the printed page, then, Mayhew argues that works of geography began to follow a common structure. As he notes:

> genres are forged where a certain commonality of structure and mood emerges between a significant group of texts, and where those texts start to show a self-consciousness about their interconnectedness. The shared print space of early modern geography books was a key part to their claim to be embarked on the same project of earth description.[49]

The shared space of print that Mayhew identifies, in which printed works of geography are involved in dialogue with one another, is characteristic of broader cultures of geography and science. In relation to studying the journal, Mayhew's attention to paratextual devices raises various interesting lines of enquiry. How, for example, was the society's journal involved in dialogue with other learned publications? How was its form shaped by other scientific journals? Did any commonalities of structure exist between geographical journals? The reflection on the journal's historical development in Chapter 4 shows the journal to be part of wider textual networks and inherently produced by the scientific culture of which it was part. This thesis is fundamentally concerned with contributing to our understanding of geography's 'commonality of structure' in its printed publications and particularly its

[48] Genette, *Paratexts*, 3.
[49] Mayhew, "Materialist Hermeneutics," 479.

scholarly journals. In sum, Mayhew's work directs attention to small details of printed sources in order to tell wider textual histories of geography.

Geography's textual history has also been investigated through close attention to the local circumstances of its production and reception. This work has generally illustrated the close relationship between the practices of a text's production and its subsequent readership and reception. Like much scholarship in the geography of the book, these geographical studies of production, circulation, reading, and reception take inspiration from work in other disciplines.[50] Historians of science have acknowledged the connection between local circumstances and practices of reading.[51] James Secord, for example, was among the first scholars to explicitly describe the *geography* of reading in his examination of the controversial Victorian treatise on species transmutation, *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (1844).[52] Here, intellectual history is considered through the material artefacts that embody knowledge and the situated practice of reading. As such, Secord's work on *Vestiges* positions discussions on the nature of nineteenth-century life within broader questions about the "industrialization of communication and the transformation of reading audiences".[53]

Secord's investigation is, in part, a critique of the localist turn in the history of science and shows that texts were understood differently both *within* and *between* cities. This position acknowledges that a text's meaning is formed as part of "a dynamic relationship with the reader's expectations, projections, conclusions, judgements, and assumptions" whilst still

[50] For summary of work on the geographies of circulation and reception see, Innes M. Keighren, "Circulating Seditious Knowledge: The 'Daring Absurdities, Studied Misrepresentations, and Abominable Falsehoods' of William Macintosh," in *Mobilities of Knowledge*, eds. Heike Jöns, Peter Meusburger, and Michael Heffernan (Cham: Springer, 2017).
[51] Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 385.
[52] James A. Secord, *Victorian Sensation: The Extraordinary Publication, Reception and Secret Authorship of* Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2000).
[53] Secord, *Victorian Sensation*, 4; see, also, Secord, "Knowledge in Transit."

allowing for an awareness of individual reading practices at different scales.[54] In this sense, remaining attentive to the local and national agency of books is important to their investigation; "it is not enough simply to show that things and people locally had connections with things and people more distant without demonstrating how both shaped, and were shaped, by others".[55] As Ryan summarises, geographers should be "especially alive to the ways in which Secord maps the geography of a text, charting its publication, circulation and consumption by a range of actors occupying an array of different physical and cultural locations".[56] It is in this vein that Innes Keighren has illustrated how the reading and reception of Ellen Semple's *Influences of Geographical Environment* (1911) was contingent on its spatial and temporal setting.[57] In practical terms, Ogborn and Withers suggest that printed texts' "space in history should be understood both in terms of their geographical distribution (how far flung they were, and who they were flung to?) and the local conditions of their production, movement and consumption".[58] This understanding is as much a question of methodological approach to the histories and geographies of books as it is a conceptual one; as Sher notes, "book history must be viewed through a wide geographical lens".[59]

An attentiveness to the spatial has also proved important in investigations of authorship that have attempted to discuss the production of geographical knowledge in print — as is detailed later, much of this work has considered authorship as a process that ensured knowledge appeared credible to readers. Authoring geographical knowledge is a role that,

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[54] Stanley Fish, *Is there a Text in this Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1980), 2.
[55] Charles W. J. Withers, "Afterword: Connections, Institutions, Languages," in *Spaces of Global Knowledge: Exhibition, Encounter and Exchange in an Age of Empire*, eds. Diarmid A. Finnegan and Jonathan Jeffrey Wright (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 248.
[56] Ryan, "History and Philosophy of Geography," 195.
[57] Innes M. Keighren, *Bringing Geography to Book: Ellen Semple and the Reception of Geographic Knowledge* (London: IB Tauris, 2010).
[58] Ogborn and Withers, "Introduction," 9.
[59] Richard B. Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book: Scottish Authors and their Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland and America* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 9.

over time, has been performed by various individuals and groups in order to fulfil varied objectives and functions. The identities of geographical and scientific writers have been shown to be mutable and multiple.[60] Investigations of authorial practice and authors' relationship with societies, publishers, and printers have helped to contextualise the landscape of print in the nineteenth century.[61] In Charles Withers detailed analysis of Mungo Park's African travel narratives, the production of geographical knowledge in print has been shown to be a "matter of social interactions in and across space and in place".[62] As Withers notes, in the case of Mungo Park, his publications — *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa* (1805) and *Journal of a Mission in the Interior Districts of Africa* (published posthumously in 1815) — were each carefully shaped by various hands.[63] They were, in this sense, objects emerging from an act of co-production. For Withers, production is best conceptualised not as an event, but rather a "process distributed across space and different persons".[64] This process of production, Withers argues, is intimately bound up with practices of reading, reviewing, and reception — where a book was produced, and by whom it was made, matters to how and where it was subsequently read and how it was received. To consider only questions of production is to fail to demonstrate that books have lives after their production.[65] In this way, as Keighren argues, "any attempts to reconstruct the reception of a scientific text is also an attempt to reconstruct its various audiences".[66] Understanding the book lies, then, not simply in the understanding of particular local contexts in which texts were written, but in understanding the "dynamic interplay of authors, publishers and

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[60] Ann Blair, "An Early Modernist's Perspective," *Isis* 95, no. 3 (2004); Johns, *Nature of the Book*.
[61] Aileen Fyfe, "Conscientious Workmen or Booksellers' Hacks? The Professional Identities of Science Writers in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Isis* 96, no.2 (2005).
[62] Charles W. J. Withers, "Geography, Enlightenment and the Book: Authorship and Audience in Mungo Park's African Texts," in *Geographies of the Book,* eds. Miles Ogborn and Charles W. J. Withers (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 194.
[63] Withers, "Geography, Enlightenment and the Book," 213.
[64] Withers, "Geography, Enlightenment and the Book," 219.
[65] Thomas Adams and Nicolas Barker, "A New Model for the History of the Book," in *A Potencie of Life: Books in Society: The Clark Lectures 1986–1987*, ed. Nicolas Barker (London: The British Library, 1993).
[66] Keighren, *Bringing Geography to Book*.

other members of the book trade in a variety of locations".[67] Plural and discursive readings of a text then, are a product of both their geographies of production and circulation.

Like much scholarship in the geography of the book, geographical studies of circulation, reading, and reception take inspiration from work in other disciplines.[68] Concerns with the spatiality of reading are longstanding in book history.[69] As Johns notes, attention to the local circumstances of reading have been part of situating the practice of reading in place.[70] In book historians' conceptualisation of reading as an embodied act that takes place in time and space, a greater understanding of the impact of reading and geography has been realised. Similar ground has been explored by Edward Said, who suggests that in recognising that the mobility of knowledge is a central part of cultural and intellectual life, scholars need to question "whether by virtue of having moved from one place to another an idea or theory gains or loses strength, and whether a theory in one period or national culture becomes altogether different for another period or situation…such movement to a new environment is never unimpeded".[71]

David Livingstone has proposed a four-fold typology by which the geography of reading can be understood.[72] Whilst reading is not a central concern of the thesis, two of Livingstone's typologies are worthy of further attention here for what they have to say about the social construction of knowledge in print. Borrowing from Hans-Georg Gadamer's concept of 'Fusion of Horizons', Livingstone denotes 'Sites of Textual Hybridity' to be

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[67] Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book,* 9.
[68] For summary of work on the geographies of circulation and reception see, Innes M. Keighren, "Circulating Seditious Knowledge".
[69] Keighren, "Review and Prospect," 751.
[70] Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 385.
[71] Edward W. Said, "Travelling Theory," in *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983),157.
[72] David N. Livingstone, "Science, Text and Space: Thoughts on the Geography of Reading," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 30, no.4 (2005).

moments when the writer and reader come together to make meaning: "The meaning that any new work has for an individual reader is shaped by the other texts and theories and practice which they have engaged. Meaning bleeds, as it were, from one text to another".[73] Here, Livingstone is drawing upon the work of Gillian Beer on the reading of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859) and the miscegenation of texts: "books do not stay inside their covers. Once in the head they mingle. The miscegenation of texts is a powerful and uncontrollable force".[74] As I demonstrate in Chapter 6, it is exactly the miscegenation of texts that editors of the journal sought to control through the privileging and exclusion of particular citations. What Livingstone calls a 'Cartography of Textual Reception', is evidenced in the writing of Nicolaas Rupke on the various local receptions of Alexander Von Humboldt's *Essai Politique* (1825). Since reviewing culture is key in the 'stage-managing' of texts, we might conceptualise 'Cartographies of Textual Reception' as "the constitutive significance of place in the production of various meanings that are attached to even a single work".[75] For Livingstone, "the spaces of textual encounter, then, turn out to be of critical significance in the delineating cartographies of reception. Where texts are read — locally, regionally or nationally — matters a good deal in the circulation of knowledge".[76]

What the preceding review shows is that geographical knowledge in print is fluid. As such, this finding offers a counterpoint to Bruno Latour's concept of the 'immutable and combinable mobile' by demonstrating that malleability of knowledge is part of (and necessary for) its socio-spatial mobility.[77] Latour's argument was, in part, for the possibility

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[73] Livingstone, "Science, Text and Space," 393.
[74] Gillian Beer, "Darwin's Reading and the Fictions of Development," in *The Darwinian Heritage*, ed. David Kohn (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), 548.
[75] Nicolaas A. Rupke, "A Geography of Enlightenment the Critical Reception of Alexander Von Humboldt's Mexico Work," in *Geographies and Enlightenment*, eds. David N. Livingstone and Charles W. J. Withers (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 336.
[76] David N. Livingstone, "Science, Religion and the Geography of Reading: Sir William Whitla and the Editorial Staging of Isaac Newton's Writings on Biblical Prophecy," *The British Journal for the History of Science* 36, no.1 (2003), 30.
[77] Bruno Latour, *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers through Society* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 227.

of "translation without corruption", where abstracted representations that appeared in print remained fixed and static.[78] Books, maps, and periodicals are, however, arguably better conceptualised as "fluid objects" rather than the fixed ones imagined by Latour.[79] In Chapter 7, the epistemic mobility and malleability of print is shown to be fundamental in the wider circulation of geography. Other important studies have shaped our understanding of geographical print as something spatially and temporally mutable — not least work on the mediation and editing of travel narratives.[80] The practice of editing is examined later in this chapter so as to make links between work of geographers of the book and those historians of science who have examined the same practices in the context of the periodical press.

Work in the geography of the book and contingent disciplines has shaped my investigation of the Royal Geographical Society's journal. Whilst some of the methodological frameworks employed in this literature — such as close readings of marginalia and paratextual devices — are not central to this thesis, the deeper understandings of geography's print culture are. Understandings of this culture matter in both a literal and epistemic sense — geography is both in books as well as about books. Geographical and scientific texts are products of socio-material engagement with the world; engagement evident in the different geographies of production, editing, circulation, reading, and reception. Whilst this thesis does not give equal weighting to each of these thematic lines of enquiry, it does aim to maintain a conscious awareness of the interplay between scales and sites involved in the acts of production, circulation, and reception. As we see in what

[78] Bruno Latour, "Visualization and Cognition: Drawing Things Together," in *Knowledge and Society: Vol. 6. Studies in the Sociology of Culture Past and Present*, ed. Kuklick, H (Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 1986), 8.
[79] John Law, "Objects and Space," *Theory, Culture and Society* 19, no.5–6 (2002): 100.
[80] See for the most detailed example, Innes M. Keighren, Charles W. J. Withers, and Bill Bell, *Travels into Print: Exploration, Writing, and Publishing with John Murray, 1773–1859* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

follows, the periodical offers an important opportunity to consider the cultures of consuming and producing textual geography that goes beyond existing attention to the printed book.

Geography, Science, and the Periodical

The Rise of Periodicals

The emergence and rise of the periodical as a distinctive form of print can be thought of as having two discrete historical periods: first, the practical rise of the periodical in conjunction with socio–technical advancements of the nineteenth century, and the more recent rise of scholars considering the periodical as a medium for understanding the engagement of both popular and learned communities with science in particular spatial and temporal contexts.[81] With regard to the former, by the nineteenth century, periodicals had, to borrow from Lee Erickson's phrase, become the "dominant publishing format".[82] The periodical — and one of its inherent characteristics, periodicity — has a history that predates its nineteenth-century apotheosis. The concept of printing relatively short, regular, and sequential issues of publications dates from the early-seventeenth century.[83] The periodical form was, however, beset by concerns over validity and accuracy. Periodical publications in the early-modern period — when the print landscape was dominated by newspapers — were notorious for misrepresenting information and being unfaithful on their promises of regularity and consistency. Only when periodicals later became closely associated with the

[81] Sean Latham and Robert Scholes, "The Rise of Periodical Studies," *PLMA* 121, no.2 (2006).
[82] Lee Erickson, *The Economy of Literary Form: English Literature and the Industrialisation of Publishing, 1800–1850* (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press, 1996), 7.
[83] Adrian Johns, "Miscellaneous Methods: Authors, Societies and Journals in Early Modern England," *British Journal for the History of Science* 33, no.1 (2000).

business of learned societies and institutions did they come to represent a different set of ideals.

Language also failed to keep pace with the socio-technical advances of printing. Prior to the eighteenth century, the term 'journal' had been used to describe unpublished ships' logs, and 'periodical' was an adjective, referring to the temporal patterns of planets or the progression of fevers, for example. Language that made specific reference to the temporality of print, such as 'Weeklies' and 'Monthlies', were also developed in the nineteenth century. While words such as 'Miscellanies', 'Gazettes', 'Pamphlets', and 'Tracts' all existed, it was not until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that language could accurately (and consistently) describe regular printed material. Regardless of their linguistic complications, the periodical emerged as a hybrid of the book and the newspaper in the seventeenth century. It is curious, then, that despite the prevalence of periodical print in the nineteenth century, this genre has received comparatively little attention from historical geographers. In what follows, I outline the studies of historical geographers that have engaged with the periodical as a source through which to examine the discipline's history. I turn, thereafter, to consider the work of historians of the book and science, to emphasize how the nature of the periodical makes it a rich source to uncover details of geography's pasts.

A Periodical Geography

Unlike work by historians of science, only a few studies by geographers have begun to explore the relationship between geography's past intellectual traditions and the periodical. Recently, Dean Bond has suggested that geographers would do well to pay greater attention to what he terms 'periodical geography'. This is a call to reflect upon the successful work by scholars in allied disciplines and consider how geography's textual construction,

circulation, and reception was made in and through periodicals.[84] Bond's recent work attends to the periodical through a combination of published material and unpublished archival sources, giving a deeper critical account of periodical geography in the context of *Aufklärungsgeographie* (German Enlightenment geography). To demonstrate the profitability of historical geographers using periodicals as a source material, he uses one particular Berlin-published title — *Wöchentliche Nachrichten von neuen Landcharten und geographischen, statistischen und historischen Büchern und Schriften* — to shed light on the practical making of geographical print in this form. Bond argues that the periodical's definitive characteristics "transformed the character of geographical print culture in the later 18th century".[85] Its regularity and relatively low price enabled geographical debate and criticism to be part of public scientific discourse. It is this form, Bond argues, that allowed the journal's editor, Anton Friedrich Büsching, to reshape the moral economy of knowledge in the Enlightenment and, as such, his work speaks directly to scholars that have considered issues of trust, credibility, and authority in geography's other written forms.

Despite the new calls for sustained attention to 'periodical geography', this form has received *some* attention from geographers in recent decades. Charles Withers, for example, has highlighted the significance of periodicals as a source that provides an opportunity to examine the creation of learned publics during the Enlightenment.[86] With a focus on the history of geography in the public sphere in the period before the founding of formal education establishments and institutional bodies such as the Royal Geographical Society, Withers uses the *Edinburgh Journal of Natural History and Geographical Science* to demonstrate how periodical print shaped certain Scottish communities' engagement with geography.

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[84] Dean Bond, "Plagiarists, Enthusiasts and Periodical Geography: A.F. Büsching and the Making of Geographical Print Culture in the German Enlightenment, c.1750–1800," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 42, no.1 (2016).
[85] Bond, "Plagiarists, Enthusiasts and Periodical Geography," 66.
[86] Charles W. J. Withers, "Towards a Historical of Geography in the Public Sphere," *History of Science* 36 (1999).

Withers' use of the periodical demonstrates the local production of print and its interplay with geographically dispersed scientific communities. Indeed, as he summarises:

> In the *Edinburgh journal*, we see evidence of trained scientific men in Edinburgh and further afield seeking to promote geography as a form of popular public knowledge in periodical journal form rather than through lecture, public demonstration, or private class…It was locally situated but bound up with the national and international circulation of knowledge about geography and with the institutions directing that knowledge in Paris, Berlin and in London. The editors also used it to shape, almost actively to constitute, public opinion about the sites in which knowledge took place and about the relationships between the academic spaces for the promotion of science and those of its public consumption and negotiation.[87]

Withers' reading of the periodical situates this genre of print as central to the formation of geography in the public sphere during the long eighteenth century. In positioning the *Edinburgh Journal* in reading communities of the Enlightenment, his evidence is largely drawn from published communications and the structural composition of the journal itself. As such, Withers' study draws only on geography that became material in print and not, as he has done in later work, on the unwritten mediation of and curatorial decisions over texts before their publication in print.

Such critique might also be levelled at Michael Pacione's attempts to write a "historiography of Scottish Geography based on a comprehensive content analysis of the *Scottish Geographical Magazine/Journal* between 1883 and 2012".[88] Pacione's suggestion that geography's historiography might be usefully conceptualised as a process of examining the history of institutions, writing biographies of distinguished geographers, and consideration of the development of seminal geographical ideas, gives little attention to calls for contextual perspectives in the history of geography.[89] Indeed in reducing the *Scottish Geographical*

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87 Withers, "Towards a Historical Geography," 67.
88 Pacione, *Scottish Geography,* v.
89 See, for example, Livingstone, *The Geographical Tradition*; Trevor J. Barnes and Michael Curry, "Towards a Contextualist Approach to Geographical Knowledge," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 8 (1983).

Magazine/Journal to a quantitative database of authors, subjects, and institutional affiliations, Pacione neglects the fact that the history of geography has always been contested and negotiated.[90] The construction of the journal itself is marginalised as a focus in Pacione's account and, therefore, the work of editors, authors, compilers, and compositors (among others) is written out of the journal's history. In this approach, only what appears in print is worthy of attention.

Periodicals have also been the source of inspiration for other work in the discipline. With reference to four nineteenth-century periodicals, Federico Ferretti has, for example, illustrated the importance of the periodical press to the anarchist geographer Pytor Kropotkin.[91] The periodical press, Ferretti shows, was important to Kropotkin for three reasons: it generated him an income; it allowed him to engage in political and geographical debates; and, also, it was a platform to disseminate his anarchist values to a wider audience. The connections and friendships Kropotkin made with periodical editors such as John Scott Keltie, are shown to have intimately shaped his publishing practice, and have provided an opportunity to publish his views without major constraints. Ferretti's work is important for what it illustrates about the 'sociability' of publishing — the personal connections, that in this case, gave Kropotkin the opportunity to disseminate his anarchist thought. Print is also shown to construct particular social spaces in Veronica della Dora's work on educational cruises organised by the French scientific periodical *Revue Générale des Sciences Pures et Appliquées* between 1897 and 1914. For della Dora, "the space of the ship was simply a continuation of the pages of the periodical — a form and space for learning".[92] Her work points to the interplay between print and other spaces of geographical and scientific inquiry.

[90] Livingstone, "In Defence of Situated Messiness".
[91] Federico Ferretti, "Publishing Anarchism: Pytor Kropotkin and British Print Cultures, 1876–1917," *Journal of Historical Geography* 57 (2017).
[92] Veronica della Dora, "Making Mobile Knowledges: The Educational Cruises of the *Revue Générale des Sciences Pures et Appliquées*, 1897–1914," *Isis* 101, no.3 (2010): 476.

These studies situate the periodical as central to the formation and engagement with geographical science throughout the nineteenth century.

Geographical themes have also been investigated through detailed analysis of other periodical publications. Caroline Bressey has, for example, provided an account of the Quaker activist Catherine Impey and her radical periodical *Anti-Caste*. Like this thesis, Bressey investigates the "varied and multiple networks activated in the paper's production, distribution and consumption" demonstrating that *Anti-Caste* forged a textual community that "produced new networks of solidarity and political engagement" cut across regional, cultural, and racial boundaries.[93] The study draws out wider understandings of racialised power and oppression in the nineteenth century. In turn, it is an example of the "extent to which seemingly small and marginal papers influenced discourses within broader, more popular, public spheres in Britain".[94] Elsewhere, military geographies and cartographic concerns are present in discussions of how maps of the Seven Years' War featured in *The Gentleman's Magazine*.[95] Likewise, the communications of German soldiers in Colonial India through periodical publications have been examined and shown the periodical to be an important medium to disseminate information on military and political developments.[96] Such work sits neatly alongside Miles Ogborn's examination of manuscript culture in British-controlled Bengal, showing this form of print to be a space for critiques of empire to be made and circulate.[97] Beyond work in the history of geography and history of science then, periodicals have shown their value as important sources in various geographical endeavours.

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[93] Caroline Bressey, *Empire, Race and the Politics of Anti-Caste* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 20; 257.
[94] Bressey, *Empire, Race and the Politics*, 24.
[95] Scott Lehman, "Mapping Havana in *The Gentlemen's Magazine*, 1740–1762," in *Early American Cartographies*, ed. Martin Brückner (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2011).
[96] Chen Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016). See specifically chapter 2 "Reporting India".
[97] Miles Ogborn, "The Amusements of Posterity".

Geographical periodicals have also attracted the attention of scholars outside the disciplinary confines of historical geography. Megan Barford's investigation of the *Nautical Magazine* demonstrates that the state (the Hydrographic Office) recognised the potential value of periodicals in the collection, mediation, and dissemination of nautical science in the first half of the nineteenth century but also in the justification of their own work as a governmental body. Importantly for historians of geography, this work shows those at the heart of the Royal Geographical Society, such as Francis Beaufort, making contributions to other disciplinary periodicals in the same period. Indeed, as a publication that embodied the work of a state institution, Barford argues that "a certain image of public participation for the public good was created (through the utilization of privileged networks), managed (through making content acceptable), maintained (through negotiating the propriety of service contributions), and underwritten (through Admiralty subsidy) by the state".[98] Barford's work makes a critical contribution to considering how institutions upheld their own status and rationale through careful management of periodical publications.

What is demonstrated above is the value of considering the history of geography through its periodical publications and through the periodicals in which geographical ideas and knowledge were communicated. Whilst the quantity of work is as yet relatively slim, work such as that by Bond, and his calls for a 'periodical geography', should encourage scholars to take seriously the periodical as a source. In what follows, I consider the much larger corpus of work developed by historians of science and allied scholars to evidence the particular value of periodical print as a source in the investigation of communities of science.

[98] Megan Barford, "Fugitive Hydrography: *The Nautical Magazine* and the Hydrographic Office of the Admiralty, c.1832–1850," *International Journal of Maritime History* 27, no.2 (2015): 226.

History of Science and Periodical Print

Since the turn of the millennium a number of large-scale research projects undertaken by historians of science (e.g., SciPer 1999–2007 and Publishing the *Philosophical Transactions* 2013–2017) have worked to redefine scholarly approaches to the genre. Study of the relationship between science and the periodical press is, however, a much longer-standing scholarly focus. Alvar Ellegård's *Darwin and the General Reader* (1958) is, for example, considered one of the first studies to take seriously the link between periodicals and science.[99] With a focus on the audiences for Darwin's work, Ellegård's argument rejects positivist approaches that conceptualised the periodical as a means by which science was a product of a discrete expert community, trickling down to the uneducated masses via the popular press. Such theoretical conceptualisations have been refuted for the way they discredit the dialogue that occurs between the range of actors, including popularises of science, that co-produced the periodical press.[100]

Ellegård's approach was informed by what has been referred to since as the 'conduit model' — an approach that considers the positionality of the reader within scientific periodical publication. The model represents a more sophisticated variant of the diffusionist model by recognising the process by which periodicals diffuse information to specific audiences. It argues that each reader fashions a unique response to scientific texts. In this sense, periodicals are understood to be mediated by their audience. As such, Ellegård shows how articles were crafted as part of (and in response to) periodicals' social, political, and religious affiliations. Whilst Ellegård's enquiry demonstrates the necessity of considering the multi-

[99] Alvar Ellegård, *Darwin and the General Reader: The Reception of Darwin's Theory of Evolution in the British Periodical Press, 1859–1872* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1990); first edition published by Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm, 1958.
[100] Roger Cooter and Stephen Pumfrey, "Separate Spheres and Public Places: Reflections on the History of Science Popularisation and Science in Popular Culture," *History of Science* 32, no.3 (1994).

directionality of the nineteenth-century press, it is acknowledged by some historians of science as needing revision. Indeed, as Cantor and Shuttleworth note, "Ellegård examined only those articles that explicitly addressed Darwinism" and, consequently, his study does not contemplate the broader epistemological changes that came from the acceptance or rebuttal of Darwin's theory of evolution.[101] In Ellegård's model, the periodical is taken to be a container of knowledge, representative of the beliefs of its readers — an assumption refuted by Johnathan Topham, among others.[102] Many of these critiques are undoubtedly founded in the knowledge that new technologies of storage and retrieval make it easier for researchers to study the periodical as a corpus — a textual landscape where researchers can examine how science was made and negotiated in print. Ultimately, though, the work of Ellegård reminds scholars to acknowledge the increasing diversity of scientific audiences throughout the century. It is also a reminder to treat periodicals not as transparent records of the opinions of authors, audiences, editors, or the state, but rather as objects in their own right.

Since Ellegård, the field of periodical studies has made claims that the periodical should be theoretically delineated from the book, in other words it should be "considered a definitive publishing genre in its own right" and studied as such.[103] This call also involves moving beyond publications such as the *Quarterly* and *Edinburgh Review*, that have attracted considerable scholarly attention; by comparison, their readership and circulation figures remain modest when juxtaposed with other popular periodicals.[104] Periodicals must be made sense of in a wider cultural of literary-scientific dialogue. The response to this suggestion

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[101] Geoffrey Cantor and Sally Shuttleworth, "Introduction," in *Science Serialized: Representations of the Sciences in Nineteenth-Century Periodicals*, eds. Geoffrey Cantor and Sally Shuttleworth (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2004), 4.
[102] Johnathan Topham, "A View from the Industrial Age," *Isis* 93, no.3 (2004).
[103] Gowan Dawson and Jonathan R. Topham, "Science in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical," *Literature Compass* 1 (2004): 7.
[104] Cantor and Shuttleworth, Introduction.

has been emphatic, and in recent years periodicals have been the subject of significant scholarly attention. With a shared interest in questions of authorship, readership, and publishing, investigations of a wide range of periodicals have proliferated. Projects concerned with identifying and quantifying periodical print have gone some way to evidencing the range of this genre throughout the nineteenth century. This scholarship has evidenced the diversity of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century periodical press. In 1976, David Kronick suggested that periodicals were characterised by a set of common criteria: they exhibited periodicity, duration (their appearance over a period of time), collectivity, availability, and continuity of structure. Further he noted that two additional characteristics were important in demarcating the periodical from newspapers: timelessness (not reporting information only relevant for a short period of time) and universality.[105]

Recent scholarship has, however, shown Kronick's typology to be particularly flexible. Pietro Corsi, for example, has argued that many periodicals presented "the illusion of the clockwork journal".[106] Scientific periodicals, Corsi notes, are very different from the selective historic instances we choose to remember. Some periodicals functioned as outlets for reprinting other periodicals' original content; certain journals made significant profits whilst others were never intended to. In short, it is argued, 'the periodical' is a term that fails to encapsulate the diversity of those publications currently examined under that title.[107] Understanding the periodical as a publishing genre was taken up in the late 1980s by Margret Beetham, who argued that it was both possible and useful to conceptualise the periodical

[105] David Kronick, *A History of Scientific and Technical Periodicals: The Origins and Development of the Scientific and Technical Press, 1665–1790* (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1976).
[106] Pietro Corsi "What do you mean by a Periodical? Forms and Functions," *Notes and Records of the Royal Society,* published ahead of print September 21, 2016. 0.1098/rsnr.2016.0028
[107] For examples of work on periodicals and financing see, Aileen Fyfe, "Journals, Learned Societies and Money: Philosophical Transactions, CA. 1750–1900," *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 69 (2015); Thomas Broman, "The Profits and Perils of Publicity: *Allgemeine Literaturzeitung, The Thurn und Taxis Post*, and the Periodical Trade at the end of the Eighteenth Century," *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 69 (2015).

as a single genre of print. Suggesting that some characteristics of the periodical are 'open' and present in other serial publications whilst others, such as continuity of format, mean that "every number is different it is still the same periodical".[108] In this way, journals can be thought of as being on a continuum — exhibiting different so-called periodical characteristics at various times.

The work of scholars such as Susan Sheets-Pyenson has demonstrated the contestation and diverse development of the periodical press. Examining what she terms 'low scientific culture', Sheets-Pyenson imposes a hierarchical readership structure on nineteenth-century periodicals. At the top of this hierarchy was a small proportion of the population in the upper and middle class that could afford expensive subscriptions to natural history periodicals. Beneath them were thousands of middle-class readers who could afford the more moderately priced general science periodicals, and, below them, the lower classes who were reached by mechanics' magazines that provided tens of thousands of urban workers and craftsmen practical information on skills and trade.[109] Comparison between journals such as William Nicholson's failed *Journal of Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and the Arts* and the *Philosophical Transactions* — two journals dealing with similar strands of science — have been shown to be markedly different. Iain Watts has illustrated that the *Philosophical Transactions* was a space where science fashioned its own identity through original research and commentary — where a geographically disparate community could come together to construct science publicly in print. In *Nicholson's Journal*, by contrast, the practice of reprinting articles that had originally appeared in other publications was central to the construction and circulation of knowledge (as it was in many other periodicals). At the

[108] Margret Beetham, "Open and Closed: The Periodical as a Publishing Genre," *Victorian Periodical Review* 22, no.3 (1989): 98.
[109] Susan Sheets–Pyenson, "Popular Science Periodicals in Paris and London: The Emergence of a Low Scientific Culture, 1820–1875," *Annals of Science* 42, no. 6 (1985).

Royal Society, such a practice was treated with distain.[110] Such differences are also articulated in Melinda Baldwin's work on the commercial weekly journal *Nature* and in Barford's examination of the monthly *Nautical Magazine*.[111] Imagined in Pyenson's class-stratified way then, the periodical press meant different things to different audiences. It did not, as I show in Chapter 7, mean, however, that audiences were engaging in mutually exclusive content — knowledge moved between publications associated with different levels of this hierarchical readership structure.

Differences in structure, objective, and readership did not stop periodicals engaging in a broader dialogue with one another. Central to the advancement of science throughout the nineteenth century was the practice of dialogue and critique. Philosophers such as Karl Popper have argued that knowledge progresses through conjecture. Statements in science, Popper argued, only qualified as such if they were composed in a way that allowed their falsification. Criticism, he suggested, "is a most important methodological device" in the advancements of scientific theories.[112] Shuttleworth and Cantor take Popper's notion that criticism is an essential element in the advancement of science to exemplify why scientific dialogue in and between periodicals was important throughout the nineteenth century. Whilst Popper's focus was primarily on the improvement of scientific theory in elite communities, Shuttleworth and Cantor adopt a broader perspective to show how the published periodical, with its flexibility, was a space for the development of scientific knowledge across multiple audiences.[113] As such, our understanding of future responses should not be limited simply to interchange between authors, but rather should reflect a broader dialogue that recognises that debate occurs in different spatio-temporal settings

[110] Iain P. Watts, "'We Want No Authors': William Nicholson and the Contested Role of the Scientific Journal in Britain, 1797–1813," *The British Journal for the History of Science* 47, no. 3 (2014).
[111] Melinda Baldwin, *Making Nature: The History of a Scientific Journal* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2015).
[112] Karl Popper, *Objective Knowledge* (London: Oxford, 1972), 20.
[113] Cantor and Shuttleworth, Introduction, 4.

and among differing clusters of actors. For example, Secord has noted that it is important to consider the relationship between "oral performance and publishing"; that printed knowledge became, what he refers to as, 'shop talk'.[114] That is to say that the production, dissemination, and reception of knowledge was intimately related to a wider culture of oral conversation in specific locations and among various groups.

The periodical's regularity was important in this context, as debate, contestation, and rebuttal could feature quickly in the next issue of publications. As Johns has noted in the context of early-modern periodicals, they were known for reprinting other journals' articles or adding letters addressed to their readers questioning the credibility of rival publications.[115] Bob Nicholson, in particular, has illustrated the prevalence of reprinting (a theme I return to in Chapter 7) through a detailed examination of print's journey across the Atlantic from the United States into the British press and popular discourse.[116] His focus on jokes shows that many authors in the United States were having their work altered by British publications to cater to the tastes of local audiences. This technique, Nicholson argues, was not confined to lay or cheap publication; "even prestigious periodicals", he notes, "made regular use of borrowed extracts and a clear professional consensus was never reached about how much copying was too much, or how soon was too soon to reprint another paper's material".[117] Ultimately, Nicholson and others have demonstrated that there is a need to re-evaluate the significance of scissors-and-paste journalism in Victorian culture.

[114] James A. Secord, "How Scientific Conversation Became Shop Talk," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 17 (2007): 132.
[115] Johns, "Miscellaneous Method".
[116] Bob Nicholson, "'You Kick the Bucket; We do the Rest!': Jokes and the Culture of Reprinting in the Transatlantic Press," *Journal of Victorian Culture* 17, no. 3 (2012).
[117] Nicholson, "'You Kick the Bucket; We do the Rest!'", 275.

Periodicals were also spaces in which opinions and disputes might be aired in public, as a pre-existing republic of letters was democratised.[118] This fact was, as Martin Rudwick suggests, one of the principal reasons that newly formed learned societies strove to publish a printed set of transactions. His short historical account of the Geological Society's journal shows that the publications produced by that society acted both as a record of results and a means to inform others with similar interests about the state of the emergent scientific discipline with the intention of sparking discussion and collaboration.[119] Matthew Wale has posited the question, 'Why would entomologist want a weekly newspaper?' — the answer lies, Wale argues, predominantly in the rapidity of communication available in this printed form. With regional variation and climatic factors effecting entomologists' findings, rapid dissemination of knowledge to the interested community was a fundamental element of aiding their study.[120] As historians of science have shown, the rhythms of publishing in this form have distinct implications for all involved in the production, circulation, and reception of scientific knowledge — periodicity was central to scientific cultures of contestation, dispute, and argumentation, offering a more regular space for the discussion of science than the book was able to.

As an assemblage of printed materials, periodicals are structured quite differently to books. Nineteenth-century periodicals were characterised by the way scientific issues were set *alongside* book reviews, political reports, prose and poetry, and furthermore by the way science appeared *in* book reviews, political reports, prose and poetry. As Laura Otis puts it, scientific and non-scientific writing commingled.[121] As Laurel Brake and others have

[118] William H. Brock, "Science," in V*ictorian Periodicals and Victorian Society,* eds. J Donn Vann and Rosemary T. VanArsdel (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1994).
[119] Martin J.S. Rudwick, "Historical Origins of the Geological Society's Journal," *Journal of the Geological Society, London* 150 (1993).
[120] Matthew Wale, "'The Sympathy of a Crowd': Periodicals and the Practices of Natural History in Nineteenth-Century Britain" (PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 2018).
[121] Laura Otis, ed., *Literature and the Sciences in the Nineteenth Century: An Anthology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

stressed, the composition of various articles on different subjects allows for a range of interpretations.[122] Therefore it has been suggested that "the different forms of periodical content are never self-contained or isolated; instead they constantly point beyond themselves, either to other articles in the same periodical or to pieces published in rival journals".[123] As such, the periodical is a powerful medium through which to study Livingstone's 'Sites of Textual Hybridity'.[124]

The ability of the periodical, as a consequence of its adaptability, to cater to different reading audiences and to develop varied critical readings of science might be considered one of its most defining characteristics. For example, as well as circulating as a material journal, many single articles moved as offprints (i.e., separately printed copies of individual papers or articles from periodicals). As Martin Thomas has demonstrated, the Australian anthropologist R. H. Mathews avidly pursued journal publications and hassled editors for offprint copies of his writing so as to distribute copies and arrange his work in his own leather-bound journals.[125] Natalie Cox has also identified similar practices in the explorer Richard Burton who produced his own pamphlet books from various printed sources as a way to extract, organise, and annotate useful work.[126] The periodical's potential to be disassembled and reassembled in ways that books could not be, has been shown to be significant in the wider circulation of scientific ideas. For Margret Beetham, this adaptability and the diversity of periodicals makes them a unique format to consider because of the way they engage with and react to their readers across time, responding to sales and distribution

[122] Laurel Brake, "Writing, Cultural Production, and the Periodical Press in the Nineteenth Century," in *Writing and Victorianism*, eds J. B. Bullen (Essex: Addison Wesley Longman, 1997).
[123] Dawson and Topham, "Science in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical," 7.
[124] Livingstone, "Science, Text and Space".
[125] Martin Thomas, *The Many Worlds of R.H. Mathews: In Search of an Australian Anthropologist* (New South Wales: Allen and Unwin, 2011).
[126] Natalie Cox, "Armchair Geography: Speculation, Synthesis, and the Culture of British Exploration, c.1830–c.1870" (PhD Thesis, University of Warwick, 2016).

figures as well as more explicit reader responses.[127] The above-mentioned literature has demonstrated some of the varied approaches to periodicals that have been taken in line with the broader transformation of our understandings of authorship, reading, and publishing. As such, periodicals offer the means of tracking changes in scientific communication practice over time and reveal the epistemic standards and priorities of publishers and institutions. I address these standards and priorities more fully in the next section of this chapter.

It is clear that the dissemination of knowledge via the periodical had distinct implications for the way in which people of all classes engaged with scientific topics. More research is required to know how this form of publishing impacted upon geographical debates from the early modern period. In attempting to unpick the history of the Royal Geographical Society's journal and its shifting form and function in Chapter 4, this thesis acknowledges the "relationship between forms of communication…and the ideas they contain".[128] In arguing that the periodical's difficulties "were at once economic, social and epistemological", and that these problems "were inseparable from their advantages", in later chapters, I examine the nature of these challenges and their implications for the production and dissemination of geographical science in the nineteenth century.[129]

[127] Margret Beetham, "Towards a Theory Towards a Theory of the Periodical as a Publishing Genre," in *Investigating Victorian Journalism*, eds. Laurel Brake, Aled Jones and Lionel Madden (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1990).
[128] Thomas H. Broman, "J. C. Reil and the 'Journalization of Physiology," in *The Literary Structure of Scientific Argument: Historical Studies,* ed. Peter Dear (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 17.
[129] Johns, "Miscellaneous Methods," 184.

Institutional Praxis and the Governance of Knowledge

In demonstrating the mutability of the categories of author, editor, and publisher, scholars from various disciplines have fostered a shared concern with issues of trust, authority, and credibility in print. In putting the world into words, decisions with respect to literary style and content have profoundly shaped the making of geographical print. This is what Sher refers to as the "complicated, creative, and contingent" processes by which manuscripts were turned into authoritative printed text.[130] The work of Neil Safier on the production of natural history knowledge in colonial South America has, for example, shown how indigenous knowledge claims were removed prior to the publication of texts that depended on their insight.[131] The authority, credibility, and trustworthiness of geographical exploration and travel was largely realised in print — and often created in absence of authors.

In remaining attentive to what Withers and Keighren call the inscriptive and epistolary practices involved in the making of geography's written texts, geographers and allied scholars have examined the multiple actors involved in the cultural construction of geographical print.[132] As Mayhew has noted "the author is not a lone figure making a book, but is enmeshed in a whole set of relations with agents, publishers, printers and booksellers to actually get their work into the public domain".[133] Taking these relations seriously mitigates against an uncritical reading of knowledge production wherein information

130 Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book*, xv.
131 Neil Safier, *Measuring the New World: Enlightenment Science and South America* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2008).
132 Innes M. Keighren and Charles W. J. Withers, "Questions of Inscription and Epistemology in British Travelers' Accounts of Early Nineteenth-Century South America," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 101 (2011).
133 Robert J. Mayhew, "Denaturalising Print, Historicising Text: Historical Geography and the History of the Book," in *Practising the Archive: Reflections on Methods and Practice in Historical Geography*, eds. Elizabeth Gagen, Hayden Lorimer, and Alex Vasudevan (London: The Royal Geographical Society, 2007).

"passes from highly individualised sites of production to an undifferentiated mass public".[134] In fact, the mediation and governance of knowledge is evidence that the process of production and reception — of authorship and readership — cannot be disentangled.

The nineteenth-century publishing house has proved a fruitful site for investigating the construction and mediation of geographical knowledge. In part, such investigations have been driven by the relative abundance of source material in the archives associated with, for example, the Murray and Blackwood publishing houses. In investigating the works of Murray, Adriana Craciun uses the term 'aggregate authorship' to describe the links between the house of Murray, the Admiralty, and authors. The use of 'aggregate authorship' by Craciun is not to suggest "multiple, unified co-authors, but an unindividuated author function comprising an uneven aggregate of individual and institutional agents".[135] Put more simply, the production of exploration literature in the case of Murray, the Admiralty, and authors was a regulated process in which multiple authorised hands participated in the authorship of texts — there was a distinct interplay between an authoritative governmental institution and the commercial publishing firm.

There are, in this sense, two stages of geographical exploration: the observation and collection of data and the 'voyage into print'.[136] In most instances, the complexity of the 'voyage into print' was played down once the text was in the public gaze. Publishers stressed the necessity of editing to authors as a means to present a credible authoritative narrative for public consumption but did not want the public to be aware of the often numerous amendments that separated manuscript and printed book.[137] The publishing house was

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134 Secord, "Knowledge in Transit," 662.
135 Adriana Craciun, "Oceanic Voyages, Maritime Books, and Eccentric Inscriptions," *Atlantic Studies* 10, no. 2 (2013): 182.
136 Keighren and Withers, "Questions of Inscription," 561.
137 Louise C. Henderson, "*Missionary Travels* in Britain and America: Exploring the Wider Circulation of a Victorian Travel Narrative," *Scottish Geographical Journal* 129 (2013). On editing

generally a location where geographical texts were manipulated to suit both "ideological and commercial interests".[138] In arranging for the work of John Hanning Speke to be largely rewritten by a trusted reader, William Blackwood ensured that the resulting printed volume — *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile* (1863) — reflected a preconceived social model, the text having been shaped "for eventual marketing and selling".[139] That many of the trusted readers used by publishing houses were also prominent members of learned institutions is evidence of the tight networks that governed geography's textual output in both learned and commercial spaces. Keighren and Withers have noted, through their examination of travel narratives printed by Murray, that the interplay between author and editor-publishers was complex and contested.[140] In the context of this study, it is relationships between author, editor, and institution that make novel contributions to the discipline by situating hitherto unrecognised actors in the process of geographical knowledge making in periodical form.

Science and Institutional Peer Review

Historians of science have added additional angles to the study of the mediation of textual knowledge through examinations of particular learned and scholarly settings. If geographical scholarship has demonstrated the instability of print through study of editorial practices in commercial contexts, historians of science are evidencing the ways "the history of peer review at scientific journals is more complicated than many observers have

Livingstone see also, Louise C. Henderson, "Historical Geographies of Textual Circulation: David Livingstone's Missionary Travels in France and Germany," in *Spaces of Global Knowledge: Exhibition, Encounter and Exchange in an Age of Empire*, eds. Diramid A. Finnegan and Jonathan Jeffrey Wright (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).

138 Finklestein, *House of Blackwood*, 52.

139 Finklestein, *House of Blackwood*, 59.

140 Keighren and Withers, "Questions of Inscription"; see, also, Keighren, Withers, and Bell, *Travels into Print*.

assumed".[141] Individually, scholars that have examined the development of peer review have largely contributed in one of two ways: either by positioning the emergence of peer review within the landscape of eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and twentieth-century Anglo-French science, or through critical interrogation of the institutional practices of certain scientific journals. The former has complicated the origins of the peer review system (it was not a product of the 1665 creation of the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions*, for instance) whilst acknowledging its development was fundamentally linked to the formation and proliferation of learned societies throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[142] The Royal Society has been at the centre of attempts to unpick the history of the governance of knowledge by what we now know as peer review.[143]

In recovering the past intellectual scope and practice of peer review, most progress has been made "to uncover the hidden dynamics of intellectual communities at particular times and places, rather than to investigate long-term development".[144] Fyfe and Moxham have, for example, addressed such a gap in knowledge by attempting to historicise practices of refereeing from the sixteenth century. Whilst their conclusions are largely drawn from investigations into the Royal Society's practice, they have shown that, over time, refereeing has been concerned as much with ensuring collective editorial responsibility, the protection of society finances, and the maintenance of prestige, as it has been with inspecting the credibility and veracity of manuscripts.[145] Chapter 6 contributes to this line of enquiry by examining the discursive nature of refereeing at the Royal Geographical Society throughout the nineteenth century.

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141 Baldwin, *Making Nature.*
142 Melinda Baldwin, "In Referees we Trust?." *Physics Today*, February 2017; Alex Csiszar, "Peer Review: A Troubled Start," *Nature* 532 (2016); For the most comprehensive analysis of peer review's history see, Noah Moxham and Aileen Fyfe, "The Royal Society and the Pre-History of Peer Review, 1665–1965," *The Historical Journal* 61, no. 4 (2018).
143 See, Moxham and Fyfe, "The Royal Society and the Pre-History".
144 Moxham and Fyfe, "The Royal Society and the Pre-History," 865.
145 Moxham and Fyfe, "The Royal Society and the Pre-History".

In the context of institutional control of knowledge, refereeing has served multiple functions. Studies of other publications have contributed significantly to our understanding of the specialised practices of editorial refereeing. Spatiality has also been shown to be an important part of the practices of refereeing. As Baldwin notes, for example, in relation to the journal *Nature*: decisions over the papers to be printed in the journal were as likely to be made in the Athenaeum club as they were in the *Nature* offices themselves.[146] Concern with the practice of peer review, rather than apparent official procedures or structures, are, then, central to learning more about how refereeing operated in different spaces as a means to govern scientific and geographical knowledge. Often the actual roles and praxis of the individuals involved had a bearing on the outcomes of institutional practice. As Imogen Clarke has demonstrated in the context of the *Philosophical Magazine* and the *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London*, certain papers were published without referees' scrutiny if they were communicated from particular institutions or persons.[147] In short, the presence of a formalized system of refereeing does not necessarily mean it acted as a guarantor of knowledge.

As has been demonstrated by geographers in the context of the commercial press, remaining attentive to the individuals who were permitted to pass comment in various institutional settings has been important in positioning the practice of refereeing in a wider culture of science and sociability. Generally speaking, learned societies and their publications closely guarded those authorised to referee manuscript material. The warranting of scientific research was in the hands of "small networks of appointed experts

[146] Melinda Baldwin, "Credibility, Peer Review, and *Nature*, 1945–1990," *Notes and Records* 69 (2015).
[147] Imogen Clarke, "The Gatekeepers of Modern Physics: Periodicals and Peer Review in 1920s Britain," *Isis* 106 (2015).

[who] were afforded the authority to judge the work of their peers".[148] Both identifying those trusted by societies and the processes that made them recognised institutional authorities, says much about the values and wider scientific cultures of institutions. Recognising the human capital invested in the process is also to reflect on professionalisation of referees throughout the nineteenth century; by the mid 1840s, the anonymous referee had "become an established scientific persona".[149] The practice of refereeing was often a labour-intensive one. The trusted few that would pass comment on the latest scientific writing often "dedicated large amounts of time and energy to carefully reading, understanding, and educating the committee about papers on increasingly specialized topics".[150]

Attentiveness to spatiality and temporality, alongside biography, in the practices of refereeing has improved our understanding of the discursive nature and development of peer review. There are similarities between the practices of editing that geographers have been so interested in and the mediation of knowledge through the process of refereeing. Both processes create an epistemological hierarchy where the referee or trusted reader is elevated to a position of authority, enabling him or her to pass comment on manuscripts. Whilst institutional or commercial contexts might influence the aim and outcomes of authoritative readers, the epistemic practice that underpins the act of judgement is similar. This thesis (see, particularly, Chapter 6) brings practices of refereeing into dialogue with geographical print and hence, as has been the case in the history of science, positions this set of practices as central to the formation of geography in learned periodicals. Overall the above review has outlined a corpus of literature concerning itself with books and periodical as historical artefacts imbued with social, cultural, political, and material meaning. These

[148] Clarke, "The Gatekeepers of Modern Physics," 72.
[149] Csiszar, "Peer review," 308.
[150] Sloan Evans Despeaux, "Fit to Print? Referee Reports on Mathematics for the Nineteenth-Century Journals of the Royal Society of London," *Notes and Records* 65, no.3 (2011): 246.

contributions advocate an attention to the local practices and processes of knowledge production and circulation in print. I now turn my attention, in Chapter 3, to consider how these ideas are practically applied in the context of the RGS-IBG archive.

Conclusion: Constructing the History of a Geographical Periodical

This chapter has positioned the geographical investigation of books in relation to work that has taken the periodical as its central focus. In doing so it has been shown that there is a gap in historical geographers' understanding of the way in which periodical literature shaped the development of, and engagement with, geography throughout the nineteenth century. It is peculiar that geographers have not more readily utilised the periodical as a site in which the history of geography has been shaped. This is particularly strange given the fact that studies of the periodical clearly have shared concerns with geographers over questions of authorial credibility, authorisation of knowledge, and the circulation of printed text. Dean Bond's work on the periodical geography of the German Enlightenment and recasting of a moral economy of print is a clear exception to the rule. Much like the work on periodicals outlined in the previous pages, Bond argues that "periodicals also create their own geographies of authorship, reading and epistemic credit through their material form and periodicity".[151] That periodicals have been shown to bear all the hallmarks associated with the instability of print only justifies their usefulness as potential sources for writing a textual history of geography.

There is much more to say, then, on both the way periodicals' characteristics shaped practices of production and the way periodicals circulated geographical knowledge to both disciplinary specific and general lay audiences. This thesis aims to bring the periodic textual

[151] Bond, "Plagiarists, Enthusiasts and Periodical Geography," 67.

geography of the Royal Geographical Society into wider debates about cultures of scientific knowledge making and its dissemination in the nineteenth century. As is detailed in the following chapter, embarking on this task necessitated bringing multiple archival sources into dialogue with one another and questioning what they revealed both about the methods of production and circulation of geographical knowledge. That the discipline's foremost public body is central to this thesis is also to extend understandings of the relationships between publishers, editors, and authors. In this sense, it both complements and extends the work of historical geographers in uncovering the practices of publishing houses in the making and circulating of geography. The analysis of materials at the society attends to Johns' suggestion that is possible to attend to the global by "rigorous attention to the local".[152]

[152] Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 385.

Chapter 3

Exploring a Nineteenth-Century Journal of Geography

The development of a Collaborative Doctoral Award with the RGS-IBG — of which this thesis is a principal outcome — was motivated by the intellectual debates in the various contingent disciplines discussed in Chapter 2 and by the rich, though unevenly explored, archival resources at the society. As a project designed under the auspices of the AHRC's "Science in Culture" thematic focus, and with the specific intention to interrogate the society's collection in light of relevant debates in geography of the book and the history of science, the project had largely defined parameters — in attempting to tell a periodical geography of the society, the challenges presented were ones of *source* rather than *archive* selection. As Ashley Crowson writes, far from "simply consulting primary documents in order to uncover historical 'facts,' successful archival research entails careful selection, evaluation, and analysis".[1] Understanding the society's collections, the relevant sources, and the approach taken by this work, is the central concern of this chapter. Firstly, I reflect broadly on literature concerned with the archives' inherent politics and reflect on the implications of this in relation to the RGS-IBG archive. In the second part of the chapter I outline the specific sources that underpin this history of geography in print.

Conceptualisations of the archive as an unproblematic space in which to research history have been challenged, from the middle of the twentieth century, by scholars from various disciplinary backgrounds who have shown archival materials to be situated within broader

[1] Ashley Crowson, "Geographical Methods: Archival Research," Oxford Bibliographies, January 11, 2018, accessed 20 June 2018. doi: 10.1093/OBO/9780199874002-0178

political context and power relations. Previously the archive was thought of as a space where researchers could utilise source materials to assemble "accurate and fuller versions" of the past — it was a passive storage space of past knowledge.[2] Referenced by some as the 'archival turn', researchers have since recognised the inherent power of archives in shaping the knowledge they contain. The archive has made the transition from *source* to *subject* — there has been a distinct methodological shift moving away from treating archival research as an extractive process to an ethnographic exercise.[3] This shift is, in part, acknowledging that if archives are spaces of collective memory, they are also spaces of loss, forgetting, and silencing.[4] The archive then, must be thought of as a social construction; a space that is shaped by its own production history.

Recasting the archive as a space of active knowledge production is to recognise the epistemological and ontological underpinnings of the archive itself. Foucault described the archive as an abstract place that does not unify "everything that has been said" or "safeguard the event of the statement", rather it "differentiates discourses in their multiple existence and specifies them in their own duration".[5] More simply, the archive is not a neutral locale for unimpeded historiographical analysis — it, too, has its own omissions, oversights, and power structures. In this sense, archives are often elusive; archival trails can be uneven and offer only fragmentary evidence.[6] Iain Black, quoting the historian Lynn White Jr, suggests that "history does not exist; all that exists is debris".[7] As a result, "even when past actions

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[2] Hayden Lorimer, "Caught in the Nick of Time," in *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography*, eds. Dydia DeLyser, Steve Herbert, Stuart Aitken, Mike Crang, and Linda McDowell (London: SAGE, 2010), 252.
[3] Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009).
[4] Jake Hodder, "On Absence and Abundance: Biography as Method in Archival Research," *Area* 49, no.4 (2017).
[5] Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York, NY: Pantheon, 1972), 129.
[6] Alan R. H. Baker, "'The Dead Don't Answer Questionnaires': Researching and Writing Historical Geography," *Journal of Geography in Higher Education* 21, no.2 (1997).
[7] Iain S. Black, "Analysing Historical and Archival Sources," in *Key Methods in Geography*, eds Nicholas Clifford, Shaun French, and Gill Valentine (London: SAGE, 2010), 466.

and events are retrievable, their [wider] meanings and consequences are often elusive".[8] Traces, fragments, and ghosts have all been suggested as ways to articulate these incomplete records.[9] Yet more recently, it has been suggested that new collection policies, digitalisation, and an expectation of researchers to reflect on transnational perspectives has led to the archive being characterised by abundance as much as by absence.[10] Various archival settings and objectives mean scholars are beginning to tell different and varied histories. It is worth noting, however, that the histories told and arguments made are always a product of the archives examined and the evidence on offer.

In the context of the RGS-IBG archive, the scholarship outlined above matters. Due to the fact that the society made it its business to collect geographical knowledge from its founding in 1830, there is an overwhelming number and range of sources to be examined — Derrida's archive fever and Hodder's archive abundance feel particularly pertinent in the context of the RGS-IBG archive. The archive is home to over two million items and five hundred years of geographical history. There is, as Kathy Fergusson has put it, "always one more dusty file to read, one more…document to investigate, one further historical connection to another unanticipated figure".[11] Therefore, navigating the archive through the selection of particular sources has a bearing on the sort of histories told of the society — negotiating it requires, therefore, a combination of extensive planning and serendipity. The quantity of materials should not, however, conceal the particular context of the archive's production. As an archive of institutional history, the voices preserved in the archive in the numerous

[8] Charles W. J. Withers, "Afterword," 245.
[9] Karen Till, "Fragments, Ruins, Artifacts, Torsos," *Historical Geography* 29 (2001); Sarah Mills, "Young Ghosts: Ethical and Methodological Issues of Historical Research in Children's Geographies," *Children's Geographies* 10, no.3 (2012); Cheryl McGeachan, "Historical Geography II: Traces Remain," *Progress in Human Geography* 42, no.1 (2016).
[10] See Hodder, "On Absence and Abundance".
[11] Kathy E. Fergusson, "Theorizing Shinny Things: Archival Labors," *Theory and Event* 11, no.4 (2008) http://muse.jhu.edu/article/257578.

periodicals, minutes books, paintings, artefacts, letters, manuscripts, and so forth, tend to be those of the privileged individuals most closely associated with the institution.[12]

The archive is also not only a product of what it chooses to keep and omit but also how it records the materials that it stores — because archiving is an inherently social process, it replicates the particular historical narratives and imperatives of those who create, organise, and manage it. For two reasons this is important to note. This thesis has benefitted from the society's efforts to unlock its archives as part of a Heritage Lottery Fund initiative of 2004. The society's policy reflects a broader trend toward positioning archives as public spaces.[13] To do so required the development of both the society's home (through the creation of a new reading room) and of its collection's structuring (by improvements in its cataloguing and archival storage). The society's collections, previously split into general divisions such as map room, archives, and library, can now be considered holistically in one space.

Elements of the society's catalogue and structuring are still somewhat awkward. The catalogue itself straddles two online portals, one centrally controlled by the National Archives and the society's internal Koha system. The society also operates an analogue paper-based system. Some records are well detailed online, whilst others exist, for want of detail, more or less exclusively in paper form. The Journal Manuscript Collection, for example, has a particularly idiosyncratic structure that orders manuscripts by geographical region rather than, say, chronologically or alphabetically by author. Such classifications of

[12] The RGS-IBG archive has been read for what it reveals about work of local intermediaries in the production of geography, see, Lowri Jones, "Local knowledge & Indigenous Agency in the History of Exploration: Studies from the RGS-IBG collections" (PhD Thesis, Royal Holloway University of London, 2010); Felix Driver, "Hidden Histories made Visible? Reflections on a Geographical Exhibition," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 38, no.3 (2013).
[13] Michael Lynch, "Archives in Formation: Privileged Spaces, Popular Archives and Paper Trails," *History of the Human Sciences* 12, no.2 (1999).

archival material have the possibility to shape a researcher's approach to project design and methodology. In short, the "ways in which archives 'act' constrains how knowledge may be produced".[14] For this study, at least, the society's catalogue was best consulted in its paper form (rather than through the National Archive's Discovery portal), because it presented the opportunity to survey the catalogue rather than see individual records. The varied catalogue records of the RGS-IBG emphasise the role of archivists in the formation of past histories from archival sources. Referred to by Ketelaar as 'boundary keepers', the archival assistance received at the RGS-IBG has been invaluable in the construction of this project.[15] Numerous relevant sources in additional papers that do not appear online or fully in the society's paper catalogue were retrieved by the society's archivists. With the intention of this project being intimately collaborative, this relationship was reciprocal. Throughout, for example, I drew attention to disparately catalogued sources that complimented one another so that other readers may consult them in tandem. Bound by certain rules and restrictions that often promote sedentary and silent contemplation, the archive operates effectively as a social space where the tacit knowledge of the archivist does not easily or readily transfer to online catalogues. As Cook suggest, the archivist is "a kind of invisible bridge, or honest broker, between the creators and users of records".[16] The relationship between the researcher and the archivist is fundamentally collaborative.

Notes on Sources

To understand the journal as a socio-material artefact, I examined a series of sources at the RGS-IBG in turn (dealing firstly with council and committee minutes, followed by

[14] Charles W. J. Withers, "Constructing 'the Geographical Archive'," *Area* 34, no. 3 (2002): 305.
[15] Eric Ketelaar, "Tacit Narratives: The Meaning of Archives," *Archival Science* 1(2001).
[16] Terry Cook, "Remembering the Future: Appraisal of Records and the Role of Archives in Constructing Social Memory," in *Archives, Documentation, and Institutions of Social Memory: Essays from the Sawyer Seminar*, eds. Francis X. Blouin Jr and William G. Rosenberg (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 170.

manuscripts, then correspondence, and finally with additional papers). Throughout, and particularly towards the conclusion of the period of archival research, I drew these sources together into dialogue with one another, but, for the most part, I surveyed the collections individually and, as such, present them as so in what follows. Such an approach allowed me to gain a detailed overview of the journal and its practitioners which was then supplemented with detailed interrogations of the manuscript and correspondence collections. As this thesis is concerned principally with the process and practices of knowledge production and circulation in periodical form, the printed texts and their accompanying maps and images are not subject to critical study here. The varied archival sources are, rather, investigated for what they reveal about the institutional and personal practices of periodical production and circulation.

To create an overview of the major transitionary periods in the journal's history, attention was first turned to the council and committee minutes books of the society. Whilst minutes books clearly have limitations in scope and record, they do document the goings on of council and committee meetings, albeit by abstracting the debates of those in attendance to a few indicative lines. Nonetheless this mediated record of the conversations is reflective of what the council considered it appropriate to commit to paper. The minutes are a record not only of the discussion, decisions, and actions of the council and committees, but also the processes involved in the management, governing, and creation of knowledge (for example, each meeting keeps a record of papers sent to the society for consideration for publication in their journal). Similarly, official records of the publishing firm John Murray at the National Library of Scotland gave insight into the economics of publishing the journal. Investigation of Murray's ledgers, for example, detailed the modest financial returns and accumulations of stock in the publisher's warehouse. Quantitative data from this source forms part of the basis for discussion of the journal's finances in Chapter 4 and its circulation in Chapter 7.

The careful listing of incoming papers at council meetings is a precursor to the Journal Manuscript Collection that forms the basis of much of the discussion in Chapters 5 and 6. Although archives have been conceptualised as sites that privilege the voices of the institutions involved in their creation, the JMS collection is a remarkable record of both published and unpublished papers that were sent to the society — it records then, voices from both inside and outside the society. The completeness of such records has been confirmed in tandem with a survey of the council minute books' details of incoming correspondence. Surveying the manuscripts that form the JMS collection required substantial preparation and thinking of the catalogue beyond the way it is ordered by geographical region (assessing the number of manuscripts annually, for example). Whilst the regional geographies of the JMS collection are a useful resource for building an understanding of the epistemic concerns of geographers over time, for surveying the history of a learned journal it has distinct limitations for a thesis such as this, that is concerned with the people and processes that shaped the production of geographical knowledge. Part of this process involved taking a representative sample from the upwards of three-thousand manuscripts held for the period 1830–1900. The decision to examine 600 manuscripts, a fifth of the collection, to capture the diversity of submissions the society received was driven by a number of factors. When selecting manuscripts to consult, I maintained an awareness of editors' tenures, annual submission rates, title transitions, and prolific referees in order to show something of the varied and changing practices of authorial, editorial, and evaluative labour. By drawing up a list of the annual submission rates by area of geographical focus, I was able to select manuscripts that illustrate the disparate practice of referees at certain periods of time concerned with similar regional geographies. Likewise, where regional series were small enough to be manageable to consult in full — such as Japan and its surrounding islands — I considered these series *in toto* in order to be able to say something of the historical reception of information on those particular regions. In doing

so, this led to the discovery of important transformations in the practice of the society's governance of knowledge that contributes significantly to our understanding of the emergence of peer review in geography (see Chapter 6).

In the process of distilling information from the society's JMS collection catalogue, it was necessary to reduce the textual data of the catalogue to numerical data, detailing the number of submissions in individual years. This comparative data signifies where large numbers of manuscripts were submitted on particular regions and thus served as a prompt to look further into the subjects and discussions that were being had in the journal at particular points in time. Increased submission, and hence competition for space, had implications for the practice of editors and reviewers, being able to view these rhythms allowed for identification of particular manuscripts. For example, a more complete survey of manuscripts dealing with North and South American geographies was taken for the period of the editorship of Dr Norton Shaw because submission rates on this region were notably higher in his tenure as editor (8.25 submissions annually compared to 4.15 for the period surveyed as a whole). Quantifying the data in relation to regional patterns of scholarship highlighted smaller collections that could be surveyed in their entirety. Manuscripts categorised as dealing with Japanese geographies only comprises of twenty-three submissions but meant that the collection was treated more favourably by editors and reviewers than other subjects as a consequence of the comparative rarity of papers addressing that subject/region. Ultimately, in thinking about annual submission rates, the catalogue has proved to be useful in itself, as well as a way to ensure a representative sample attentive to people and processes rather than subjects and places.

Once this quantitative analysis of the Journal Manuscript Collection was complete, I turned my attention to the manuscripts themselves. Manuscripts appearing in this series are textual spaces of approval, critique, and discussion of geography's individual and collective

objectives. As such — and drawing upon the work of geographers on the editing of geography's written texts, as well as upon the work of historians of science in elucidating the practices of scientific peer review — I maintained a focus on questions of authority, expertise, and judgement. To do so, I recorded the small details such as, biographical characteristics of reviewers and dates of issue and return, as well as making notes of the critiques of geographical content. This approach was important in order to say something of the everyday practice of journal editing and reviewing. In addition, close readings (direct comparison of printed text and manuscript) of specific selected manuscripts were also taken in order to inspect more closely the work of editors in the unwritten mediation of text.

The concern for the process of textual production and circulation and the wider networks of collaboration and critique was illuminated through examination of correspondence and unpublished records of communication between authors, editors, translators, and compilers. As such, it was possible to draw out analysis of the relations between different actors tasked with the production and circulation of periodical geography. In this sense, what follows relies not only on the printed records that appear in the journal but also on the dynamic interplay of various members of the society and the publishing trade. This assemblage of human labour is evidence of the individuals who contributed to the production of the journal but whose labour is not recognised in print that circulated. Selecting correspondence blocks — folders containing individual's epistolary correspondence — was informed, in part, by 1) relevant information yielded in the minutes and manuscripts; 2) requisite knowledge of editors and other actors; and 3) online catalogue searches. For example, it was pertinent to examine the correspondence of referees such as Francis Galton, a prolific reviewer of manuscripts. The attention to the seemingly mundane dates of issue of referee's reports in the JMS collection facilitated the targeted examination of letters within correspondence blocks. This approach was necessary because, whilst minutes and manuscript records are an official embodiment of the society, correspondence

blocks contain various interesting and, often personal, off-the-record comments. Yet, being organised by decade, the correspondence of individuals can contain an overwhelming number of letters detailing largely unrelated details. In knowing that Galton, for example, made particularly interesting comments on a manuscript in 1858 it was possible to avoid the lengthy process of filtering a decade's worth of one individual's letters.

The National Archives' online search portal Discovery was used to systematically identify correspondence that mentioned the journal as part of its catalogued reference. This technique complemented the other processes because it identified correspondence not detailed in council minutes or manuscript material. It identified peripheral figures such as literary associates and the names of publishers' correspondents (for example, some of the correspondence from the firm Edward Stanford is listed under Edward Dundas, the correspondent). Whilst it is likely the journal is spoken about in correspondence that has not been consulted, the strategy laid out here offered an approach to uncovering archival correspondence that reduced the need to examine numerous letters unrelated to the study. Unfortunately, whilst there are a significant number of letters in the correspondence block of individuals the records are largely fragmentary. Out-letter books can do some work to fill the gaps in the dialogue between writers and editors, but as the official books of the society they only contain certain institutional correspondence and are often devoid of the personal details included in private letters. In many cases, even where a complete series of letters appears to be present, their message is fragmentary — often, letters note their author's intention to pass by the society's offices to discuss matters and hence negate the need for detail in the letter itself.

Official minutes, manuscripts, and correspondence are, then, the basis for the majority of arguments about the production and circulation of knowledge put forth in this thesis. The physical volumes and online JSTOR repository of the journal's contents have also been

useful, but pose particular methodological issues. As has been noted elsewhere, the preservation of periodical print — in bound volumes, for example — often led to the removal of some of the contents, such as adverts, that could have been important signifiers of reading audience as well as the wider cultures of geography and science.[17] The bound volumes housed at the society are well kept and contain no significant marginalia which restricts the possibility of incorporating analysis of marginalia as part of the wider circulation and use of periodicals. Reflections on the materiality and use of the journal come largely from attention to references and debates around the journal's material form and composition in correspondence and minutes. The journal itself does contain annual reviews of the society's fortunes. Most useful in this respect were the accompanying balance sheets that have been made into a database and form discussions in Chapter 4 about the financing of the journal.

Online databases of periodicals — Gale's *NewsVault* and ProQuest's *C19: The Nineteenth Century Index* — have been used to examine the wider circulation of ideas and of material that appeared in the society's journal. Searches used the three titles of the journal as a starting point and expanded to look for specific articles or themes. For example, when it was apparent that a particular paper was being reprinted or discussed in other periodicals it was necessary to use the article's title or subject. This practice identified periodicals that were reprinting the journal's content without reference to where it had first appeared in print. Such a method attempts to give a fuller understanding of the cultures of reuse and reprinting of geographical articles. It is, of course, limited by the capacity and scope of online repositories and therefore likely evidences only a small proportion of the periodicals in which the content of the journal circulated.

[17] Bob Nicholson, "The Digital Turn," *Media History* 19, no.1 (2013).

The varied sources used to gather an understanding of the history of the society's journal in the nineteenth century reflect Darnton's comment that books will not be bound by disciplinary boundaries.[18] In attempting to compose a history of the journal — addressing, among much else, its modes of production, governance, print, circulation, and review — it has been necessary to investigate sources for multiple purposes. This fact is, in part, a recognition that the production, circulation, and reception of books are difficult processes to disentangle.[19] As I draw out in my conclusion to this thesis, this is only one particular narrative of the journal's history and it is a story that is the product of the sources that have been outlined above. As Withers notes "what we glean from the archive may be only a fraction of what happened in those myriad geographical encounters whose traces in the archive remain the object of our continuing enquiries".[20] In short, the methods outlined here have demonstrated an attentiveness to the more-than-textual elements of the periodical's history — it is then, a social history of geographical periodic print.

[18] Robert Darnton, "What is the History of Books?," *Daedalus* 111, no3. (1982).
[19] Ogborn and Withers, "Introduction".
[20] Charles W. J. Withers, "Geography and Credibility in Publishers' Archives," *Semestrale di Studi e Ricerche di Geografia* 1, (2017).

Chapter 4

The Development of Periodical Cultures at the Royal Geographical Society

By the early nineteenth century, there was a large and growing desire for printed works that detailed geographical discoveries. Popular with both specialist audiences and the general reading public, geographical writing appeared both as stand-alone monographs and interspersed in the pages of periodicals that addressed literary, political, and scientific themes. Geography was, for example, filling the pages of leading periodicals such as the *Edinburgh Review* (1802–1929) and its Tory counterpart the *Quarterly Review* (1809–1967).[1] In addition to periodicals addressing interested general readers, the publications of learned societies routinely carried articles that appeared to be concerned with geographical themes. This disciplinary overlap was most evident in the transactions of the Royal Society (f. 1660), the Royal Society of Antiquaries (f. 1707), and the Geological Society (f. 1807). Moreover, specialist publications that dealt explicitly with geography's varied disciplinary concerns were beginning to emerge. The Paris-based Société de Géographie (f. 1821) — that published its own *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* from shortly after its founding — is the most notable example of an early-publishing society concerned principally with the subject

[1] In the five years preceding the founding of the Royal Geographical Society the following articles were contributed to the *Quarterly Review* by RGS councilmen or fellows: in 1825, Dr. Johann Baptist von Spix and Carl Friedrich Philipp von Martius, 'Travels in Brazil in the Years 1817 to 1820'; in 1826, John Britton 'Britton's Cathedral Antiquities', William Edward Parry 'Journal of a Third Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific', James Weddel 'A Voyage towards the South Pole, performed in the years 1822–1824'; in 1828, William Edward Parry, 'Narrative Attempt to reach the South Pole'; in 1829, John Crawfurd, 'Journal of and Embassy from the Governor General of India to the court of Ava, in the year 1827', Lieutenant-General Sir Raufane Dokin, 'Dissertation on the course and probable termination of the Niger', Captain William Henry Smith, 'Life and Services of Captain Phillip Beaver', Captain Basil Hall, 'Travels in North America in the years 1827 and 1828'.

of geography. In Britain, however, whilst learned societies were overseeing the publication of scientific discourse in print, attention to geographical discoveries did not fall under the auspices of a particular learned society. Evidenced by the publication of geographical monographs and articles in both lay and specialist periodicals, there was a want for the latest geographical news, but with no specialist English-language geography periodical, geographical knowledge remained dispersed between these various textual forms. In the words of the society's founders, there was a "vast store of geographic information", but it was so "scattered and dispersed" as to be almost unavailable to the general reader.[2] Addressing this lacuna through the production of a regular work of the latest geographical discoveries would be the society's principal object.

In 1830, the Royal Geographical Society was formed with the intention of being democratic in its organisation and textual and periodic in its published output. Multiple draft prospectuses were drawn up, each making clear the intention to produce and regularly disseminate a printed work of geography. These plans ranged in scope and ambition. One draft version of the prospectus was, for example, hopeful that "such a Geographical Journal" might "find a sufficient number of readers to defray all its expenses, and even add to the funds of the society".[3] Notwithstanding this optimism, the principal aim of the society as it was defined in its official prospectus (printed in the journal's first number of 1831) made no reference to potential profit from the sale of the journal. The society's aim was, it noted:

> To collect, register, and digest, and to print for the use of the Members, and the public at large, in a cheap form and at certain intervals, such new,

[2] Anonymous, "Prospectus of the Royal Geographical Society," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 1, (1831): vii.
[3] John Britton, Prospectus for the establishment of the London Geographical Institution, Additional Papers AP/5, RGS-IBG.

> interesting, and useful facts and discoveries as the Society may have in its possession, and may, from time to time, acquire.[4]

In what follows, this chapter provides an account of the origins and foundation of the Royal Geographical Society's journal and highlights key transitionary periods in its nineteenth-century development. Whilst some of this history has been told in other sources, it is currently a fragmented story. Narratives of the journal's past, often written as part of larger institutional histories of the society, have often treated the journal as a footnote, secondary in importance to the wider activities of the society. Given that it was the society's principal aim on its foundation in 1830 to produce a regular work of geographical print, it is important to redress this omission. By understanding the journal as central to the remit and operation of the society in the nineteenth century, it is possible to develop a more sophisticated understanding of the production, authorisation, and circulation of geographical knowledge and to more fully describe the society's role as an agent in the making, evaluation, and communication of geography in this period.

Planning and Publishing *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*

Whilst it is evident that the society had an ambition to regularly publish geographical work, the parameters by which a journal should function were left poorly defined in its prospectus. In the absence of a specific publication plan, it was decided — at a meeting of the fledgling council on 4 December 1830 — that a specific publication committee should be formed in order to "consider and report on the form expedient for the society's publication".[5] The publication committee was to be formed of five of the society's founding members: Francis Baily (1774–1844), John Britton (1771–1857), George Greenough (1778–1855), George

[4] Anonymous, "Prospectus of the Royal Geographical Society," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 1, (1831): vii.
[5] Council Minute Book October 1830–July 1841, 4 December 1830, 8, RGS-IBG.

Long (1800–1879), and William Monteith (1790–1846). Each of those selected to report upon the society's periodical publication had links with the publishing trade, either as authors or editors.

At the time of the society's founding, Greenough — learned and financially independent — was known more for his advances in the field of geology, having written his first and only book, *A Critical Examination of the First Principles of Geology*, in 1819. Whilst Greenough's *Principles* received a mixed reception, as co-founder and the first president of the Geological Society, he brought to the committee not only his knowledge of monographic publishing but also an intimate knowledge of an established learned society that had published its transactions for more than two decades.[6] John Britton, an antiquarian author and editor, was equally versed with the publishing trade. Britton produced multiple works of regional and architectural geographies, his best-known being the various volumes of *The Beauties of England and Wales* (1801–15).[7] Unlike Britton, Francis Baily was not reliant on publications for income. Something of a polymath, he travelled in the late eighteenth century to North America, producing a journal that would be published posthumously in 1850. On his return to Britain, Baily entered the London Stock Exchange, amassing a considerable fortune in the course of business, and also wrote pamphlets on financial subjects. With his writing being favourably received, Baily set aside his commercial efforts to write more extensively on astronomy, having his first astronomical paper read at the Royal Society in 1811. Like Greenough, Baily was integral to the formation of one of London's learned societies, the Astronomical Society (f. 1820), acting as its secretary for the first three years and being involved in its administration and organisation during the early part of the nineteenth

[6] John Wyatt, "Greenough, George Bellas (1778–1855)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), Accessed July 18, 2018. doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/11432; on the publication practices of the Geological Society, see, Martin J.S. Rudwick, "Historical Origins of the Geological Society's Journal," *Journal of the Geological Society, London* 150 (1993).
[7] J. Mordaunt Crook, "Britton, John (1771–1857)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), Accessed July 18, 2018. doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/3458.

century. He came to the committee, then, with an intimate knowledge of a learned society that had published its own periodical — *Memoirs of the Royal Astronomical Society* — since 1822.[8] George Long, by far the youngest member of the committee, made up for his youth with an impressive academic career. He was elected professor at the University of Virginia in 1824 and returned to England in 1828 to take up the first professorship of Greek at the recently formed University College, London. At the time of the society's formation, Long had recently completed his first monograph, *A Summary of Herodotus* (1829). He was also an active member of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (f. 1826), editing its *Journal of Education* (1831–1835) and *Penny Cyclopaedia* (1828–1843).[9] Contrary to the clear links between other members of the committee and the publishing trade, William Monteith's connections to print and learned institutions are less evident. It is clear, however, that the committee called upon to report on a publication strategy of the newly formed society were, together, well accustomed to writing, editing, and publishing in geography and its affiliated disciplines.[10] This combined knowledge and experience, would shape the early direction of the society's geographical journal.

The report of the committee's recommendations is untraceable in the Royal Geographical Society's archives. Noted, however, are the significant debates that followed the reading of the report at a council meeting. There were differing opinions amongst the council as to the exact form and function of the journal. The report suggested that the society should publish a lavish quarto set of transactions annually, predominately containing information presented at the society's evening meetings. Much of the discussion revealed in the minutes

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[8] William J. Ashworth, "Baily, Francis (1774–1844)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), Accessed July 18, 2018. doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/1077.
[9] Martin D. W. Jones, "Long, George (1800–1879)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), Accessed July 18, 2018. doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/16967.
[10] William Monteith's biographical entry focuses on his military achievements rather than his literary or scientific contributions, see, James Faulker, "Monteith, William (1790–1864)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), Accessed July 18, 2018. doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/19043.

relates to the journal's financial cost and the viability of this plan. Despite the fact that the society's draft prospectus had hoped such a journal might improve the society's financial standing through its sales, the society's official prospectus set out no such hopes — as such financing this undertaking was particularly contested. Opinions on exactly how much money the society might contribute to the production of a journal varied considerably among the council. As the minutes of an 18 December 1830 meeting record, "on one wish it was suggested that an annual sum not under £200 or £250 should be devoted to this important purpose, on the other that the expense this incurred should not exceed £50 or £60, and if fulfillable be brought down to £35".[11] Given the level of indecision among the council members, it was ultimately decided that the secretary should call upon the London publisher John Murray II (1778–1843) to ask his advice on the society's fledgling plans for a periodical work of geography. Ostensibly Murray's expert knowledge would shape the journal's form and function.

As Britain's leading publisher of travel literature, and proprietor of the popular and influential periodical *Quarterly Review*, asking Murray to act as advisor was an obvious choice; he was, as Hugh Robert Mill later recorded, able to give advice on many practical matters.[12] Murray's connections with the council's vice presidents likely influenced their decision to approach him over rival publishers. Murray had published John Barrow's *Chronological History of Voyages in the Arctic Region* (1818) — Barrow's first work not published by the firm T. Cadell and W. Davies — and at the time of the society's founding was working to produce Barrow's *Mutiny of the Bounty* (1831). Murray had also published other vice presidents' work: *The East India Gazetteer* (1815) by William Hamilton and William Leake's *Journey in Asia Minor* (1824) and *Travels in the Morea* (1830). Moreover, both Barrow and

[11] Council Minute Book October 1830–July 1841, 18 December 1830, 10–11, RGS-IBG.
[12] Hugh Robert Mill, *Record of the Royal Geographical Society 1830–1930* (London: The Royal Geographical Society, 1930).

Hamilton had been employed by the publisher as readers, commenting on the quality and interest of manuscripts submitted to the firm.[13] As Janice Cavell has demonstrated, Murray and Barrow worked closely together as part of the latter's position as second secretary to the Admiralty and the former's position as official publisher to the Admiralty and Board of Longitude. Barrow was, in Cavell's words, "the epitome of the behind-the-scenes manipulator" and held considerable influence, particularly over the publication of Arctic travel narratives.[14] Barrow's Admiralty position might explain, at least in part, why, when the society approached Murray with plans for a journal, they imagined it would assume a quarto format, echoing the lavish volumes of Arctic travel that Murray had issued for the Admiralty throughout the 1820s — works that conveyed a sense of authority and prestige through their imposing physical form.

Murray's advice, reported by the secretary at a meeting of the council in late December 1830, was to reconsider both the form and function of the proposed publication. Murray "strongly dissuaded" the society "from publishing 4to transactions", noting that, in the current marketplace, quarto volumes were "almost unsalable".[15] Murray also assured the council that they should publish their transactions more frequently than the annual basis they had proposed. The journal, at least in the view of Murray, should be an "8vo of Geographical Science" published "monthly or two-monthly".[16] Murray's advice is hardly surprising; more parts to sell would have, at least in theory, presented a greater opportunity to generate a profit.

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[13] Innes Keighren, Charles W. J. Withers and Bill Bell, *Travels into Print: Exploration, Writing, and Publishing with John Murray, 1773–1859* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2015).
[14] Janice Cavell, *Tracing the Connected Narrative: Arctic Exploration in British Print Culture, 1818–1860* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 9.
[15] Council Minute Book October 1830–July 1841, 29 December 1830, 11–12, RGS-IBG.
[16] Council Minute Book October 1830–July 1841, 29 December 1830, 11–12, RGS-IBG.

Although Murray's advice was not met with uniform enthusiasm by the council, it was heeded; his offer to gift 500 free copies of the first number of the journal doubtless also helped to counteract the dashed hopes of some councilmen. The production of the journal's first number was relatively straightforward, but it is obvious that it was seen by both the society and Murray as a work in progress; its form and function evolved in a number of ways throughout its first year of production. As per Murray's instructions, the journal was published in octavo format, but his suggestion of a regular monthly publication was rejected on the grounds that it would be too labour intensive an undertaking for the society's staff. That the council was more concerned about adopting a resolution to declare that the type employed by the *Quarterly Review* was to be used in its own journal — rather than debating the content that type would be used to print — attests to the fact the journal was, at least in the minds of council members, as much a tool of reputation building and of prestige as it was of communication.[17] Much like the desire to publish in a grand quarto volume, the materiality of the journal mattered to the council; if the journal was to travel the world and to appeal to prominent individuals and like-minded institutions, the volume must embody disciplinary and institutional authority in its physical form.

The journal, in its first incarnation as *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* then, followed most of Murray's suggestions. In addition to publishing in octavo, the society responded to Murray's call for a journal of geographical science, rather than simply a record of society events, by supplementing its transactions with additional sections entitled 'analyses' and 'miscellaneous'. In April 1831, discussions over the structure and content of the journal gathered pace as George Long and George Greenough proposed that 'analytical and critical' articles be included in the journal.[18] The 'analyses' section contained reviews or extended

[17] Council Minute Book October 1830–July 1841, 23 April 1831, 29, RGS-IBG.
[18] Council Minute Book October 1830–July 1841, 30 April 1831, 30, RGS-IBG.

abstracts of new geographical publications and attempted to report and evaluate advancements in the discipline by practitioners beyond the society. The inclusion of a supplementary section of miscellaneous geographical notices was not debated until the summer and then only because of the desire of the council to include some information from the papers of the explorer of India, William Moorcroft (1767–1825), that had recently been received by the society. The 'miscellaneous' section, that occupied a position at the end of each volume, typically comprised of notices, correspondence, and abstracts received at the society. Despite the addition of these sections, the journal as it then existed was still far from the compendium of geographical science that Murray had recommended.

From the hopes for a regular publication outlined in the society's prospectus, it is evident that a clear vision for the journal's first number was largely absent. There was, in the nineteenth century, a clear intertextual relationship between the form and structure of learned institutions' periodicals. As Martin Rudwick has demonstrated in the case of the Geological Society, that institution's publication was influenced by the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions* and the Paris-based *Journal des Mines*.[19] At the society, the result of the amendments in structure and content of the journal rendered it very similar to other learned periodicals, bearing a particular resemblance to the publication of the Paris geographical society. As is demonstrated in Table 1, whilst the journal mirrored the structure of comparable institutional periodicals, it differed significantly from the journal *Nature* (1869–date) — a periodical that addressed a similarly specialist audience but that was run commercially. Not being tied to reporting the institutional goings on of a particular society, *Nature*'s structure allowed it to address a broad audience of scientific and learned persons and, through specific sections such as letters to the editor, maintain a variety that

[19] Martin J.S. Rudwick, "Historical Origins of the Geological Society's Journal," *Journal of the Geological Society, London* 150 (1993).

Table 1. The generic structure and content of five nineteenth-century scientific periodical publications. Information on the scientific journal Nature extracted from Melinda Baldwin, Making "Nature": The History of a Scientific Journal, (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago, 2015).

The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society	*Philosophical Transactions*	*Bulletin Société de Géographie (Paris)*	*Transactions of the Geological Society*	*Nature*
Papers read before the society	Papers	Premiere Section: Memories, Extraits, Analyses et Rapports	Transactions	Editorial
	Appendix			Lead Articles
				Book Reviews
				Articles
Analyses		Deuxième section: Actes de la Societe		Letters to Editor
Miscellaneous				Notes
		Troisieme Section: Documens, Communications, Nouvelles Geographiques		Scientific Serials
				Discipline Reports

kept readers returning for each new number — something the society was largely unable to achieve.

The rationale for the journal's structure is explained here by three factors. First, the journal operated in English, then emerging as the *lingua franca* of international science and scholarship, and therefore received and solicited geographical communications from across the world from its outset. Such communications, as I refer to throughout, were not simply papers styled for publication, but also included maps, translations, private correspondence, and statistical tables. As such it was immediately clear that the important information that the society intended to circulate, both to and beyond its membership, would not only be the papers communicated at its evening meetings. The supplementary sections of analyses and miscellany and were likely informed by the structure and content of the Paris society's *Bulletin*. The chosen headings, it could be argued, were an opportunity to match and

potentially better goings on in Paris. The headings no doubt also somewhat appeased John Murray's calls for a far wider-ranging publication of geographical science. Indeed, Murray himself had refused to sign any agreement with the society until he had seen a specimen number of its transactions.[20]

Like much of the society's earliest dealings, the details of such agreement with Murray exists in neither of the associated depositories. However, a disagreement between the secretary Alexander Maconochie and Murray indicates that the latter intended to take on the journal on a commission of ten percent. The expectation of Maconochie was that Murray would "take the risk" of the lithographed illustrations upon himself.[21] Murray, the secretary clarified, would have been happy to take on the risk of the lithography had the society agreed to a monthly publication, but in agreeing to publish at most twice yearly, the publisher retracted his earlier offer to purchase the journal's illustrative matter. Ultimately, the council resolved that the secretary was to "pay all accounts due on the journal immediately, taking advantage of whatever discount could be procured on them for prompt payment" and to enter into discussion with Mr Murray over the future terms on which the publication would be delivered with any agreement being "reduced to writing and made quite specific".[22] Following discussions with the secretary, Murray did offer to undertake the journal on the agreement that, alongside contributing to the costs of illustration and editing, the society would agree to purchase at least 500 copies at 6s. — an offer that was declined by the council. The journal's and the society's finances, as I go on to show, would continue to shape the journal in particular ways throughout the nineteenth century.

[20] Council Minute Book October 1830–July 1841, 5 March 1831, 19, RGS-IBG.
[21] Council Minute Book October 1830–July 1841, 18 February 1832, 50, RGS-IBG.
[22] Council Minute Book October 1830–July 1841, 18 February 1832, 50–1, RGS-IBG.

There is no evidence, beyond the hopeful estimations of a draft prospectus, that the council ever intended the journal's account to balance. Nonetheless, it was soon realised that the cost of producing a geographical journal was unsustainable for a society in its infancy. In the earliest years, the production of the journal was a considerable burden on the society's finances that were already strained by a membership structure that allowed fellows to join for life for a relatively modest fee, and the costs incurred in moving the society to Waterloo Place.[23] The society's position was not helped when, in 1836, in accordance with its founding principle to publish new and interesting information at regular intervals, the society increased its output to two parts annually (it would later increase to three parts annually). Whilst the journal provided no financial gain for the society, it is important to account for particular non-fiscal benefits of the journal, it, for example, enhanced the reputation of the society; presented a textual output to control and shape nineteenth-century geography; was a benefit of joining the society as a fellow; and it was used to exchange publications with other like-minded learned institutions, individuals, professional bodies, and public libraries. Despite these benefits outlined above — that are scrutinised further in subsequent chapters — it was not long before the council acknowledged that it could ill-afford to continue publishing at such a frequency.

The society's fiscal decisions were made by the council, in conjunction with the secretary and later with an appointed finance committee that presided over the details of matters delivered to them at council meetings. The society's annual financial figures fluctuated, largely dependent on the backing afforded to various expeditions. Annual records of the society's finances and a detailed projection for the year ahead were presented by the treasurer, secretary, and auditors in the front matter of the journal from 1836. By the early 1840s, these tables made for unpleasant reading. Membership and subscription had

[23] Hugh Robert Mill refers to this period as the "Hungry Forties", Mill, *Record*, 51.

stagnated, meaning the main source of income for the society — and what, at least theoretically, offset the costs incurred in producing their journal — was in rapid decline. When we compare (see Figure 1) the cost of producing the journal relative to the society's other outgoings between 1830 and 1880, the journal's changing fortunes are obvious. There are three discernible periods. Initially (1830–1841) a short period where the annual expenditures suggested at the early council meetings were quickly forgotten, followed by a period of enforced fiscal reform (1841–1856) that brought down expenditure on the journal, and, from the mid-century (1857–1880), a growing cost of journal production. Each of these periods conceal their own history of the society's and the journal's fortunes.

The period of financial reform that was predominately a product of over spending and poor planning in the society's earliest years, had particular implications for the journal over the following years. The number of pages in the journal (Figure 2) reflects the first measures taken by the council to ensure that cost of production was significantly reduced. Initially around 400 pages, by 1840 the journal would grow to be a cumbersome octavo of over 600 pages of main material once the individual parts were stitched together (as was the preference of many fellows). By volume 18 in 1848, the journal would slump to an all-time low of just 150 pages of original content, despite the council's insistence that they could have "the satisfaction of stating that nothing of importance" had been omitted from the volume.[24]

Measures to improve the finances of the society, specifically by reducing the cost of the journal's production, began in the early 1840s. In an effort to avoid damaging the character of the society's publication the initial efforts to reduce cost were enforced by employing the

[24] Anon, "Royal Geographical Society 1848, Report of the Council," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 18 (1848): v.

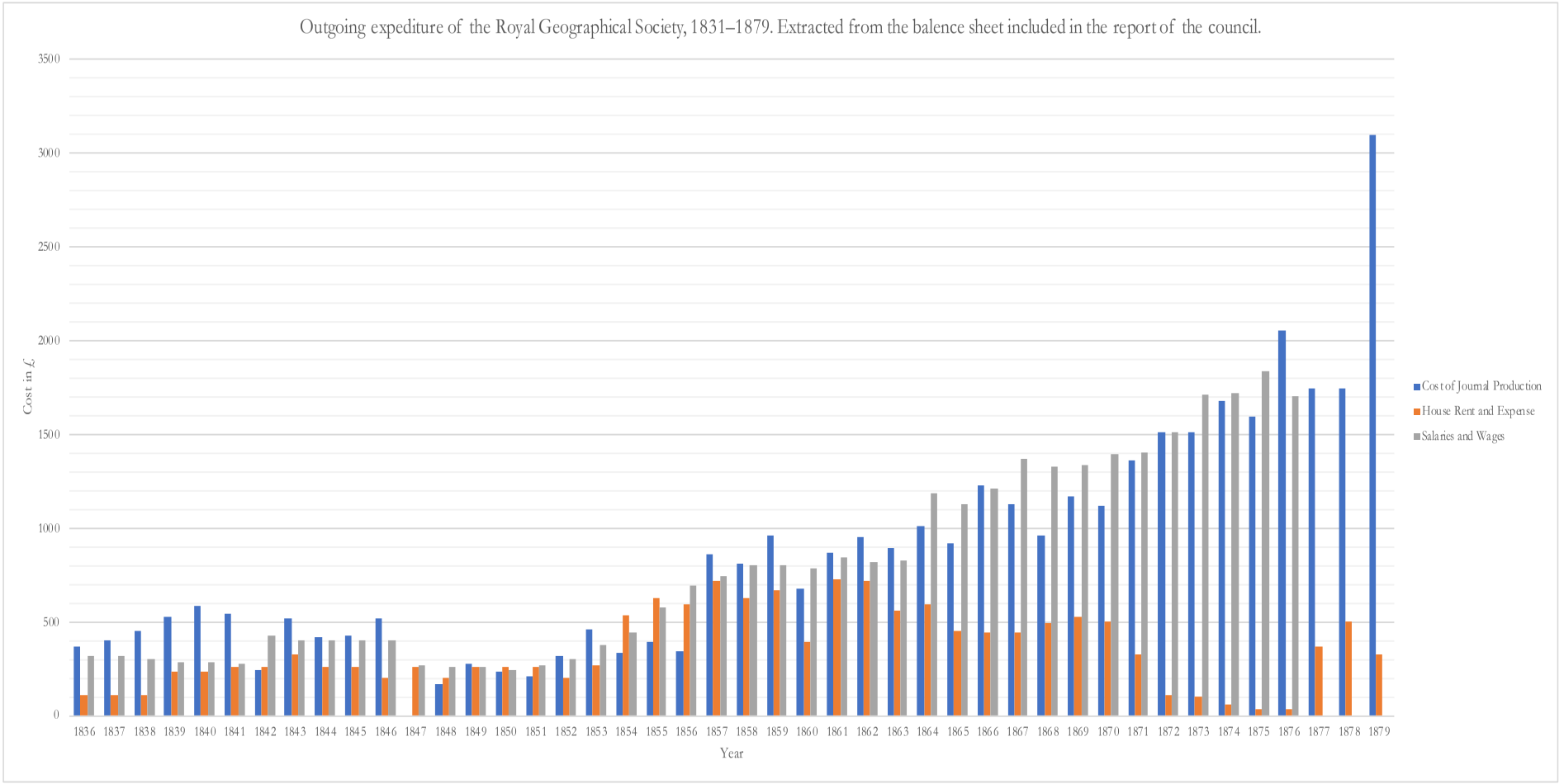

Figure 1. Expenditure of the society between 1831–1879, not accounting for inflation throughout the century. The journal's production costs for 1847 are absent because the publication was funded by the John Murray publishing house in this year. The costs associated with the house rent and expenditure decrease dramatically once the society move to 1 Saville Row in the early 1870s. Amounts for salaries and wages does not appear from 1877 as the treasurers began the practice of listing salaries as part of the expenditure of departments such as the map room, office, and library.

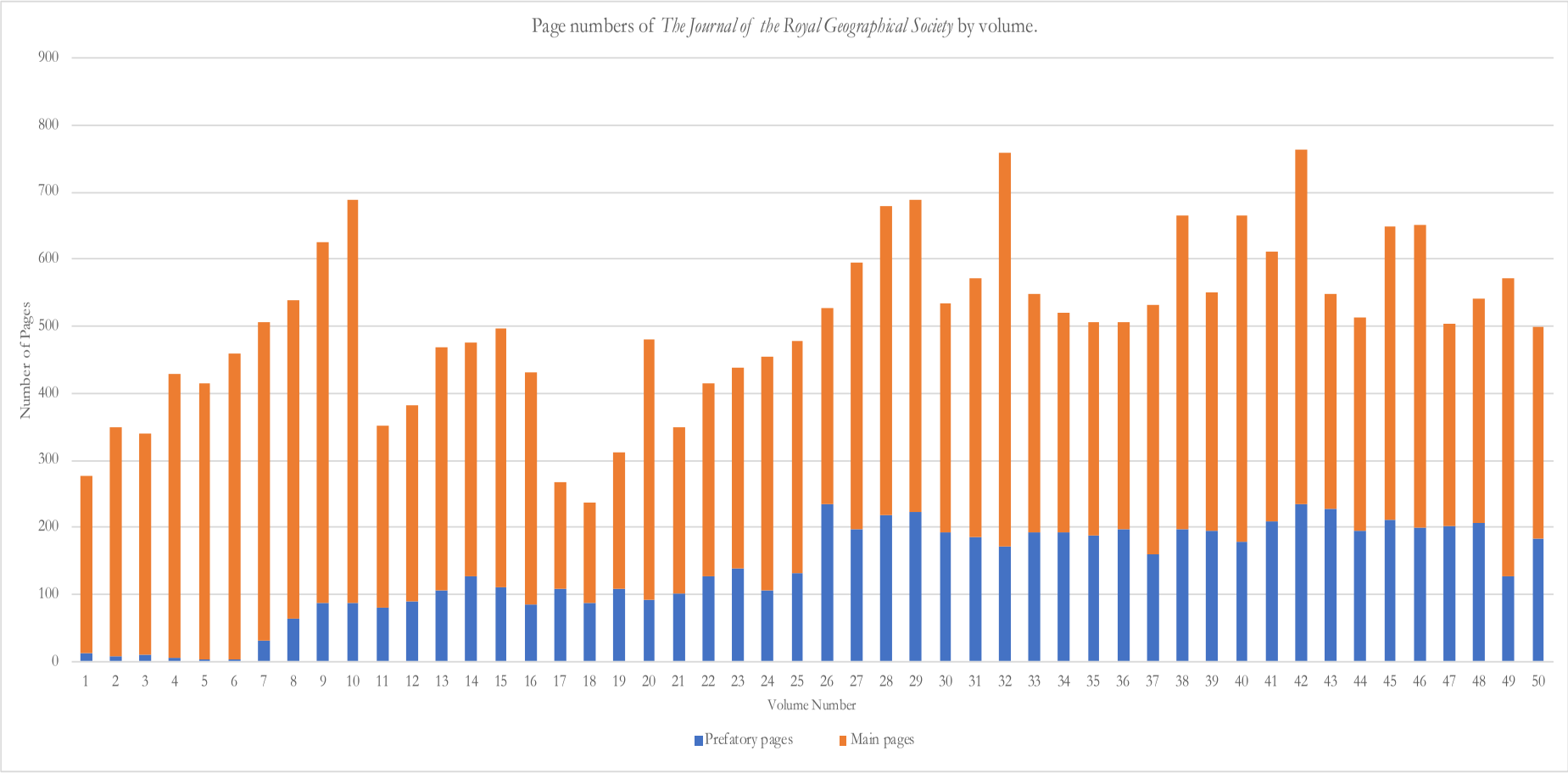

Figure 2. Page numbers of each number of The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society 1830–1880. Prefatory pages include front matter paginated with roman numerals including: title page, contents page, society regulations, list of council, list of honorary, corresponding, and ordinary members, list of institutions receiving copies of the journal, names of individuals receiving the royal premium, list of donors, annual report of the council, accessions to the library and map room, presentation of Royal Awards, and the President's address at the Anniversary Meeting.

services of one of the founders of the society, George Renouard (1780–1867). Best known for his classical scholarship, Renouard's publishing experience was relatively limited, yet as a leading member of the translation committee of the Royal Asiatic Society, he was knowledgeable when it came to the publications of a learned society.[25] More importantly for the society, Renouard "asked for no salary", on the agreement that he would receive "the sum of £100 a year in order to enable him to obtain literary assistance" and would be granted the "advice and assistance" of a dedicated publication committee.[26] The transition to unpaid editorship allowed the society to relieve its secretary Julian Jackson (1790–1853) from the burden of editing the journal, and, importantly in the context of the journal's production, to reduce this salary accordingly.

Employing unpaid labour in order to reduce the cost of producing the journal was a short-lived solution. By February 1841 the council's minutes indicate that Renouard was struggling to keep pace. Now published in three parts annually, the third part of volume 10 was delayed, and Jackson, the secretary, was directed to write to Renouard to indicate that the council believed it "indispensable to the wellbeing of the society that the journal of the society [be] published as directed in the resolutions of the committee of 17th November".[27] Renouard's resignation coincided with a report of the finance committee that outlined four measures to "diminish the expenditure of the society". The first noted the necessity of reducing the cost of producing the journal by "condensing the matter so as to reduce the size of the parts by limiting the illustrations to what is strictly essential and by publishing only two parts yearly instead of three".[28] Further there was to be a restriction on the number

[25] H. C. G. Matthew, "Renouard, George Cecil (1780–1867)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), Accessed August 28, 2017. doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/23380.
[26] Council Minute Book October 1830–July 1841, 23 November 1840, 297–8, RGS-IBG.
[27] Council Minute Book October 1830–July 1841, 22 February 1841, 304, RGS-IBG.
[28] Council Minute Book November 1841–March 1853, 11 April 1841, 21–2, RGS-IBG.

of books purchased for the society's collection, a temporary cessation of grants for travellers, and revision of the membership rates.

These changes, the council argued, necessitated a change of editor and Renouard was to continue only until the completion of the second part of the 11th volume was ready for print. Allowing Renouard to complete the next number of the publication also allowed the council's preferred candidate, William Weir, to complete his work on the *New Biographical Dictionary* (1840).[29] Weir represented something of an experiment for the society. Hitherto the editing had been undertaken by a paid council member appointed largely by convenience but also upon their geographical credentials. Weir was a political journalist, establishing himself through articles promoting liberalism in Tait's *Edinburgh Magazine* (1832–1861) and later by editing the Whig *Glasgow Argus* (1833–1847). Moving to London in 1840 Weir arrived as an aspiring barrister but literary and journalistic commissions took precedence.[30] Importantly for the society, Weir agreed to undertake the editing of the journal for just £100 annually.[31] Once again though, attempts at reducing the cost of producing the journal by restricting the editor's salary were relatively short lived. By late November 1843, Weir had resigned, citing his "inability to continue the editorship of the Journal at the current rate of remuneration".[32]

The response of the committee formed to report upon the most expedient procedure following Weir's resignation was to revert back to a system where the society's secretary assumed the responsibility of editing the journal. Yet it was quickly apparent that more radical fiscal reform was required, that would actively shape the form and content of the

[29] Council Minute Book November 1841–March 1853, 11 April 1841, 22, RGS-IBG.
[30] Kenneth J. Cameron, "Weir, William (1802–1858)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), Accessed August 28, 2017. doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/28975.
[31] Council Minute Book November 1841–March 1853, 11 April 1841, 22, RGS-IBG.
[32] Committee Minute Book 1841–1865, 17 November 1843, 9–10, RGS-IBG.

journal. In March 1844, the secretary submitted a "tabular view of the number of copies printed of each part of the journal", including the number needed by the society and the number sold. Whilst the secretary's report is not filed alongside the council's minutes, the ledger books of the Murray firm give a good indication of the number of copies unsold. In an audit of stock remaining by 1840, Murray reckoned the firm had 4,656 copies of the journal in hand (Figure 3).[33] With prints runs of between 1,000 and 1,500, and a fellowship of around 700 entitled to a copy *gratis*, such figures illustrate the relatively modest sales of the journal (as is reflected upon further in Chapter 7). Back copies did continue to sell as new fellows attempted to accrue a complete set, but as more of the buyers became fellows of the society, sales continued to stagnate, and Murray's commission of 10 percent provided only very modest returns. Murray was not the only stakeholder impacted by the necessary frugality of the society. In 1847, the journal's printer, William Clowes (f. 1803), was informed that the society was to reduce the number of copies of the journal by 250 for the forthcoming volumes.[34] And further, the secretary negotiated a 7.5 percent discount on the price of paper, if the bill was settled in within three months of publication. These measures were implemented with the aim of reducing the cost of production by at least £50 per volume. Due to the lagging annual publication of particular numbers, it is difficult to ascertain whether the measures reduced the cost. The cost of printing and illustration did fall in 1844 to £417 from £514 the year previous but each year's balance sheets include multiple volumes, making it difficult to accurately quantify the cost of each individual volume. Regardless of these ambitions, it was not until 1848 that the cost of the journal's production was significantly reduced (see Figure. 1).

[33] Bookseller's book, John Murray Archive, National Library of Scotland, Ms. 42885, 4 February 1840, 24.
[34] Anonymous, "Report of the Council," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 17 (1847).

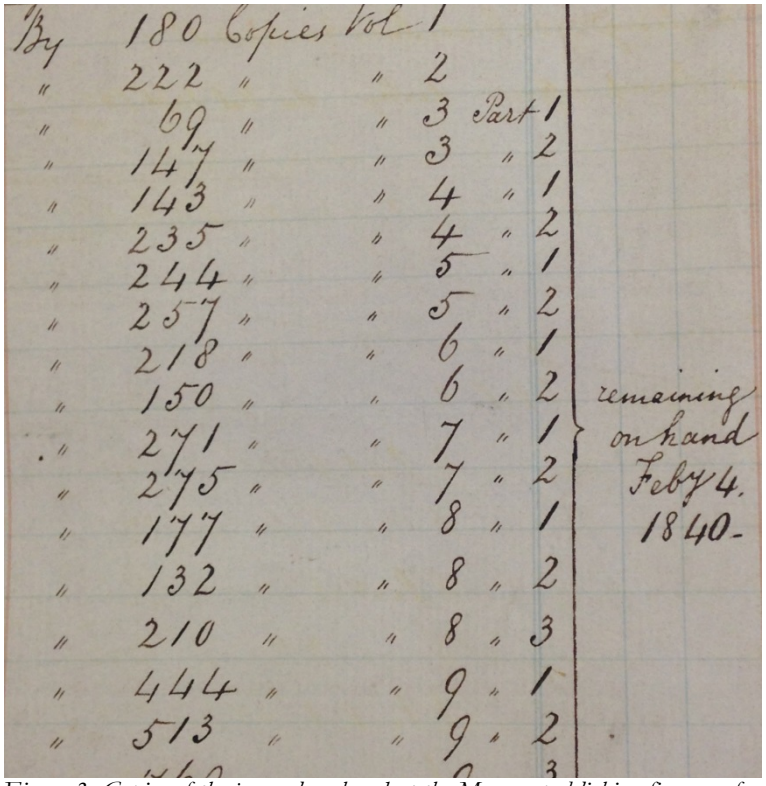

Figure 3. Copies of the journal on hand at the Murray publishing firm as of February 1840, Source: Bookseller's book, John Murray Archive, NLS, Ms. 42885, f.24.

Throughout the 1840s, various suggestions were put forward in attempts to reduce the journal's deficit. In 1844, the secretary Julian Jackson, for example, put forward a motion that would have allowed the cost price of each part of the journal to vary. Aileen Fyfe has evidenced similar practices occurring at the Royal Society, as she notes, commercial journals or magazines worked to particular page limits and hence a standard cover price was a key part of their marketing strategy. Much like the *Philosophical Transactions* (1662–date), *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* had no set page limit (see Figure 2). However, unlike the early *Philosophical Transactions*, the journal did carry a standard price. The grounds on which Jackson justified setting a higher price for specific parts of the journal related to the value of any diagrams and/or maps. He suggested for example, that the second part of volume 13 had particularly valuable illustrative content, and therefore that the price could

be raised from 5s to 6s 6d in order to recoup some of the outlay on that number of the journal.[35] Jackson's suggestion, however, was quickly dismissed.[36]

The illustrative elements of the journal were a particular financial burden. As one fellow noted in a letter to the society on the subject of the journal, "you cannot be too careful in the accuracy and clearness of all the Maps, Plans, &c. added to each number" for they are central to the marketing of such a publication, particularly outside of London where such maps were more difficult to procure.[37] Whilst the council undoubtedly knew the journal was no exception, illustrating two parts annually was incurring the society significant expense. Reluctant to enforce a fluctuating cover price, the council decided it only expedient to enforce serious economy on the illustrations of the journal. Such economy was not simply achieved by a reduction of plates appearing in each number, but by a resolution of the council, moving from costly, but what it considered more accurate copper-plate technologies to lithography.[38] Such change would make a significant difference. The images for the 1839 volume, for example, cost the society £197 3s., whereas the images for the following 10 volumes would cost less than £100 per part.

Despite the measures implemented with the intention of reducing the cost of production, the meeting of the council on the 2nd February 1846 saw a discussion as to "whether or not [the journal] should continue to be delivered as heretofore, gratuitously to the members".[39] Proposed by Thomas Shadwell Clarke (1792–1849), a retired Irish soldier and former editor

[35] It is unclear whether Jackson was referring to one specific map or the collection of illustrations in the volume. Three detailed maps appear in the second part of volume thirteen, accompanying the following papers: H. G. Hamilton on The Country between Liverpool Plains and Moreton Bay, in New South Wales; Charles Tillstone Beke, On the Countries South of Abyssinia; and Roderick Impey Murchinson, A Few Observations on the Ural Mountains, to Accompany a New Map of a Southern Portion of That Chain.
[36] Council Minute Book November 1841–March 1853, 11 November 1844, 87, RGS-IBG.
[37] Philip Maughan to John Washington, 30 March 1839, CB2/344, RGS-IBG.
[38] Committee Minute Book 1841–1865, 5 March 1846, 15, RGS-IBG.
[39] Council Minute Book November 1841–March 1853, 2 February 1846, 118, RGS-IBG.

of *Colburn's United Service Magazine*, and seconded by the future president of the society William Hamilton (1805–1867), a motion carried whereby the gratuitous distribution of the journal to members of the society was to cease — it later being decided that a special meeting of the council should be called the following Saturday in order to examine the question in more detail. Continuing with their discussions at the following meeting, it was debated not simply if the *gratis* distribution of the journal might cease but as to whether it was possible for the society to produce a journal given its current financial circumstances.[40] There being the "expression of various opinions" in that meeting, a committee was formed to report upon the future of the society's publication.

The committee was formed of two of the Vice-Presidents William Hamilton and Roderick Murchison (1792–1871), alongside the councilmen George Greenough — who had sat on the first committee tasked with examining the form of the journal — Francis Beaufort (1774–1857), and James Bandinel (1783–1849). Many of the committee's suggestions were simply permutations of earlier efforts to enforce economy on the journal's production — an annual budget of £300 was set once again, the secretary was ordered to procure estimates from numerous printers, and the number of pages was to be reduced by printing shorter papers or abstracts. Reducing the print run to 1,000 copies was rejected once the committee confirmed that printing 1,250 copies of each number would only increase the cost of production by around £21 each number. Yet, after months of meetings to discuss the reductions, the council decided the cost of production was still too burdensome on the society's finances, and it was resolved that "the journal no longer be delivered gratis to members but sold to them at a price not exceeding 4 shillings per part or 8 shillings for the annual volume".[41] Seemingly, it was only through the sale of the journal to fellows that the

[40] Council Minute Book November 1841–March 1853, 7 February 1846, 119, RGS-IBG.
[41] Council Minute Book November 1841–March 1853, 11 May 1846, 131, RGS-IBG.

committee thought the expenditure could be recouped — for a small learned society, the reality of producing regular scientific print was becoming increasingly evident.

Following the cessation of gratis distribution of the journal, several ordinary fellows resigned in protest. Some members, not content with a silent protest, wrote to their literary agents asking them to inform the council they were unhappy with the resolution passed at the meeting. Others contacted the council directly to voice their concerns.[42] One fellow, John Edward Gray (1800–1875), maintained that he had a right to a *gratis* copy of the journal since the council "did not have the power to alter the regulation made at a general meeting".[43] However, the most ardent protestations came from Richard Henry Major (1818–1891), curator of the map collection at the British Museum. In one of a series of letters to the secretary, Julian Jackson, he wrote:

> I beg to state I shall not pay for copies of the Journal to which I hold myself entitled by having paid as a compounding member at a period when the journal was delivered to members gratis…It was out of my power to be present at the meeting in question, but the injustice of the resolution so plainly speaks its own condemnation…I deny the power of any majority however great to inflict even upon one esurient compounder the loss of an advantage for which he has paid, and paid in a manner that excludes him from retiring uninjured from his prejudiced position.[44]

Upon Jackson's rejection of the arguments laid out in the above letter, Major wrote again:

> I am sorry, however, to say that I do not recognise the validity of your remarks, for, though you observe that "nothing in the original prospectus of the society could have led members to expect" a copy of the journal to be delivered gratis, (which observation I cannot contradict, because I never saw a copy of such original prospectus) yet I must remind you that the prospectus current at the period for my joining the society bore prominently on its first page in an isolated sentence more readily catching the eyes than any other in the book, the

[42] R. W. Hay to John Shillingshaw, 1 August 1846, CB3/371, RGS-IBG.
[43] Council Minute Book November 1841–March 1853, 8 February 1847, 154, RGS-IBG.
[44] Richard Henry Major to Julian Jackson, 4 July 1846, CB3/518, RGS-IBG.

> announcement that every member of the society was entitled to a copy of the journal gratis.[45]

Whilst the society would not back down from its position, the protestations were relatively short lived due to what would follow. What the episode does reflect is the strong link between the benefits of fellowship and the journal. A number of fellows then, clearly believed that the receipt of the society's journal was not only a fellowship right but the society's *raison d'être*.

The society had only been in a position to enforce the sale of its journal to its members by an agreement between it and the publisher John Murray. In the arrangement, the publisher agreed to take on the full cost of the journal, keeping the profit that was made from his speculation.[46] Murray II had, of course, originally suggested that the journal might be much improved, but his death in 1843 handed the control of the firm to his son John Murray III (1808–1892) and likely explains why the house took on the cost of the publication. Regardless of how Murray III viewed the publication prior to agreeing to take on the cost of the journal, he would be disappointed just a few months into his venture. As the secretary reported to the meeting of the council, "the sale of the journal among members of the society proceeded very slowly about 143 only have expressed their desire to have it and that little more than £20 had been as yet received for copies sold".[47] An additional circular was sent to members in attempt to induce a more favourable rate of sale, but by the early part of 1847, Murray III wrote to the society to inform them that the "journal having initiated upon him a considerable loss he must decline continuing it for the present year".[48] The

[45] Richard Henry Major to Julian Jackson, 8 July 1846, CB3/518, RGS-IBG.
[46] It is for this reason that Figures 1 and 4 appear without a value for 1847; in 1844 the Geological Society also had a similar agreement with the publisher Longman but likewise that firm was unable to make a learned society's publication financially marketable and the arrangement lasted just one year. See, for more detail, Rudwick, "Historical Origins".
[47] Council Minute Book November 1841–March 1853, 9 November 1846, 144, RGS-IBG.
[48] Council Minute Book November 1841–March 1853, 22 February 1847, 156, RGS-IBG.

council, recognising that the burden of the journal was about to be thrust back upon the society issued a final circular but by March 1847 conceded that "notwithstanding the issue of the new circular, only 200 members had expressed their intention of paying for it, and that it did not appear probable that more than 250 at most could be expected to do".[49] As a consequence, it was decided that the print run of the journal be reduced to 1,000 and that members, whilst they would be eligible once again to receive the journal as part of their membership, would have to apply for the right to do so.[50]

The renewed fortunes of the journal had little to do with the publication itself. Although the efforts of a new editor, Norton Shaw (appointed 1849), were said to have improved the content and quality of the journal, it was the reformulation of the society's membership and subscription that ensured the longevity of the journal. As is demonstrated in Figure 4, the cost of the journal's production was never matched by its sale, indeed as is illustrated the annual deficit increased throughout the nineteenth century (Table 2). However, the growth of annual income from the entrance of members, life compositors (those who paid a one-off fee to become fellows for life), and annual subscriptions throughout the century provided a revenue stream that could offset the considerable losses of the journal (Table 3). The journal would continue on throughout the nineteenth century, and as this examination of its early history has demonstrated, the society and its council thought it fundamentally the business of a learned society to produce its transactions in print. Even when the journal was doing considerable financial harm to the society as a whole, measures of economy were sought, and only once in the council's recorded minutes was the termination of the journal discussed. Being periodic, as well as textual, is what would shape the future direction of the society's publications.

[49] Council Minute Book November 1841–March 1853, 8 March 1847, 157, RGS-IBG.
[50] Council Minute Book November 1841–March 1853, 8 March 1847, 160, RGS-IBG.

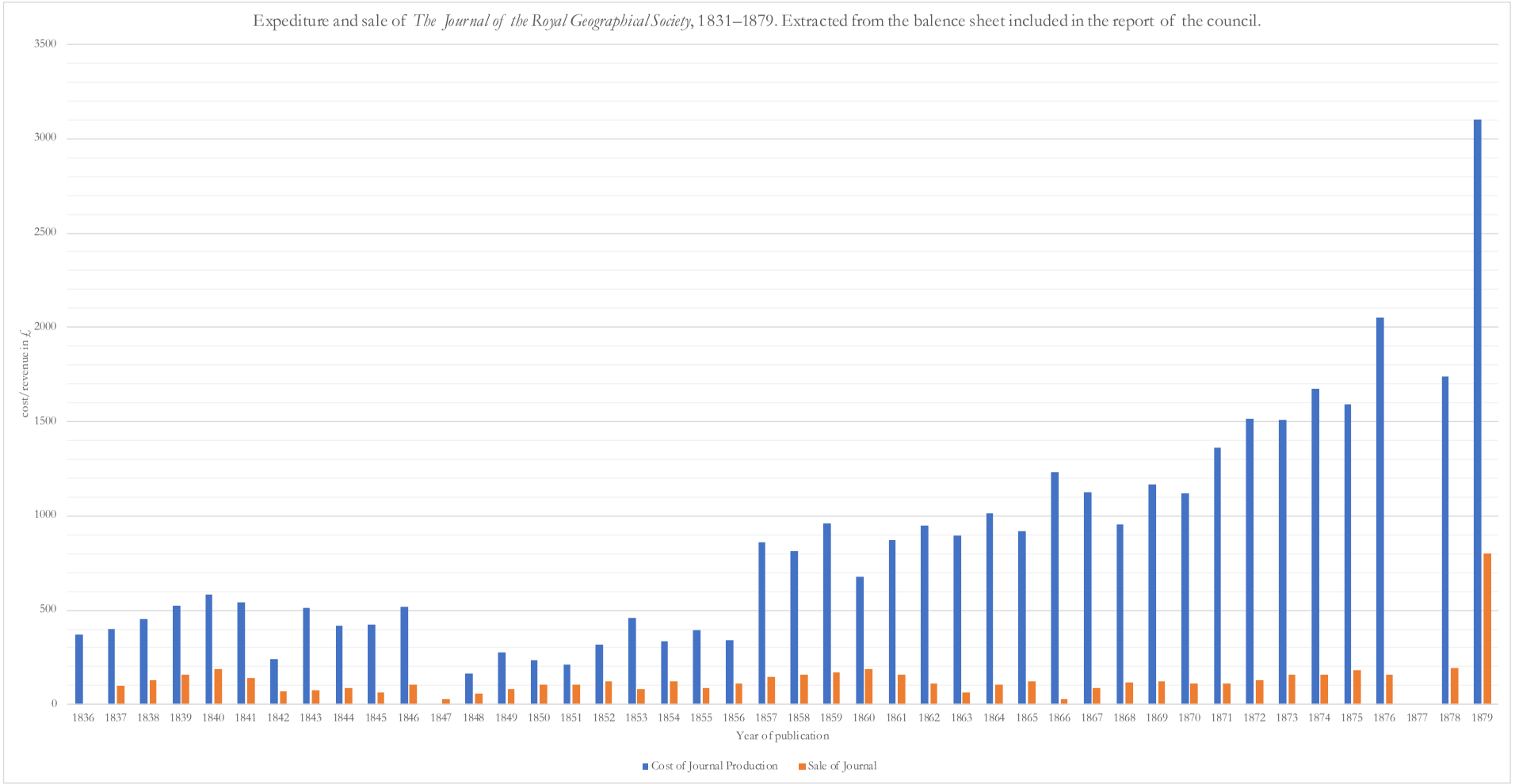

Figure 4. Outline of the cost of producing the journal against the returns in sales.

Table 2. Average annual deficit incurred as a result of publishing the journal. Extracted from the annual figures detailed in the reports of the Council from 1835.

Period Reviewed	Average annual deficit caused by production of the journal (£) excluding salaries
1835–1839	330
1840–1844	348
1845–1849	268
1850–1854	204
1855–1859	539
1860–1864	754
1865–1869	962
1870–1874	1,292
1875–1880	1,785

Table 3. Average annual income for selected years generated by entrance of members and life composition. Extracted from the annual figures detailed in the reports of the Council from 1835.

Year	Average annual income from entrance of members and life compositions (£)
1835–1839	487
1840–1844	342
1845–1849	189
1850–1854	519
1855–1859	1773
1860–1864	3585
1865–1869	3805
1870–1874	5022
1875–1879	6393

From a Journal to *Proceedings* (1855–1892)

By the early years of the 1850s, some members of the council were growing restless with *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*. David Kronick's history of early modern scientific and technical periodicals has identified that by the end of the eighteenth century, periodicals could be considered to have a set of seven characteristics: periodicity, duration, collectivity, availability, continuity, and two additional characteristics that demarcate the periodical from newspapers, timelessness and universality.[51] Whilst the society's journal undoubtedly satisfied the majority of Kronick's criteria, its relative lack of availability beyond the fellowship of the society, and each number's significant delay throughout the 1840s, opened the journal up to criticism from certain voices in the council

One such voice was that of Francis Galton (1822–1911) (Figure. 5). Galton, described by one society historian as being of "strong character", both "enthusiastic in urging his own proposals and instinctively critical of those of others", led the calls for reform in the society's publications.[52] It was his so-called strong character that would lead Galton to clash with the editor of the journal Norton Shaw many times over the following years, but throughout 1855, when discussions of a new or additional publication of the society gathered pace, Shaw appears, from the records at least, to have been on board with Galton's latest scheme. By the close of 1855, Shaw announced publicly at a meeting of the council that he was "prepared to undertake the additional labour" that would be incurred by assuming the editorship of the new *Proceedings* of the society alongside his current post as editor of its journal. He professed that the reason he would undertake such an increased workload was because he was sure that "the publication of the Proceedings would be of

[51] David Kronick, *A History of Scientific and Technical Periodicals: the Origins and Development of the Scientific and Technical Press, 1665-1790 (*Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1976).
[52] Mill, *Record*, 74.

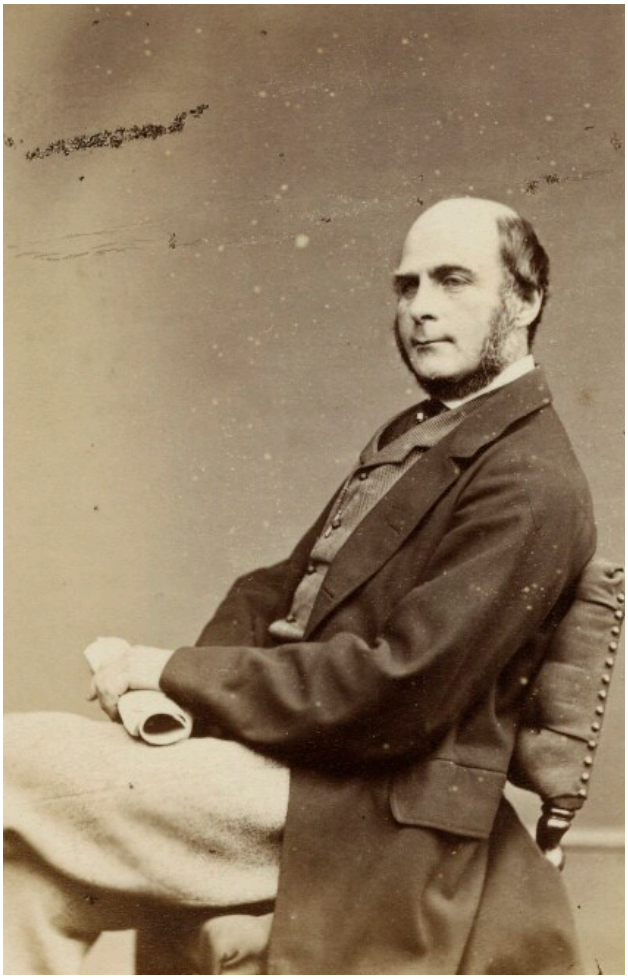

Figure 5. Francis Galton, by Henry Joseph Whitlock, c.1860s, with permission of The National Portrait Gallery.

great interest both to the fellows and to the public".[53] With the council members the Reverend Charles Nicolay (1815–1897) and Reverend Clarke agreeing to assist Galton in the preparing of the *Proceedings*, alongside the editor Shaw, they were tasked with bringing before the council by the following meeting a specimen of the first number, that was to include "a mention of the more important letters presented to the Council, as well as a short account of the discussions at the evening meetings".[54]

Whilst it might have been particularly optimistic for the council to request the sample material at the next meeting, there is no doubt that there was some delay incurred due to the illness of Shaw who was awarded a £50 honorarium in the early part of 1856 to help

[53] Council Minute Book April 1853–January 1859, 10 December 1855, 103, RGS-IBG.
[54] Council Minute Book April 1853–January 1859, 10 December 1855, 103, RGS-IBG.

with his recovery.[55] However, Shaw's absence from the society does mean that a trail of correspondence exists between himself and Galton, in which the latter retells the events at the society for Shaw and evidences the rationale for his desires for a new publication. In short, Galton considered it the society's responsibility to inform its fellowship of the valuable communications it received as frequently as possible. As Galton told Shaw, "if the printer has sent in no proofs he ought to be hurried".[56] Shaw, by this time editor of the society's journal for five years, was undoubtedly unimpressed. In another letter, Galton emphasised to Shaw that it was not that he thought the Proceedings "would prosper better under my charge…but as you know I am very anxious for their success" and that Galton's engagements would leave him time to undertake what he no doubt recognised were "onerous duties".[57]

Galton's harrying tone was largely borne out by the fact that he had brought the proposal to the attention of the council and insisted that for the proceedings of the society to be a success it ought only to be considered as a monthly publication. The council's response was to sanction the publication of the *Proceedings* on a monthly basis "as far as [was] practicable" within the ongoing duties of the society and of those upon whose labour it relied upon. The *Proceedings* was also to reflect some lessons learnt in the early years of producing the journal. Proposed illustrations and diagrams, that had caused so much damage to the finances of the society, were only to be considered in the most special of circumstances for insertion in the *Proceedings*. Further, it was to comprise only of three short sections per number: 'Proceedings at Meetings', 'Abstracts of Papers', and 'Observations on Papers' — the latter

[55] Council Minute Book April 1853–January 1859, 11 February 1856, 111, RGS-IBG.
[56] Francis Galton to Norton Shaw, 1 April 1856, CB4/680, RGS-IBG.
[57] Francis Galton to Norton Shaw, 24 October [1856], CB4/680, RGS-IBG. It is likely that this communication occurred in October 1856 when the first number of the *Proceedings* was being prepared.

to be taken from the discussion that followed the reading of each paper at evening meetings.[58]

The majority of other correspondence and minuted records throughout 1856 evidence small changes enforced upon the *Proceedings*, similarly to how the journal developed its identity over its early years. After the specimen copy was tabled for approval by the council in March 1856, it was agreed that the society should infer that they were neither responsible for, nor endorsing the accuracy of, communications appearing in their *Proceedings*.[59] As I argue in the following two chapters, the insertion of the line "authors are responsible for the accuracy of their respective statements", had particular implications for both authoring and authorising the knowledge that appeared in the *Proceedings*' pages. Other incremental changes were made such as agreeing to add "abstracts of unpublished papers" on the cover to the existing title, "additional notices".[60] Such minor changes evidence the care to which knowledge, authority, and prestige was constructed through the society's textual record.

One of the major changes from the journal was that the society's new *Proceedings* was to be published by Edward Stanford (1827–1904). Stanford was successfully proposed for fellowship in 1853 by his business partner and temporary society librarian Trelawney William Saunders (1821–1910) and soon after would become the *Proceedings'* publisher following a meeting of a special committee including William Smyth (1788–1865), George Back (1796–1878), William Hamilton, John Lefroy (1817–1890) and Francis Galton.[61] The group only met on one occasion, and in the absence of a permanent publication committee at the time, it is difficult to trace the decision to publish with Stanford rather than Murray.

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[58] Council Minute Book April 1853–March 1860, 18 February 1856, 118, RGS-IBG.
[59] Council Minute Book April 1853–March 1860, 12 April 1856, 110, RGS-IBG.
[60] Council Minute Book April 1853–March 1860, 27 May 1856, 112, RGS-IBG.
[61] Anonymous, "Stanford, Edward (1827–1904)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), Accessed July 18, 2018. doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/38002; John Bolton, "Obituary: Trelawney William Saunders," *The Geographical Journal* 36, no.3 (1910).

Indeed, Murray was mooted as a potential publisher at the special meeting but no record of any decision being made, nor of Stanford's willingness to undertake the publication was noted. And further, the correspondence of neither firm reveals any more on how Stanford came to be the publisher of the Royal Geographical Society's *Proceedings*. In some respects, the *Proceedings* was partially a move towards Murray's preferred monthly publication, albeit that it once again was a record of the society rather than of geographical science as a whole. Galton, whose scheme the *Proceedings* initially was, also published with Murray four times before 1856. Yet, perhaps even though Murray's favoured frequency of publication was agreed to, having already been proved correct that the journal would have limited appeal beyond the fellows of the society, he deferred the opportunity to publish another of its communications. Having offered to distribute the *Proceedings* at a cost of £3 3s. per number — a decision he would later regret — Stanford perhaps appeared the obvious choice as publisher of the new work.[62]

Despite appearing more frequently than the journal, the irregularity upon which *Proceedings* appeared was said to be detrimental to the overall prosperity of the publication. Success of the *Proceedings* is, then, difficult to measure. Stanford had only 116 copies on hand of the first five numbers by the end of 1857, a year after the genesis of the publication — contrasted to the large number of back copies of the journal Murray warehoused for the society, this, on the surface, appears as marked progress.[63] A resolution of the council in January 1857 meant the print run of the *Proceedings* was increased to 1,250 copies per number, but given the number of elected fellows at this point it is difficult to ascertain whether the record of the society travelled far beyond the society's established audience. It certainly would not accumulate any meaningful wealth for the society; Stanford's records

[62] Special Publication Committee, Committee Minutes 1853–1860, 26 February 1856, 105, RGS-IBG.
[63] Edward Stanford to Roderick I. Murchison, 14 September 1857, CB4/1567, RGS-IBG.

indicate the society was due not more than £6 for the annual sale of the *Proceedings* on numerous occasions.[64]

What the publication of Galton's *Proceedings* did achieve, however, was to draw the society's attention to an alternative form of publication, not monthly admittedly, but regular nonetheless. By the middle of 1878, letters were circulating between a few of the council members as to the proficiency of the current mode of publishing two concurrent publications: *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* and *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London*. That articles appearing in the *Journal* were repeated (in part) in the *Proceedings* and that the former's articles were regularly being described as both "too long" and "too heavy" for the reader to appreciate, were among the chief complaints of one letter writer.[65] The editor of both the *Journal* and *Proceedings*, Henry Walter Bates (1825–1892) and the council member Rawson Rawson (1812–1899), were among those creating a new plan for the society's publications. By July 1878, Bates and Rawson had met to discussion some "proposed additions to our Proceedings" and three days later had drawn up a draft memorandum that they hoped to put before the council.[66] Through their correspondence it is evident that both Rawson and Bates considered that, in order for the council to take their proposals seriously, a financial benefit to the society should be demonstrated. Indeed, Rawson noted that he had done what he could, but was sure Bates' expertise as editor for the society would mean that he could insert information on editing and details on the "probable profit from advertisements".[67] The financing of the society's journal appeared to be back on the agenda.

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64 Edward Stanford, CB4/1567, RGS-IBG.
65 Rawson Rawson to Henry Walter Bates, 24 December 1878, CB6/1870, RGS-IBG.
66 Rawson Rawson to Henry Walter Bates, 10 July 1878, CB6/1870, RGS-IBG.
67 Rawson Rawson to Henry Walter Bates, 13 July 1878, CB6/1870, RGS-IBG.

Many of the discussions between Bates and Rawson had been rehearsed at the society before. Whilst both agreeing, perhaps optimistically, that the publication may be much increased in value, Rawson and Bates' opinions differed with regard to who the audience of the publication should be. As Rawson noted, "there is one point upon which I rather differ from you. I wish to keep the publication as essentially a record of our proceedings, to which we add what we please of interest", as such the society would be "without any responsibility to the public".[68] The disagreement between Rawson and Bates is evidence of the differing ambitions of the society some 50 years after it was formed. Recognising the need for more support before laying the proposals before the council, Rawson suggested that Bates contact Robert Needham Cust (1821–1909) a council member of the society and also honorary secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.[69] Now drawing upon the knowledge of Rawson's involvement with the statistical society and Cust's with aforementioned Asiatic society links, the self-formed committee continued to work upon their plans for a new and improved periodical publication. The group met at the society's Saville Row home regularly over the following months — for the most part, details of those meetings are, of course, unfortunately lost.

Some of what was said between the group is communicated in letters between Bates and Rawson. By the August the trio had a draft memorandum in hand, but noting that it detailed not one defined scheme but two disparate ones, it was agreed that the group would not approach the council with the plans in their current state — their worry being that with much to still be debated the council would appoint a committee to continue with work on a new monthly periodical.[70] Progress in August continued relatively slowly given that the

[68] Rawson Rawson to Henry Walter Bates, 27 July 1878, CB6/1870, RGS-IBG.
[69] Katherine Prior, "Cust, Robert Needham (1821–1909)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), Accessed September 2, 2017. doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/32685.
[70] Rawson Rawson to Henry Walter Bates, 2 August 1878, CB6/1870, RGS-IBG.

individuals spent time away from London but by the later part of that month, with additional support from Francis Galton, the memorandum was, in Rawson's opinion, taking on a much better shape.[71] Galton's involvement was significant. As a longstanding council member and someone who had previously brought suggestions before the council regarding the publications of the society, he provided useful practical advice. Galton, for example, noted that the journal published by the Society of Arts would be a good guide as to their own publication — this is interesting to note, as seemingly scientific publications were also being shaped by periodicals dealing with the arts, revealing a wider periodical economy where scientific and literary matter were shaped by one another. Galton also encouraged the group to contact the secretary Clements Markham (1830–1916) because he certainly would not pledge his support if he were to be, as Galton put it, "passed over".[72] In another communication, Galton wrote to Bates, disclosing that "the only difficulty I foresee, relates to our apparently [*sic*] acting without sufficient regard to Mr Markham".[73] With final amendments tailored specifically to Markham, by the 20th of September 1878 the memorandum had been submitted to him. Rawson wrote to Bates shortly after, communicating that he was in Alton, Hampshire till the following week and struggling to contain his patience "without having the result of [the] communication with Mr Markham".[74]

It is difficult to report with certainty the details of the meeting between Bates and Markham. Objecting to parts of the memo, Markham certainly requested some changes before it was formally presented to council. Rawson noted to Bates, however, that he could "understand why and appreciate two of [Markham's] reasons which define me to comply with his

[71] Rawson Rawson to Henry Walter Bates, 24 August 1878, CB6/1870, RGS-IBG.
[72] Rawson Rawson to Henry Walter Bates, 24 August 1878, CB6/1870, RGS-IBG.
[73] Francis Galton to Henry Walter Bates, 19 August 1878, CB6/864, RGS-IBG.
[74] Rawson Rawson to Henry Walter Bates, 20 September 1878, CB6/1870, RGS-IBG.

request".[75] In writing to Markham himself a few days later, its apparent that Rawson was relatively happy with the outcome of his proposal: "I am very glad you see no difficulty in the way of enlarging our Proceedings in the direction which Mr Cust and I have proposed. I like your Memorandum and I do not object to your more cautious estimates".[76] As if to rehearse a discussion dating back to the genesis of the society's publication he noted the only point of difference between himself and Markham was "the shape of the new series", Markham preferring "quarto and a double column". Rawson replied that he thought the "public objects to both", and rather diplomatically concluded that the "collective wisdom of the council can settle this point".[77] Once again then, the materiality of the journal mattered to members of the society — its appearance, was recognised as impacting upon how the knowledge the journal contained was received by its readers.

Particularly pleased with his efforts to call the journal to reform, Rawson noted to Bates, "the sum of the matter is — we are about to embark upon very profitable speculation, which ought to enable us to conduct the publication of the Proceedings on the very best system".[78] On viewing the memorandum for the first time, it was that very financial speculation that was called into question by the secretaries Markham and Richard Henry Major. In a series of letter to Major, Rawson had to defend his own mathematical calculations; Major stopped short of stating, but nonetheless inferred that Rawson's calculations made the scheme more attractive than might have been the case. Rawson argued that it would be wrong for such a "disadvantageous an estimate as that which is put forth in the memo" to be brought before the council, indeed he urged Major to recognise that the secretaries allowed "only £120 a year for advertisements [but] Bates tells me that the outside back page is already engaged for £5 a month = £60 a year, half of M's

[75] Rawson Rawson to Henry Walter Bates, 3 October 1878, CB6/1870, RGS-IBG.
[76] Rawson Rawson to Clements Markham, 5 October 1878, CB6/1870, RGS-IBG.
[77] Rawson Rawson to Clements Markham, 5 October 1878, CB6/1870, RGS-IBG.
[78] Rawson Rawson to Henry Walter Bates, 8 October 1878, CB6/1870, RGS-IBG.

estimate!".[79] The appeal, of this new format, at least as far as Rawson saw it, was the possible financial profit the publication would bring.

The memorandum attached to the minutes of the library and map committee indicate how Rawson's initial scheme formally came to fruition. The publication was to be an amalgamation of three publications: *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, and *The Geographical Magazine* — a publication independent from the society but edited by its secretary, Clements Markham. Despite aiming to merge three publications into one, it was suggested that the proposed publication — to be entitled *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society (new monthly series)* rather than Rawson's favoured *The Geographical Record* — would give the society increased flexibility, as, if necessary, the "Proceedings themselves could be easily abridged, by condensing some of the papers read at evening meetings".[80] Thus the addition of a new section 'notices', "would cause no extra expense on the score of printing".[81] So the publication's remit was wider than that of the original journal, but, in places, it was still ill-defined — flexibility was lauded as an important characteristic of this new publication.

The reconvening of a 'Special "Proceedings" Committee', gives the final agreed details of the publication. The new proceedings, like Galton's old one, was to be published monthly in Royal Octavo, with "addresses and papers, with discussion, to precede all other matter".[82] It would also include analysis of geographical books and maps with "criticism, [but] not of

[79] Rawson Rawson to Richard Henry Major, 27 October 1878, CB6/1870, RGS-IBG.
[80] Library and Map Committee, Committee Minutes 1877–1883, 19 June 1878, 49, RGS-IBG; See also, Additional Papers AP/45, RGS-IBG.
[81] Library and Map Committee, Committee Minutes 1877–1883, 19 June 1878, 50, RGS-IBG; See also, Additional Papers AP/45, RGS-IBG.
[82] Special Proceedings Committee, Committee Minutes 1877–1883, 11 November 1878, 68–69, RGS-IBG.

a personal character…[and only] under checks to be provided by a committee".[83] The title would also carry a record of geographical news, correspondence under the same checks as the analysis of geographical works, proceedings of other societies and specifically section E of the British Association, and original articles. In contrast to Galton's proceedings, these volumes were to be illustrated by numerous maps and plans. Stanford was to be the publication's publisher and the charge to the public was ordered to be at least 1s. 6d. per part. The number of copies directed to be printed is evidence of the radical departure from the old mode of publishing. It was confirmed that "a number of copies not exceeding 5000 be printed".[84] Whilst such a pledge did not commit the society to such a significant increase in its print, it does demonstrate renewed ambition of the council in considering that the publication might require a circulation as wide as this. The society's journal was seemingly heading in a new direction.

The improved form and sale of the new proceedings is testified to in the meeting of the publications committee of 6th May 1881. It was resolved at the meeting that the committee were of the opinion:

> that the improved form of the "Proceedings" had in a great degree absorbed all the more valuable matter connected with the papers read and the discussion, and in so far superseded the "Journal" as a permanent and additional record of the society. They, therefore, recommended that the volume of the "Journal" now in preparation should be printed forming the 50th volume and that it be hereafter discontinued, an announcement to that effect being made in the first page. The result financially will be an economy of some £500 per annum upon the present expenditure.[85]

[83] Special Proceedings Committee, Committee Minutes 1877–1883, 11 November 1878, 68–69, RGS-IBG.
[84] Special Proceedings Committee, Committee Minutes 1877–1883, 11 November 1878, 68–69, RGS-IBG.
[85] Publications Committee, Committee Minutes 1877–1883, 26 May 1881, 222, RGS-IBG.

As such, the discontinuance of the journal marks the end of the formal association with the Murray publishing house and the society's publication, just at a point in time when the *Proceedings* began to take the shape that Murray II had advised in 1830, as a monthly compendium of geographical science, rather than a record of the society.

The end of Murray's formal association with *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* is an interesting moment to reflect upon the benefits of publishing the journal for fifty years. It is clear that financial benefits to Murray were modest at best, for a publisher that by the mid-nineteenth century had published some of the renowned travel authors of the period, the 10 percent commission he took from the journal was largely insignificant. Murray's correspondence, at both the National Library of Scotland and the Royal Geographical Society, does little to shed light on why he continued to publish the journal, even after his ill-fated attempt to take on the risk of the publication in 1847. That being said, the financial incentives for Murray may have been indirect. Despite the struggles of the journal, its financing, and its editing that disrupted its production and circulation, it received favourable reviews from honorary, foreign, and ordinary fellows, as well as in critical review journals including those Murray published himself. Indeed, as I demonstrate in Chapter 7, despite its modest print runs — usually no more than 1500 copies — the journal circulated both, far beyond its initial print run, and to an audience interested in the advancement of geographical science. As such, and because the risk was one of reputation rather than financial, in publishing the journal, Murray's firm continued to promote itself as the premier travel publisher of the period.

The years following the foundation of the new series of the society's proceedings are more evidence of a publication in flux. The meetings and discussions relating to the journal predominantly concerned minor changes with the form of the proceeding's pages. These were predominantly issues of space. In April 1883, for example, the library and map

committee convened a session that was to "take notice of the large amount of space, often amounting to two or three pages of type, devoted in each monthly part of the 'Proceedings', to the details of publication of the Ordnance maps".[86] In 1886, in the light of focus on geography and education, it was ordered that the *Proceedings* should give more reviews and attention to textbooks.[87] Such amendments to the *Proceedings* are evidence of the changing nature of the society's publication, once a uniform report on the proceedings of the society, the new publication gave the society flexibility to align the content of its pages with the broader transitionary shifts of society and geography more generally.

Conclusion: Towards a *Geographical Journal*

When carrying a review of the first number of *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* in January 1832, the writer of the anonymous piece in the *Quarterly Review* noted that there could "be little doubt…that when the establishment of such a society shall be made known in our distant colonies, much curious, interesting and substantial information will pour in, and through the medium of the Geographical Journal become available to the public".[88] Likewise, *The Monthly Review* noted that in the first part of the third volume, the "high character of the geographical journal was still most worthily sustained".[89] Indeed, colloquially the society's publication was known from the outset as the geographical journal.

In 1892, with the enthusiasm of the new proceedings and its much wider circulation having dissipated, the council debated the final transition of the nineteenth century, formally

[86] Library and Map Committee, Committee Minute March 1883–December 1890, 11 April 1883, 7, RGS-IBG.
[87] Geographical Report Committee, Committee Minutes March 1883–December 1890, 26 March 1886, 153, RGS-IBG.
[88] Anonymous, "ART. III. — Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London for the Year 1830–31. London. 1831.," *Quarterly Review* 46 (1832): 56.
[89] Anonymous, "Art. XI.—The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London, Vol. iii., Part 1. London; Murray. 1833.," *The Monthly Review* 2, no.2 (1833): 267.

announcing the society's journal as *The Geographical Journal* — the first part of which appeared in January 1893. The changes made at this point were not the radical reforms of earlier years. Proposed by the secretaries of the society the new title was, in full, to read *The Geographical Journal including the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*. And it was marketing strategy that predominately dictated the change of title, as is evidenced in a memorandum enclosed that read the following:

> In 1879 when the new monthly series of the Proceedings was started, the following directions were drawn up by the council as to the nature of the contents of the publication.
> 1. Addresses and papers, with discussion, those to precede all other matter
> 2. Analysis of all Geographical books and maps, with criticism. If not of personal character
> 3. Record of geographical news
> 4. Correspondence
> 5. Proceedings of all other Societies, and of Section E. British Association.
> 6. Original Articles
> 7. Each number to be illustrated with maps or plans.
>
> It is evident that the title "Proceedings" is no adequate clue to a publication conducted along those lines. The new "Proceedings" was intended partly to be the successor of the "Geographical Magazine" which was taken over from Mr Markham, and the above directions as to the nature of the contents clearly indicate that the "Proceedings" was intended to contain not only the papers read at the Society's meetings, but to be a magazine embracing the whole field of geography, and so to carry out one of the functions of the Society as indicated in its charter, the diffusion of geographical knowledge. If those directions were adequately carried out the Society's monthly publication would become the leading organ of geography in the English language. With its present title, however, it labours under a great disadvantage, an [*sic*] the English-speaking people naturally conclude that it deals only with the papers read at the Society's meetings, the general impression confirmed by the unattractive, blue-book appearance of the present cover.
>
> If the title were changed…it would adequately indicate the character of its content; it would probably attract far more attention not only from the Fellows of the Society, but from the outside public; it would be an additional inducement for people to join the Society; the sale would probably increase, and many more advertisements would be received, and so the expense of production be reduced.[90]

[90] Committee Minute Book January 1891–June 1897, 10 November 1892, enclosed as loose sheet, 66, RGS-IBG.

It was reckoned that in order for the new style of society proceedings to effectively carry out the aims stated in the enclosed memorandum, the journal would be much expanded. As it went on to detail, "there seems no rule as to size…under the late Mr Bates…the number of pages has been from 64 to 80. But the field of geography has so greatly extended, the number of geographical serials has so largely increased, and geographical activity expanded in all directions, that it would be easy to make good use of 96 pages, if the above directions were faithfully adhered to".[91] The increased size of the journal was seen as necessary in light of widening geographical interest and competition from other publication, the number of pages should not, in the council's eyes, prevent the society from producing the most complete and most authoritative record of geography. The committee formed agreed that the expanded publication would allow the society to increase the cost from 1s. 6d. to 2s. per monthly part. It is apparent, then, that, for one of the first times, the society appeared to act with regard for the commercial marketability of the journal rather than acting solely as a patron to its fellows and upon its own interests. The changes here were relatively minor, built upon the wholesale changes brought about in the merger of 1878, yet in introducing a new title and expanded (and defined) page limits, for example, the council recognised that the standard practices of the commercial press could also help their publication flourish. Adopting such strategies in no way suddenly created a commercially viable publication it should be noted.[92] Indeed, as the balance sheet for 1894 testifies, income through sale of the journal and revenue for advertisements totalled £1028 1s. 3d.. Whilst this was a significant increase compared to past permutations of the publication, expenditure inclusive of salaries amounted to £2865 7s. 9d. Whilst much of the above is similar to efforts preceding the last changes to the journal, the memorandum is further evidence that the society's founding aim to diffuse geographical knowledge both to the

[91] Committee Minute Book January 1891–June 1897, 10 November 1892, enclosed as loose sheet, 66, RGS-IBG.
[92] Council Minute Book March 1890–March 1896, March 1895, 246, RGS-IBG.

fellows and an interested public, remained central to the development of the society's publication throughout the nineteenth century. The result of what we read above is a publication akin to the publisher John Murray's vision for the society's journal in 1830.

The health of the society and its journal then, might be thought of as mutually exclusive. Throughout the nineteenth century, the publication was a strain on the finances of the society only made possible through the inducement of new members and the compositions of existing fellows. Yet despite this fiscal burden, the successive councils evidently thought that publishing a work under the auspices of the society was central to the ongoing success and progress of both geography and the society. It is clear also, that fellows considered the journal to be a fundamental part of their membership rights. As I explore further (Chapter 5 and Chapter 6) the fellowship was also central to the ongoing publication of the society, keenly involved in the publication of manuscripts and suggestions as to the betterment of the society's journal. Indeed, the theme of collaboration runs throughout this thesis, and as I have demonstrated, the ongoing development and transitionary periods of the nineteenth century, were not simply the work of one wealthy purveyor, editor, or publisher, as may have been the case in more commercial journals, but the schemes and negotiations of numerous and successive councils of the society, as well as the result of various persons involved wider learned, professional, and personal networks. To be learned, at least in the case of the Royal Geographical Society, was to be textual and, where best possible, periodic.

Chapter 5

Making Geography in Print: The Labours of Authoring, Editing, and Compiling Regular Geographical Knowledge

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In 1894, the society's annual audit revealed that after a full year of publishing *The Geographical Journal*, the production costs — including printing, posting, separate copies, maps, illustrations, and labour — amounted to nearly £2,900.[1] Around a sixth of that total expenditure was attributed to the labour involved in producing the journal. Whilst the society did not pay authors or referees for their work, it employed an editor and remunerated the labours of what it termed 'contributors' — the journal was based upon both paid and unpaid, hidden and visible labours. Throughout the century, the journal's textual and stylistic composition became dependent on new salaried positions at the society such as that of draughtsman and librarian. That is to say, the journal's production was fundamentally an act of co-production. It is with this act of co-production — and the network of collaborators, both credited and uncredited, upon which it depended — that this chapter is concerned.

Questions of authoring and editing have been central to recent attempts to develop a richer understanding of the making of scientific and geographical texts.[2] This work has challenged the assumed autonomy and individuality of the practice of authorship and editing, showing

[1] Council Minutes March 1890–March 1896, [1895], 246, RGS-IBG.
[2] See, for example, Robert J. Mayhew, "Materialist Hermeneutics, Textuality and the History of Geography: Print Spaces in British Geography, *c.* 1500–1900," *Journal of Historical Geography* 33, no. 3 (2007); Charles W. J. Withers and Innes M. Keighren, "Travels into Print: Authoring, Editing and Narratives of Travel and Exploration, c.1815–c.1857," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 36 (2011).

them to be always dependent upon "social interaction in and across space and in place".[3] Likewise, in attending to the "editorial history" of geographical texts, Mayhew has argued that it is possible to tell a different and more nuanced history of geography — one attentive to questions of authority and authorisation.[4] The making of periodical geographical texts poses additional questions about the inscriptive practices and monetary implications that underlie the production of geographical knowledge. How, for example, did the society maintain a flow of interesting and credible information? Who was involved in the production of such regular knowledge? And to what extent did the society's structure facilitate the making of periodical geography? The requirement not only to edit original research articles but also regularly to produce abstracts, analyses, commentaries, and lists of book and map accessions, means that the production of the journal was much more than simply the act of authoring and editing geographical knowledge — it was also the compilation and maintenance of the society's textual record and financial health. In seeking to understand how the different parts of the society functioned to ensure the production of the journal, as this chapter seeks to do, Darnton's idea of the 'complexity of the everyday' becomes important. Darnton suggests that a focus on the small details of publishing businesses can reveal more about the "interrelated activities" ultimately responsible for the production of print.[5] To understand how the parts of the society function simultaneously to ensure the production and continuation of the journal, production is thought of less as a location and more as a process that is spatially and temporally varied and subject to a multiplicity of pressures and practices.[6]

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[3] Charles W. J. Withers, "Geography, Enlightenment and the Book: Authorship and Audience in Mungo Park's African Texts," in *Geographies of the Book,* eds Miles Ogborn and Charles W. J. Withers (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 194.
[4] Robert J. Mayhew, "Printing Posterity: Editing Varenius and the Construction of Geography's History," in *Geographies of the Book,* eds. Miles Ogborn and Charles W. J. Withers (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 185.
[5] Robert Darnton, ""What is the History of Books?" Revisited," *Modern Intellectual History* 4, no.3 (2007): 498.
[6] Withers, "Geography, Enlightenment and the Book".

By focusing on the labour that made the production of the journal possible — in revealing the complexity of the everyday, as it were — this chapter highlights the wide range of actors who were involved in that process and demonstrates its fundamentally collaborative nature. Making a regular work of print required a range of intellectual, manual, and craft skills, and drew upon the assistance, both paid and unpaid, of a diverse assortment of collaborators. As the century progressed, duties associated with the journal's production were increasingly positioned as part of the official duties of the society's staff. This chapter reflects, then, on the gradual professionalisation of the society and geography more generally in the nineteenth century and firmly positions the production of periodical geography as an act of co-production. Geography was brought to the periodical and the periodical reveals an intriguing story about the development of nineteenth-century geography and its relationship to a learned society.

Guaranteeing Regular, Useful, and Interesting Knowledge

In order for the society to achieve its hopes of publishing a periodical that would report on the latest and most important geographical discoveries, it depended — in large part — upon the regular submission of work from authors. By the time the society came to fruition, authorship had long been a potential income stream for scholars.[7] Even so, many periodical publications struggled for content to fill their pages as scientific writers focused their activities on monographs, textbooks, and magazine articles as a means to disseminate their findings and, in some cases, fund their scholarly activity.[8] The official journal of the society, however, appeared regularly with original articles detailing new and important geographical

[7] Aileen Fyfe, "Conscientious Workmen or Booksellers' Hacks? The Professional Identities of Science Writers in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," Isis 92, no. 2 (2005): 192–223.
[8] Aileen Fyfe, "Journals and Periodicals," in *A Companion to the History of Science*, ed. Bernard Lightman (West Sussex: Wiley, 2016).

intelligence. Without paying all of its contributors — in most cases only paying those involved in the production of abstracts or translation — the society employed various strategies to ensure its pages were filled with original research that would fulfil its founding remit and satisfy its audience.

The early composition of the society's fellowship did much to shape the way in which it went about securing articles and news to fill its pages. The content of the journal's early numbers owed much to the personal and professional connections of the council, such as John Barrow's (1764–1848) links to the Admiralty and Captain Beaufort's (1774–1857) to the Hydrographical Office. Barrow was, for example, involved in procuring three of the papers published in the journal's first volume. One such paper — 'State of the Colony of Swan River' — was read by Barrow at the society on 22 November 1830, having been extracted from a longer report by Captain James Stirling (1791–1865).[9] The precise means by which Stirling's report came to Barrow's attention are not revealed in the archive; it may have been transmitted directly to him in his role as secretary to the Admiralty or it may have passed through the hands of another council member, such as Sir George Murray (1772–1846) — Secretary of State for War and the Colonies (1828–30) and a good friend of Stirling's — or Murray's successor in that role, Frederick Robinson (1782–1859)(Viscount Goderich), who was also the President of the fledgling society. The route Stirling's report took from composition to publication gives an indication of the important role that gentlemanly and professional networks played in ensuring content for the journal.

Official governmental bodies proved important sources of information for the society, passing on written knowledge that could potentially be published in the journal. The Foreign Office, for example, agreed to pass relevant communications onto the society as

[9] John Barrow, "State of the Colony of Swan River, 1st January, 1830. Chiefly extracted from Captain Stirling's Report," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 1 (1831).

soon as they were received.[10] Whilst it has been demonstrated that particular institutions found favour with the editors of certain scientific journals, the transmission of information via institutional authorities did not necessarily guarantee a favourable reception at the society.[11] When the Foreign Office forwarded a report by the French explorer Antoine Brun-Rollet (1810–1858) on the west branch of the White Nile, it was heavily criticised by the society fellow George Smith Brent, whom Norton Shaw had employed to translate it. For Brent, Rollet's report was a "most imperfect production" and one that showed "those pigs of Frenchmen" could only pretend to "write and explore".[12] The report, he informed Shaw, was lacking in astronomically determined location data and was supplemented only by an "infernally bad map". Moreover, Rollet's manuscript was, as far as Brent could see, devised primarily from "statements of his men whom he sent away to explore whilst he was doing — God knows what".[13] Yet Brent's broader concern was with *where* the information had come from. "What rubbish can be 'communicated by the Foreign Office"', he wrote, continuing "I take it the whole staff…are perfect ignoramuses in geography, & quite incapable of estimating the value or otherwise of a geographical MS.".[14] A guaranteed supply of knowledge from the British government did not, then, necessarily translate into a steady stream of papers of sufficient quality.

Even when the information procured for the journal from the offices of government was of a high standard it could pose additional challenges. Some of these challenges are evident in the discussions between the Colonial Office and the society with respect to the

[10] Council Minute Book November 1841–March 1853, 13 January 1851, 214, RGS-IBG; this agreement was forged when the society presented the Foreign Office with a complete set of the journal. This thesis reflects more on this practice of textual exchange in Chapter 7.
[11] Imogen Clarke, "The Gatekeepers of Modern Physics: Periodicals and Peer Review in 1920s Britain," *Isis* 106 (2015).
[12] George Smith Brent to Norton Shaw, 29 October 1857, CB4/232, RGS-IBG.
[13] George Smith Brent to Norton Shaw, 29 October 1857, CB4/232, RGS-IBG.
[14] George Smith Brent to Norton Shaw, 29 October 1857, CB4/232, RGS-IBG.

manuscripts of the German explorer Robert Hermann Schomburgk (1804–1865).[15] Having been examined by an independent referee and passed through the editor's hands, the council received a communication from Lord Stanley that the society would have to obtain permission from the Colonial Office before publishing the manuscript.[16] By this point — in the early 1840s — Schomburgk was travelling in British Guiana as a representative of the British Government rather than as an independent traveller. The political sensitivity of the findings, relating to official borders and settlement boundaries, likely explains why the Colonial Office requested to examine the "final proofs…before striking it off".[17] Schomburgk had contributed a series of articles to the journal prior to his travels as a British official. These publications — detailing numerous facets of British Guiana between 1836 and 1839 — were part of an agreement between the society and the explorer. Schomburgk, as the 1836 volume of the journal declared, was granted £900 and the support of the society for his expeditions to British Guiana. The principal objectives of the expedition were to "investigate the physical and astronomical geography of the interior of British Guiana" and "to connect the positions thus ascertained with those of M. Humboldt on the Upper Orinoco".[18] In agreeing to the receipt of the funds, Schomburgk committed to submitting his findings to the society. As he was told by the society's secretary, Alexander Maconochie (1787–1860):

> all geographical information obtained by you during the above period of three years, whether physical, political, or astronomical, *shall be considered the property of the Society, and at its disposal to be published in any manner it may think fit*. But collections of natural history shall be your property, — with the exception of one set of any collections you may make of dried plants, birds, fishes, or insects, which the Council would be happy to have in its power to present, in your name, to the British Museum; and one set of any geological specimens

[15] Council Minute Book November 1841–March 1853, 27 March 1843, 42, RGS-IBG.
[16] Council Minute Book November 1841–March 1853, 27 March 1843, 42, RGS-IBG.
[17] Council Minute Book November 1841–March 1853, 27 March 1843, 42, RGS-IBG.
[18] Anonymous, "At the General Meeting, May 16, 1836: Report from the Council," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 6 (1836): 7.

> procured, which it would, in like manner, desire to present (if possible with accompanying memoirs from you) to the Geological Society of London.[19]

Through sponsorship of expeditions such as those of Schomburgk, the society ensured it would receive and publish the latest communications in its journal. The clause outlined above also demonstrates that the society saw opportunities to maintain fruitful connections with other metropolitan learned societies. In a discursive and emergent culture of geographical writing overseen by the society, maintaining such networks was vital in securing high-quality geographical work for the society's publications.

Epistolary networks were a particularly important way in which the society received new information. As Charles Withers has demonstrated, "letters and the study in geography of epistolary practices in writing may thus highlight the social relations of geography's making", creating print that is the "synthesis of many peoples' work".[20] To maintain the flow of information through epistolary networks, the council elected honorary members who would be well placed to communicate with the society upon interesting subjects. Therefore, the letters, sent between the society's honorary correspondents, foreign members, and its paid staff, were an important source of new information, particularly from mainland Europe. The Count Fedor Karaczay (1787–1859), for example, was made a corresponding member of the society after sending a compendium of geographical information on Albania and its various regions. The potential of future correspondence on the "less known" parts of Turkish Albania induced the council to elect to Karacazy to this honorary position.[21] Some papers — as is explored further in Chapter 6 — were printed in the society's journal not as a consequence of the geographical facts they detailed but as a

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[19] Anonymous, "At the General Meeting, May 16, 1836: Report from the Council," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 6 (1836): 8; emphasis added.
[20] Charles W. J. Withers, "Writing in geography's history: Caledonia, Networks of correspondence and geographical knowledge in the late enlightenment," *Scottish Geographical Journal* 120, no. 1–2 (2004): 41.
[21] William Wittich to Julian Jackson, 25 November 1841, JMS 15/15, RGS-IBG.

result of who they were communicated by and the possibility of future contributions that person may make to the society. The election of honorary correspondents such as Karacazy, ensured that information on particular interesting and topical subjects would be found in the journal.

Another Corresponding Member, Dr August Petermann (1822–1878), also maintained a relationship with the editors of the society's journal. As editor of *Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen* (1855–2004), Petermann was likewise receiving the latest geographical intelligence from various travellers and critics — correspondence between the society and Petermann reveals a mutually beneficial relationship.[22] Petermann's approach was not simply to send information to London but to expressly recommend that it be published in the journal. Of the German explorer Friedrich Gerhard Rohlf's (1831–1896) travels through Morocco between 1863 and 1864, for example, Petermann declared the explorer an "educated and intelligent European" who had been the first to penetrate into the "highly interesting mountainous region" between Algeria and Timbuktu. As a result of his knowledge of Rohlf, Petermann was able to "testify to the great importance of his journey and to the great care and exertions taken to enlarge geographical knowledge of the region".[23] Correspondents, in this sense, were important not only in the transmission of data, but also in the recommendation of that data. Correspondents served, at least in part, to verify and validate knowledge *in advance* of it arriving at the society.

Letters of recommendation from corresponding members and fellows routinely accompanied the work of authors hoping to have their texts published by the society. At other learned institutions — including the Royal Society for some time — a letter of

[22] Yixu Lü, "On the Genesis of Colonial Geography: China in *Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen* 1855–1914," *German Life and Letters* 69, no.1 (2016).
[23] Dr August Petermann to Sir R. I. Murchison, [1864], JMS 1/86, RGS-IBG.

recommendation from another fellow was required for the paper to be accepted for publication. Although there was no formal requirement for these letters to accompany manuscripts at the society, letters attesting to the quality of the information and the credibility of the writer were often provided and acted as a useful mechanism by which the veracity and reliability of unfamiliar authors could be ascertained.[24] Those of standing within the society would often encourage authors to send their findings to the society by agreeing to forward them on with a letter of recommendation. The former council member Robert Needham Cust did so, for example, in 1844, when he recommended to council various published and unpublished work by the missionary Reverend Johann Gottlieb Christaller (1827–1895) whom he had recently invited to Britain. Learning of his German-written work on the Gold Coast of Africa, Cust encouraged Christaller to prepare a piece for the society.[25] Cust's role as intermediary had a twofold importance. His advocacy of the journal as a possible avenue for the dissemination of knowledge was important for the society to maintain a regular stream of material that was judged to be contributory to geographical knowledge. As trusted correspondent, the way in which he endorsed Christaller's materials through letters of recommendation increased the likelihood of information collected via overseas expeditions and journeys being published in the journal. As he clarified when writing to the editor, Bates, none of Christaller's communications would be suited to reading at an evening meeting because, as he put it, "Germans are very dry in their way of putting a matter".[26] Cust's intention, however, was not to discredit Christaller's words, rather he was attempting to put them into an expressive context. As he explained to Bates,

[24] Aileen Fyfe and Noah Moxham, "Making Public Ahead of Print: Meeting and Publication at the Royal Society, 1752–1892," *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 70 (2016).
[25] Christaller's paper was published in volume 8 number 4 of the *Proceedings* under the title Recent Explorations in the Basin of the Volta (Gold Coast) by Missionaries of the Basel Missionary Society, Christaller is referenced in a footnote that reads as a subset to the title of the work 'From communications of the Rev. J. C. Christaller, for many years a missionary on the Gold Coast, and author of 'A grammar of Asante and Fante Language' (1875) and of a 'Dictionary of the Asante and Fante Language' (1882).
[26] Robert Needham Cust to Henry Walter Bates, [1844], JMS 1/130, RGS-IBG.

Christaller was a "genuine" source of credible knowledge that the society would not get from elsewhere — there was a trade-off, the German-speaking author might not be the most enticing to the Anglophone fellowship.[27] By either writing or forwarding information, corresponding members, fellows, and council members — with their various connections to government, military, and religious networks — underpinned and moulded how, when, and what kind of geographical descriptions and knowledge made it into the pages of the journal.

Throughout the century the society consistently looked for ways that its general activities might result in publishable outputs for the journal's pages. In 1878, for instance, Francis Galton published a report, on behalf of the scientific purposes committee, that considered the ways in which the society could promote the scientific branches of geography. The report advised the council to invite offers from accomplished persons prepared to undertake "special investigations" by "experimentation, calculation, or historical research, to make useful compilations, or to engage in any other form of valuable geographical work" through a grant up to the value of £300 per annum.[28] Galton's report proposed that, where valuable geographical work was generated from the award, the society would "claim the sole right of publishing the results until the appearance of the second volume of their journal after the date of receipt of the contribution".[29] The exchange of information for financial support was, thus, one of a number of ways of ensuring that the society received the latest information on what it deemed the most important geographical questions.

Ensuring the journal would be full of new and interesting matter was a collaborative effort. Unlike some other scientific journals that relied largely on an editor to generate content

[27] Robert Needham Cust to Henry Walter Bates, [1844], JMS 1/130, RGS-IBG.
[28] Committee Minute Book, Scientific Purposes Committee, 3 January 1878, 12, RGS-IBG.
[29] Committee Minute Book, Scientific Purposes Committee, 3 January 1878, 12, RGS-IBG.

through synthesis of other sources, the society utilised a range of structures to guarantee (as much as possible) the receipt of original knowledge and fostered a culture in which corresponding members and fellows routinely wrote for, and forward information for publication in, the journal. Whilst numerous volumes appeared late, this was not for want of content. When jointly editing the journal, George Renouard wrote to a concerned Julian Jackson to alleviate his worries that there would not be enough copy for another number of the journal.[30] Renouard was baffled as to who would have reported to Jackson that there was a lack of content, and now the society was relatively established, Renouard was confident that papers would continue to arrive at the society in plentiful supply. The following year when Renouard wrote to Jackson to say that he had not been forwarded any papers to proof lately, Renouard reminded the pair that there were some old papers in the archives that "Maconochie laid aside", notably "one on California by Dr. Tell of Trin. Coll. Dublin. — a very able man".[31] The preservation of papers deemed worthy of publication indicates that the early editors were concerned with the possibility of being bereft of print. Yet, on no occasion was the quantity of articles available for publication in the journal considered a real problem — the more pertinent issue for editors was keeping up with the number of papers submitted to the society. The issue of timely publication was one to which the society returned at intervals through the century. In 1840, the council reiterated its view that it was indispensable to the wellbeing of the society that the dates for publication be "strictly adhered to".[32] In 1873 it likewise reaffirmed that if the editor could not publish the papers read at evening meetings within six weeks, he "should be supplied with efficient assistance to enable him to secure this object".[33] The quest for regularity and timeliness in the journal was affected not by a lack of material to print but by the significant amount of material that needed to be read, judged, altered, and abridged.

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[30] George Renouard to Julian Jackson, 27 August 1841, CB3/649, RGS-IBG.
[31] George Renouard to Julian Jackson, 28 October 1842, CB3/649, RGS-IBG.
[32] Council Minute Book October 1830–July 1841, 23 November 1840, 298, RGS-IBG.
[33] Committee Minute Book, Special Committee, 14 July 1873, 62, RGS-IBG.

The Editor: An Organiser and Compiler of Geography and Geographical Knowledge

As a prominent figure of the publishing trade, editors may be assumed to maintain complete control over the textual and illustrative production of periodicals. Yet, their collective practice has been shown to be mutable — editorial labours were, and are, shaped by various levels of autonomy, individual preference, the genre, and the ideology of the publication. The editors of a publication such as *Nature* were, for example, making editorial decisions in the hope that the journal would be commercially successful as well as intellectually valuable; for other editors of scholarly periodicals, the emphasis fell much more on presenting credible knowledge that would reflect well on the learned societies that employed them.[34] As Mayhew suggests, the "suite of editorial labours which came to be embodied" in the production of works of geography deserves continued scrutiny.[35] This part of the chapter, demonstrates further, that in making an authoritative geographical periodical, the editor depended upon trusted advisors to undertake various tasks associated with evaluation, mediation, and production.

In the prospectus of the society, the duties of each role within the council were laid out. One of the few paid positions on the council, that of the secretary, had the responsibility of overseeing the society's correspondence, attending its meetings, taking its minutes, and significantly, to "superintend the printing of the society's Transactions, and make the Indexes".[36] The first person to take up that position was the Scottish former naval officer

[34] See, Melinda Baldwin, *Making Nature: The History of a Scientific Journal* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2015); Withers and Keighren, "Travels into Print"; Robert J. Mayhew, "Printing Posterity: Editing Varenius and the Construction of Geography's History," in *Geographies of the Book,* eds. Miles Ogborn and Charles W. J. Withers (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).
[35] Mayhew, "Printing Posterity," 167.
[36] Prospectus &c. of The Royal Geographical Society of London, Additional Papers AP2, RGS-IBG.

Alexander Maconochie, known later for his work as a penal reformer.[37] Maconochie's election was likely to have been influenced by John Barrow who had hopes of directing the early efforts of the society towards exploration and discovery by sea.[38]

Maconochie, as was the case with most other editors of the journal, had no formal training as such — an appetite and appreciation for geography were seen as the main characteristics of a successful editor. His tenure as secretary and editor of the journal lasted six years, in which time he oversaw the production of six annual volumes and over 2,000 pages of the latest iterations of published geographical knowledge. His resignation came after the Vice President, William Desborough Cooley (1795–1883), accused Maconochie of gross misconduct. Even though the charges brought against him were dropped, Maconochie accepted a governmental position in Van Diemen's Land soon after. In the sixth and final volume Maconochie oversaw, the council inserted the following memorandum:

> in the superintendence of the operations required for the publication of the Journal of the Society, all the papers in which have undergone the most rigid scrutiny on his part, to insure their accuracy, and many of which are wholly due to the zeal and labour with which he has abstracted the most valuable matter from documents too voluminous to be published *in toto*, and in the candour, judgment, and temper, which he has always evinced in the discharge of his duties as Secretary, Captain Maconochie has shown himself in every respect worthy of the confidence which has been reposed in him by the Royal Geographical Society in general as well as by the Presidents and Councils by which the affairs of the Society have been successively administered.[39]

The memorandum gives some indication of the labours undertaken by the early editors of the journal. Although their task with respect to original research articles was slightly different to what later editors would encounter — when the expectations of original articles

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[37] John V. Barry, "Maconochie, Alexander (1787–1860)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, eds. A. G. L. Shaw and C. M. H. Clark (London: University of Cambridge Press, 1967), http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/maconochie-alexander-2417.
[38] Mill, *Record.*
[39] Anonymous, "At the General Meeting, May 16, 1836: Report from the Council," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 6 (1836):16.

and the discipline more generally were more evident for authors — the role of editor was, for Maconochie, a time-consuming one. Editing has often been posited as an act of "silencing or reworking the printed and scribal practices" of authors, yet Maconochie's job at the society was as much about the practice of *making* knowledge suitable for publication in the journal than the silencing of particular ideas.[40] Further, the journal's tribute to Maconochie and his labours — suitability and selection, extraction of the most valuable knowledge, and careful attention to detail — give the impression that Maconochie worked on the journal independently. Yet Maconochie and all the journal's subsequent editors answered to the society's council — it, as I detail in Chapter 6, had the final say on the journal's content and it would sign off on the printing of individual numbers only when it was satisfied. Likewise, as I show later in this chapter, the editor was not a lone figure overseeing the editing of geography; each editor was, rather, part of a wider network of labour that collectively was responsible for the appearance of each number of the journal.

Following the resignation of Maconochie, the naval serviceman John Washington (1800–1863) took the post of secretary of the society and editor of its transactions in 1837. Washington's arrival demonstrated the scope of the textual changes that an editor could bring about — he introduced an annual report on the progress of geography and reinstated the earlier practice of inserting a list of subscribed fellows in the front matter of the journal. While the archive reveals little else about his tenure as editor, it is evident that his eventual resignation in 1840 provoked a structural change that demonstrates the work involved in the journal's production. With increasing numbers of papers being received at the society, the promise to print three issues a year (rather than an annual volume) and the time expended in bringing those papers up to a satisfactory standard to be published, the council reported in their 1841 edition of the journal that:

[40] Mayhew, "Printing Posterity," 160.

> the particular nature of [the] publication, requiring much discrimination and judgement in the selection and arrangement for publication of the materials sent home by travellers, renders the task of editing one of extraordinary labour and time; added to which, the extent which the Society has acquired of late, and the consequent increase of the official duty, are such, that the labours of editing the Journal and transacting the ordinary business of the Society have become too multifarious to be efficiently performed by one person. Accordingly, on the resignation of the Secretaryship by Captain Washington, the Council resolved to divide the labour between two individuals.[41]

There was a tension, then, between the society's hopes to publish new and interesting knowledge with the rapidity that ensured they were the first to report on the official findings of the discipline, and the pressure being placed upon the small coterie of staff it employed. Two resignations later, it seems that pressures placed upon editors had become apparent to the council. The council did experiment with the recruitment of an editor who was external to the society, William Weir, but soon after his appointment Weir declared that he would not be able to continue at the low rate of remuneration that was being offered by the society.[42] Upon Weir's resignation in 1843, the official record notes that the position of secretary was taken up by Julian Jackson and that the foreign secretary George Renouard offered to "undertake the labour of editing the Journal without salary, but with an allowance of 100l. a-year [*sic*] for such assistance of amanuenses &c., as he might require".[43] From correspondence, however, it appears Jackson and Renouard, owing most likely to the latter's poor health, were both involved in editing the journal between 1841 and 1847. Their various letters to one another present the opportunity to interrogate the duties of the editor in more depth.

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[41] Anonymous, "At the Annual General Meeting, May 24, 1841: Report from the Council," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 11 (1841): v.
[42] Council Minutes, November 1841–March 1853, 13 November 1843, 60, RGS-IBG.
[43] Anonymous, "At the Annual General Meeting, May 24, 1841: Report from the Council," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 11 (1841): v.

We might expect that the typical duties undertaken by the editor of a learned society's transactions to involve meticulous reading, deciphering, and the improvement of manuscripts. However, as a letter from John Washington to Julian Jackson indicated, the role was significantly more diverse. The days would be filled, Washington suggested, instructing printers, communicating with authors, reporting to the council, and liaising with referees, translators, and corresponding members. Washington's suggestion to relieve the some of the pressure of editing the journal was intimately collaborative. Jackson's workload could be reduced, Washington suggested, if he got in the habit of putting work into the hands of the "idle council".[44] Analyses of the latest works of geography could, for instance, be produced by the council and thus relieve the editor the task of producing copy for the book reviews and the miscellaneous section of the journal. Other administrative duties included the distribution, collection, and filing of manuscripts and their associated referees' reports. And when the *Proceedings* (in its first iteration) began to print the comments of those who took part in the discussion of papers after they had been read at an evening meeting, the editor would be required to distribute and collect the correction slips.[45] The involvement of the council, as Washington suggested, points towards the journal's editing, compilation, and composition as being an act of co-production.

The composition of each volume as a whole, whilst maintaining its regularity, was another undertaking that required care and consideration. Judgements about the suitability of papers for publication were predominantly the work of trusted council members called on to referee each paper. Yet correspondence between Renouard and Jackson demonstrates that other considerations determined how quickly papers appeared in print. Papers, once they had been accepted and read before a meeting of the society, could not be deferred for long without risking a series of disgruntled letters from readers. The society's fellows knew when

[44] John Washington to Julian Jackson, 4 April 1844, CB3/794, RGS-IBG.
[45] Committee Minute Book, Special Committee, 14 July 1873, 62, RGS-IBG.

papers had been read at evening meetings and would, therefore, expect those papers to appear soon after they had been read. The British civil servant Rawson Rawson, for example, declared to Bates in 1880 that whilst he was pleased to have received the September and October issues of the *Proceedings*, he was "hungry for some account of Thomson's doings in Africa".[46] Once the journal switched to monthly publication, expectations were not only of rapidity of publication but also of the immediate appearance of particular content. A quick transition to print became the expectation amongst the paying membership. Factors outside the society's control occasionally thwarted the society's attempts to publish papers regularly. Richard Temple's (1826–1902) paper was, for example, delayed owning to a problem with the production of the accompanying map. The society's chief clerk, writing to the editor, indicated his embarrassment at the delay: "That map business is most mortifying. Seeing how long it is since Temple read his paper. I was surprised to hear of the unusual delay. I hope we may escape a flood of letters on the subject. This month is much in our favour".[47] Ensuring the regular and timely publication of geographical knowledge was a multifarious occupation, requiring liaison with printers, ensuring the contents met the expectations of the readership, and that the information the journal contained was important, accurate, and interesting.

The decision of editors in positioning papers in the journal was intimately connected with the serial nature of its production. As Renouard noted to Jackson when preparing another number of the journal together, "our next part sh[oul]d have little of Asia, that quarter having absorbed so much of its time".[48] Space and significance of contributions were also judgments that dictated how quickly papers would appear in the journal. When his ill health prevented him attending the readings of papers at the evening meetings, Renouard updated

[46] Rawson Rawson to Henry Walter Bates, 18 October 1880, CB6/1870, RGS-IBG.
[47] Edward Duffield Jones to Henry Walter Bates, 10 September 1880, CB6/1274, RGS-IBG.
[48] George Renouard to Julian Jackson, 5 March 1841, CB3/649, RGS-IBG.

Jackson as to the thirty-three papers read in his absence. Referring to the papers only by number, he suggested that:

> No.s 8,9,11,12,14 relating to Asia, & No.s 21,23,25,26 & 27 relating to America, together with 30,31,32 which refer to Australia, seem to claim the preference, but it is probable that these thirteen will contain more matter than can be comprehended in one part, I must therefore beg you, or any of the council who are already acquainted with the value & extent of these papers, to assist now by informing me what space these papers will occupy & which of them ought to be preferred to others.[49]

The composition of the journal involved not only the production of the empirical papers but also the making and updating of considerable prefatory material. The journal's front matter consisted primarily of various lists — contents, errata, council members, foreign and honorary correspondents, institutions subscribed to the journal, medal winners, society donors, loaned instruments, and the cumbersome list of fellows. The task of producing the latter involved not only ensuring the list of subscribed fellows remained up to date, but that fellow's titles, residences, and offices held were correct and current. As one correspondent wrote to the editor in 1871, "I have also lately received the last volume of the society's journal, in which I noted that in the list of subscribers I am still inserted as "Colonial Secretary". I held that office at the Cape up to 1864 — at present I am "Governor in Chief of the Windward Islands"".[50] The majority of the front matter was dropped by 1878 when the society made the transition to the *Proceedings*, with the society favouring a condensed preface to the volume in light of the more regular publication. By this point, it is possible that the prefatory material of the journal was of diminishing importance. Donald Mackenzie has argued that the "material form of books, the non-verbal elements of the typographic notations within them, the very disposition of space itself, have an expressive function in conveying memory".[51] When the journal first appeared, these prefatory materials were part

[49] George Renouard to Julian Jackson, 6 March 1841, CB3/649, RGS-IBG.
[50] Rawson Rawson to [Henry Walter Bates], 26 September 1871, CB6/1870, RGS-IBG.
[51] Donald F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and Sociology of Texts* (London: The British Library, 1986), 17.

of the public performance of the society in print — the presentation of the list of council members, for example, gave the society authority through its association with the likes of Barrow. Arguing for the importance of paratextual materials in the production of books, Keighren, Withers, and Bell suggest that these textual apparatuses were "integral to the truth claims of the works themselves and a vital means of distinguishing appropriate texts".[52] The editing and upkeep of the front matter was, then, fundamental to the journal's aesthetic and academic appearance and its attempt to produce authoritative geographical intelligence under the superintendence of the council.

Proofing manuscripts prior to printing was also a task that fell upon the editors of the journal. Although some authors did prefer to look through the proof sheets themselves, others left the editor full liberty in correcting the proofs. Some authors did not see proof sheets but left specific requests as to the portions of their manuscript that should appear verbatim.[53] When Jackson resigned the post of editor, he corresponded with his successor Dr Humble as to his preferred practice for the proof copies of articles. It was Jackson's preference that — when an author resided in London, an instance which he stated "seldom occurred" — the proof of their paper would be sent to them. If not, the proof copy of papers would be dealt with inhouse by the editor or trusted persons. Rarely circulating outside of London, Jackson's procedure for proof copies of papers illustrates that the journal's production was intimately local. The practice Jackson employed was "not to give an opportunity to correct typographical errors" (for he attended to those himself), but so authors could make "verbal alterations with a view to the more correct communication of his meaning," this was "both for the advantage of the Journal" and the author's "own

[52] Innes M. Keighren, Charles W. J. Withers, and Bill Bell, *Travels into Print: Exploration, Writing, and Publishing with John Murray, 1773–1859* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 174.
[53] See, for example, Richard Burton to Norton Shaw, 7 February 1860, CB4/292, RGS-IBG.

satisfaction".[54] Proofing was, in Jackson's view, an opportunity to make papers "as perfect as possible".[55]

Renouard was keen to emphasise why he thought that careful and accurate proof reading was an important function of the editor. Complaining that the proof sheets had not passed to him before being delivered to the press, he reminded Jackson that this practice only made more work to be completed later on (either through costly last-minute corrections or through the insertion of errata slips into the journal). On occasion, these costs would provoke serious discussion. Dr Charles Beke's (1800–1874) 1847 paper discussing the Nile and its tributaries, was one such paper. Beke had not indicated to the editor that he wished to see proof of his paper until late in the volume's production and as such the cost of any correction would be considerable. Jackson — despite having relinquished the duties of editor — was asked whether he thought it appropriate to charge Beke for his corrections. In Jackson's opinion, asking any author to pay for the corrections required to a paper would be inappropriate, given that the aim was to produce a more accurate and authoritative paper. Inducing payment from Beke would, Jackson claimed, ensure that the society could not "expect any more communications from him nor from anyone who should be made acquainted with so illiberal a proceeding".[56] Financial prudency, in this instance, was considered in relation to ensuring a stream of high-quality information. Additional labour and expenditure of proofing later in the process of production were not the only considerations of the editor Renouard; the failure to remove "grammatical errors" and "incongruities of style" did, he argued, a "disservice to the book in which they appear[ed]".[57] Credible claims to scientific authority were the product of careful attention to detail.

[54] Julian Jackson to Dr Humble, 8 December 1847, CB3/423, RGS-IBG.
[55] Julian Jackson to Dr Humble, 9 December 1847, CB3/423, RGS-IBG.
[56] Julian Jackson to Dr Humble, 9 December 1847, CB3/423, RGS-IBG.
[57] George Renouard to Julian Jackson, [1844], CB3/649, RGS-IBG.

Whilst it was hoped that careful proofing would eliminate errors from the final production, it was also possible that entrusting the proofs to authors could cause editors additional problems. Editors were responsible for ensuring that no "substantive alteration[s]" were made to the paper.[58] As Jackson put it, it was otherwise possible that the society was printing a paper different to that which had been "read and referred" in accordance with the society's regulations (see Chapter 6).[59] Ensuring a "degree of perfection" through the revising of proof sheets was, in Jackson's eyes, "much more important than any consideration of a little additional expense".[60] Financial implications of this practice however, were a clear concern for the society's council. In 1847, at the height of the society's financial difficulties, it enquired of the printer why "very considerable charges" were being "made for corrections".[61] Once again however, accuracy, rather than cost, was prioritised.

There were other issues for editors to contend with. Sending accurate manuscripts to the press did not guarantee that the journal would be free of error. Despite the society's printer, William Clowes (f. 1803), being one of the largest and most reputable firms in London, the accuracy of their compositors was still occasionally questioned.[62] The inclusion of various foreign languages into the journal also enforced technical innovation on the part of Clowes. As Mr Dorrell, longstanding employee of the printer, indicated to the editor, Norton Shaw, the society was "throwing a new feature into the Journal, by the introduction of so much small type".[63] The need to produce specialist characters required them to be engraved at Clowes before proof copies could be sent to the society. As other scholars of nineteenth-century print culture have noted, credibility and accuracy embodied by printed works was

[58] Julian Jackson to Dr Humble, 8 December 1847, CB3/423, RGS-IBG.
[59] Julian Jackson to Dr Humble, 8 December 1847, CB3/423, RGS-IBG.
[60] Julian Jackson to Dr Humble, 8 December 1847, CB3/423, RGS-IBG.
[61] Council Minutes November 1841–December 1853, 22 November 1847, 176, RGS-IBG.
[62] John Washington to Julian Jackson, 18 January 1844, CB3/794, RGS-IBG.
[63] Mr Dorrell to [Norton Shaw], 26 February 1851, CB4/383, RGS-IBG.

intimately connected with the skill of the printer-compositor who might have to work with an array of languages and characters.[64]

The administrative and organisational labours of editing the journal were a significant part of the role, reflecting the wider ambitions of the society to produce a regular and authoritative periodical publication. Editors were, of course, also undertaking more conventional editorial practices, such as generating content and making judgements as to the epistemological value of papers submitted to them. Drawing up abstracts of important published works or distilling lengthy manuscripts into succinct overviews of the key points of interest, was most typical. Charles Darwin (1809–1882) described the practice of editors "drawing up a short account" of recently published works as a "very great compliment" for authors; there was, he claimed, "much more dignity in an analysis in the Journal than in any [other] periodical".[65] For Darwin, then, the journal was clearly a prestigious publication for his book, *The Structure and Distribution of Coral Reefs* (1842), to feature as an abstract and he was grateful that Jackson had taken the time to write about his book.

Maintaining an appearance of authority and credibility led to significant editorial work being performed on certain papers. When looking over communications from William Winwood Reade (1838–1875) on the Coast of Guinea — transmitted to the society by its fellow Andrew Swanzy — Francis Galton declared that the information contained "would interest such persons as are intimately acquainted with the past history" of the region but "the net geographical results of Mr Reade's tour, [his] very lengthy and diffuse letters, appear exceedingly small".[66] Galton, self-assured as ever, noted that he thought that Reade's letters should appear in the *Proceedings* and that the editor, Bates, should be "instructed to prepare

[64] Keighren, Withers, and Bell, *Travels into Print*.
[65] Charles Darwin to Julian Jackson, 14 October 1842, CB3/201, RGS-IBG.
[66] Francis Galton, Referee's Circular, 25 February 1869, JMS 1/101, RGS-IBG.

a paragraph, or a page or two to be inserted in the 'Additional Notices', relating Mr Reade's route as detailed…and his future plans as described in the letter read at the last council".[67] The reason for Galton insisting that Bates should draw up a short abstract of Reade's papers are revealed later in his communication. Reade had been travelling with financial support from council and, therefore, Galton saw it as necessary for some record of the journey to appear in one of the society's publications. The decision to condense Reade's paper down to a short abstract has a threefold significance. It demonstrates the interplay between the *Journal* and the *Proceedings*, evidence of an existing hierarchy within the society's publication — whereas the *Journal* was record of only the most important and noteworthy findings, the *Proceedings* became a venue for editors to position notices that were not deemed significant enough for the society's principal record. It also underlines that securing interesting, authoritative, and useful information by the provision of grants was not always successful — money was not always an arbiter of the quality or value of the geographical knowledge it produced. And, further, this episode shows that the journal's editors were routinely busying themselves by making abstracts and distilling content from communications that appeared on their desks in various forms.

Staging papers was, then, an important part of the work that editors undertook to make the journal appear as an authoritative and credible source. When editing papers due for publication, Renouard noted that he had been working hard on a manuscript with the intention of separating the author's itinerary from the paper's substantive narrative. His aim was to make the paper more accessible for the journal's readers. The paper, he explained, would require him or Jackson to draw up a "short preface respecting the author & and ended by extracts from the letter giving an acc[oun]t of his death".[68] So, whilst — as is detailed in the following chapter — decisions about the veracity and credibility of

[67] Francis Galton, Referee's Circular, 25 February 1869, JMS 1/101, RGS-IBG.
[68] George Renouard to Julian Jackson, 26 August 1844, CB3/649, RGS-IBG.

manuscripts was placed in the hands of trusted referees, the textual staging of knowledge conducted by editors was an important part of portraying the society as a trusted arbiter of geography.

Editors also, on occasion, directly altered the arguments of particular manuscripts. Letters between Captain James Vetch (1789–1869) and the journal's editor John Washington, illustrate that the editorial efforts to shape Vetch's manuscript went well beyond stylistic and compositional amendments. When it was printed in the journal's eighth volume in 1838, Vetch's paper — 'Considerations on the Political Geographical Nomenclature of Australia' — had been profoundly shaped by the suggestions of Washington.[69] The section of the paper that was the subject of numerous letters between the author and editor was a portion that outlined possible names for the divisions of the country. Washington indicated to Vetch that Damiper, Tasmania, and Guelphia should replace the names appearing in his first draft.[70] The political significance of publishing a paper making these suggestions may point to Washington's explicit direction. Regardless of Washington's rationale, the episode indicates that scientific manuscripts were being fine-tuned through epistolary exchange and that editors actively shaped their content as well as their stylistic composition. The careful construction of scientific knowledge — be it through proofing, altering, compiling, or writing — was central to the editor's role in the journal's production. The editor was responsible for ensuring regularity, clarity, and accuracy in the journal's pages. Ultimately, the editor's labour was directed at ensuring the journal represented, favourably, the society in print.

[69] Captain Vetch, "Considerations on the Political Geography and Geographical Nomenclature of Australia," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 8 (1838): 157–169.
[70] James Vetch to [John Washington], 27 April 1838, CB2/540, RGS-IBG.

A Supporting Cast: The Co-Construction of Periodical Geography

As much as the ability of the society to produce a journal with the latest geographical intelligence was based upon the administrative labours of the editor, so too was it reliant on a coterie of paid and unpaid workers. The contents pages of the journal conceal that significant parts of the journal were produced by often anonymous and uncredited labourers. While assistant secretaries/editors oversaw duties like proofreading, maintenance of prefatory material, and editing, as has been inferred, the performance of those duties was shared among the council and trusted correspondents. As this part of the chapter shows, there were a variety of tasks undertaken by a range of actors — papers and paratext were not only, in this sense, the product of editors and authors.

The polymath Solomon Moses Drach (1815–1879), was one such correspondent called upon, and whose advice would shape the composition of the early journal. It was when the society's finances were depleted throughout the 1840s, that the society's president William H. Smyth first had contact with Drach.[71] His task was to perform an audit of the journal's costs by paying close attention to individual numbers and letters — his interest, then, was in the small details of the journal's composition. His most practical suggestion, for example, was that the society employ a series of abbreviations to save space where possible, including: reducing military titles (Lieutenant, Captain, General to be printed as Lieut. Capt. Gen.) alongside the abbreviation of known geographical terms (Latitude and Longitude to be printed as Lat. and Long.) and known geographical features (port, gulf, mountain and isthmus to be printed Pt, Gf, Mtn, and Isth). As he noted in a page of workings, with 136 pages of prefatory material and 150 pages of original articles and notices, the expenditure

[71] Drach's communications with the society were from 1846 onwards, he communicated extensively with Smyth in 1849 but many of his communications are undated; see CB3/231, RGS-IBG. It seems likely that the pair were acquainted with one another through their involvement in the Statistical Society.

on the nineteenth volume of the journal would be £127 — each page costing the society 10s. 6d. Therefore, Drach suggested small changes such as inserting "F.M. Founders' Medal and P.M. Patron's Medal" as line 3. e.g. 1838 — "Mr Thomas Simpson (F.M.) for the discovery"". This, he suggested, would save a line of space in final printed copy.[72] Once used consistently throughout the journal, he declared, the society could expect the cost per number to be significantly reduced. Drach's detailed assessment of the costs of the journal's production is indicative of the position the society was in by the late 1840s and the impact the precarity of their finances were having on the journal. Yet, the assessment also illustrates how the society reached out, not necessarily to other editors or like-minded societies, but trusted correspondents external from the society whose work would ultimately shape the textual composition of the journal.

Proofing was a task often turned over to trusted correspondents who were asked to look over the text to identify typographical, compositional, or other errors. In his period as secretary and editor of the society's journal, John Washington called upon the Reverend Henry Salmon to pass comment on the latest proof sheets of the journal. Although only a few letters remain *in situ* at the society, Salmon's correspondence reveals that he was asked by Washington to cast a careful eye over the forthcoming volume of the journal. Salmon's detailed reading raised a number of issues with the pre-publication copy he had been given; the interchangeable usage of spellings in the journal was one such problem. He noted, for example, that the journal was inconsistent in its spelling of Timbuctoo — it had, in another article, been rendered as Tumbuctu. Salmon also took particular issue with the interchangeable usage of 'River' and 'Rio', in Washington's annual report on the progress of geography, declaring the usage of 'Rio' an "old abomination".[73] Yet whilst Salmon was clearly performing proofing duties for Washington, his letter is predominately dedicated to

[72] Solomon Moses Drach to William H. Smyth, [1849], CB3/231, RGS-IBG.
[73] Henry Salmon to John Washington, 5 October 1837, CB2/472, RGS-IBG.

the wider ramifications of the terminology employed by some of the journal's authors. In a detailed critique of what he had just read, Salmon penned the following frank assessment to Washington:

> Another quarrel I have with the number is the introduction without explanation of the new coinage of words which tho' they may be perfectly understandable to the scientific reader, will certainly puzzle the general one such as ethnography, tho' within the few last pages you have given it a definition and tho' I do not hold you responsible for it…then there is "orography" "geognosy" & another word which, in good faith, when you next write I would feel obliged to you to explain, as I really am quite in the dark, "geodesical". I wish also to mention one English ?? word "obligingness" I do not find it in the Johnson — How do I say my dear John I think you can not say that I have not spoken out freely. You desired me to do so, recollect. To make your journal popular it appears to me you must not write merely for scientific people, for country folks meet few of them & therefore if you desire to please as you must do, as Pit was said to do in the House of Commons when he made a [lotier] quotation, continue it for the use of the Country Members. Several of your articles I found very interesting and feel much indebted to you for the number.[74]

Salmon's close inspection of words as singular entities, rather than as connective narratives, gives some sense of the precision and care that underpinned the journal's production. His efforts in proofreading for Washington were ultimately a wider appraisal of the words used in the journal and illustrative of the tension between words' capacity to inscribe authority through a specialist disciplinary vernacular and their ability to alienate the journal's readers.

The opening lines of Salmon's letter further indicate that he was more than a proof-reader for Washington. Salmon had, in fact, been the one to suggest to Washington the advantages of including an annual sketch of the progress of geography in the journal — showing the social connections of editors to be inextricably linked to the practice of compiling knowledge for print. Clearly struggling with the task of incorporating a year's worth of geographical advancements in single article, Salmon wrote to Washington to empathise with

[74] Henry Salmon to John Washington, 5 October 1837, CB2/472, RGS-IBG.

him: "Little did I think when I suggested a yearly sketch of "the progress of Geography" that I should entail such a heavy task upon you".[75] Whilst offering no practical solutions for Washington's lack of inspiration, Salmon did call on the editor to make a clear effort to appeal to "those readers of [the] journal who were ignorant of what was going forward".[76] That is to say, Salmon hoped the annual sketch of geographical progress would benefit non-specialist readers who were not well acquainted with the achievements of geographers in the past year; broadening the appeal of an increasingly specialist journal. Washington's annual report of geography would later be restyled as the annual President's address — a longstanding section discussing the advancements of geography and highlighting the important work of the society in the development of the discipline. These episodes are significant, then, for the way in which they show that trusted correspondents of editors were, in part, responsible for the development of the journal. The personal acquaintances that editors called upon, their suggestions and critiques, are a significant part of the journal's history — their correspondence, in some senses, represents hidden histories of geographical print.

As the journal grew in geographical scope and intellectual ambition, written contributions from trusted fellows and council members became increasingly important. Rawson Rawson — with whom the editor Bates had lobbied the society to reform its transactions — wrote to Bates from Italy in late 1880. Having looked over some copies of the *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* (1868–date), he wanted to draw to Bates' attention some particularly interesting accounts of the "Proceedings of the 3rd Congress of the Geographical Societies of France". The piece demonstrated the work being undertaken by a network of societies throughout France to "promote the study of geography".[77] Rawson's interest was also

[75] Henry Salmon to John Washington, 5 October 1837, CB2/472, RGS-IBG.
[76] Henry Salmon to John Washington, 5 October 1837, CB2/472, RGS-IBG.
[77] Rawson Rawson to Henry Walter Bates, 29 November 1880, CB6/1870, RGS-IBG.

piqued by a note detailing the establishment of professorships of geography combined with history in France. As neither of these events had been reported in the journal, Rawson had "translated the notice" for use in the society's publication.[78] Increasingly the journal did include translated passages from the French and German geographical societies in the *Proceedings*, requiring the technical labour of translators in order to do so.[79] The contents of the journal appear to have been reliant on both the society's exchange program and personal collections of some of its fellows.

The translation of papers intended for publication was a specialist and technical endeavour, only undertaken by those who the editors and the council trusted to produce a reliable transcription. George Smith Brent, for example, was the trusted translator of the editor Norton Shaw. Although Brent's labours for Shaw were various — writing in 1857 he stated that he would be happy to work on revisions, notes, commentaries, or explanations — his most significant undertakings were translations of papers authored by foreign correspondents.[80] There is little information on how Brent came to undertake these labours for the society; he was an independently wealthy and well-connected gentleman of science, which accounts for the reason he had time to conduct various labours associated with the journal's production. When conducting a translation of the first in a series of papers written by the Austrian military serviceman General August Giacomo Jochmus (1808–1881), Brent wrote that he was "so much interested in the subject that [he would] like to undertake the superintendence of the translation of all the rest of Jochmus's MS. for which of course no charge would be made".[81] Neither time nor money was a barrier for Brent's translation of texts for the society.

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[78] Rawson Rawson to Henry Walter Bates, 29 November 1880, CB6/1870, RGS-IBG.
[79] Library and Map Committee, Committee Minutes September 1872–October 1877, 23 May 1877, 281, RGS-IBG.
[80] George Smith Brent to Norton Shaw, 10 November 1857, CB4/232, RGS-IBG.
[81] George Smith Brent to Norton Shaw, 21 July 1856, CB4/232, RGS-IBG. Emphasis original. Brent would eventually ask for some money for the labours he had conducted for the society,

Brent's service was not confined to his own labours, he routinely outsourced this work to other skilled persons known to him. As he was running behind time with the editorial labours of a particular manuscript, Brent introduced another gentleman to the society — a man referred to only as Mr Davies, seemingly an acquaintance visiting him in London. In his introduction, Brent enclosed testimonials for Shaw to read and noted that Davies would be happy to contribute a few analyses to the "'Proceedings' without remuneration, as [he had] proposed to do".[82] Further to the work of Brent and Davies, portions of Jochmus' paper were handled by some further persons. Another gentleman Mr Stein, had attended to the manuscript before Brent himself had "recopied" it, "for no human being (except perhaps the writer) could read the first translation with any comfort".[83] Once translated, the paper was also looked over by Brent's clerk, Mr Greenway, who was assigned the task of "marking off such passages in there which, when read, will give a general idea of the whole".[84] Whilst Brent's assistants, as he referred to them, were conducting the basic translation of the original French, Brent too worked on Jochmus' manuscript busying himself with more technical labours. He undertook, for example, a comparison of the parts of Jochmus' manuscript that were quoted from texts that had already been translated into English. Where his personal library was left wanting, he wrote to Shaw to indicate that the parts referring to texts such as Polybius or Plutarch that should be compared with the best possible English-language editions "before the translation should go to press".[85] Evidently, then, the preparation of Jochmus' manuscript ahead of its reading at an evening meeting and subsequent publication in the journal, was an act of co-production by Brent and his

owing in large part to what he described as the "partial insanity of my wife…which having lasted for some years has caused my domestic management to be anything but what it ought to be".

[82] George Smith Brent to Norton Shaw, 29 May 1856, CB4/232, RGS-IBG. Emphasis original.

[83] George Smith Brent to Norton Shaw, 21 July 1856, CB4/232, RGS-IBG.

[84] George Smith Brent to Norton Shaw, 26 December 1856, CB4/232, RGS-IBG.

[85] George Smith Brent to Norton Shaw, 22 July 1856, CB4/232, RGS-IBG.

assistants.[86] The work of Stien, Greenway, Davies, and Brent was not mentioned in the journal, but their labour was fundamental in bring Jochmus' papers to print.

Brent's duties did not only involve the finer points of translation, he was also blurring the boundaries of editor and referee. In one communication with Shaw he noted that he did not "find the original MS. ill-composed" and he would "most strongly recommend the publication of such paper".[87] He reaffirmed his position just a day later in another letter, writing that "on the whole the paper of Jochmus is doubtless a highly valuable one, and his maps are most beautifully executed".[88] His judgements on Jochmus' paper were not restricted to broad comments about the fitness of the manuscript for publication in the journal. He was also, on the direction of Shaw, enacting his own advice and undertaking light editorial duties. As he informed the editor, he was working on Jochmus' manuscript so "that it might be read at a[n evening] meeting" by "omitting all those passages which [were] lengthy and [did] not immediately refer to the identification of sites and military positions.".[89] The close reading undertaken by Brent was made clear in one of his final remarks. "I have jotted down a few observations" he wrote, "which I would make at the end of the meeting if called upon after the reading of the paper".[90] Brent's role as textual mediator then, extended beyond technical translation — he shaped the paper's oral delivery, its textual composition, and its reception at the society.

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[86] August Giacomo Jochmus, "Commentaries 1. On the Expedition of Philip of Macedon against Thermus and Sparta; 2. On the Military Operations of Brennus and the Gauls against Thermopylæ and Æolia; 3. On the Battle of Marathon, &c.; 4. On the Battle of Sellasia, and the Strategic Movements of the Generals of Antiquity between Tegea, Caryæ, and Sparta.," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 27 (1857): 1–53.
[87] George Smith Brent to Norton Shaw, 21 July 1856, CB4/232, RGS-IBG.
[88] George Smith Brent to Norton Shaw, 22 July 1856, CB4/232, RGS-IBG.
[89] George Smith Brent to Norton Shaw, 26 January 1857, CB4/232, RGS-IBG.
[90] George Smith Brent to Norton Shaw, 26 January 1857, CB4/232, RGS-IBG.

Throughout the century, as the society employed more paid staff to conduct its daily activities, the journal's production — informally undertaken by the likes of Brent — was gradually incorporated in the duties of the society's officials. By 1876, for example, the society's chief clerk was instructed to look out for interesting matter in foreign periodicals. In keeping "a sharp look out on the foreign geog periodicals", the chief clerk Edward Duffield Jones reported to Bates that there had recently been a lack of material he deemed suitable.[91] He had, however, manage to make abstracts from a few publications. From the *Bulletin de Societe de Géographie* he had composed a short paragraph from a paper that detailed a tributary of the Orinoco basin in South America.[92] Articles in the society's journal had already given details of some parts of the river system, so before writing his abstract, Jones consulted the publication's index to check that the information about the particular tributary had not already been printed by the society.[93] He concluded that the matter was "new" and was disappointed that the information had appeared "first in the Bull".[94] Jones also offered abstracts he composed from articles in the periodical publications of the Cairo Geographical Society and the Singapore Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Jones' letter to Bates reveals, then, various details about the practice of extracting information from foreign periodicals. At the society, the position of clerk — usually associated with general administrative labours — required specialist language knowledge, translation skills, and a keen eye for geographical communications suitable for publication in the journal. It shows, too, that the practice of scholarly exchange detailed in Chapter 7 was important in the

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91 Edward Duffield Jones to Henry Walter Bates, 10 September 1880, CB6/1274, RGS-IBG.
92 Edward Duffield Jones to Henry Walter Bates, 10 September 1880, CB6/1274, RGS-IBG.
93 W. H. Holmes and W. H. Campbell, "Report of an Expedition to Explore a Route by the Rivers Waini, Barama, and Cuyuni, to the Goldfields of Caratal, and Thence by Upata to the Orinoco," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 2, no.3 (1857–58): 154–157; Robert Hermann Schomburgk, "Journey from Fort San Joaquim, on the Rio Branco, to Roraima, and Thence by the Rivers Parima and Merewari to Esmeralda, on the Orinoco, in 1838-9," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 10 (1840): 191–247; Robert Hermann Schomburgk, "Journey from Esmeralda, on the Orinoco, to San Carlos and Moura on the Rio Negro, and Thence by Fort San Joaquim to Demerara, in the Spring of 1839," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 10 (1840): 248–267.
94 Edward Duffield Jones to Henry Walter Bates, 10 September 1880, CB6/1274, RGS-IBG.

generation of content for the journal. Principally, Jones' work to produce outlines of information published elsewhere, positions the composition of the journal as a work of textual co-production.

Other paid staff were also drawn into the journal's production. In 1877, the society's map curator was directed to "furnish the council with information respecting materials and cost of maps required for the Journal and Proceedings".[95] Whilst the map curator was responsible for the administration of the journal's illustrative material, the map draughtsman was undertaking the associated technical labour by compiling and drawing maps when required.[96] The draughtsman was also "to aid the assistant secretary in reading proof sheets and correcting proofs of maps".[97] That is to say that the technical labour of map making was also supplemented with non-specialist undertakings. By the 1880s, Edward Duffield Jones' work distilling information from foreign publications was transferred to the librarian's office. As it was enshrined in the society's official regulations, the librarian was to "prepare abstracts of papers &c. in home and foreign publications and Geographical Notices for the monthly Proceedings; for which special payment will be made".[98] They were also required to "compile notices of new books and other publications for the monthly Proceedings subject to editorial revision, which will be paid for on the scale stated in the council minutes relating to Proceedings of November 1878".[99] This was, then, an official duty of the role, but in recognising the skills required to abstract, translate, and write these short passages, additional payment was offered. As the society professionalised, so too did

[95] Library and Map Committee, Committee Minutes September 1872–October 1877, 23 May 1877, inserted between 297–298, RGS-IBG.
[96] Library and Map Committee, Committee Minutes September 1872–October 1877, 23 May 1877, inserted between 297–298, RGS-IBG.
[97] Library and Map Committee, Committee Minutes September 1872–October 1877, 23 May 1877, inserted between 297–298, RGS-IBG.
[98] Library and Map Committee, Committee Minutes March 1883–December 1890, 18 March 1885, 105b, RGS-IBG.
[99] Library and Map Committee, Committee Minutes March 1883–December 1890, 18 March 1885, 105a, RGS-IBG.

the work associated with the journal's production, becoming integrated into the wider culture of paid labour.

Conclusion: Constructing Geographical Knowledge

On the frontispiece of each number of the journal, below the grand title, the editor's name sat proudly. Inside the cover, and later on the front cover, a contents page listed the authors whose articles had been published in the society's journal. Yet, as this chapter has demonstrated, the production of geographical knowledge intended for print in the journal was dependent upon a network of individuals who ensured the regular transmission of knowledge through various contributions. The periodical's culture of co-production is by no means unique; books, in particular, have been shown to be the product of various 'hands'.[100] In the context of the society, however, detailing the various sources of paid and unpaid labour relied upon to produce the journal illustrates the way in which the journal's production was embedded in the society's wider culture. The co-production of print, it is contended, was not limited to those who worked directly upon the journal pages, it extends to the broader efforts of fellows transmitting manuscripts to the society and encouraging authors to send their papers for consideration. The chapter illustrates that editors were conducting numerous roles — they were variously administrators, editors, compilers, reviewers, and referees. These combined and shared labours are the reason the society was able to produce a regular work of geography throughout the century.

[100] Keighren, Withers, and Bell, *Travels into Print*.

Chapter 6

Assessing Topicality, Suitability, and Value: Authorising the Journal's Geographical Knowledge

In 1853, attentive readers of the journal would have noted an emendation to its frontispiece — the insertion of a single-line clause: "authors are alone responsible for their respective statements".[1] The insertion of such a statement demonstrated the caution with which the society bestowed its own authority upon the work of others. The statement also belied the significant efforts of editors, secretaries, councilmen, and trusted readers in the screening of manuscript submissions at the society. Why, then, would a society that, at least internally, was practicing and developing a relatively advanced system of evaluation and quality control relative to its scientific counterparts, distance itself from authorising the information that appeared in its journal? This is perhaps — as this chapter argues — due in part to the mutability of nineteenth-century geography and its evolving practices of institutional peer review. In short, peer review's history, and its association with scientific institutions and their publications, is often more complicated and contested that we might initially assume.[2]

Described by Driver as "an *arena*…where competing visions of exploration were debated and put into practice", the society was a critical space in which opinions, testimony, and discoveries were routinely scrutinised.[3] In this sense, from its founding in 1830 there was

[1] This same addition was agreed to in the *Proceedings* from its second volume onwards at a meeting of the publication committee in April 1856. See, Committee Minute Book 1841–1865, 25 April 1856, 110, RGS-IBG.
[2] Melinda Baldwin, *Making* Nature*: The History of a Scientific Journal* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 146.
[3] Felix Driver, "Scientific Exploration and the Construction of Geographical Knowledge: *Hints to Travellers*," *Finisterra* 33, no.1 (1998): 28. Emphasis original.

always a culture of peer review at the society that manifested itself, variously, as questions after lectures, as oral testimony at council meetings, and, more tangibly, as referees' reports. In this critical culture of acceptance or rejection of geographical information, the society positioned itself as the arbiter of geographical truth through the publication of its journal. When, in 1879, a committee sanctioned that the statement "published under the authority of the council" be included on the frontispiece of the journal, it gave a better representation to its readers of the careful control that composing the journal entailed.[4] That phrase still, of course, concealed the exact practices and parameters by which information arriving at the society was evaluated, reviewed, and mediated. The phrase did, however, make it clear that it was under the superintendence of the council, more so than the editor(s) of the journal, that the society's textual output (and its imprimatur) was being controlled.

Prospective authors, despite the absence of any written guidance from the society as to how submissions to its journal were handled, demonstrated in their communications the knowledge that their work would undergo some sort of peer evaluation at the society. As one would-be author professed in a letter to the journal's editor, Norton Shaw, his communication on the aridity of particular countries appeared to him "as much a geographical as a metrological essay" and hence he would send it to be read at an evening meeting if it were to be "deemed of suitable character".[5] In the nineteenth century, learned societies had various methods for evaluating and accepting scientific matter for the pages of their publications, relatively few however, were employing a defined system that might be thought of as peer review.[6] Even at the Royal Geographical Society, some referees found

[4] Special Proceedings Committee, Committee Minutes 1877–1883, 8 January 1879, 79, RGS-IBG.
[5] Thomas Hopkins to Norton Shaw, 20 July 1855, CB4/864, RGS-IBG.
[6] See, for example, Sloan Evans Despeaux, "Fit to Print? Referee Reports on Mathematics for the Nineteenth-Century Journals of the Royal Society of London," *Notes and Records* 65, no.3 (2011); Alex Csiszar, "Peer Review: A Troubled Start," *Nature* 532 (2016); Noah Moxham and Aileen Fyfe, "The Royal Society and the Pre-History of Peer Review, 1665–1965," *The Historical Journal* 61, no. 4 (2018).

the parameters by which information would be evaluated so unclear, that they themselves struggled to write reports for the society's council. As William Cooley noted in response to a request to review a manuscript, "I feel some difficulty on reporting on the enclosed papers respecting their fitness for publication, as I am not acquainted with the principles by which the Council of the RGS is usually governed in such matters".[7] For Cooley and other reviewers, then, the criteria by which the society expected them to pass comment on manuscripts were relatively uncertain.

Taking the mutability and development of peer review as its main focus, this chapter is concerned with the authorisation and disciplining of geographical information prior to publication in the society's journal. First, the chapter charts the major developments in the history of peer review at the society — demonstrating the transition, from the 1850s, to a more formalised and standardised mode of operation. The development of a referees' circular under the editorship of Norton Shaw will be shown to be a significant development in the journal's evaluation of manuscripts. I turn, second, to consider peer review not as a standardised system but rather a process that was reliant on evaluative labour undertaken by different persons throughout the century. Peer review itself is shown, in this sense, to be mutable — a practice in which positive recommendation was reliant on personal preference, professional relationships, and individual interpretation as much as it was on evaluations of veracity, credibility, or requisite knowledge. In the third part of this chapter, I respond to Cooley's complaint over the lack of institutional principles by which peer review was governed by addressing some of the unwritten rules that guarded publication in the journal. I conclude, in a precursor to the following chapter, by showing how these institutional practices — both known and unknown to authors and reviewers — promoted the journal as a liminal space of textual authority, governed by geography's foremost society.

[7] William D. Cooley to Julian Jackson, 22 March 1845, JMS 2/17, RGS-IBG.

Developing a System of Textual Review

Papers appearing in the first volumes of the society's journal were not subject to the same scrutiny that would follow later in the century — at this stage, producing interesting content for the journal mattered more than the employment of a defined system of refereeing. The first paper printed in the journal's inaugural volume, for example, was John Barrow's 'State of the Colony of Swan River, 1st January 1830', a survey of what would, a few years later, be referred to as the Colony of Western Australia.[8] As noted in the previous chapter, Barrow's paper was chiefly drawn from the British Naval Officer and colonial administrator James Stirling's report. Barrow himself then, was, in effect, the arbiter of the information presented. As Barrow noted that he was keen to procure more information on Australia, "a country as large as Europe…[that is] represented on our maps as nearly blank".[9] As such, his paper was drawn from what he described as an "authentic source", although he felt there could be no dispute that once the society had matured, it would have "higher objects" that would "claim more marked attention" once diffused both at home and abroad.[10]

Barrow's rhetorical attempts to appear credible aside, the absence of a report in the society's archives does not preclude the possibility that the paper had undergone some form of external peer review — indeed Barrow, in a way, was performing a review of the knowledge received in the form of Stirling's report. There are other various possibilities as to how the paper might have been evaluated. Most simply, it is possible that a written report from an assigned referee has been lost in the intervening years. Reports on papers were also given orally at council meetings, so it may be the case that, whilst the paper was refereed, the decision made was never committed to paper — such reports are, of course, lost forever.

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[8] John Barrow, "State of the Colony of Swan River, 1st January, 1830," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 1 (1831).
[9] Barrow, "State of the Colony of Swan River," 1.
[10] Barrow, "State of the Colony of Swan River," 1.

It is also a possibility that the questioning and discussion after the paper was read at an evening meeting on the 22 November 1830 were deemed sufficient in the evaluation of Barrow's manuscript, given that it was extracted from Stirling's report. It is possible too, however, that Barrow's paper was not reviewed, perhaps owing to his status as founder of the society. That either of these scenarios is possible is testament to the various and uncertain practices of reviewers in the first twenty years of the society — some reviewers engaged directly with authors, others wrote formal written letters to editors, or jotted down their thoughts on scraps of paper. Textual review, in short, took place in various forms.

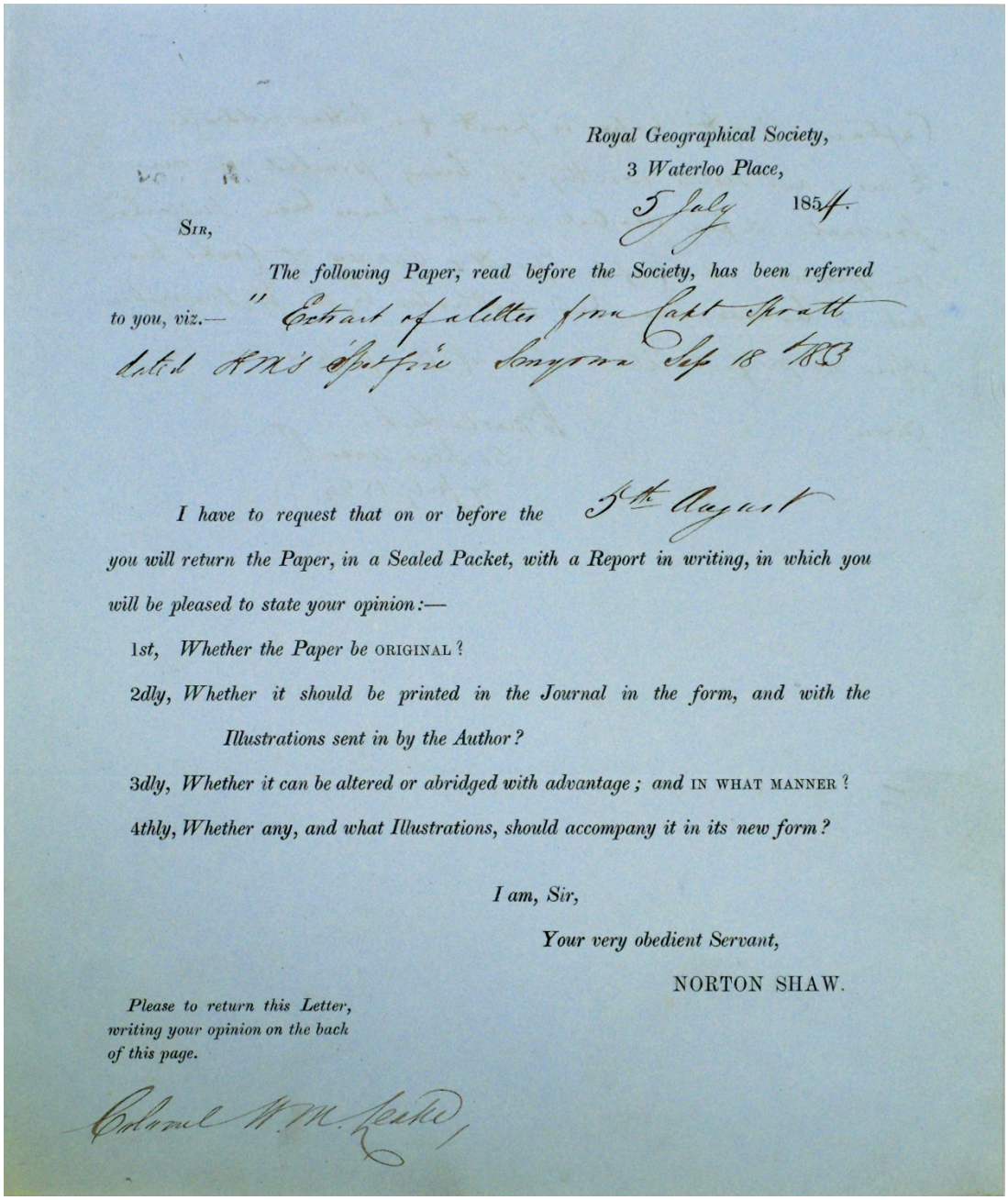
At the society in the 1830s and 1840s, there were no clear instructions to reviewers as to how to undertake the evaluative labour the society expected of them. To authors there was, likewise, no indication of how their manuscripts might be inspected on arrival at the society. That being said, a rudimentary system was in place. Incoming papers would be introduced at council meetings, a referee selected, and directed to report upon the paper at a future council meeting. Once that report had been given, the council would ballot upon the referee's suggestion. Given that there was ordinarily only one copy of each manuscript, quite how other members of council might form an opinion so as to disagree with their peer's report is unclear. The editor was, of course, in a more privileged position to comment upon the report, although seemingly rarely did so. As might be expected, no clear institutional guidelines existed as to the steps following a disagreement and without a textual record it is difficult to evidence the exact procedure (or lack thereof) in these circumstances. On most occasions, though, it would appear the editor was instructed to seek a second review.

Towards Standardised Practice

Notwithstanding the lack of specific written standards governing the peer review process, it is evident that the society was exposing authors' manuscripts to scrutiny from its foundation. As this chapter goes on to show, the function, parameters, and expectations of peer review were in constant flux throughout the century. There was a significant attempt to discipline the practice of peer review in the 1850s. In January 1850, a "referee's circular" was proposed to the council and, after much deliberation, a revised version of that form was accepted for use by the editor. This decision was a seminal moment in the history of the society's evaluative practice. From this point onwards, and into the twentieth century, papers were assessed on the basis of a set of common criteria by asking referees to respond to four questions (see Figure 6).

Although there is no textual record that attributes the circular to a particular member of council, it is likely that Dr Norton Shaw, the society's newly-arrived editor, initiated the change in practice. Shaw, who was said to have built up a working knowledge of both 'men and foreign lands' in his position as a shipboard surgeon, arrived at the society in late 1849. That fellows were complimenting Shaw on his efforts in improving the fortune of the journal by the middle of the following year, is evidence that Shaw may well have been responsible for implementing the system that defined the society's reviewing practices for the remainder of the century.[11] As the finance committee noted in 1854, the fact that the society's financings and its publications were in such good health was "in a very good measure attributable to the zeal and efficiency with which the duties of Secretary and Editor have been discharged by Dr Norton Shaw".[12] As the person who would directly benefit from the order imposed on the practices of the society, Shaw was, I suggest, instrumental

[11] Woodbine Parish to Norton Shaw, 23 July 1850, CB3/604, RGS-IBG.
[12] Finance Committee, Committee Minute Book 1841–1865, 12 March 1854, RGS-IBG.



Royal Geographical Society,
3 Waterloo Place,
5 July 1854.

Sir,

The following Paper, read before the Society, has been referred to you, viz.— "Extract of a letter from Capt Spratt dated HMS Spitfire Smyrna Sept 18 1853

I have to request that on or before the 5th August you will return the Paper, in a Sealed Packet, with a Report in writing, in which you will be pleased to state your opinion:—

1st, Whether the Paper be ORIGINAL?

2dly, Whether it should be printed in the Journal in the form, and with the Illustrations sent in by the Author?

3dly, Whether it can be altered or abridged with advantage; and IN WHAT MANNER?

4thly, Whether any, and what Illustrations, should accompany it in its new form?

I am, Sir,

Your very obedient Servant,

NORTON SHAW.

Please to return this Letter, writing your opinion on the back of this page.

Colonel W. M. Leake

Figure 6. Norton Shaw's printed referee's report, in this instance addressed to Colonel William Leake regarding an extract of a letter sent to him by Captain Spratt. Source: JMS 15/33, RGS-IBG.

in bringing forth the referees' report as part of the society's praxis. With the ad-hoc workings of the previous refereeing practice left behind, reviewers were asked to evaluate manuscripts on the basis of a set list of questions. They were required to determine whether: 1) the manuscript could be considered original (although, as I demonstrate in a later part of this chapter, the concept of originality was relative); 2) it was suitable to be printed in the journal; 3) it could be altered or abridged with advantage; and if 4) illustrations should accompany it. There was no explicit requirement, therefore, to assess the veracity or

credibility of submissions. In fact, what would often shape the decisions made on the fate of manuscripts was largely borne out of personal preference and individual application of these questions. Manuscripts, in this sense, were subjected to both institutional *and* personal assessment.

Over time the questions included as part of the referees' circular were amended and rephrased but did little to clarify the exact work referees were expected to undertake. The advent of the *Proceedings* (in its first iteration) meant that reviewers were asked which of the society's publications the manuscript was best suited to. In the late 1860s, the question of illustration was altered so that referees were directed to include a recommendation as to the size of any map(s) they thought were required. By the mid-1880s, reviewers were asked to suggest whether the paper might be suitable for reading at an evening meeting and the question of illustrations and maps were removed. The changing concerns reflect the differing needs and expertise of editors but are also symptomatic of the growing professionalization of the society and the production of its journal — once it had employed a draughtsman, for instance, it no longer required reviewers to give recommendations on the size or scale of maps. That is to say, even with Shaw's referee's report, peer review at the society was in a constant state of development throughout the century.

Geographical Gatekeepers: Specialists and Non-Experts

As the questions of the circular suggest, to be a referee for the society required significant requisite knowledge, not only in the field of study but with regard to the general practices of the society — being able to delineate the characteristics of a paper suited for the society's journal, as opposed to its proceedings, was arguably as important as specialist geographical subject knowledge. This requirement meant, for the most part, the editor drawing upon fellows intimately related to the society and its publications. As such, throughout the

century, referees were often members of the council. By way of example, for the final volume of the journal in preparation from late-1878, the thirty-six papers submitted for consideration were presided over by twenty referees, with just one — Alfred Russel Wallace (1823–1913) — not a member of council. There was no requirement for referees to be members of council (there were contributions from many fellows and on occasion indirect contribution from those beyond the fellowship) but, as a general rule, throughout the nineteenth century those called upon either were, or had been, members of the council.

Drawing upon a relatively small network of geographical gatekeepers brought distinct benefits to the society: first, referees would (at least in theory) understand the parameters by which they were expected to assess manuscripts; second, it created a culture in which reviewing could happen with unparalleled efficiency. Referees were given a month in which to return manuscripts and their reports to the society. On occasion, and dependent on publication dates, this deadline was shortened, but it is evident (using the circular's date of issue and return as a guide) that numerous referees made their reports within a day or two of receiving the manuscript. Whilst this system effected great speed, referees often professed to be ill-suited to the task of assessing the specific empirical contributions of manuscripts (not that the circular asked them to do so). Woodbine Parish (1796–1882), for example, suggested to the then-editor Julian Jackson that he knew "nothing of the country [Nicaragua]" detailed in a manuscript referred to him, despite being a respected traveller and diplomat in South America. What this example shows is that expertise was as much about social capital as it was about specific knowledge — Parish was a suitable reviewer as a consequence of his social status and profession, despite his ignorance of the specific geography in question. More simply, understanding the appropriateness of words in relation to their fit within the aims of the society and its audience was a way in which councilmen were called upon to assess the specific accuracy of claims. Indeed, in reviewing a manuscript reporting on the "stature of men" in New Zealand, Robert FitzRoy (1805–1865), the

referee, suggested that the author's "generalisations…may be disputed", but that there was enough matter of interest and facts that were "valuable" in order to warrant printing.[13]

The practices of FitzRoy himself demonstrate that when specialist knowledge was available on the council, those men were consistently called upon to pass judgement on related manuscripts. Having written two papers for the journal on the potential of communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans at the Isthmus of Panama, FitzRoy was called upon over the subsequent three years to report upon seven manuscripts concerned with similar themes.[14] Authors submitting papers on the isthmus to the society, would have their claims scrutinised by someone who had already had their understanding of that subject verified (however loosely) by the society. The manuscript of John Power, sent to FitzRoy to review in 1856, directly contradicted FitzRoy's position on the mean sea levels of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. As such, FitzRoy declared that the manuscript should be rejected on the grounds that it was reporting upon a question that had already been settled in the pages of the journal — not least in an extensive footnote in his own 1850 paper. As the society only called upon a single reviewer — except in cases of disagreement between council and the reviewer — Power's suggestions and a wider debate over the mean sea levels was absent from the journal's pages.

As a response to the increasing specialisation of geography throughout the century, in 1893 the society drew up a list of fellows that could be considered expert authorities on particular subjects — this was the most notable advancement in the systematic development of peer

[13] Robert FitzRoy, Referee's Circular, 1 July 1852, JMS 14/5, RGS-IBG; published in the society's journal as, Arthur Saunders Thomson, "Observations on the Stature, Bodily Weight, Magnitude of Chest, and Physical Strength of the New Zealand Race of Men," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 23 (1853).
[14] Robert FitzRoy, "Considerations of the Great Isthmus of Central America," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 20 (1850); Robert FitzRoy, "Further considerations on the Great Isthmus of Central America," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 23 (1853).

review at the society since the implementation of the referee's circular. The creation of the list is best considered in the context of debates at the society during the latter part of the nineteenth century, by which time the changing demographics of the fellowship posed some distinct challenges for the council. Debates around the admission of women, for example, provoked wider discussion of the society's membership structure. A faction within the society argued that fellowship should be granted only to those members who "extended geographical knowledge through publishing and discovery".[15] To distinguish those members, and to create a hierarchy of expertise, was also to impact upon the refereeing of the society — to open it up to a greater proportion of the fellowship through official endorsement of their research specialisms.

There might then, be considered three distinct phases to the development of refereeing at the Royal Geographical Society. The first twenty years — characterised by the attempts of the society to adopt the routines of a learned institution — provided no specific system or parameters by which manuscripts submitted should be reviewed. Yet as a society that fostered a culture of critical appraisal and evaluation, manuscripts were screened in some capacity from the society's earliest days. Seeming order was imposed through the referee's circular from the 1850s. Standardisation was followed in the later part of the century by an increasing professionalization of geography that led to the production of a list of certified authorities that could review manuscripts. In what follows I reflect on the way the systems in place were practiced by individual actors and suggest, in so doing, that the system itself was mutable.

[15] Morag Bell and Cheryl McEwan, "The Admission of Women Fellows to the Royal Geographical Society, 1892–1914; The Controversy and the Outcome," *The Geographical Journal* 162, no.3 (1996): 297.

Performance, Politics, and Peer Review at the Society

Thus far, this chapter has charted the changing nature of peer review at the Royal Geographical Society throughout the nineteenth century. In this section, I turn to consider reviewing as a practice. The systems put in place by Shaw and other editors, secretaries, and council members were reliant on the evaluative labour of trusted reviewers. In this sense, authority was vested not simply in the system itself but in the actions of those practicing the society's protocols. Therefore, while evaluation seemingly became a standardised practice with the introduction of Shaw's circular, it was, in fact, a system characterised by personal preference, individual interpretation, and non-expert evaluation. In the context of the society, peer review was less a coherent whole and more a set of discursive practices undertaken by critics in whom trust had been placed.

Questioning Originality

The variety of responses to the first question in the referees' circular — that asked reviewers to comment on the 'originality' of the manuscript referred to them — evidence the various interpretations and applications of that question. For a society that invited and printed various forms of communication — from research manuscripts, source compilations, and tables of quantitative data to journal extracts, diary entries, and personal letters — the question of originality was inherently relative. Reviewers appeared to be aware that it was general practice not to reprint papers that had been published elsewhere — the society expecting that they would be the destination of choice for English-language communications on the most recent and important geographical information. For example, on recognising that a paper detailing North Atlantic Cyclones and Hurricanes had also been submitted to the British Association, the referee William Henry Smyth confirmed that "until the particulars of their [the British Association's] decision are known, we ought to pause as

to printing".[16] Whilst sentiments such as Smyth's were common, there were numerous exceptions. A paper from the German missionary and linguist, Johann Gottlieb Christaller, was known by the reviewer to have been already printed in parts in "Christaller's Grammar".[17] The reviewer, Ernst Georg Ravenstein (1834–1913), was referring to Christaller's book, *Grammar of the Asante and Fante Language Called Tschi* (1875), part of Christaller's attempts to bring a single dialect to the Gold Coast colony in West Africa. However, in this publication, Ravenstein found the geographical details to be "buried among a mass of information", and therefore "almost inaccessible". [18] It was agreed, as a result, that a translation of Christaller's text would appear in the next number of the society's journal.[19] Likewise, James Hector's (1834–1907) manuscript detailing a 'Geological Expedition to West Coast of Otogo', had already been printed in the *Provincial Government Gazette*, but as it contained "some very important information" it was judged to be suitable to be published by the society.[20] The established institutional protocols in these instances were rejected in favour of a decision based on the assumption that the novel geographical details were worth reprinting because the journal's reading audience would be largely unacquainted with them. Originality was, therefore, a judgement made in relation to the likely experience and expectation of the journal's audience.

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16 William Henry Smyth to Norton Shaw, 8 October 1855, JMS 5/30, RGS-IBG; published in the society's journal as, Andreas Poey, "A Chronological Table, Comprising 400 Cyclonic Hurricanes Which Have Occurred in the West Indies and in the North Atlantic within 362 Years, from 1493 to 1855; With a Bibliographical List of 450 Authors, Books, &c., and Periodicals, Where Some Interesting Accounts May be Found, Especially on the West and East Indian Hurricanes," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 25 (1855).

17 Ernst Georg Ravenstein to Henry Walter Bates, [1885], JMS 1/130, RGS-IBG.

18 Ernst Georg Ravenstein to Henry Walter Bates, [1885], JMS 1/130, RGS-IBG.

19 Published in the society's journal as, Anonymous, "Recent Explorations in the Basin of the Volta (Gold Coast) by Missionaries of the Basel Missionary Society," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography* 8, no.4 (1886). Christaller's contribution to this article is noted in a footnote on the page 246 noting the following: 'From communications of the Rev. J. C. Christaller, for many years a missionary on the Gold Coast, and author of 'A Grammar of the Asante and Fante Language' (1875), and of a 'Dictionary of the Asante and Fante Language' (1882).

20 R. Collinson to [Norton Shaw], 11 January 1865, JMS 14/14, RGS-IBG; published in the society's journal as, James Hector, "Expedition to the West Coast of Otago, New Zealand; With an Account of the Discovery of a Low Pass from Martin's Bay to Lake Wakatipu," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 34 (1864).

Language had the ability to disrupt the society's attempts to include only 'original' research articles. With reference to a paper by a corresponding member of the society, J. J. de Macdeo of the Academy of Sciences in Lisbon, the trusted proof reader, translator, and one-time editor of the journal, George Renouard, noted that "if this paper has already appeared in the *Annals*, I do not suppose the Council w[oul]d wish it to be printed in our Publication".[21] The only possibility that it might interest the society, Renouard reckoned, was if it had "only [been] published in Portuguese".[22] Originality in this context was thought of as being the first English-language publication to print the enclosed knowledge. This understanding of originality is affirmed by the suggestion made by Francis Galton in his reporting on a posthumous account of Gerhard Rohlfs' trip over the Atlas Mountains, that had been worked up for publication by fellow German, August Heinrich Petermann. Galton thought the piece was "too slight and superficial" to merit a place in the journal, it being "a mere outline sketch of what he [Rohlfs] has done, in which he [Petermann] refers the reader to Petermann's *Mittheilungen*, where the full account will be printed".[23] That being said, the possibility of reporting at least some information prior to its appearance elsewhere (in German), meant that in his report to the editor, Galton proposed the *Proceedings* (in its first iteration) as a suitable destination for the paper.

Beyond not being published elsewhere, there were numerous other interpretations of originality. Whilst for the most part originality was taken to mean authorial ownership, inasmuch that an author had a) personally collected or been directly involved in collecting the data presented (although posthumous publication problematizes this criterion

[21] George Cecil Renouard to Julian Jackson, 1 February 1842, CB3/649, RGS-IBG.
[22] George Cecil Renouard to Julian Jackson, 1 February 1842, CB3/649, RGS-IBG.
[23] Francis Galton to Norton Shaw, 3 March 1865, JMS 1/88, RGS-IBG; published in the society's journal as, August Heinrich Petermann**,** "Journey of M. Gerhard Rohlfs Through Marocco and Tuat, 1863-64," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 9, no.2 (1865).

somewhat) and was b) either individually or collectively responsible for the manuscript laid before the society. Some reviewers had a different interpretation of this criterion and suggested that manuscripts should be accepted on the grounds they were original within the pages of the journal itself (i.e., they were, relatively speaking, original contributions). As one reviewer suggested, "although part of the ground travelled by [the author] has been previously visited, there is no description of it in the transactions of the society" and, therefore, he recommended it for printing.[24] Here, then, we see reviewers thinking of the journal not only as a space for the latest geographical intelligence but as a record of geography itself. It was recognised by some reviewers that manuscripts could claim to be original as a result of their interpretation of existing data rather than through their author's empirical observations. When the meteorologist Andreas Poey communicated a chronological table of 364 cyclones and hurricanes, for example, the reviewer noted that "this being a compilation from many sources…its only claim to originality is, in it being a more extended catalogue of these Phenomena, than has hitherto been published".[25] Whilst not strictly original in its most literal sense, the nature of papers received at the society relied upon reviewers exercising their own judgement in their interpretations of originality. Similarly, the African traveller George Goldie (1846–1925) wrote in his referees' report of William Wallace's 'Journey through the Sokoto Empire, 1896', that it was "impossible that any paper on the Sokoto empire should be original, after the various times in which the empire has been traversed by well-known travellers".[26] Goldie was of the opinion, however, that since "portions of W. Wallace's journey are entirely new", the paper had "value from a geographical point of view".[27] Whilst Goldie only considered papers detailing *terra incognita* to be truly original, he accepted that, within a broader understanding of originality, his own

[24] Laurence Oliphant, Referee's Circular, 1866, JMS 12/9, RGS-IBG.
[25] William Henry Smyth to Norton Shaw, 8 October 1855, JMS 5/30, RGS-IBG.
[26] George Taubman Goldie, Referee's Circular, 4 May 1896, JMS 1/152, RGS-IBG.
[27] George Taubman Goldie, Referee's Circular, 4 May 1896, JMS 1/152, RGS-IBG; published in the society's journal as, William Wallace, "Notes on a Journey through the Sokoto Empire and Borgu in 1894," *The Geographical Journal* 8, no.3 (1896).

interpretation of that term had no bearing on the assessment of the quality or suitability of manuscript submissions. Questions of originality in the nineteenth century have tended to illustrate the distinction between intellectual property and original work.[28] Here then, questions of originality have been shown to be mutable in the minds and applications of different referees. Such work sits neatly with contemporary examinations by sociologists that have conceptualised originality as multiple — variously original in topic, method, question, perspective, argument, or result.[29] As Robert MacFarlane notes then, "originality is not an indwelling quality of writerly production, but instead a function of perception, or more precisely readerly ignorance".[30] Similarly, at the society, originality's governance over knowledge was multiple and individual.

Blurring the Boundaries: Evaluative-Editorial Labour

George Goldie was a prolific reviewer on African manuscripts throughout the 1890s. His practices contrasted, however, with the evaluative and editorial labour of other reviewers. Whilst he was happy to pass comment on numerous papers, he never appeared to be willing to undertake significant editorial or stylistic revision. Reviewing George Garrett's detailed paper on Sierra Leone and part of the Niger River, for example, Goldie distanced himself from the possibility of being asked to conduct editorial work. He reported that the "document could, no doubt, be condensed; but it would require rewriting"; therefore, it was, he said, "a question of printing in full or not at all".[31] In relation to Thomas Alldridge's

[28] Reginald McGinnis, *Originality and Intellectual Property in the French and English Enlightenment* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009).
[29] Joshua Guetzkow, Michele Lamont, and Gregoire Mallard, "What is Originality in the Humanities and the Social Sciences?," *American Sociological Review* 69 (2004).
[30] Robert MacFarlane, *Original Copy: Plagiarism and Originality in Nineteenth-Century Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
[31] George Dashwood Taubman Goldie, Referees' Report 27 November 1891, JMS 1/148, RGS-IBG; published in the society's journal as, G. H. Garrett, "Sierra Leone and the Interior, to the Upper Waters of the Niger," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography* 14, no. 7 (1892).

(1846–1916) paper, 'Wandering in the Hinterlands of Sierra Leone', Goldie suggested that the secretaries decide upon the space that could be afforded to the manuscript (which on first submission had comprised of 61 pages) and then "allow and leave Mr Alldridge full liberty in bringing the paper down to that limit" as he did not think it mattered "which portions he cut out".[32] Whilst Goldie was far more impressed with Garrett's paper — noting that his report was very short because he had "only commendation" to offer — he made it quite clear in his closing comments on each paper that printing would depend on the space that could be afforded in the forthcoming volume and the time the editor could spend on the abridgement of the manuscripts.

The referee John Crawfurd also distanced himself from undertaking editorial work. Of Rutherford Alcock's (1809–1897) narrative of a journey to the interior of Japan, Crawfurd suggested to the editor that there was no way in which the manuscript could be altered "without mutilating it" and, therefore, its "original and valuable communications [deserved] to be printed in full length in the journal".[33] Comparing Alcock's printed paper with his original manuscript however, shows that significant editorial work had been undertaken. It is, of course, possible that Crawfurd did not believe the manuscript would benefit from the changes the editor enforced, yet his rationale for suggesting no editorial refinements — in essence that it would be too difficult to do so effectively — suggest otherwise. At times reviewers were tentative about conducting editorial work on a manuscript from someone who held a higher office than them in the society, but whilst Alcock would go on to be an influential figure within the society (becoming heavily involved with authorisation of

[32] George Dashwood Taubman Goldie, Referee's Circular, [November 1983], JMS 1/148, RGS-IBG; published in the society's journal as, T. J. Alldridge, "Wanderings in the Hinterland of Sierra Leone," *The Geographical Journal* 4, no.2 (1894).
[33] John Crawfurd, Referee's Circular, 23 July 1861, JMS 12/5, RGS-IBG; published in the society's journal as, Rutherford Alcock, "Extracts from Narrative of a Journey Through the Interior of Japan from Nagasaki to Yeddo, in 1861," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 6, no.5 (1861).

Japanese manuscripts from the 1870s onwards), at the time of the paper's submission, Crawfurd was the more senior figure. As such, Crawfurd's reluctance to suggest editorial amendments was unlikely to be due to professional hierarchies at the society. Expertise might have been what dissuaded Crawfurd from making recommendations but, having held published variously on Asia and having held numerous professional posts on that continent, he would likely have been in a position to suggest emendations had he thought them necessary. Alternatively, as many of the editorial suggestions were relating to stylistic matters rather than epistemic ones, it may be the case that Crawfurd was unconcerned by any incongruities of style, or that he was simply unable to devote the time to amending the manuscript. Whilst it is impossible then to know the conditions that shaped Crawfurd's report, his lack of action does contrast with the way other trusted critics approached their obligation to review manuscripts.

Some referees exemplified how blurred the boundaries between editor and reviewer were throughout the nineteenth century. Most notable in this respect was Francis Galton (a man intimately associated with the society's publications, as discussed in Chapter 4). Having urged the society to publish the *Proceedings* in addition to the journal, Galton became involved in editorial labour in order to ease the burden on the society's editor of publishing two periodicals. Galton's unique position meant that he was often reviewer of African manuscripts but had the authority to act upon his own suggestions. Communicating to the editor Norton Shaw over a recent submission referred to him containing the latest intelligence on the West Africa Niger Expedition, led by William Balfour Baikie (1824–1864), Galton reported that it had already appeared as an "extract in the [*Naval and Military*] *Gazette*" and, therefore, "the only position that would interest the Society is the news brought back of Baikie".[34] Galton had, he told Shaw, already added "3 or 4 lines on this in

[34] Francis Galton, Referee's Circular, 2 April 1862, JMS 1/80, RGS-IBG.

a footnote to the abstract of Baikie's paper in the forthcoming number of the Proceedings".[35] Galton's involvement in the screening of manuscripts demonstrates the mutability of refereeing practice at the society — his suggestions not acting as a recommendation to the editor but only as a means to justify his own decisions. The layered practice that ensured manuscripts passed through multiple hands (even though it was custom only to consult a single referee) was seemingly undone in the period Galton was involved in providing the additional editorial labour required by the *Proceedings*. Differing approaches to the task of refereeing then, show how different reviewers understood the editorial nature of their task. For some, undertaking careful line by line editorial work, and rewriting of manuscripts to extract the most important bits of information was part of their approach to reviewing. For others, their responsibility did not extend beyond answering the circular's standardised questions.

Other reviewers for the society's journal engaged in more overt evaluative-editorial labour. As one reviewer noted in his comments on an article detailing the first crossing of New Zealand's Southern Alps, "the whole piece requires a good amount of verbal amendment" that he would "offer to perform privately".[36] The motivations of those reviewers that offered to perform labours in addition to their refereeing duties are relatively unclear and likely varied between individuals. Some may have been seeking financial remuneration for their services; translators and compilers were often paid for their work but there is no evidence to suggest reviewers were compensated for their efforts. It is possible, then, that by editing or offering to undertake emendations, some reviewers may have sought to turn a *gratis* contribution into paid labour.

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[35] Francis Galton, Referee's Circular, 2 April 1862, JMS 1/80, RGS-IBG; published in the society's journal as, W. B. Baikie, "Report on the Countries in the Neighbourhood of the Niger," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 7, no.2 (1863).

[36] William Conway, Referee's Circular, 20 December 1895, JMS 14/25, RGS-IBG; published in the society's journal as, Edward A. Fitz Gerald, "The First Crossing of the Southern Alps of New Zealand," *The Geographical Journal* 7, no.5 (1896).

Practices of Investigating Accuracy and Veracity

The efforts made by reviewers to determine the accuracy and veracity of papers sent to them also varied. As we saw earlier in the case of Robert FitzRoy, on some occasions he was happy to overlook deficiencies in papers, at other times — in particular when papers aligned with his own research interests — he was less willing to do so. Certain reviewers discharged their duties as arbiters of geographical truth more stringently. On many occasions, this was simply performed by reading the manuscript to identify inconsistencies in its prose. Joseph Hooker (1817–1911) informed the editor that Walter Harris's (1866–1933) manuscript detailing his journey to Tafilet, Morroco contained various contradictions. Harris's manuscript gave detail of how he had travelled using a disguise, meaning he was able to conceal a Prismatic Compass but he could not carry a sextant. For this reason, Hooker levied criticism at Harris in his report:

> In his letter Mr Harris further states, that his disguise, that of a Donkey Boy, precluded his carrying a sextant, but this is inconsistent with the fact of him having carried & used a photographic apparatus, the result of which "made along the entire route" together with his sketches are to appear in the *Illustrated London* [*News*].[37]

Hooker, without direct instruction from the society, understood part of his role was to inspect the veracity and robustness of the claims set out in Harris's manuscript in relation to a wider body of knowledge and information; the manuscript was not to be read and evaluated in isolation, on its own terms, but in a wider dialogue with other sources of information. The case presented necessitated a careful reading of the manuscript in question, alongside access to, or knowledge of, the piece in the *Illustrated London News*. Referees were then, required to be up to date with the latest geographical information.

[37] Joseph Hooker, Referee's Circular, February 1894, JMS 1/149, RGS-IBG; published in the society's journal as, Walter B. Harris, "A Journey to Tafilet," *The Geographical Journal* 5, no.4 (1895).

Likewise, other manuscripts required reviewers to draw upon their own expertise or their collection of books and other geographical texts to examine the accuracy and value of claims made by authors. George O'Gorman, for example, cross referenced Commander Mitchell's account of Ruatan (now Roatán), an island off the coast of Honduras, with "sheet XI of the Admiralty West India chart from the surveys of Commander Given and Barnet".[38] Mitchell had noted some sites of refuge along the coast but had given "no sailing directions", and, as such, the information was deemed by O'Gorman to be no better than had been given in the "West India Directory of 1844…[or] Mr MacGregor's blue book of commercial tariff parts 17, 18, 19 of February 1847".[39] In O'Gorman's estimation, the coordinates Mitchell had plotted on the western side of the island differed with the admiralty chart by around one mile in latitude and nearly nineteen miles in longitude. "Such a difference", O'Gorman concluded, "ought not to be given without good reasons".[40] On the basis of O'Gorman's assessment the council agreed that the paper should not be printed in the journal. When the accuracy of a paper was scrutinised by reviewers, it was investigated in relation to other published authorities as identified by the reviewer themselves. In this sense, being a reviewer was as much about the resources one had access to as it was about tacit knowledge. The need to access resources in order to cross reference papers with already published work may also point to the reason why many reviews were completed within one or two days of being issued. Referees might well have completed their duties on site, with reference to the society's library and associated collection of information. If so, we might think of peer review as part of the institution's wider culture — part of the daily goings on in the society's rooms.

[38] George O'Gorman to Norton Shaw, [April 1851], JMS 5/17, RGS-IBG.
[39] George O'Gorman to Norton Shaw, [April 1851], JMS 5/17, RGS-IBG.
[40] George O'Gorman to Norton Shaw, [April 1851], JMS 5/17, RGS-IBG.

Although some reviewers clearly possessed expert knowledge that allowed them the opportunity to question the reliability of information received, others were clearly less well equipped to pass comment on particular geographical regions or research specialisms. As one reviewer called to the society's attention when reviewing a topographical account of New Zealand, the specific pages detailing the fauna and flora of the region should be "submitted to some expert botanist" prior to publication.[41] The question of ensuring accuracy in the detail of geographical accounts posed a particular problem as the discipline diversified throughout the nineteenth century and the custom of largely calling upon council members to serve as referees endured. Where a reviewer felt they lacked sufficient expertise, it was common practice for them to call upon the expert knowledge of acquaintances. Major J. H. Ewart's 'Short Account of Countries and People North of Comassie' (1889) was, for example, passed by the referee Francis Galton to fellow eugenicist and later society president, Leonard Darwin (1850–1943). In his report, Galton informed the council that "extracts might be published with advantage" and, as to which extracts might be published, he referred the council to "notes herewith enclosed by Major Darwin R.E".[42] Galton went on to explain why he had sought guidance from Darwin, indicating to the council that "in the course of his duties in the Intelligence Department of the War Office, [Darwin] made an intimate study of the authorities upon the West Coast of Africa, and is much better qualified than myself to decide about any topographical value this paper may possess".[43] Referees then, might have been authorities owing to their standing within the society, but they were not necessarily experts on the subjects they were called to review.

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[41] William Conway, Referee's Circular, 20 December 1895, JMS 14/25, RGS-IBG; published in the society's journal as, Walter B. Harris, "A Journey to Tafilet," *The Geographical Journal* 5, no.4 (1895).
[42] Francis Galton, Referee's Circular, 10 December 1889, JMS 1/137, RGS-IBG.
[43] Francis Galton, Referee's Circular, 10 December 1889, JMS 1/137, RGS-IBG.

Darwin's report — noted on a piece of scrap paper affixed to Shaw's circular — described Ewart's work as a "poor and confused production"; parts of the paper were declared completely "useless".[44] Upon Darwin's recommendation, rather than Galton's, the paper was not printed in the journal. Galton regularly called upon others in his scholarly networks to offer their opinion on the veracity of manuscripts under his consideration. He did so, in particular, when the paper's content aligned with his anthropological interest in eugenics. When reading a paper from Captain J. S. Hay on Akem in Nigeria, Galton was fascinated by the suggestion that its inhabitants might have "horse like development of cheekbones".[45] In Galton's opinion, the information about cheekbones deserved "further explanation and corroboration".[46] As he detailed in a private letter to one of the society's secretaries Rutherford Alcock:

> There is just one curious fact: that the Akem people are apt to have enormously developed cheek bones, standing out like horses…I have written to him [the author] enquiring…and have also written to Prof Burk the great authority on skulls & anthropologist to ask if he has heard anything about it.[47]

Although the archive does not reveal the details of Galton's communication with the author or with Burk, the reference to the "extraordinary growth or enlargement of cheekbones under the eyes" remains in the printed version of the paper.[48] The examples of Galton's and O'Gorman's cross referencing are illustrative of the multi-dimensional practice of reviewing where certain referees drew upon their networks of scholarly connections, consulted their own libraries, and utilised their access to others' institutional repositories of knowledge, in order to evaluate manuscripts. Whilst the refereeing of papers seemed to be

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[44] Leonard Darwin to Francis Galton, [10 December 1889], JMS 1/137, RGS-IBG.
[45] Francis Galton, Referee's Circular, 14 June 1876, JMS 1/113, RGS-IBG.
[46] Francis Galton, Referee's Circular, 14 June 1876, JMS 1/113, RGS-IBG.
[47] Francis Galton to Rutherford Alcock, 16 June 1876, JMS 1/113, RGS-IBG.
[48] J. S. Hay, "On the District of the Akem," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 20, no. 6 (1876): 477. Also published in the society's journal as, J. S. Hay, "On the District of the Akem," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 46 (1876).

the labour of a single institutional agent, on many occasions the decisions committed to paper on the referee's circular were the product of fruitful dialogue and exchange. Put simply reviewing was rarely, if ever, an individual and isolated act; it was, explicitly or not, collaborative.

For some referees, entering a dialogue with authors was a useful way to shape and improve manuscripts. Whilst others preferred to deal exclusively with editors in their conversations about the quality and suitability of manuscript submissions, those reviewers who engaged with authors did so, for the most part, to clarify details that would allow them to make a more informed judgement of the paper. Lieutenant James Webber-Smith (1778–1853) was, for example, requested to answer a series of questions drawn up by the reviewer of his paper (and editor of the journal), John Washington, on his visit to Mount Athos (see Figure 7). Washington's questions addressed particular parts of the paper in which he had assumed Webber-Smith had made errors. For example, Washington wrote: "At Rodosto 1500 houses, all Greek only 6 Christian! Are not all Greeks Christian? Do you mean Turks?".[49] The response from the author was that there were "6 houses of Catholic Christians: The remainder of Christians of the Greek Church".[50] Whilst the intention of Washington might have been to improve the manuscript and prevent errors being printed in the journal, some of Webber-Smith's responses demonstrate that he felt his fidelity was being unjustly questioned. "You alter the position of some of the places St. Paul &c, are you right?", asked Washington.[51] In response, Webber-Smith defended the accuracy of his statements by retorting, "I am aware that I have left out one or 2 names; and changed the flaws of others.

[49] John Washington to James Webber-Smith, Refereeing Document [1837], JMS 15/6, RGS-IBG.
[50] James Webber-Smith to John Washington, Refereeing Document [1837], JMS 15/6, RGS-IBG.
[51] John Washington to James Webber-Smith, Refereeing Document [1837], JMS 15/6, RGS-IBG.

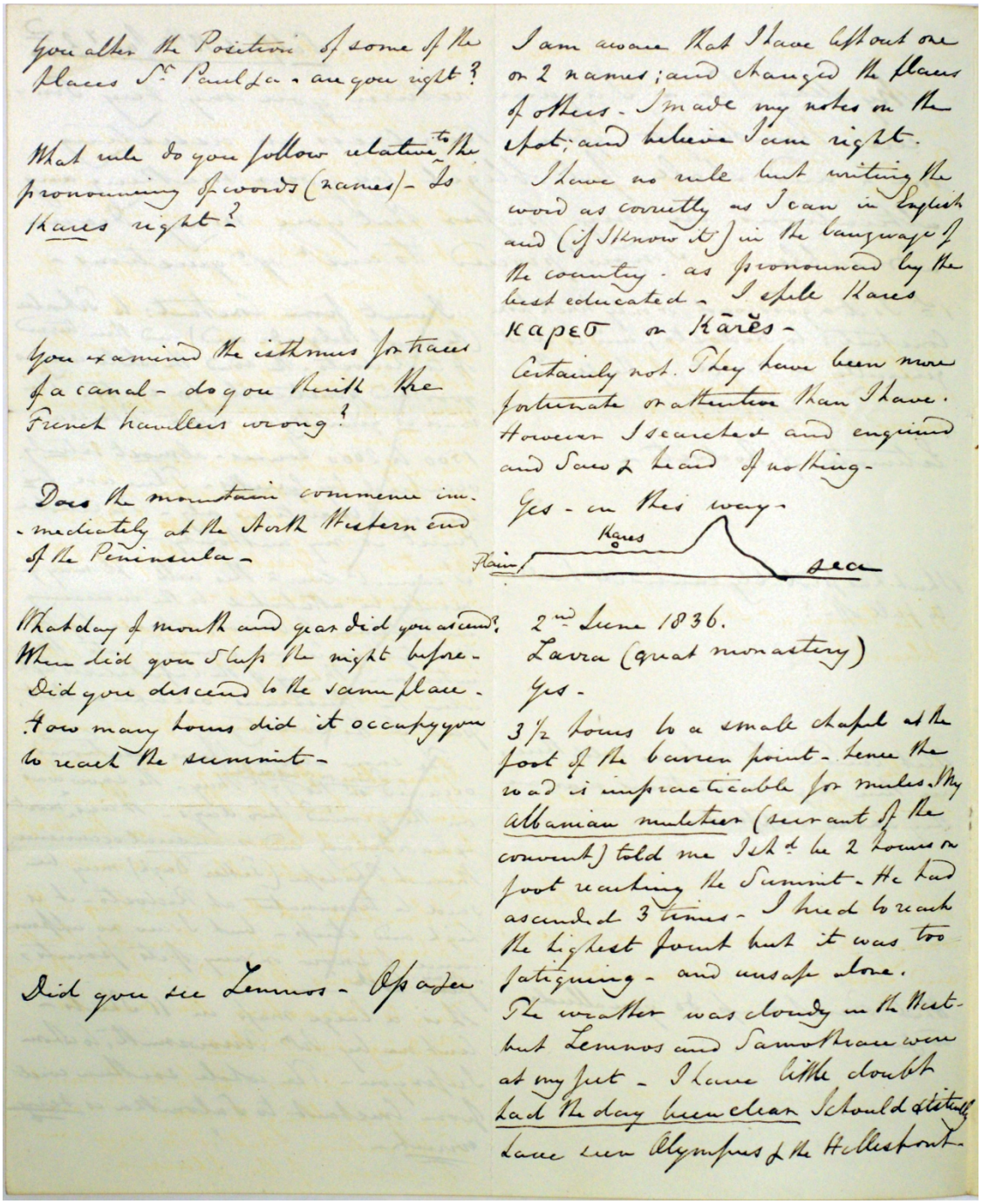

Figure 7. Handwritten questions by referee John Washington to Lieutenant Webber Smith. Source: JMS 15/6, RGS-IBG.

I made my notes on the spot; and I believe I am right".[52] In this instance, the dialogue between reviewer and author helped certify the account as a credible and faithful representation of the human and physical geography of Mount Athos.[53] While this form of

[52] James Webber-Smith to John Washington, Refereeing Document [1837], JMS 15/6, RGS-IBG.
[53] Lieutenant Webber Smith, "On Mount Athos and Its Monasteries; With Notes on the Route from Constantinople to Saloniki, in June, 1836," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 7 (1837).

dialogic peer review is largely confined to the period prior to the referee's circular, it demonstrates that veracity, whilst not formally acknowledged as being part of the referee's remit, was often evaluated through various discursive praxis.

The accuracy of John Turnbull Thompson's (1821–1884) manuscript, 'Reconnaissance Survey of Southern Districts of Otago', was the chief concern of the referee Captain Byron Drury (1815–1888) when he was asked to assess it in 1857. There was, as Drury saw it, "very little scientific matter" within the paper and, apart from its detailing the course of a particular river, was "of no value to geographical knowledge".[54] What had irked Drury the most, however, was the lack of methodological explanation to support Thompson's findings. Thompson was, in Drury's view, "evidently a savvy young traveller" but his manuscript was largely composed of the "common place details of travelling" and full of speculation that led to nothing novel. The only interesting facts were devoid of the procedural details that would have rendered them credible claims to geographical knowledge. Thomson had, for example, reached the summit of 'the dome mountain' and estimated its peak at 4,505 feet. This was, as Drury observed, "500ft less than hitherto believed".[55] The problem with such claim was that it was not clear if the measurement had been taken "with his aneroid barometer" or other means of instrumentation.[56] Drury's stance was, then, to unequivocally suggest the manuscript be rejected by the society. For reasons unknown, however, the manuscript was subsequently sent to the cartographer John Arrowsmith (1790–1873).[57] To commission a second review was relatively uncommon. On occasion, authors were allowed to revise and resubmit for referees to make another

[54] Byron Drury, Referee's Circular, 9 December 1857, JMS 14/8, RGS-IBG.
[55] Byron Drury, Referee's Circular, 9 December 1857, JMS 14/8, RGS-IBG.
[56] Byron Drury, Referee's Circular, 9 December 1857, JMS 14/8, RGS-IBG.
[57] Arrowsmith's report was decidedly more positive than Drury's, recommending portions of Turnbull Thompson's writing for publication in the proceedings. The article was published in the society's journal as, J. Turnbull Thomson, "Journal Kept during the Performance of a Reconnaissance Survey of the South District of the Province of Otago, New Zealand," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 2, no.6 (1857).

evaluative judgement in relation to the recommendations they had laid out, but for a new reviewer to be asked to offer a second opinion was unusual.[58]

Arrowmsith's own review evidences the subjective judgments of reviewers. He made no issue of the methodological incompetency inferred by Drury, and, in fact, Arrowsmith's considerations centred principally on whether or not the manuscript would be accompanied by a map. Some reviewers were particularly reflexive in their acknowledgement of their own personal bias; George Goldie wholeheartedly recommended a paper on Sierra Leone but reckoned his opinion might have been informed by the "special interest" he took in West Africa.[59] Arrowsmith was seemingly less self-aware. He found no issues with Thompson's manuscript but thought that "to consider the paper useful it must be accompanied by a map".[60] In fairness to Arrowsmith, the circular issued to him indicates that he had little more than a week in which to submit his report; the time constraints might explain why his report was so short.[61] In numerous other cases, however, Arrowsmith also argued for the inclusion of maps. Writing in 1862, he reported that Rutherford Alcock's manuscript on Japan would be greatly improved if a "map of the route" he had followed were to be added.[62] The evidence cited above demonstrates how the society's systematic approach to reviewing was complicated by the diverse practices of its referees — whilst some overlooked the deficiencies of manuscripts, others investigated them in relation to other

[58] See for example, Thomas Hodgkin, Referee's Circular, 7 January 1855 and 14 April 1856, JMS 15/36, RGS-IBG. Here the reviewer Hodgkin recommends the author "work to develop his views" and consider presenting to the Geographical and Ethnographical section of the British Association. On receiving a revised manuscript in the following April, Hodgkin is unchanged in his view that the paper should not be recommended for reading or publication at the society.
[59] George Dashwood Taubman Goldie, Referees' Report 27 November 1891, JMS 1/146, RGS-IBG.
[60] John Arrowsmith, Referee's Circular, 9 August 1858, JMS 14/8, RGS-IBG. Emphasis original.
[61] The circular is dated 27 July 1858 to be returned by Arrowsmith on the 5 August 1858. His return is dated 9 August 1858.
[62] John Arrowsmith, Referee's Circular, 1862, JMS 12/7, RGS-IBG; published in the society's journal as, Rutherford Alcock, "Extracts from Narrative of a Journey Through the Interior of Japan from Nagasaki to Yeddo, in 1861," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 6, no.5 (1861).

printed authorities or personal interests. It is possible to say, consequently, that papers at the Royal Geographical Society were evaluated and warranted as much on the basis of individual whim as they were on the basis of common institutional standards.

The Unwritten Parameters of Geography

The discursive practices and various interpretations of the Royal Geographical Society's reviewers make it hard, in spite of Norton Shaw's considerable efforts, to talk of one coherent system of peer review for the society's journal: there were numerous interpretations and incarnations of a single system that governed the society's textual output. Whilst it is clear that authors' manuscripts were evaluated with respect to their originality, necessary alterations, and the quality and value of their non-textual components, there were also some unwritten or invisible parameters that they had to negotiate. Not least of these parameters was the requirement to satisfy the council and its reviewers that the work in question was inherently geographical.

Defining What Counted as Geography

Geography's emergence as an independent discipline was paralleled by a diverse and evolving rationale throughout the nineteenth century. Geography was variously understood as practical endeavour, as a military and imperialistic imperative, and as an academic and educational discipline.[63] The fellowship of the Royal Geographical Society was likewise diverse — characterised initially by a cohort of military servicemen who, with the emergence of 'new geography' and its educational and scientific focus, were joined by educators and scientific specialists. The council members and fellows who were called upon to referee

[63] Brian Hudson, "The New Geography and the New Imperialism, 1870–1918," *Anitipode* 9, no.2 (1977); David R. Stoddart, *On Geography and its History* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986).

papers had, in that sense, no single and shared vision of geography or for geographical knowledge.[64] Personal decisions and the changing contours of geography together shaped the composition of the journal. While unwritten parameters were informed by the changing position of Anglo-European geography, they were also shaped implicitly by the local circumstances of the society. As such, while the larger debates over what constituted geography mattered greatly in the acceptance or rejection of manuscripts, papers often found themselves in an invisible hierarchy on arrival at the society: papers on particular subjects or detailing certain countries or regions found favour at differing periods during the nineteenth century.

Other notable textual conventions also existed at the society. An early tendency of reviewers (predominately in the 1830s and 1840s), for example, was to recommend the removal of any reference to other existing scholarship — and, in particular, classical works of geography. The practice was most prevalent among those council members with a history of military service. William Smyth asked that all reference to Christian Leopold von Buch and Alexander von Humboldt be removed from E.M. Leycester's lengthy manuscript considering the origins of the island of Santorini. There would, Smyth argued, only be a need for "a note as would explain the difference between their [Buch's and Humboldt's] theory of the origin of Santorin, & that of Lieut.[t] Leycester, which may perhaps be found the most correct of the two".[65] It is unclear in this instance whether Smyth recommended the omission of reference work as part of stylistic preference or if he thought the readers of the journal would be well acquainted with Buch's and Humboldt's theory so as not to make it necessary to detail them in the paper. The comments of Woodbine Parish, however,

[64] David R. Stoddart, "The RGS and the 'New Geography': Changing Aims and Changing Roles in Nineteenth Century Science," *The Geographical Journal* 146, no.2 (1980).
[65] William Henry Smyth to Norton. Shaw, n.d., JMS 15/27, RGS-IBG; published in the society's journal as, E. M. Leycester, "Some Account of the Volcanic Group of Santorin or Thera, once Called Callistê, or the Most Beautiful," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 20 (1850).

demonstrate that the suggestions of reviewers to remove in-text citation to other works was the result of a general preference for practical empirical observation, rather than a matter of economics (reducing page numbers) or in-house style. Commenting on a paper by the astronomer Francis Baily (1774–1844) on the Isthmus of Panama, Parish recommended that it be "limited to the Authors [*sic*] own observations" and be stripped of "his allusion to the [work of] others".[66] The preference of removing citations of classical and modern scholars is curious given that exactly the opposite has been shown for the Murray publishing house — here, it has been suggested, citation was an important method for authors to present themselves as creditable geographical writers.[67] At the society, the rationale for the removal of citation to other works was never formally expressed but it is reasonable to suggest that textual triangulation was eschewed for one of three reasons. Either because it was assumed the audience would be aware of the wider disciplinary debates, that the information had been verified by one of the society's 'expert' referees in turn positioning it as credible knowledge and therefore not requiring reference to other sources, or simply because there was a preference to give prominence to empirical findings.

The appropriateness of certain sources of information also appear to have had a bearing on manuscript's fate in the hands of reviewers. Native testimony, from indigenous or non-European sources was generally considered suspicious. A submission by the German missionary traveller, John-Baptist Hoffman (1857–1928), that reported the existence of a large body of water connected to the sea near the border of the Ivory Coast and Liberia, was questioned by the reviewer on the grounds that the majority of evidence was taken

[66] Woodbine Parish to Julian Jackson, [December 1843], JMS 5/13, RGS-IBG; published in the society's journal as, J. Baily, "On the Isthmus between the Lake of Granada and the Pacific; Being an Extract from a "Memoir on the Lake of Granada, the River San Juan, and the Isthmus between the Lake and the Pacific Ocean, in the State of Nicaragua, Central America"," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 14 (1844).
[67] Innes M. Keighren, Charles W. J. Withers, and Bill Bell, *Travels into Print: Exploration, Writing, and Publishing with John Murray, 1773–1859* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

from "a native's statement". [68] As such, the reviewer thought the information enclosed was "very slight and fragmentary" — in short, the manuscript's knowledge was not to be trusted in full.[69] Considering however, that Hoffman's claims might, if true, result in a major advancement in the knowledge of that region, the paper was to be printed in the 'additional notices' of the forthcoming volume. Sources then, and perceived credibility, were central to referee's judgements about manuscripts, although, as a record of geography, worries over the veracity of particular claims did not prevent articles appearing in the journal in some form.

Numerous papers received hoped to induce funds from the society for subsequent travel. As these papers were often based upon speculative geographical research, reviewers had little hesitation in rejecting them. These rejections are interesting in light of a commitment made to so-called speculative geography in the society's founding prospectus — the society had noted that it was "aware that great benefits…may yet be derived from speculative geography".[70] These benefits were only to be realised if theories presented to the society did not "involve obvious absurdities or impossibilities".[71] What constituted 'absurdities' however, like the rest of the reviewing parameters, was open to interpretation. The sceptical and frank assessment of Arthur Perceval's (1799–1853) two manuscripts by Robert FitzRoy, are an extreme example of some of the negative responses of reviewers to such papers. For FitzRoy, Perceval's papers were too theoretical and lacked, what he called, 'practical support' for the claims they made. He concluded with an attack on this type of paper more generally:

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[68] Francis Galton, Referees' Report, 18 February 1862, JMS 1/74 RGS-IBG.
[69] Francis Galton, Referees' Report, 18 February 1862, JMS 1/74 RGS-IBG.
[70] Anonymous, "Prospectus of the Royal Geographical Society," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 1, (1831): xi.
[71] Anonymous, "Prospectus of the Royal Geographical Society," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 1, (1831): xi.

> But there is another grave objection — in my mind — to the adaption of merely speculative Papers not strictly speaking geographical which is — that by so doing a door is opened for the admission of many schemes — the authors of them having no scientific or practically geographical object in view which would tend to lower the character of the Meeting — as well as the Society — and induce speculation to endeavour to make known their projects from so advantageous a position.[72]

For FitzRoy, then, the journal was the bastion of the society in which it upheld its credibility and reputation as a learned institution. Geographical speculation — at least in FitzRoy's mind — had no place in either the journal nor at the society. Given that much of what was published in the journal would later be revised or amended, empirical evidence appears to be the defining characteristic by which reviewers judged manuscripts in the early part of the society's history.

Acceptance on the Basis of Potential and Obligation

Even when authors could present credible empirical findings to the society, the breadth of geographical enquiry often meant that manuscripts' novel geographical information was bound up in papers that discussed wider meteorological, geologic, anthropogenic, and scientific issues. Often, authors would send large volumes of information in the knowledge that editors and referees would extract the points they thought most pertinent to geography. This strategy is most evident, perhaps, in the writing of Count Fedor Karaczay and in his manuscript detailing the Montenegrin province of Cattaro and Turkish Albania. Written in German, the paper — '*Albanien, historisch-ethno-geographisch, statistisch, in drei abtheilunge*' — comprised of over 100 pages of manuscript material, multiple illustrations, and two detailed maps of Albania: a significant amount of reading for the reviewer, William Wittich.

[72] Robert FitzRoy, Referee's Circular, 3 February 1852, JMS 15/29, RGS.

On delivering his report to the council, Wittich outlined that the information on Austrian Albania had "interesting details" but was "sufficiently known", inasmuch that all of what was said was "very interesting to the inhabitants of the country; but [had] not much value for foreigners".[73] The section on Montenegro was considered too general, but the manuscript's detailing of Turkish Albania was treated more favourably for its valuable information on the commercial routes of empire. In Wittich's opinion, the most important part of the communication was that reporting upon Turkish Albania; it was as original and detailed a part of Europe that was, in effect, *terra incognita* to many Anglophone geographers.

Karaczay's manuscript, though incredibly long and detailed, showed sufficient promise for the society to pursue publication. Recognising the value of Karaczay's manuscript, Wittich wrote in a separate private letter to the secretary to say that it would be valuable if the society could procure a more extensive survey of the country. Here, then, it is Karaczay's potential to act as correspondent of new information that convinced the society to publish his work — his manuscript being proof of his ability to communicate credible and necessary information. As noted in Chapter 5, Wittich further stated that he thought it expedient for the society to elect Karaczay an honorary member in light of his potential contribution to the geographical understanding of the region. Wittich suggested that electing Karaczay as honorary member would also soften the blow that the majority of his manuscript would not be published in the society's journal. That being said, if he were to answer some proposed questions (similar to Webber-Smith), his communication on Turkish Albania would most certainly be included in the next volume of the journal. Karaczay's manuscript was, then, an entryway in to the society's journal, his manuscript (that would require translation ahead of print in any event) was shaped in order to meet the strategic objectives

[73] William Wittich to Julian Jackson, 25 November 1841, JMS 15/15, RGS; published in the society's journal as, Count Karaczay, "Geographical Account of Albania, Extracted from a Manuscript of Count Karaczay," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 12 (1842).

of the society — to bring new and valuable geographical information to its interested audience. As such, reviewers, much like publishers, were involved in identifying and shaping information along a pre-defined "textual plane intended for eventual marketing and selling".[74]

As the nineteenth century progressed, there appeared a distinct difference in the way reviewers classified geographical *information* as opposed to what might be thought of as geographical *news*. As Francis Galton noted of Commander Doben's 1862 communication on the proceedings of HMS *Bloodhound* up the Volta River in Ghana, the "geographical information is very scant" it being "chiefly a personal narrative of no great interest".[75] Despite this, Galton recommended a short abstract of the journey be published in the *Proceedings*. So, whilst the information contained in the communication was of little value to geographical science, the reporting of the trip itself was regarded by Galton to be worthy of dissemination by the society. The classification of manuscript material as information or news, is in part a reflection of the expanding content of the society's publication(s) in the mid-century, and of Galton's privileged position within the society. It also, however, evidences the perceived value of particular communications even when they might not be novel or particularly scientific.

Even when reviewers did find extensive geographical information in manuscripts, there was no guarantee that the knowledge would be favourably received: the geography had to be of the 'right' sort. For example, while James Hector's account of exploration of the Canterbury province of the South Island of New Zealand (ultimately published in the *Proceedings*), contained some interesting details relating to glaciation in that region, the reviewer could

[74] David Finklestein, *House of Blackwood: Author-Publisher Relations in the Victorian Era.* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 59.
[75] Francis Galton, Referee's Circular, [1862], JMS 1/73, RGS-IBG.

only recommend it be published with "considerable abridgement".[76] The rationale for the decision was that the paper contained geographical information that, whilst very interesting, was predominately useful and relevant to a local audience. Such assertions were particularly common of Australasian communications and of those that had already been published in other foreign (language) journals. James M'Kerrow's (1834–1919) manuscript fell into both of these categories. Detailing the lake district of the Otago region of New Zealand's South Island, the reviewer noted that it had already been published in the *Otago Provincial Government Gazette*.[77] There was, however, "admirable description" and some "important and valuable remarks" as to the physical geography of the region.[78] Despite the fact that it had already been printed elsewhere, and that it was tailored to a different and more local audience, the reviewer recommended the piece for publication in the journal — presumably because the society thought of the journal as a textual record of geography.

Commerce, Seafaring, and Sailing in the 'Right' Place

Quality and veracity were not, in the way that might be expected, significant barriers to publication. As has been shown, in many cases, referees were less arbiters of geographical truth and more gatekeepers of the society's strategic and ideological imperatives. Nowhere is this role shown more thoroughly than in an evaluation of the writing of Captain J. S. Hay on the district of Akém in West Africa. Galton — who, as we saw earlier, had been fascinated by the apparently horse-like features of the local population of that area — declared that the paper was "original, but not of any great merit". [79] Regardless, Galton

[76] R. Collinson, Referee's Circular, 1864, JMS 14/13, RGS-IBG.
[77] James M'Kerrow, "Reconnaissance Survey of the Lake Districts of Otago and Southland, New Zealand," *Otago Provincial Government Gazette*, 14 October 1863; published in the society's journal as, James M'Kerrow, "Reconnaissance Survey of the Lake Districts of Otago and Southland, New Zealand," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 34 (1864).
[78] R. Collinson, Referee's Circular, 1864, JMS 14/15, RGS-IBG.
[79] Francis Galton, Referee's Circular, 14 June 1876, JMS 1/113, RGS-IBG.

called for the paper to be published in the journal. His reasoning was expanded upon in a separate letter to the society's secretary: "I have recommended Captain J. S. Hay's paper to the journal. It is not particularly good but refers to a country near which are many British interests, but of which are known very little".[80]

Such interest in Britain's global commercial interests and in its imperial strategy defined the acceptance and rejection of many publications in the journal. In 1845, Peter Masters submitted a paper, 'Navigation in the Gulf of Mexico', together with a nautical chart of the area. The reviewer stated, however, that the paper did not, in his opinion, fit "within the objects for the Journal of the Society", noting that "a portion of it is in fact sailing directions which from my knowledge of the author, & his past experiences" would be of little value.[81] Here, the lack of anonymity in the process of review, was clearly a barrier to publication but the author's perceived failure to provide geographical information ultimately meant the manuscript was rejected. Take an example from 1863, however, and it is possible to see the changing prioritisation of geography at the society. Laurence Oliphant's (1829–1888) account of a visit to the Japanese island of Tsusima (now Tsushima) was declared particularly interesting because of the fact that it contained "much valuable and useful information to those visiting this particular part of the Japanese sea, but particularly to navigators".[82] There were then, significant discrepancies in how reviewers interpreted information with respect to its suitability for publication — the 'right' kind of information for some referees sat in opposition to other's understanding of acceptable knowledge.

[80] Francis Galton to Rutherford Alcock, 16 June 1876, JMS 1/113, RGS-IBG.
[81] Colquhoun Grant to Julian Jackson, 20 June 1845, JMS 5/14, RGS-IBG.
[82] William Hall, Referee's Circular, 13 February 1863, JMS 12/8, RGS-IBG; published in the journal as, Laurence Oliphant, "A Visit to the Island of Tsusima," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 33 (1863); and further record made in, Laurence Oliphant, "Visit to the Island of Tsusima, near Japan," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 7, no.2 (1862).

It is possible to suggest that Oliphant's paper, as opposed to Master's, found favour at the society for three reasons. Firstly, in a subsequent part of the report the reviewer notes that one of the major contributions of the paper is its potential illustration of routes of commerce in that particular part of the Japanese Sea; the reviewer stating that Oliphant saw numerous trading posts "during the short run of 50 miles".[83] Commercial potential in and of itself was worth recording in the journal, Master's sailing directions less so. Secondly, this was also a decision dependent on the timing of submissions. Arriving in the 1840s, Master's paper came at a time when the society was attempting to define its rationale rather than being thought of as an amalgamation of history, commerce, geology, and other related fields. And too, was aiming to economise on its journal by carefully selecting what it chose to print. By Oliphant's submission in the 1860s, the emergence of a discipline that was sensitive to the contribution of geography to commercial and imperial endeavours was beginning to grow. Thirdly, the local circumstances in which Oliphant's paper found itself on arrival at the society is likely another reason it received a favourable review. There were distinct and shifting hierarchies at the society based upon manuscript's geographical focus; papers that detailed Japan and its surrounding area — as Oliphant's paper did — were generally favourably received because of the low submission rates of information from that part of the world (see Figure 8). As the Royal Naval officer Charles Malcolm (1782–1851) recognised in reviewing a communication from Commander Mathison, the changing political situation in Japan throughout the century meant any papers printed would prove "useful…to show the state of Japan" at different periods throughout the nineteenth century.[84] The political situation that made research and writing about Japan particularly scarce, created a culture in which papers such as Arthur Jeffrey's 'Ascent of Fuji-yama' —

[83] William Hall, Referee's Circular, 13 February 1863, JMS 12/8, RGS-IBG.
[84] Charles Malcolm to Norton Shaw, 23 Feburary 1850, JMS 12/2, RGS-IBG; published in the journal as, Commander Mathison, "Extract of a Letter from Commander Mathison, of H. M. S. 'Mariner,' to Captain E. M. Troubridge, of H. M. S. 'Amazon;' dated 14th July, 1849, at Shanghae," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 20 (1850).

a paper that "contained no new geographical information" but detailed Japan — was recommended for publication in the society's journal.[85]

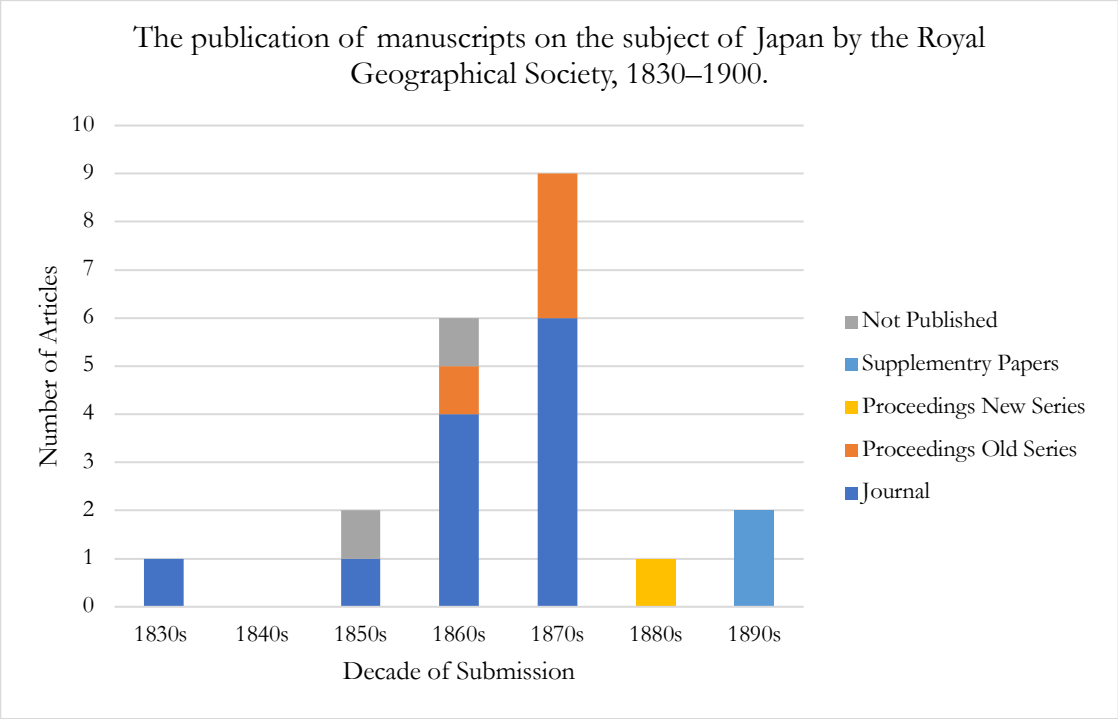

Figure 8. The quantity of manuscripts published by decade in the society's journals between 1830 and 1900 that focussed specifically on the various geographies of Japan and its surrounding areas. Information drawn from the journal manuscript catalogue, section 14: Japan.

Manuscripts were evaluated variously at the society, with referees evaluating papers by both institutional and personal criteria. Alongside answering the four standardised questions, referees also inspected the credibility of papers and importantly, made decisions on what counted as geographical knowledge. In this sense, referees were the gatekeepers of geography's disciplinary definition throughout the century. There were substantial changes in the way referees both defined geography and categorised the potential value of communications. Receiving a recommendation for acceptance in the journal was not simply the product of submitting a well-written, empirically informed manuscript, but depended

[85] Henry Walter Bates, Referees' Report, 1874, JMS 12/17, RGS-IBG; published in the society's journal as, Arthur F. Jeffreys, "Ascent of Fuji-Yama in the Snow," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 19, no.2 (1874).

on the geographical region discussed in the paper, whether the information given was part of a society-funded expedition, or, indeed, possible future contributions to society's journal. On closer inspection, then, what refereeing was assumed to be (on the basis of Shaw's neatly printed circular) and the function it actually performed were distinct.

Conclusion: A Site of Textual Authority and Regulation of Knowledge

On writing to the society's secretary and editor John Washington in December 1838, the Danish antiquarian, Professor Carl Christian Rafn (1795–1864), enquired as to whether part of his book *Antiquitates Americanae* — that detailed the discovery of America by Scandinavians in the tenth century — had been printed in the society's journal. Rafn, as he put it, was keen to know "what much competent judges" made of his work.[86] Later in the century, Professor Paul Chaix of the *Universitaire de Geneve*, was editing the paper of an unnamed gentleman who had travelled as a merchant to Egypt, Aden, and Zanzibar before applying to the director of the *Bibliotheque Universelle* to have his paper purchased and printed in that journal. But being so full of "geographical faults" it was passed to Chaix, who with the help of "several papers inserted into the Journal of the R.G.S.", had been able to correct it in part.[87] Having been published in the journal, it seems probable that both Rafn and Chaix would have been aware that information was subject to intellectual scrutiny once it arrived at the society. Although the extent to which each were aware of the society's exact practices of peer review is unknown, that both Rafn and Chaix considered the Royal Geographical Society and its journal to be a geographical authority, is likely a product of the culture of evaluation, authorisation, and warranting that manifested itself as the system(s) of peer review outlined in this chapter.

[86] Carl Christian Rafn to John Washington, 1 December 1838, CB 2/438, RGS-IBG.
[87] Paul Chaix to Norton Shaw, 17 September 1858, CB 4/330, RGS-IBG.

Through the practices of textual evaluation, outlined above, it has been shown that, regardless of efforts to standardise the practice of peer review at the society, there were still multiple paths to authorisation and subsequent publication. Moxham and Fyfe have identified similar practices at the Royal Society, where "referees were unsure whether to offer criticism and suggestions, or just a recommendation".[88] The consequence of peer review's mutable parameters was that numerous interpretations of the function referees were expected to perform prevailed. The combination of institutional standards and personal preference created a blurring of boundaries between different actors in the composition of knowledge in the journal — some strictly performed light evaluative duties; others undertook extensive editorial revisions.

The form and function of peer review at the society was well advanced compared to other institutions and publications. Whilst it had standardised referee's circulars well before the Royal Society for example, the epistemic purpose of reviewing and the way in which it was undertaken at the society changed throughout the century — it was endorsed by the society as a way of determining suitability, but referees variously employed their duties as a means to question veracity of statements and the epistemological underpinning of geography. To that end, the regulation of knowledge that appeared in the journal was, itself, difficult to regulate. While the council held final say over the publication of manuscripts, a close network of individual reviewers held significant sway in the acceptance, rejection, and editorial mediation of knowledge. Whilst a system had been put in place by Norton Shaw, it remained flexible. At the society, there were no intransigent rules *per se*; where information was deemed strategically valuable it would be published regardless of any misgivings. In this sense, the practice of refereeing was "modified locally" — certain papers and subject found favour at different times and with different reviewers.[89] Just because refereeing existed at

[88] Moxham and Fyfe, "Pre-History of Peer Review," 13.
[89] Moxham and Fyfe, "Pre-History of Peer Review," 13.

the society then, does not mean we should assume durability and fixity. Whilst the parameters laid out in Shaw's circular endured with remarkable consistency throughout the nineteenth century, the individual practices of refereeing and the development of 'new geography', all functioned to extend and augment the parameters by which knowledge was governed at the society.

Chapter 7

Disseminating Geographical Knowledge: The Circulation of the Journal as Gift, Transaction, and Exchange

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As well as defining the society's principal aim to produce a regular work of geography, the 1830 prospectus also outlined the journal's intended audience — both its "members" and what it described as "the public at large".[1] The society's other aims also reveal an intention to routinely communicate with "philosophical and literary societies with which geography is connected" and to develop relationships with other similar societies "in different parts of the world".[2] The society's ambition, through publication, was to establish itself as truly international. Transmitting the journal to an international audience was, in this sense, part of the society's *raison d'etre*. In an 1893 pamphlet outlining the scope and aim of the newly formed *The Geographical Journal*, the following was written about the society's latest periodical print:

> It is hoped that in its new form the Society's *Journal* will be found interesting by a larger circle than that of the Fellows alone, and that impartial and authoritative descriptions of the geography of regions where public interest is for a time concentrated will be helpful to all who really wish to grasp and comprehend the conditions on which large parts of modern politics and commerce are based.[3]

The journal, even in its various forms throughout the century, was part of the society's enduring efforts to communicate the knowledge it printed to diverse reading publics. What

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[1] Anonymous, "Prospectus of the Royal Geographical Society," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 1, (1831): vii.
[2] Anonymous, "Prospectus of the Royal Geographical Society," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 1, (1831): viii.
[3] Anonymous, The Geographical Journal Pamphlet, [1893], AP 47, RGS-IBG.

the aspirations outlined in the pamphlet conceal, however, are the struggles the society faced throughout the century in effectively circulating its journal to those difficult to reach audiences.

This chapter focuses on the spatial mobility of print, in both a literal and epistemic sense. The efforts of the society to produce reputable, reliable, accurate, and, as outlined in 1893, 'interesting' knowledge in its journal, was predicated on the assumption that print was a reliable and incorruptible medium for the communication of knowledge. In the society's view, the journal functioned as what Bruno Latour has called an 'immutable mobile' — a carefully crafted abstracted representation of the world, authorised and fixed under the society's imprimatur.[4] Print has, however, been shown more often to display the characteristics of so-called 'fluid objects', in which material and intellectual malleability are unavoidable but are also necessary in enabling the geographical and intellectual mobility of knowledge.[5] Printed knowledge achieves its goal, in this sense, only once it travels into the world and its readers attach meaning and value to it. Where, when, and to whom the journal travelled tells us, then, as much about the society and its journal as it does about the reading audiences themselves. Knowledge does not simply travel; its movement describes the interaction of specific networks, of certain actors, concentrated both temporally and spatially.[6] In unpicking these networks, this chapter aims to reflect upon the wider geographies of the journal in print.

How the journal's volumes moved spatially, where and why those volumes moved, and how their materiality was challenged as a result of their mobilisation, are all issues with which

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[4] Bruno Latour, *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers Through Society* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987).
[5] John Law, "Objects and Spaces," *Theory, Culture and Society* 19 (2002).
[6] Alison Martin and Susan Pickford, "Introduction: Travel Writing and Translation," in *Travel Narratives in Translation, 1750–1830: Nationalism, Ideology, Gender*, eds. Alison Martin and Susan Pickford (London: Routledge, 2012).

this chapter contends. In so doing, the chapter reflects on the networks through which the journal moved and how it was that international, yet locally mediated, knowledge travelled back into the world in the form of print. The chapter begins by reflecting on the physical act of distribution, acknowledging the labours undertaken by different parts of the society and its interaction with actors in the publishing trade that made the mobilisation of the journal possible. This part of the chapter contributes, in that sense, to the wider discussion of the journal's invisible labours and labourers, individuals that were fundamental to the journal's transmission but are typically unacknowledged in its textual record. It argues then, that the journal's mobility was co-produced, suggesting that its material and epistemic flows were reliant on a network of actors. In showing the journal travelled variously as a gift, a commodity, and an item of intellectual exchange, the chapter uncovers both the society's efforts to encourage sales of the journal and the complex politics that underpinned its circulation to learned audiences. By examining these networks of scholarly exchange in particular, I advance the idea of *lost geographies* — the spaces where the society's journal was not present, as a result of a deliberate decision by the society's council to refuse exchange. These unfulfilled networks tell us much about how the society's council perceived its own publication and its standing as part of the wider scientific community. The final part of the chapter considers the journal's material and epistemic transformation as it travelled in various forms. It works, as such, to demonstrate that the journal's modest print runs were not necessarily a barrier to the spread of geographical knowledge. In attending to the questions of where and why the journal travelled, its wider significance — in shaping both the society and the discipline — is revealed.

The Geographies of Distributing Geographical Knowledge

As is testified to in the front matter of the *Journal* and the *Proceedings*, the privileges of fellows were textual as much as they were social. Alongside permitting their admission to ordinary

meetings of the society and allowing them use of the library and map room, fellows were to receive regular copies of the society's latest printed matter. As was indicated in the first number of *The Geographical Journal* in 1893, "each Fellow is…entitled to receive a copy of *The Geographical Journal* and the Supplementary Papers, the former of which is forwarded, free of expense, to addresses in the United Kingdom, and the latter obtained on application, personally or by letter, at the society's office".[7] The benefits of fellowship, at this point at least, extended not only to a copy of the journal but also to its safe transmission to an address of the fellow's choosing. For the society, however, circulating print was an increasingly laborious and time-consuming endeavour as the century progressed.

Transmitting the journal to an increasingly large fellowship was also costly, despite the society taking advantage of the Post Office's Book Post introduced in 1848.[8] At certain intervals during the nineteenth century, the free delivery of the journal to fellows was discontinued owing to the financial burden it placed upon the society. In 1845, for example, the delivery of the journal was debated in a council meeting in which it was described as causing a "great deal of trouble and loss of time".[9] One council member suggested that many societies operated by notifying the public of their transactions being ready by advertising in other publications and inviting their members to send off or call in for them. Owing to the significant financial pressures on the society throughout the 1840s, it was agreed then that, in the future, "members be informed by an advertisement when the

[7] Anonymous, "Conditions of Fellowship," *The Geographical Journal* 1 (1893): iv.
[8] The 'book post' was a service where parcels were charged by weight (at 6d. per pound). The contents of the post was required to remain unsealed, so the parcels could be inspected. The society inserted a note in its front matter that read: "Home and Foreign Libraries and societies whose publications are exchanged with the those of the Royal Geographical Society are requested to note the following abstract of the Regulations of the General Post Office with reference to matter sent by Book Post: Every packet must be sent without a cover, or in a cover open at the ends, so as to admit the enclosures being removed for examination. For the greater security, however, of the contents, the packets may be tied across with string, but must not be sealed, and should have the words 'Book Post' marked in legible characters above the address, in all cases in which there is a postal arrangement for the transmission of printed matter between the two countries at reduced rates".
[9] Council Minutes, November 1841–March 1853, 13 January 1845, 92, RGS-IBG.

journal is ready for delivery".[10] Following the society's return to prosperity in the 1850s, the requirement that fellows call upon the society to collect the journal was dropped. Once the society began to produce two publications from 1857, however, a cost to fellows to cover some of the expense of distribution was introduced. While the *Journal* continued to be delivered free of charge to an address of the fellows' choosing, other publications (including indexes, Supplementary Papers, and the *Proceedings*) required a delivery subscription. Fellows typically met that subscription cost (around 6d. per volume throughout the 1850s) by sending stamps directly to the society.[11] Later, fellows were encouraged to subscribe to a yearly upfront payment for the delivery of the journal (5s. in 1869, for example).[12] Predominantly, however, the cost of delivering the journal fell upon the society. Councils were seemingly aware of the possibility of requiring members to pay for the distribution of the journal but chose to keep the costs and labours of delivering the publication as a fellowship benefit.

The job of distributing the journal was variously undertaken by the society's paid employees and external agents. Posting the journal to an increasingly large fellowship was not a simple task. The society's chief clerk — Robert J. Wheeler — assumed the task of posting the journal to fellows in the 1850s, but soon complained about the increased labours he was expected to undertake now the "distribution of the proceedings [had] been transferred to the office".[13] By the time the society was settled in its Saville Row home, it was reported at a meeting of the council that a special arrangement had been made with the adjacent Vigo Street Post Office for the postage of the *Proceedings*. This, it was noted, would negate the "necessity for cab hire to the district post office at Charing Cross".[14] Smaller-scale, yet no

[10] Council Minutes, November 1841–March 1853, 13 January 1845, 92, RGS-IBG.
[11] Alexander Peckover to Norton Shaw, 31 January 1854, CB4/1318, RGS-IBG.
[12] Finance Committee, Committee Minutes 1865–1872, 1 November 1869, 166, RGS-IBG.
[13] Robert J. Wheeler to Norton Shaw, 26 March 1859, CB4/1759, RGS-IBG.
[14] Finance Committee, Committee Minutes September 1872–October 1877, 2 August 1876, 225, RGS-IBG.

less significant, arrangements were regularly employed to reduce the cost and labours associated with sending the journal to fellows. For example, one foreign Honorary Member, the Russian naval admiral, Adam Johann von Krusenstern (1770–1846), received four copies of the journal which he then personally distributed "to the persons they were addressed to".[15] One of the recipients was the scientist and explorer Karl Ernst Von Baer (1792–1876). While the other recipients are not listed in the archive, it is likely that they were based in St Petersburg or, more specifically, were part of the Russian Academy of Science (f. 1724). In the early part of the society's history, such informal distribution circuits were an important (and cost-effective) means of transmitting the journal to its international members.

The society also relied on agents for the transmission of the journal, but perhaps owing to Murray's hands-off approach, had no regular or reliable agent for circulating the journal to honorary and corresponding fellows in the early period. In 1846, John Shillingshaw was appointed as the society's agent for "forwarding the Journal as soon as published to foreign members and societies, and for receiving in return the Transactions and Journals from abroad".[16] Shillingshaw's role as the international distribution agent of the journal was ended the following year after a series of complaints — from Christian Leopold von Buch (1774–1853) in Berlin, Commander Macedo in Lisbon, and Edward Biot in Paris — about the greatly increased expense of receiving the journal.[17] After Shillingshaw's departure from the role, the journal was transmitted to the society's foreign members through their respective embassies in London.[18] By the later part of the century, the society sent the

[15] Adam Johann von Krusenstern to [John Washington], 22 January 1839, CB2/287, RGS-IBG.
[16] Council Minutes, November 1841–March 1853, 23 November 1846, 147, RGS-IBG. It is unclear from Shillingshaw's letters if he was the recently resigned Librarian of the society or whether he was an international book agent in his own right.
[17] Council Minutes, November 1841–March 1853, 12 April 1847, 165, RGS-IBG.
[18] Council Minutes, November 1841–March 1853, 14 June 1847, 172, RGS-IBG.

journal directly to approved international societies that had London-based agents.[19] It also relied on Edward Stanford's network of international booksellers in Europe, North America, and Australia to act as regional distributors for the journal.[20] Moving the journal from the society to its international audiences was, then, achieved through an assemblage of actors whose roles are otherwise rarely mentioned in the society's archival records or official histories.

In 1871, it was reported by the library committee that approximately 40 percent of the journal's print run for that year remained unclaimed — this, and other episodes of the journal's stasis, became a problem of storage.[21] The journal's immobility increasingly became a point of contention between the society, publisher, and printer. Until the mid-part of the century, Murray had (seemingly) been happy to warehouse the journal's excess stock, but as these piles gradually accumulated the publisher eventually declared it was no longer able to warehouse the journal.[22] Murray's inability (or unwillingness) to continue to hold the journal at his warehouse was reported to the society by one of Murray's long-serving employees, Edward Dundas. Owing to changes at Murray's warehouse, Dundas told the society, it would be necessary for the firm not to receive any new numbers and for all older stock to be removed. The printer William Clowes, Dundas reported, was happy to house the stock.[23] As was debated at the meeting of the library committee, this agreement did pose one significant problem — when stored at Clowes's warehouse, the "Society's

[19] Library and Map Committee, Committee Minutes March 1883–December 1890, 23 January 1884, 39, RGS-IBG.
[20] In 1892 the front cover of the journal listed the following international agents: Paris, Andrineau-Goujon; Vienna; Artaria & Co.; Hamburg, L. Freiderichsen & Co.; St Petersberg, Watkins & Co.; Berlin, D. Reimer; Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus; New York, Scribner & Welford; Philadelphia, Lipponoott & Co.; Melbourne, E. A. Petherick & Co.; listed also were domestic booksellers: Manchester, John Haywood; Edinburgh, Douglas & Foulis; Dublin, Hodges, Foster & Co.
[21] Library Committee, Committee Minutes 1865–1872, 20 January 1871, 220, RGS-IBG.
[22] Finance Committee, Committee Minutes 1841–1865, 20 December 1852, 58, RGS-IBG; as a result of the significant amount of unclaimed or unsold volumes, the council decided to reduce the print run for the following years to 2,000 copies.
[23] Edward Dundas to Norton Shaw, 15 November 1852, CB4/1220, RGS-IBG.

property" would be uninsured, and hence "the secretary was directed to communicate with Messrs Clowes upon the subject of the simplest and least expensive mode of insuring them".[24] Once geographical knowledge became a material object with commercial value, its safe storage, as much as its distribution, became a logistical and financial problem for the society. Whilst the society was always reasonably well equipped to deal with the intellectual labours involved in the journal's production, the problems of storage and distribution were addressed in a rather ad-hoc manner as the century progressed.

The problem of storing the back numbers of the journal was a relatively longstanding one. Having just moved into its new premises at 1 Saville Row, the society was, by the mid-1870s, in a position to take the issue of storage into its own hands. The vaults under the society's map room were designated the 'journal room' — a space where the journal's stock could be safely stored.[25] The creation of the 'journal room' coincided with the agreement between the society and the Vigo Street Post Office to be the hub of the journal's distribution network. By 1876, the subcommittee on the Vigo Street Premises (part of the Saville Row property that backed onto Vigo Street) recommended an additional portion of the cellar "should be cut off and added to the journal room" — the remainder of which was to be let to a cheesemonger.[26] Additional shelves were added in 1877 and 1879. Aside from an issue with damp — which was addressed by housing the journals temporarily in the warehouse of the binder, Remnant — the culture of journal production, storage, and distribution was physically embedded in the society's home.

[24] Finance Committee, Committee Minutes 1841–1865, 20 December 1852, 58, RGS-IBG.
[25] Finance Committee, Committee Minutes September 1872–October 1877, 7 March 1877, 260, RGS-IBG.
[26] Finance Committee, Committee Minutes September 1872–October 1877, 18 December 1876, 243, RGS-IBG.

The significance of these episodes is to point out the often-routine tasks and labours associated with circulating knowledge in material form. The transmission of the journal was part of the society's founding constitution and, as a membership benefit, fellows expected to receive their publications on time. Ensuring this happened depended upon significant financing — by 1894, when the society was distributing the first numbers of *The Geographical Journal*, its outgoings on postage alone were £615 17s. 11d.[27] As Martin and Pickford remind us however, the circulation of knowledge is also dependent on human capital and the networks these agents are part of.[28] In the case of the journal, these labours were variously paid and unpaid, contracted and ad hoc. The distribution networks within which the journal circulated, and by which it reached its recipients, were underpinned by connections between binders, publishers, literary agents, honorary fellows, and the society. I turn, now, to examine some of these networks in order to illustrate the national and international geographies of the journal.

A Commercial Journal? The Journal's Circulation to a Paying Audience

There is an interesting tension between the society's early attempts to promote a branch of useful (and commercial) geography, and their inability or unwillingness to produce a commercially successful publication. As the prospectus laid out, the society's promotion of geographical knowledge was seen to be important in the context of Britain's international trade and empire. Turning that knowledge into a commercial product was, however, a secondary objective (a fact that set it apart from the publishing firm, Murray, for whom the profitability of the material text was a more significant driver). There had been some hope expressed on the part of the society that the journal might present it with the opportunity

[27] Finance Committee, Committee Minutes January 1891–June 1897, 4 February 1895, 246, RGS-IBG.
[28] Martin and Pickford, "Travel Writing and Translation".

to fund its other activities. An early draft prospectus had suggested "a Geographical Journal would perhaps find a sufficient number of readers to defray all expenses, or even add something to the funds of the society".[29] Any chance of defraying the expense of the journal was small; throughout the nineteenth century profitable scientific journals were scarce. Whilst Taylor's *Philosophical Magazine* and MacMillan's *Nature* are two examples of commercially viable scientific publications, it was less common for the "transactions, proceedings, and memoirs of learned societies, whose principal publications were research papers" to be profitable.[30] Like other learned societies, the society's journal — as illustrated in Chapter 4 — was decidedly unprofitable. It is the sale of the journal, and lack thereof, that is the concern of this section of the chapter.

As Murray's sizeable stockpiles of the journal suggest, its circulation as a commodified and material repository of knowledge was relatively slow. With a specialised audience in mind, and with an increasing disciplinary vernacular in its text, the framing of the journal's content could be somewhat exclusionary. Being published at most triennially, and acting as a record of the society and its meetings, the *Journal*, in its original form at least, appears to have catered to a particularly specialised audience made up of fellows and educated persons. It certainly did sell copies to an interested audience — a fact testified to by various letters received by the society from those readers — but compared to more commercially viable publications such as the *Philosophical Magazine* and *Nature*, that included 'newsworthy science', the focus on often diffuse research findings did not create a significant reading audience. Nor, it could be argued, was the journal ever intended to create such an audience; its moderate print runs left little room for significant financial speculation. Even the

[29] John Britton, Prospectus for the establishment of the London Geographical Institution, Additional Papers AP/5, RGS-IBG.
[30] Aileen Fyfe, "Journals, Learned Societies and Money: Philosophical Transactions, CA. 1750–1900," *Notes and Records* 69, (2015): 277.

Proceedings, which was intended to have a much wider circulation, only printed 5,000 copies for a fellowship that was approaching 4,000 by the end of the century.[31]

The society was, however, concerned about the journal's wider circulation in particular British cities. Numerous letters exchanged between the society and correspondents in Edinburgh indicate that there were early efforts to promote its sale in that city. Given Edinburgh's strong intellectual tradition as a seat of learning and a venue of scientific debate, it appears the society felt it particularly important to ascertain information regarding the journal's circulation there. The society obtained valuable information from Philip Maughan, a Scottish fellow with close links to the Edinburgh book trade. Reporting to the society's secretary, John Washington, Maughan relayed discouraging news from the Edinburgh publisher/bookseller, Blackwood (f. 1804). The problem with respect to sales in Edinburgh, Maughan reported, was acutely geographical. Unless booksellers had specific requests from their buyers, they were unlikely to procure copies of the journal from London. Moreover, whilst the community was, as Maughan put it, "fond of reading", their "limited incomes" prevented them "indulging in many interesting publications".[32] The local circumstances — in this case of Edinburgh — had a significant impact on the transmission of geographical knowledge from the society's London home.

By communicating with acquaintances in Edinburgh, the society was able to encourage the uptake of the journal in the city. Maughan, writing in March of 1839, reported that Blackwood had offered to take twenty copies of the journal and would not ask for payment until the volumes were sold.[33] Although Blackwood regularly received books from Murray, and was familiar with the firm's list, he noted that the merits of the journal specifically were

[31] Library and Map Committee, Committee Minute Book January 1891–June 1897, 10 November 1892, enclosed as loose sheet, 66, RGS-IBG.
[32] Captain P. Maughan to John Washington, 2 February 1838, CB2/344, RGS-IBG.
[33] Captain P. Maughan to John Washington, 30 March 1839, CB2/344, RGS-IBG.

so little known that he reckoned there may only be three subscribers in the whole of the city.[34] This disappointing news had not changed a year later when Maughan forwarded another letter from Blackwood, stating that the latter had "not sold any copies of the parts of the Royal Geographical Society's Transactions".[35] Once the "fervour of politics" had ceased — possibly referring to the ongoing fracturing of the Church of Scotland — Maughan suggested that he was sure the "unremitting labours" of the society "and the Journal" would be fully appreciated. Seemingly unsatisfied by the lack of sales at Blackwood's, Washington contacted another Edinburgh resident, Fredrick Forbes (1808–1841).[36] Forbes saw the problem of the journal's circulation to be material, citing a lack of annually bound complete sets available in Edinburgh — he enquired whether a copy of the journal from its commencement was available to purchase in London.[37] The journal in Edinburgh, at least in Forbes' eyes, would sell more successfully if annually bound copies in complete sets were readily available. Forbes' suggestion then, demonstrates that he clearly considered the journal to be a reference text rather than an ephemeral publication featuring the latest geographical news. Reporting on a recent conversation with Blackwood — just days after Maughan had reported similar — Forbes wrote that the publisher had sold very few copies and did not appear "interested in disposing" of the journal.[38] Attentive to the local bookselling culture, Forbes turned his attention to the firm Oliver and Boyd (f.1807), whose influence in Edinburgh he described as "supreme".[39]

Forbes's direct solicitation of Boyd facilitated the mobilisation of the journal in Edinburgh. Boyd agreed to "do what he could, both by advertising and otherwise" to promote its sale.[40]

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[34] Captain P. Maughan to John Washington, 30 March 1839, CB2/344, RGS-IBG.
[35] Captain P. Maughan to John Washington, 7 March 1840, CB2/344, RGS-IBG.
[36] It seems likely then, that Forbes and Maughan were known by Washington through their respective military positions.
[37] Fredrick Forbes to [John Washington], 17 January 1840, CB2/183, RGS-IBG.
[38] Fredrick Forbes to [John Washington], 21 March 1840, CB2/183, RGS-IBG.
[39] Fredrick Forbes to [John Washington], 21 March 1840, CB2/183, RGS-IBG.
[40] Fredrick Forbes to [John Washington], 21 March 1840, CB2/183, RGS-IBG.

The society should also "send him a few complete sets, duly invoiced through Murray or any other of the chief London publishers" so he could begin to stock the journal in his Edinburgh shop.[41] Forbes met with both Oliver and Boyd a few months later to assess the uptake of the stock sent by the society. He found the opposite of his presupposition that readers would wish to purchase a complete set of the journal; indeed, Oliver stated that they had "a good many applications for single numbers, but being uncertain whether they could dispose of any in that manner, and thus break the sets", their sales had been slow.[42] Forbes was still sure that there was a desire for complete sets of the journal, advising the society not to break up the sets as their "sale, sooner or later…[would be] more certain than that of detached numbers".[43] The lack of sales was also bound up in the wider politics of the publishing trade. Oliver and Boyd suggested that the proposed commission was 4 percent less than booksellers were ordinarily allowed which, as they put it, "would be a serious obstacle in disposing of the journal".[44] Ensuring the sale of the journal in Edinburgh was seemingly a complicated endeavour — it relied not simply on the transmission of accurate and credible knowledge but also on directly engaging with cultures of book buying and selling in the city.

Marketing the journal was also important in the sale of copies. Clearly the council became acutely aware of this throughout the century — their decision to rebrand as *The Geographical Journal* was principally founded on the idea that the journal was labouring under its former title.[45] Murray did promise to insert the publication in booksellers' catalogues, but given Maughan's report that Blackwood received numerous books from Murray but not the

[41] Fredrick Forbes to [John Washington], 21 March 1840, CB2/183, RGS-IBG.
[42] Fredrick Forbes to [John Washington], 18 June 1840, CB2/183, RGS-IBG.
[43] Fredrick Forbes to [John Washington], 18 June 1840, CB2/183, RGS-IBG.
[44] Fredrick Forbes to [John Washington], 18 June 1840, CB2/183, RGS-IBG.
[45] Library and Map Committee, Committee Minute Book January 1891–June 1897, 10 November 1892, enclosed as loose sheet, 66, RGS-IBG; The argument, as was outlined in Chapter 4, was that with the name *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, the journal's title did not give a clear sense of the publications scope and content.

journal, it appears John Murray II — by this point in the last years of his life — and his son John Murray III were relatively withdrawn from attempts to market the journal. The journal's lack of promotion beyond London drew the ire of the non-fellow C.J. Maslen. Writing to the secretary in 1837, he stated that:

> Mr Murray the publisher, does not I think, give it sufficient publicity by advertisements,—I can never get to see or hear anything of the parts of the work for several months after the appointed period of its issue, & my bookseller Mr Leyland of Halifax, says he constantly writes his agents in London to see after the book, but they can never learn anything of it, the first part of the last volume I did not receive for three months after it was printed, and the second part which was to be issued last November I have not yet received nor can my bookseller learn anything about it.[46]

Maslen's suggestion was that the society place advertisements in the "principal newspapers of some of the populous towns north, south, east, and west of London when the Parts are issued". Moreover, the society should, Maslen cautioned, be attentive to both Whig and Tory papers so as to appeal to "all classes of readers".[47] Generally, and despite these suggestions, the society engaged little in the practice of advertising its journal through other printed media. It did place advertisements in *The Examiner* (1808–86) a weekly intellectual journal, and in the *Standard* (1827–date), but there is little evidence of that practice persisting beyond the 1840s. The journal did benefit, throughout the century, from secondary advertising through reports of the society's meetings, of the papers in review journals or, as I discuss in the final section of this chapter, the republication of its articles. Marketing the journal to an interested paying audience was, however, clearly not a significant objective of the society.

As the century progressed, *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* started to routinely sell out. This was not, as might be assumed, because its printed content was increasingly well

[46] C.J. Maslen to Captain Maconochie, 3 February 1837, CB2/343, RGS-IBG.
[47] C.J. Maslen to Captain Maconochie, 3 February 1837, CB2/343, RGS-IBG.

received or that it had generated a wealth of new paying readers. Earlier numbers of the *Journal* were offered at a reduced rate to buyers in order to clear the vast stock warehoused by Murray and later Clowes.[48] Yet with the introduction of the decennial index, the journal's value as a collectable reference library became increasingly apparent. Therefore, back numbers of the journal gradually became more valuable — particularly when the discontinuation of the *Journal* was announced in 1879. Applying for missing copies five years later in 1884, the fellow Robert Mitchell was told that the council could not "present the volumes of the Journal" but they could "be furnished at a cost of 10/- each".[49] Others tried to profiteer on the fact that valuable copies were out of print; one fellow offered to sell his copies of volumes 23 (1853) and 24 (1854) back to the society in 1875 for an inflated price of £4. 4s. — an offer which the society declined. The society did, however, act to address the problem of old copies of the journal becoming prohibitively expensive by directing the chief clerk to purchase certain copies "second hand before they become scarce and expensive".[50] In sum, then, the journal was never commercialised in a meaningful way — the society's early hope of producing a journal that might defray all its expenses was never realised. Yet, curiously for a periodical publication, the journal's value lay not in its ephemerality but in its longevity. Its meagre print runs ensuring that, over time, the finite copies produced were regularly taken up, bought, and sold by both the council and the public. The journal was part of a wider culture that Laurel Brake refers to as the 'longevity of ephemera' in the nineteenth century press.[51] Periodicals in this period were only ostensibly ephemeral, given permeance by "a combination of the practices of the nineteenth-century printing industry and social institutions".[52] In the case of the journal,

[48] Council Minutes November 1841–March 1853, 23 November 1846, 147, RGS-IBG.
[49] Library and Map Committee, Committee Minutes March 1883–1890, 19 November 1884, 86, RGS-IBG.
[50] Library and Map Committee, Committee Minutes 1877–1883, 19 June 1878, 48, RGS-IBG.
[51] Laurel Brake, "The Longevity of 'Ephemera': Library Editions of Nineteenth-Century Periodicals and Newspapers," *Media History* 18, no.1 (2012).
[52] Brake, "The Longevity of 'Ephemera'," 7–8.

these practices were clearly socio-technical; the offer for fellows to have their copies annually bound by the society's binder, the continuous pagination, and the positioning of front matter and adverts so they could be discarded when being bound. Value here, lay not in the immediacy of print but its ability to subvert its assumed ephemerality.

A Textual Economy of Print: The Journal as Mode of Scientific Knowledge Exchange

"That there is 'force in union' is as true in science, as in politics", wrote the society's secretary John Washington in an official letter that accompanied the journal. He continued: "the mutual exchange of information with every part of the world is the best means to draft for the advancement of science".[53] By the time Washington was writing in 1836, exchange networks were being forged on a global scale and had become fundamental to the international circulation of scholarly knowledge in print to a wide range of interested audiences.[54] Whether by reciprocal arrangement or *gratis* transmission, the circulation of learned societies' publications was facilitated by the shared emphasis on knowledge exchange. At the society, between 5 and 10 percent of the journal's print run was devoted to what might be characterised as scholarly exchange. This part of the chapter examines the varied geographies of the journal through scholarly networks. It reflects too on the *lost geographies* of the journal — the applications for the journal from other institutions that were rejected by the council. Absence, in this sense, offers a useful counterpoint to where the journal *did* travel by considering where it deliberately *did not* travel. This, I suggest, tells us much about the way the society perceived other learned institutions, their publications, and, also, how the society placed value on its own textual record.

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[53] Out letter Book, John Washington to Mr Worcester, 20 June 1836, RGS-IBG.
[54] Aileen Fyfe, "Journals and Periodicals," in *A Companion to the History of Science*, ed. Bernard Lightman (West Sussex: Wiley, 2016).

In the front matter of the journal, the society routinely inserted a "List of Public Institutions, &c., Entitled to a Copy of the London Geographical Journal". In 1840, the journal's tenth volume recorded that the journal was being sent to fifty-two institutions (see Figure 9). Twenty of these were other London societies of which council members were fellows. The journal did, however, also have international reach, being received in 10 countries across 3 continents. At this point in its history, and reflecting the contours of the British Empire, the journal was transmitted to as many cities in India as Europe. The widespread dissemination of the journal to public libraries in India was due to a resolution put forward by Major Jarvis on account of the numerous English-speaking colonial personnel stationed in that country at the time.[55] The decision reiterates the society's early efforts to ensure the journal was full of useful and practical geographical knowledge from which readers, such as those service personnel, would benefit.

As the century progressed, the journal steadily amassed an international reading audience through its increased transmission to other learned institutions. By 1880, when the society ended the practice of inserting the list of institutions receiving the journal, it was being sent to more than 200 learned establishments (see Table 4). And the international distribution of the journal was predominantly concentrated in Europe and North America (See Figure 10 and 11). The number of journals being sent to India had declined and other Asian cities such as Tokyo, sites for the development of new scientific and geographical societies, had significantly increased. Taking the 1880 list as a microcosm of the society's distribution networks, it is possible to conceptualise three discrete groups that benefitted from the politics of mutual exchange fostered by the scientific community in the nineteenth century. Other learned societies made up a significant proportion of institutions to which the society

[55] Council Minutes October 1830–July 1841, 24 June 1839, 270, RGS-IBG.

LIST OF PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS, &c., ENTITLED TO A COPY OF THE LONDON GEOGRAPHICAL JOURNAL.

Antiquaries, Society of	
Architects, Institute of British	
Arts, Society of	
Asiatic Society (Royal)	
Astronomical Society (Royal)	
Athenæum Club	
Engineers, Institute of Civil	
East India Company's Library	
Edinburgh, Royal Society of	
Geological Society	
Horticultural Society	
Hudson's Bay Company's Library	
Hydrographic Office, Admiralty	
Linnæan Society	
Literature, Royal Society of	
Royal Institution	
Royal Society	
Statistical Society	
Travellers' Club	
United Service Institution	
Zoological Society	
University Library . .	Athens
Academy of Sciences .	Berlin
Royal Society of Sciences.	Copenhagen
Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries . .	
Statistical Society . .	Dresden
Geographical Society . .	Frankfort
Société d'Histoire Naturelle	Geneva
Royal Academy of Sciences	Lisbon
Royal Library	Munich
Minister of the Interior .	Naples
Academy of Sciences .	Paris
Asiatic Society . . .	—
Bibliothèque du Roi . .	—
Dépôt de la Guerre . .	—
Dépôt de la Marine . .	—
Société de Géographie .	—
Imperial Academy of Sciences	St. Petersburg

INDIA.

Public Library . . .	Bangalore
Geographical Society .	Bombay
Asiatic Society of Bengal.	Calcutta
Public Library . . .	Delhi
Public Library . . .	Dumdum
Public Library . . .	Haïderabád
Public Library . . .	Khánpor
Literary and Philosophical Society	Madras
Public Library . . .	Meerut
Public Library . . .	M'how
Egyptian Society . .	Cairo
American Philosophical Society	Philadelphia
Franklin Institute . .	
Bowditch Library . .	Boston

Figure 9. List of Public Institutions, &c., entitled to a copy of the London Geographical Journal, 1840. Source: Anonymous, "Front Matter," The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society 10 (1840): xlii.

sent its journal (these included societies concerned with allied disciplines and those with specifically geographical objectives). The emphasis on useful, practical, and commercial knowledge — and working relationships with many of the council members — meant that

Table 4. Quantitative decennial breakdown of distribution of The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society to learned institutions as listed in the front matter of each number.

Volume	Total Number of Institutions Receiving the Journal	Institutions receiving the publication based in the UK
10 (1841)	52	21 (40%)
20 (1851)	59	24 (41%)
30 (1860)	109	41(37%)
40 (1870)	153	53 (34%)
50 (1880)	203	67 (33%)

governmental institutions were routinely sent copies of the journal. Lastly, and growing throughout the century, was a number of establishments with an educational focus such as schools, colleges, universities, and public libraries.

The published record of the journal only provides limited insight into the politics of its distribution. The record of rejected requests for the journal begins to elucidate the parameters that governed the circulation of the journal between learned societies. Predominately, decisions were veiled by obfuscate language that concealed the reason why requests for the journal had been denied. Minutes recording explanations such as "contrary to the habit of the society" or "not consistent with the rules of the council", do little to shed light on the governance of the journal's circulation.[56] A survey of applications for the journal between 1857 and 1892 indicates, however, the proliferation of institutions corresponding with the society in order to solicit copies of the journal. The record of the decisions made by the council, as shown in Table 5, recovers some of the politics behind the journal's circulation as a medium of scholarly exchange. Where the judgement is listed in the minutes as deferred (and on occasion never returned to), the council requested that more information be sought on the nature and scope of the institution desiring an

[56] Library and Map Committee, Committee Minutes 1877–1883, 20 November 1878, 70 RGS-IBG; Library and Map Committee, Committee Minutes 1877–1883, 24 January 1883, 313, RGS-IBG.

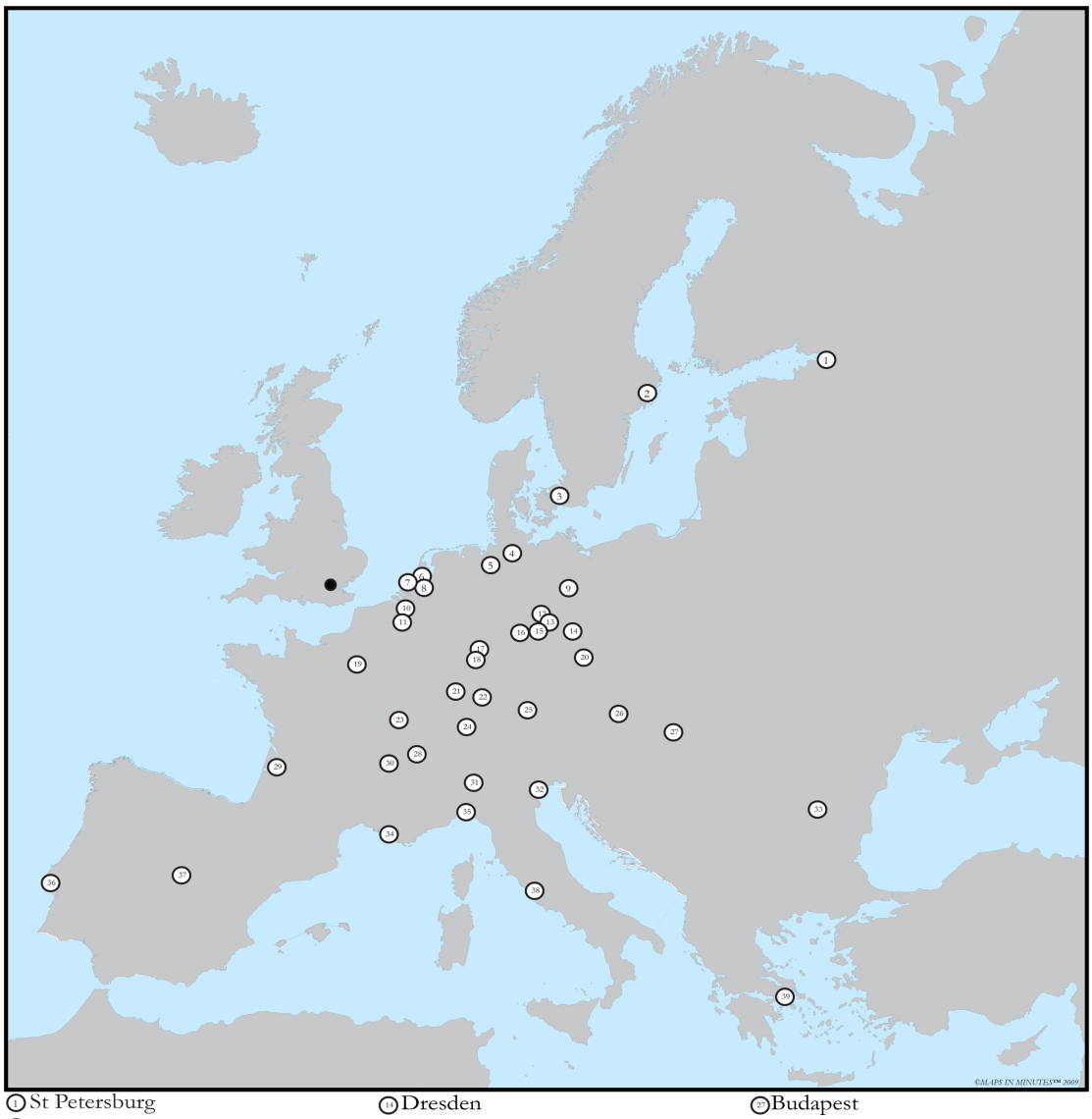

Figure 10. The distribution of the society's publications (the proceedings and the journal) to the cities of learned societies and institutions throughout Europe in 1880 — the final year of The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society's production. In many cases the cities listed have multiple institutions receiving the society's publications. Information extracted and mapped from the front matter of The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society volume 50, cxxiii–iv.

exchange. These were, often, institutions in their infancy and with which the council was not well acquainted. The Société de Geographie de Toulouse (f. 1882), for example, was

Figure 11. The distribution of the society's publications (the proceedings and the journal) to the cities of learned societies and institutions throughout North and South America in 1880 — the final year of The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society's production. Boston, New Haven, Philadelphia, Toronto, and Washington D.C. all had multiple institutions receiving the publications. Information extracted and mapped from the front matter of The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society volume 50, cxxv.

requested by the council to provide details as to their number of members.[57] The Société de Geographie Commerciale du Havre was sent a letter that asked the society to provide a constitutional statement, complete with aims and objectives, so that their request for the journal could be considered.[58] Sanctioning exchange of the journal then, was, in the council's view, not simply about the superficial gifting of knowledge, it was also about the way the journal as a material object would be used by that society. The mobilisation of the journal through these networks of exchange, in some respects, presented the greatest opportunity to the society to communicate the knowledge in its journal beyond local audiences of fellows and interested readers. When, in 1841, the society's secretary, Captain Washington, proposed that copies of the journal should be sent to the library of the Duke

[57] Library and Map Committee, Committee Minutes March 1883–1890, 6 May 1890, 323, RGS-IBG.
[58] Library and Map Committee, Committee Minutes March 1883–1890, 18 June 1884, 67, RGS-IBG.

of Tuscany, a lengthy debate ensued.[59] There was, it appears, something of a tension between the desire to generate prestige through the dissemination of knowledge to persons of social standing and the hopes to circulate geographical knowledge to a wider audience. Communication with other learned institutions and the *gratis* distribution of the journal presented the society with the opportunity to readdress the inaccessibility of geographical knowledge that it had lamented in its 1830 prospectus. In contrast, transmission of the journal to someone such as the Duke of Tuscany, presented the opportunity to include that name in the journal's front matter as a recipient of the journal. Ultimately, it was resolved that it would be more beneficial if a set of journals was "presented to some of the public libraries of Florence" — the opportunity for wider readership by sending the journal to public institutions and learned bodies was generally favoured unless the society thought it might benefit from reciprocal exchange with an individual.[60]

Table 5. Survey of institutions applying for copies of The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society and Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography between 1857 and 1892.

NAME OF INSTITUTION	Decision made:
GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETIES	
Société de Geographie de L'est	Deferred
Société Languascienne de Geographie de Montpellier	Declined
Geographical Society of Lisbon	Agreed to
Japanese Geographical Society	Agreed to
Geographical Society of the Pacific, San Francisco	Deferred
Geographical Society of Jena	Deferred
Geographical Society of Australasia	Agreed to
Société de Geographie Commerciale du Havre	Deferred
Società de Geografia e di Etnografia (Turin)	Agreed to
Geographical Society of Havre	Agreed to
La Societe Neuchteloise de Geographie	Declined
Société de Geographie du Tours	Declined
Geographische Abhandlungen (Vienna)	Agreed to
Société de Geographie Commerciale de Paris	Agreed to
Société de Geographie de Toulouse	Enquiries to be made
Geographical Society of Belgium	Declined
LEARNED SOCIETIES	
United Service institution of India	Agreed to
Orientaliselies Museum Vienna	Agreed to

[59] Council Minutes November 1841–March 1853, 28 June 1841, 314, RGS-IBG.
[60] Council Minutes November 1841–March 1853, 28 June 1841, 314, RGS-IBG.

Societe Swisse de Topographie	Declined
Naturforscheude Gesellschaft for Basel	Declined
Geographische Nachuchten of Berlin	Agreed to
US Geological Society	Deferred
Societe Academique Indo-Chinoise	Deferred
Society of Amateur Geologists	Enquires to be made
Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society	Agreed to
Acacomia Nacional de Ciencias de la Republica Argentina	Agreed to
Die Deutsche Gesellschaft fur Natur und Volkerkunde ost Asiens Tokio, Japan.	Agreed to
Der Ungarische Karpattern-Verein, Luese, Hungry	Agreed to
Control Bureau der Internationlen Eromessung, Berlin.	Agreed to
Finnish Society of Science	Deferred
The Arts Monthly and Junior Engineering Society	Declined
Church Missionary Society	
Philosophical Society of Glasgow	Declined (1868) Agreed to (1875)
Royal Physical Society of Edinburgh	Declined
Geological Society of Edinburgh	Agreed to
Natural History Society of Glasgow	Agreed to
GOVERNMENTAL BODIES	
Maritime Survey of India	Agreed to
United States Military Academy, West Point New York	Declined
Government Survey Office, Norway granted request.	Agreed to
Metrological Reporter to the Government of India	Agreed to
Metrological Committee of Bengal	Declined
Spanish Ministerial Council	Declined
Metrological Office	Agreed to
COLLEGES, UNIVERSITIES AND LIBRARIES	
Birmingham Free Library	Agreed to
Harvard College	Agreed to
Queen's College, Kingston, Ontario	Declined
Toronto University Library Restoration Committee	Agreed to
University Library of Helsingfors	Referred to Murchison
Free Public Library of the Commissioners of Patents	Declined
Library of London University	Agreed to
OTHER	
Royal Library of the Queen of England	Agreed to
Royal Gardens, Kew	Agreed to

As sites of material knowledge accumulation and exchange, libraries and other educational establishments had to do little to convince the society that it was worth presenting the journal to them — the journal would, the council assumed, be widely read once in public libraries and be particularly useful for educational establishments as geography developed its disciplinary position within the academy towards the end of the century. In the early 1870s, when the society developed a school's essay prize, the committee overseeing that

project decided that copies of volumes 35 through 40 should be gifted to each of the competing schools (see Table 6).[61] Later in the century it was resolved, moreover, that copies of the *Proceedings* should "be sent to public school libraries".[62] Other institutions, however, would have to do significantly more to prove that they should be entitled to a copy of the journal. Being a society that clearly identified itself as having a geographical focus was one way to improve the chances of being sent the journal. As the Arts Monthly and Junior Engineering Society was told, the society was only in the habit of transmitting its publication to what it euphemistically called "kindred societies".[63] Societies in allied disciplines such as geology and natural history were, in this sense, well placed to be granted the journal — although an application from the Naturforschende Gesellschaft (f. 1817) in Basel was declined since the efforts of that society were not deemed "applicable to the society's purposes".[64] Disciplinary boundaries and intellectual endeavour shaped the networks through which the journal moved.

Table 6. Table showing the schools entitled to copies of The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, volumes 35 through 40, due to their participation in the School's Geographical Essay Prize.

NAMES OF SCHOOLS PRESENTED WITH THE JOURNAL
The College Clifton Bristol
Roddall School
Marlborough College
Cheltenham College
King Edward School, Birmingham
City of London School
Haileybury college
University School Nottingham
Wokingham College
Bristol Grammar School
University College School
Wellington College
Eton College

[61] Geographical Prize Committee, Committee Minutes 1865–1872, 7 May 1872, 304, RGS-IBG. It should be noted that the committee felt it was easy to make the decision to send the journal to these schools on account of the number of volumes in storage that they said exceeded "by some hundreds their probable requirements".
[62] Geographical Report, Committee Minutes March 1883–1890, 26 March 1886, 153, RGS-IBG.
[63] Library and Map Committee, Committee Minutes March 1883–1890, 26 November 1889, 301, RGS-IBG.
[64] Library and Map Committee, Committee Minutes 1877–1883, 19 March 1879, 95, RGS-IBG.

Even being a geographical society was no guarantee that routine exchange would be sanctioned. While the journal's domestic circulation included numerous scientific and philosophical organisations, its international circulation was nearly exclusive to geographical and allied disciplinary societies. Assessing the extent to which the exertions of particular societies were sufficiently geographical was left to the society's secretary, president, and later, to its librarian who was charged with delivering reports at the council's meetings. In 1844 the secretary was called to report upon the value of sending the journal to the Baptist Missionary Society (f. 1792). A letter from that society's secretary, Joseph Angus (1816–1902), had outlined the present state of the society and its recent purchase of a building on the island of Fernando Po, off the west coast of Africa, to serve as the base of its activities. With a small steam schooner due to set sail from London with supplies, the Missionary Society had already been sent some copies of *Hints to Travellers*. The secretary was to "obtain information on the importance of the society and the extent and nature of its connection with reference to geographic objects".[65] The deliberations over whether to send the journal relate clearly to the geographical extent of the mission undertaken by the Baptists. In some sense, this episode illustrates a clear textual hierarchy in the society's circulation of knowledge — whilst *Hints* could be used to influence the collection of data, the journal was to be presented only where a corresponding society was considered sufficiently worthy, either in terms of its prestige, its ability to facilitate the circulation of geographical knowledge, or its specific focus on geographical questions. The Baptist Missionary Society does not appear in the list of institutions receiving the journal, but it is possible that it was sent the most recent issue(s) — the journal's circulation may have been significantly greater when considering those not entitled to *regular* transmission of volumes but afforded the latest numbers at the time of writing.

[65] Council Minutes November 1841–March 1853, 8 January 1844, 66, RGS-IBG.

Applications from societies that published their own journals were generally received more favourably by the council — the Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin (Berlin Geographical Society), for example, did not exchange with the society until it began to publish its *Die Erde* in 1853. James Day's communication on behalf of the Society of Amateur Geologists was only to be considered once the secretary had enquired as to whether the society was a publishing organisation.[66] And Mason Science College (f. 1875) — a predecessor to Birmingham University — was rejected on account of the college having "no publication suited for exchange".[67] The Free Public Library of the Commissioners of Patents (f. 1855) were rather bluntly informed that unless they were "prepared to give anything in return", their request for back numbers of the journal could not be granted.[68] Simply being a publishing society did not always satisfy the council. In a meeting of 1882, requests from the Geographical Society of the Pacific (San Francisco) (f.1881), the Geographical Society in Jena (Germany), the US Geological Society (f. 1807), and the Société Academique Indo-Chinoese were only to be decided upon "receipt of those societies transactions".[69] The records of societies requesting the journal reveal the exchange economy in place at the society. The journal was only to be exchanged when the society would clearly benefit from entering a mutual agreement with another learned institution. These agreements would enter the society into a routine exchange of the latest copies of institutional publications. The journal's role was not simply to produce and disseminate geographical knowledge, it was a medium by which the society could ensure that *it* received the latest scientific and geographical information from other learned institutions.

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[66] Library and Map Committee, Committee Minutes March 1883–1890, 19 November 1884, 86, RGS-IBG.
[67] Library and Map Committee, Committee Minutes March 1883–1890, 18 March 1885, 105, RGS-IBG.
[68] Library Committee, Committee Minutes 1865–1872, 18 June 1869, 153, RGS-IBG.
[69] Library and Map Committee, Committee Minutes 1877–1883, 25 January 1882, 259, RGS-IBG.

Publishing and engaging in questions of geographical significance were the main parameters influencing the international dissemination of the journal through gift exchange. The society also favoured dealing exclusively with national institutions — local branch organisations had difficultly demonstrating the importance of their work to the advancement of geography. In this instance it was usual practice for the society to send "a courteous letter", stating that it was "not in the habit of interchanging publications with branch societies when we are in direct communication with the parent society in the same country".[70] While disciplinary boundaries served to influence the spread of the society's journal, so too did the geography and scale of the institutions themselves. In replying to an application for the *gratis* transmission of the journal by Queen's College, Kingston, Ontario (f. 1841), the society regretted that it could not gift the publication to the college because the "number for Canada [was] already filled up".[71] Whilst the costs of using agents to transmit the journal to North America may have been a factor in the rejection of Queen's request, European Societies — such as the Société Swisse de Topographie and Société de Geographie du Tours (f. 1884) — were also informed that on account of the numerous societies already being exchanged with in those countries (respectively Switzerland and France) their requests could not be granted.[72] Whether there were quotas in place, or whether this was merely a convenient excuse to avoid the costly transmission of the journal, is unknown, but it appears, at least, that there were distinct economic and disciplinary hierarchies that shaped the distribution of the journal at (and within) the national scale.

At times, special concessions were made by the council to their normal practices of exchange and distribution. Having suffered a fire, the Birmingham Free Library asked that

[70] Library Committee, Committee Minutes 1865–1872, 20 January 1871, 220, RGS-IBG.
[71] Library and Map Committee, Committee Minutes March 1883–1890, 20 January 1886, 141, RGS-IBG.
[72] Library and Map Committee, Committee Minutes 1877–1883, 17 November 1880, 183, RGS-IBG; Library and Map Committee, Committee Minutes March 1883–1890, 26 January 1887, 188, RGS-IBG.

the council gift publications damaged beyond repair and it was resolved that "considering the special circumstances of the case…that a complete set of the Proceedings + Journal be given, as far as can be conveniently spared".[73] Similarly, a request from the Toronto University Library Restoration Committee was agreed to as far as feasible.[74] Typically, however, this knowledge economy was based upon agreements of mutual textual exchange. By being suitably geographic, having their own publications, and being large and reputable, institutions could hope to be granted copies of the journal. This is similar to the practices shown by Aileen Fyfe in the case of the Royal Society, that would only send their journal for exchange if receiving printed knowledge in return — a cost-effective means to build a repository of printed knowledge.[75] While it is clear there were not stringent rules in place, it has been shown that the exchange of the journal was not as simple as gifting publications for the good of science alluded to by Washington's letter that set out a 'force in union' in science.

Circulating as Material Knowledge

In circulating as a material object, the journal had what might be referred to as multiple textual lives.[76] In exploring some of the uses of the journal, it is possible, then, to develop a better understanding of its wider circulation as a material object — one that was transformed both materially and epistemically in and by the process of movement.

[73] Library and Map Committee, Committee Minutes 1877–1883, 26 May 1880, 160, RGS-IBG.
[74] Library and Map Committee, Committee Minutes March 1883–1890, 6 May 1890, 323, RGS-IBG.
[75] Aileen Fyfe, "Journals, Learned Societies and Money: *Philosophical Transactions*, *ca.* 1750–1900," *Notes and Records* 69, no.3 (2015).
[76] Thomas R. Adams and Nicholas Barker, "A New Model for the Study of the Book," in *A Pontencie of Life: Books in Society. The Clark Lectures, 1986–1987*, ed. Nicholas Barker (London: British Library, 2001); for work on tracing the lives of printed texts once they have circulated in their original form see Keighren, Seditious Knowledge; Keighren, *Bringing Geography to the Book*.

Moreover, we see that the subsequent life of the journal and the knowledge it contained further challenges the usual assumption that periodical publications are ephemeral.

It was unusual for those receiving complimentary copies of the journal to dictate what form the publication should be sent in. The exception to that rule was a communication from John H. Glover, the Librarian of Queen Victoria's Royal Library. He requested that volumes were sent to him "entirely unbound", presumably so they could be bound following the library's house style.[77] This practice of binding numbers of the journal into annual volumes was not only undertaken by libraries. The Edinburgh correspondent Phillip Maughan, who we encountered at the beginning of this chapter, noted in a letter to the society that he was "anxious" to get his copies of the journal bound up "for reference".[78] And when considering changes to the form and function of the journal in 1880, Rawson Rawson suggested that it might be useful "to have the monthly record of new books and maps paged separately so that fellows who so wish can bind at various points".[79] The practice of binding, then, was both common and personal —it is reasonable to assume many fellows would have bound numbers together in an annual volume.

The journal's material composition facilitated the practice of binding numbers as annual volumes. The journal was published in the first instance, as a single number with an external advertising wrapper. The wrapper could be easily removed and with page numbers than ran consecutively, a binder could take the individual numbers and stitch them together as an annual volume. Once circulating, then, the publication's changing material form meant that it functioned as much as a semi-permanent record of geography, as it did as an ephemeral journal reporting on the latest geographical communications. Put simply the journal found

[77] J. H. Glover to Julian Jackson, 18 November 1842, CB3/322, RGS-IBG.
[78] Captain P. Maughan to [John Washington], 27 January 1840, CB2/344, RGS-IBG.
[79] Rawson Rawson to Henry Walter Bates, 30 April 1880, CB6/1870, RGS-IBG.

longevity through its new material form. The material transition the journal made from individual number to annual volume was not lost on those reviewing papers. As one society referee noted, papers printed in the journal would, in the future, serve "as a record", showing the state of geographical knowledge at the time of their publication.[80] As Mill noted in his centenary history of the society, "the student in search of all references to a specific subject would have 163 separate indexes to consult before he could satisfy himself that he had left no stone unturned in his investigation".[81] In contrast to the journal's use as a reference text, individual copies of articles also circulated. Authors were entitled to — as they were at many other scientific societies — twenty copies of their papers as offprints. Little evidence exists as to why the society continued this habit of providing offprints throughout the century, but it does provide further evidence that the journal's readership might have been significantly greater than its modest print runs would suggest. In noting that the journal (and its content) circulated in various printed forms, it is possible to recognise that its material circulation was neither stable nor fixed once it became mobile.

The circulation of the journal needs to be considered both in relation to its material mobility and its epistemic mobility — the journal and its knowledge travelled both in and beyond its covers. The epistemic transmission of knowledge was facilitated variously by reprinting in whole, republication in modified forms, and through commentary and discussion in other publications — a central part of the nineteenth-century periodical's textual economy. Through these means, the journal's articles were positioned as trusted, authoritative sources and travelled far further and to a more diverse audience than would have been the case through the journal's material print run alone.

[80] C. Malcom to Norton Shaw, 1850, JMS 12/2, RGS-IBG.
[81] Hugh Robert Mill, *Record of the Royal Geographical Society 1830–1930* (London: The Royal Geographical Society, 1930), 243.

The networks through which the journal's articles were reused and repurposed were variously personal and institutional, ranging from informal ad-hoc publication to formal agreements with the society.[82] When requesting copies of the journal in exchange for their own, the United Service Institution of India (f. 1870) asked to know if they were at "liberty to republish articles from the Journal".[83] The request to publish articles in their *United Services Institution Journal* — a quarterly aimed at defence personnel in Asia — was granted.[84] The United Service and other's requests represents what we might think of as the 'transplantation economy' of scientific knowledge — agreed and codified arrangements were important for the flow of scientific knowledge between publications. Other institutional networks also facilitated the flow of information from journal and into the pages of other publications. Admiral Adam Johann von Krusenstern, the foreign honorary member based in St Petersburg, casually announced in a letter to the society's secretary that he had inserted information from the journal in the *Bulletin Scientifique* of the Russian Academy of Science.[85] Whilst Krusenstern admitted to being disappointed that he could not present the society with any communications for consideration in their journal, he hoped that this act of republication would continue to extend the important work undertaken by them. His piece — entitled 'Remarques sur quelques îles découvertes dans l'Océan pacifique' (Remarks on some islands discovered in the Pacific) — appears to have been drawn from part of Robert FitzRoy's article detailing an ascent up the River Santa Cruz in Patagonia.[86] The piece, which refers to the journal in a single footnote, appears to have been the independent work of Krusenstern. That is to say, the article was not simply

[82] Council Minutes November 1841–March 1853, 14 November 1842, 29, RGS-IBG.
[83] Library and Map Committee, Committee Minutes 1877–1883, 20 November 1878, 70, RGS-IBG.
[84] Library and Map Committee, Committee Minutes Committee Minutes 1877–1883, 20 November 1878, 70, RGS-IBG.
[85] Adam Johann von Krusenstern to [Unknown], 24 September 1838, CB2/287, RGS-IBG.
[86] Adam Johann von Krusenstern, "Remarques sur quelques iles descouvertes dans l'ocean pacifique," *Bulletin Scientifique: Publié par L'Académie Impériale des Aciences de Saint Pétersbourg* 9, no.11 (1838): 163–76; Robert FitzRoy, "Extracts from the Diary of an Attempt to Ascend the River Santa Cruz, in Patagonia, with the Boats of his Majesty's Sloop Beagle," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 7 (1837).

a translated reprint of the society's — it represented the use of the journal's knowledge in another form. Practices such as this worked to disseminate the geographical knowledge published by the society beyond its own audiences: references to the journal, and information yielded from it, routinely appeared in domestic and international geographical and scientific society publications throughout the century.

The instances outlined in the previous pages highlight the transmission of knowledge to predominately scientific readers, yet the republication of the society's articles also spread the journal's knowledge to lay audiences. Beyond the transactions of other learned societies, information from the journal appeared variously in newspapers, illustrated periodicals, and instructional publications, albeit not as frequently as the reports given in scientific publications and by the review press. Only when episodes piqued the public imagination did the society's printed work appear in a wider range of non-specialist journals. Even so, episodes such as the search for David Livingstone for example, captured the public's attention in a way that meant newspapers picked up the story. In short, at times the society's journal was unable to publish at a quick enough rate to meet demand. Articles republished from the journal were not necessarily those that were instantaneously newsworthy, but those noteworthy enough to be of interest to the general reader. One such example concerns an account of the ascent of Peter Botte Mountain.

An account of the ascent was read in January 1833 and subsequently published in the journal's third volume.[87] The short paper — taken from private communication between John Barrow and the author Lieutenant Taylor — details the ascent of the strangely shaped mountain by four naval personnel. After being printed in the journal, the information

[87] Lieutenant Taylor, "Account of the Ascent of the Peter Botte Mountain, Mauritius, on the 7th September, 1832," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 3 (1833): 99–104; in the print copy the paper is said to have been read in January 1832, although this appears to be a misprint as the paper details events taking place in September 1832.

formed the basis for articles that circulated in a variety of popular venues: *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction* (8 June 1833); *The Penny Magazine* (15 June 1833); *The Morning Post* (24 August 1833); *The Belfast Newsletter* (9 August 1833); *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal* (29 March 1834); and *Sharpe's London Magazine* (26 September 1846). Direct reference to the article, although not a detailed breakdown of its scope and content, featured in the *Illustrated London News* (2 September 1844) and *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* (July 1877).

The mountain's odd-shape, captured in a field sketch (Figure 12) that gave rise to a striking image reproduced in the journal of the society (Figure 13), was one of the principal reasons abridged versions of the paper appeared in these publications. The image published in the society's journal is worthy of further attention for what it reveals about the mutability of knowledge both in and beyond the pages of the journal. Owing to the popularity of the journal's earliest numbers — its novelty no doubt aiding sales — the council took the decision to reprint further copies of issues that were quickly out of stock. As a result, it appears that the society's journal printed two differing copies of the image depicting the Peter Botte mountain. There is no record explaining why the society used two different images in this case, although it is possible to speculate that, the first copper plate may have been damaged, that the society thought the first image inaccurate, or that it used a different printer on the grounds of cost. Whatever the circumstances that led to the two editions of the journal carrying differing images, this episode is significant for two reasons. Firstly, because it illustrates that variability within the journal was the product of labours and practices not recorded in archival documents. Only through close attention to the materiality of print, then — in this case comparing two copies of the journal alongside one another — is it possible to observe the mutability of visual knowledge. Secondly, through attention to the materiality of print, as part of a wider trend in the history of geography, it is possible to note how the journal challenges the assumed fixity of Latour's concept of the 'immutable and combinable mobile'. Even within the journal's pages, knowledge was

mutable. The variability of images is shown further as a result of its publication in other titles. Using cheaper woodcut engravings, the image featured in the *Penny Magazine* (Figure 14) and in *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction* (Figure 15) in subtly altered forms. The transmission of the journal's papers into these publications had a significant impact on the likely readership of knowledge produced under the auspices of the society. Many were priced at 1 or 2d., meaning they had a working-class rather than a learned audience and that their economies of scale meant they produced and sold significantly more copies than the journal itself. This example illustrates that geography's periodicals are no exception to the wider culture of nineteenth-century scissors-and-paste journalism outlined by Nicholson and others — further study is required to fully understand the mobility of geographical knowledge in this way.[88] In sum, by recognising that information travelled beyond the pages of the journal, into learned and lay publications alike, it is possible to suggest that the society's efforts in collecting, authorising, and disciplining scientific knowledge had a far wider audience than might first be assumed.

Conclusion: Circulating Periodical Geography

In circulating variously as a commodity, a gift, and an object for exchange, the journal's travels reflect the reach of geography produced under the auspices of the society. These acts of circulation were underpinned by significant financial and social capital and by considerable intellectual and physical labour. In this sense, the actors involved in the distribution of knowledge were responsible for the journal's co-produced mobility. Much as Chapter 5 demonstrates in relation to the journal's production, the society's structural development over the century had a distinct impact upon the circulation of the journal. Throughout the century the journal's circulation became physically imbedded in its home

[88] Bob Nicholson, "'You Kick the Bucket; We do the Rest!': Jokes and the Culture of Reprinting in the Transatlantic Press," *Journal of Victorian Culture* 17, no. 3 (2012).

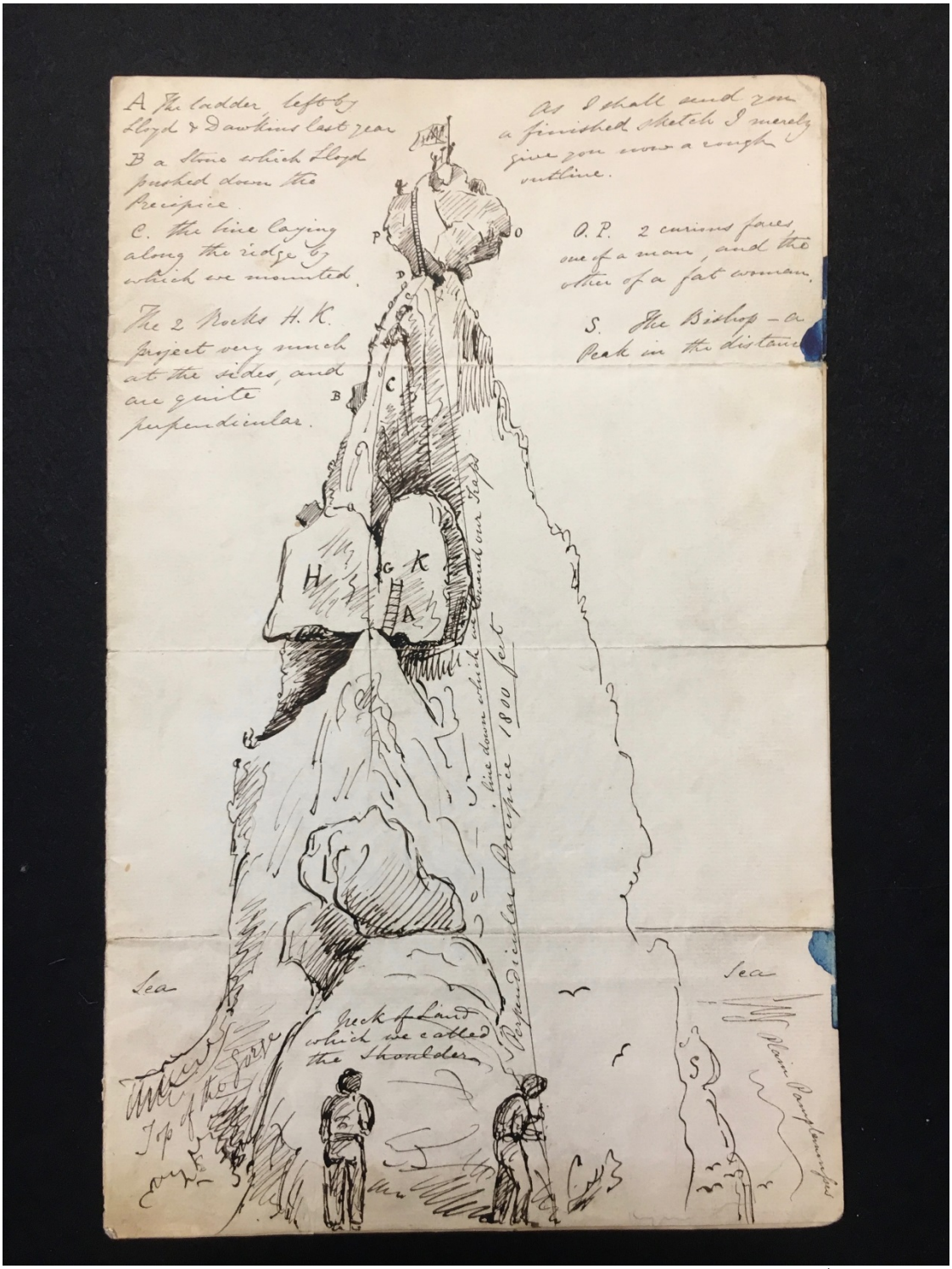


Figure 12. Field Sketch of the Peter Botte Mountain by Lieutenant Taylor, 1832. Source: JMS18/3, RGS-IBG.

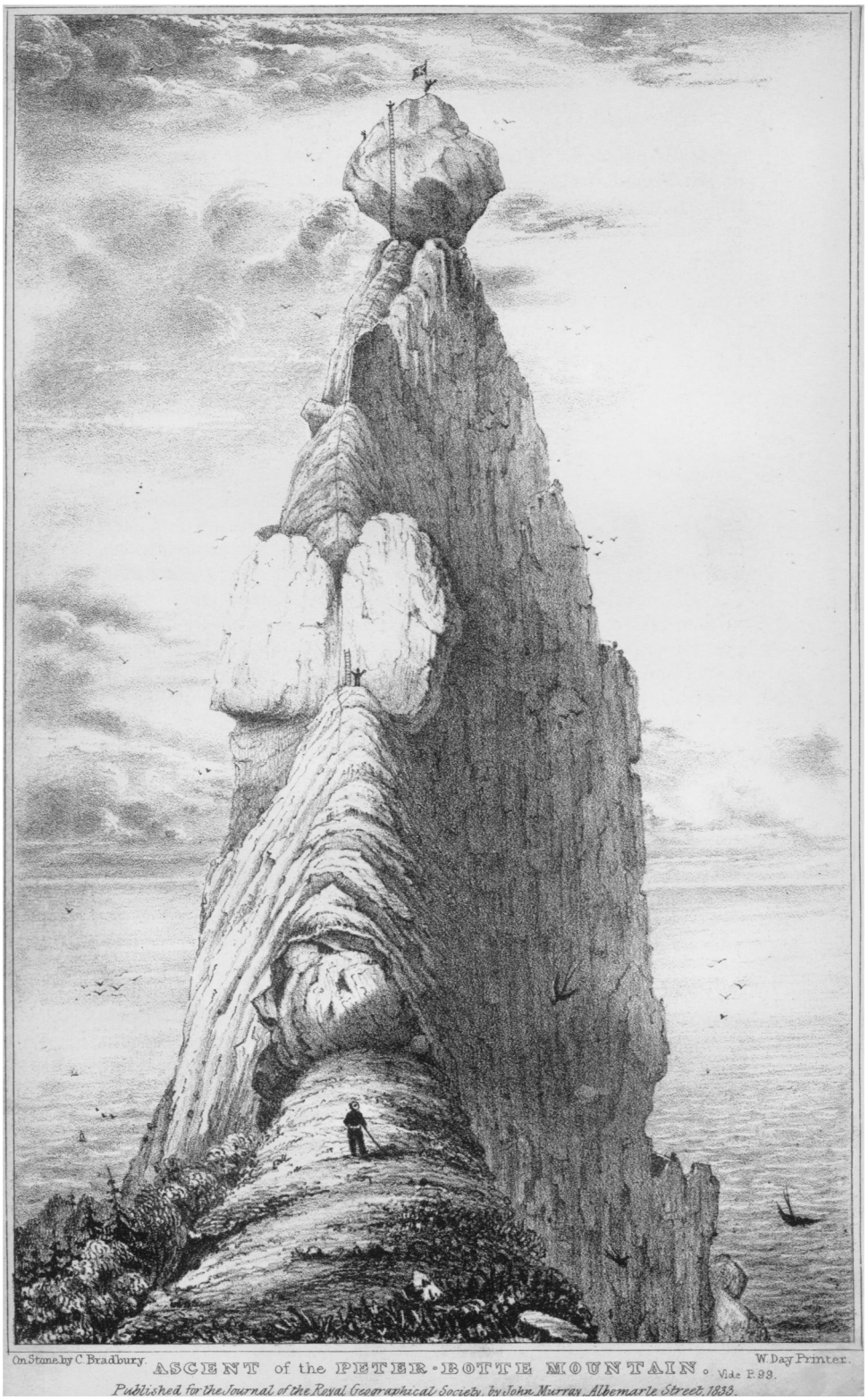
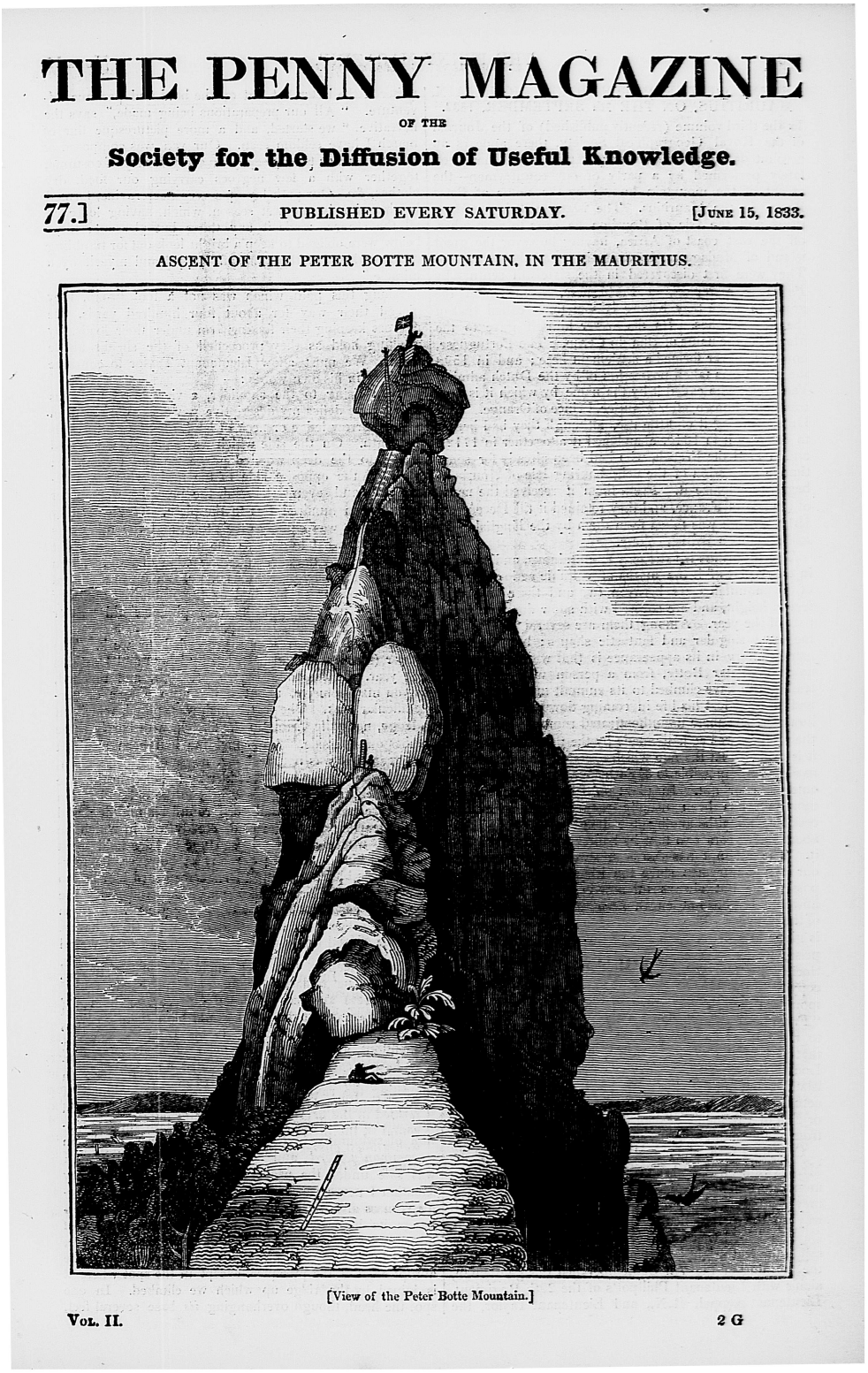


Figure 13. Image appearing in The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society third volume to accompany Lieutenant Taylor's article on the ascent of the Peter Botte Mountain.



THE PENNY MAGAZINE

OF THE

Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

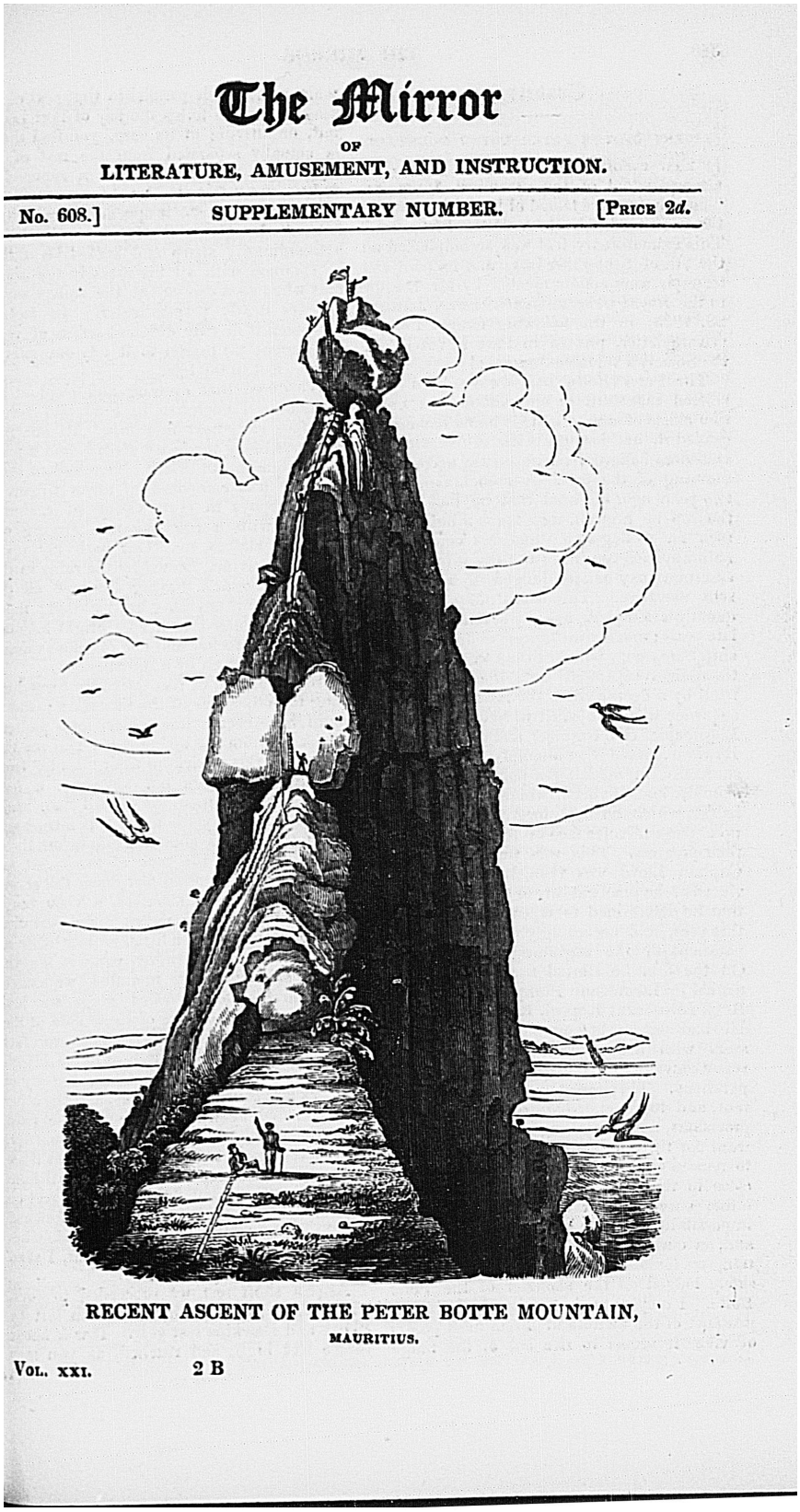
77.] PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY. [JUNE 15, 1833.

ASCENT OF THE PETER BOTTE MOUNTAIN, IN THE MAURITIUS.

[View of the Peter Botte Mountain.]

VOL. II. 2 G

Figure 14. Image appearing in The Penny Magazine on the 15 June 1833 to accompany an article giving Lieutenant Taylor's account of the ascent of the Peter Botte Mountain.



The Mirror

OF

LITERATURE, AMUSEMENT, AND INSTRUCTION.

No. 608.] SUPPLEMENTARY NUMBER. [Price 2*d*.

RECENT ASCENT OF THE PETER BOTTE MOUNTAIN,

MAURITIUS.

Vol. xxi. 2 B

Figure 15. Image appearing on the cover of The Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction on the 8 June 1833 to accompany an article giving Lieutenant Taylor's account of the ascent of the Peter Botte Mountain.

at 1 Savile Row and the responsibility of the new offices. The work of clerks is a further forgotten labour of the journal's production. Yet, despite the society's internal restructuring and professionalisation, the physical copies of its journal did not circulate far beyond its fellowship and institutions with which it had arrangements over textual exchange. Nor, then, did the society appear concerned with the lack of commercial viability of the journal. Its attempts to understand the circulation of the journal in Edinburgh, for example, likely reflects an understanding of that city as a centre of intellectual activity and knowledge making. In turn, any efforts to reach provincial readers appear relatively meagre — the journal's audience, at least as far as the society saw it, was to be distinctly metropolitan and learned. The latter fact is emphasised by the significant proportion of the print run devoted to transmission to other learned institutions. Yet, as has been shown, the dissemination of the journal through these learned networks was carefully considered. Rarely did the journal circulate as a gift; it was an object for textual exchange — a way for the society to encourage individuals and institutions to communicate both published and unpublished findings to the society.

On its travels from the society's London headquarters the journal and the knowledge it contained were routinely transformed. In circulating, the journal had multiple textual lives — each of the journal's numbers then, were not a fixed event, they were spatially and temporally variable. When the society relinquished control of the journal, its circulation as individual number, bound volume, and offprints demonstrate the diversity of its travels. In charting the journal's circulation, I have revealed that its content had a more diverse and larger readership than might be inferred from its print run. In both public and learned societies, for example, it would have found multiple readers. Its travels variously to international societies and domestic lay publications emphasise the variety of networks through which the journal travelled. Whilst circulation of the physical copies may not have directly found the public audiences imagined in the society's prospectus, through practices

of republication and reprinting the knowledge produced by the geographical society *was* widely received. In the next and final chapter of this thesis, I examine the acts of production and dissemination heretofore outlined, in order to reflect more widely on the society and its journal, nineteenth-century geography, and the value and utility of examining geography's intellectual history through periodical print.

Chapter 8

Concluding Thoughts: Geography, the Periodical, and the Making and Dissemination of Knowledge

Understanding how the Royal Geographical Society produced and disseminated a regular work of periodical geography — and the significance of this for the nascent discipline of geography — has been the central concern of this thesis. My attention to the individual and institutional practices at work between 1830 and 1900 has illustrated the complex and multiple cultures of periodical production and circulation at the society. The focus of the thesis has not been on the content of the journal *per se* — rather it has been on the wider publishing culture of the society, predominantly the behind-the-scenes mediation of geographical knowledge that would have been concealed from the journal's readers (and many of its authors).[1] Focusing, thus, on the making, mediation, and movement of geographical knowledge in print has allowed me to ask questions about the wider editorial and evaluative labour that underpinned the journal. It has allowed me, in this sense, to tell a previously hidden history of the development of geography in textual form. The intention of the thesis has not been to recount the practice of each individual editor or author (for that would have been too profuse a task), rather it has been to position these labours within a particular institutional context in order to illustrate how this undertaking shaped geography's making and movement. This focus shows the society to be part of a wider culture of printing and exchanging scientific knowledge. The thesis is offered, then, as a

[1] See, for work that takes the journal's published material as a history of geography, Dorothy Middleton, "Guide to the Publications of the Royal Geographical Society 1830–1892," *The Geographical Journal* 144, no.1 (1978).

contribution to Bond's call for a 'periodical geography'.[2] It addresses a hitherto neglected source (i.e., the thousands of items that constitute the Journal Manuscript Collection) and illustrates the potential of periodicals to tell a history of geography that is attentive to the materials and spaces of geography's textual making and circulation. More broadly, the wider contribution of the thesis is to the historical geographies of nineteenth-century scientific culture and particularly to questions of institutional knowledge governance, its authorial and editorial production, and its subsequent circulation and audience.

In this concluding section, I reiterate the central findings of the thesis to demonstrate how it has made a distinct contribution to knowledge. These findings are positioned in relation to my general aim of illustrating the practices of production and dissemination of periodical knowledge at the society. In this chapter, I consider the two broader themes that have emerged from the thesis: co-production and networks. By working thematically, this chapter examines the journal's production and dissemination as mutually contingent; in doing so, it heeds the advice of Ogborn and Withers to consider print's production, circulation, and consumption as interrelated phenomena.[3]

The Co-production of Print

The visible and invisible labours of paid and unpaid workers at the society illustrate that the journal's production was reliant on multiple hands, each responsible for bringing particular parts of the journal to print. Keighren, Withers, and Bell have similarly illustrated the work of multiple hands in the production of geography in their investigations of the journal's

[2] Dean Bond, "Plagiarists, Enthusiasts and Periodical Geography: A.F. Büsching and the Making of Geographical Print Culture in the German Enlightenment, *c.*1750–1800," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 42, no.1 (2017).
[3] Miles Ogborn and Charles W. J. Withers, "Book Geography, Book History," in *Geographies of the Book*, eds Miles Ogborn and Charles W. J. Withers (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

publisher — John Murray. They write that the making of geographical knowledge was "never a straightforward and uncontested process; it was always and inescapably mediated, manipulated, and managed" — printed geography, in this sense, was always the product of social actors and their relationships.[4] My study has clearly demonstrated that the journal was built on a culture of "collaborative authoring" as the process has elsewhere been described.[5] Yet the examples of the journal's production cited in this thesis have brought new and additional angles to the history of geography's making in print. What differed to the examples of trusted readers in supporting the work of publishing houses, was the way that the periodical's regularity, and the society's institutional structure, necessitated and produced particular textual practices.[6] These practices were central in positioning the society as a credible home of geography; its journal was a record of geographical knowledge — a material reflection of its authoritative status. To uphold this image, the society tasked numerous hands to complete its work — to ensure that the journal appeared to be accurate, authoritative, timely, and useful. Here, the small details were shown to matter. The routine upkeep of the journal's front matter, its presidential address, its list of fellows and council, for example, were meticulously checked to avoid errors. The ad hoc employment of proof readers to check these details was one way the society ensured both regularity and accuracy. The materiality of the journal was also shown to be important in the uncovering of various actors who shaped the journal's knowledge. Materiality was significant, not only for what it revealed about matters of institutional authority, but also for what it illustrated about the mutability of print in the society's journal. Through close attention to different editions of the journal's earliest numbers, the practice of republication illustrated mutability within the

[4] Innes Keighren, Charles W. J. Withers, and Bill Bell, *Travels into Print: Exploration, Writing, and Publishing with John Murray, 1773–1859* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2015): 212.
[5] Innes Keighren and Charles W. J. Withers, "Travels into Print: Authoring, Editing, and Narratives of Travel and Exploration, *c.* 1815–*c.* 1857," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 36, no.4 (2011).
[6] In addition to Keighren, Withers, and Bell, see David Finklestien, *House of Blackwood: Author-Publisher Relations in the Victorian Era* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002).

journal's pages. It was suggested that these alterations to knowledge, illustrative material in the case of the Peter Botte Mountain in Chapter 7, was likely the result of the journal's co-production — that the labours of producing the papers illustrative material (an image of the mountain itself), was, for example, the result of being sanctioned by a different member of the society or that it was completed by a different illustrator. The work of multiple hands overseen by the editor appears the only way in which the journal could maintain its regularity and (to some extent) be managed. The co-production of print was fundamental in bringing geography to the periodical.

Later in the century, the society became increasingly structured in a way that enabled it to routinely produce its journal. Salaried positions were given specific duties associated with the journal's production and dissemination. Further, the journal's production was contingent on a wider membership structure that could offset the losses incurred in production. This says something interesting about the way that nineteenth-century scientific societies went about the business of publication. The society's internal organisation reflected its principal aim to produce a regular work of the latest geography, but its methods of production, at least in a financial sense, were far removed from the activities of the publishing house. Whilst money clearly was a concern, as the editor Julian Jackson reiterated on numerous occasions, a little extra expense to ensure that the papers printed were in the best shape they could be was sensible investment as it ensured the information presented by the society was correct as possible. The wider historiographical significance of examining the society's finances in relation to its expenditure on the journal is to reaffirm the work of Aileen Fyfe on the financing of the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions*. Learned institutions, she argues, routinely found it difficult to fund a substantial and regular work and they did so through creative financing, offsetting the cost of production from other

revenue streams.[7] The Royal Geographical Society's organisation, both in terms of its financial strategy and its employment structure, directed money and labour towards the production and dissemination of the journal. Put more simply, the journal was firmly imbedded within the wider culture and operational structure of the society — it was a society built around the desire to, and demand of, print.

The journal's production was also fundamentally reliant upon a culture of peer review. As the emergent corpus of work on the development of peer review in the nineteenth century makes clear, the practice was not uniform in its application across learned scientific publications.[8] This thesis has, however, gone some way to revising the suggestion that social science periodicals were less involved in the development of refereeing practice than those publications concerned with natural science — that the adoption of peer review in social sciences in the twentieth century reveals a longstanding "envy of the epistemic rigour apparently associated with natural sciences".[9] From its founding, epistolary and oral testimony shaped the knowledge that was printed in the journal. By 1850, Norton Shaw's referee's circular became part of the reviewing culture of the society; the blue form and standardised questions persisted well into the twentieth century. Not wanting to overemphasise the comparison with the Royal Society, that society did not routinely employ a standardised referee's circular until the 1890s — this is significant as it repositions the society as part of the wider development of metropolitan scientific societies and their practices of review. That is not to suggest that the society was a pioneer of the referee's circular, but it does show that it was practicing institutional protocols that would be adopted by other learned societies later in the century. As far as academic rigour and evaluative

[7] Aileen Fyfe, "Journals, Learned Societies and Money: *Philosophical Transactions*, *ca.* 1750–1900," *Notes and Records* 69, no.3 (2015).
[8] See, for the most comprehensive summary, Noah Moxham and Aileen Fyfe, "The Royal Society and the Prehistory of Peer Review, 1665–1965," *The Historical Journal*, published ahead of print May 6, 2017.
[9] Moxham and Fyfe, "The Royal Society and the Pre-History," 888.

labour are concerned, the society (and geography more generally) arguably deserve to be talked about alongside institutions that might superficially be considered more scientific. This thesis has said something, too, about the selection of experts and the identification of expertise — the society opting to keep the duties of refereeing to the council and a few trusted fellows. By being part of the society and its council, referees were perceived to be knowledgeable enough to pass judgement on papers, notwithstanding their individual concerns as to the appropriateness of their expertise. Partially as a result of lack of expertise, the referee's reports reveal that numerous parameters operated to decide the fate of manuscripts. The discursive criteria to which manuscripts were subjected raises a wider point about the evaluation of scientific information in the nineteenth century during which time social status or nationality could, for example, decide whether manuscripts were accepted for publication. The institutional evaluative labours of the society were part of what Richard Sher has called the "complicated, creative, and contingent" mechanisms by which writing became print.[10] Simply put, both institutional *and* individual standards governed the making of the society's journal.

Co-production has been shown, in the examples cited, to be fundamental to the journal's production and dissemination. By this, I mean that the journal was the product of multiple hands — its size, scope, and regularity necessitated that certain parts of its production and circulation were collaborative efforts. This is to go beyond current scholarship that has demonstrated the work of multiple hands in the publishing house, it is to say that the society, as a publishing institution, was *structured* in this way so as to be able to produce a regular work of the latest geographical knowledge. It was then, a society that fostered a culture of peer review, that altered its physical infrastructure to house the journal, and assigned particular labours associated with the journal's production and dissemination to its

[10] Richard B. Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book: Scottish Authors and their Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland, and America* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2006), xv.

paid and unpaid staff. The interplay between editors, authors, council, committees, proof readers, translators, referees, draughtsmen, librarians, secretaries, and so forth, was the reason geography came to periodical print at the society.

Networks of Knowledge

The journal's identity, and its material and epistemic flows, were shaped by various institutional, personal, and commercial networks. To date, studies investigating Enlightenment travel narratives and writing on exploration have argued for the importance of the publisher in the making of geographical knowledge. In the case of the society, however, it has been demonstrated that geographical knowledge was made in a *specific institutional context*. Whilst John Murray II, in particular, offered much practical advice during the society's early years and his son, John Murray III, took on the journal at the firm's own risk when the society was struggling financially, day to day it appears publishers *per se* had relatively little to do with the society's journal. Publishers' advice would often focus on the commercial viability of publications, and with the society's objective to be learned rather than profitable, their input was seemingly less important. Printers, by contrast, were significant because they were arbiters of typographical accuracy — one reason the society never chose to change printer, when cheaper firms were available, was for the consistency of their print. In the context of the journal, its editors, and referees, and the intellectual networks of which the council and fellows were part of, seem to have been of more significance than publishers in the production of periodical geographical knowledge. Variously, editors would call upon friends for publishing advice or the council to review papers. Referees themselves, on occasion, called upon acquaintances or experts to seek clarification. Such networks matter when attempting to untangle the history of publishing knowledge because they directly impact textual and illustrative content of publications, as well as their various geographies and materialities. As we saw, for example, through the

distribution of multiple copies by Adam Johann von Krusenstern, the journal's movement was built on particular personal and professional relationships. The result is to show that networks, both individual and institutional, had a profound impact on the journal.

The journal's form and function were made in relation to wider scientific print cultures and networks. The journal's material and epistemic form were made in dialogue with other publications — authority and utility, at least in the eyes of the council members who advocated for it, were made in relation to other authoritative and credible publications. Particular prominence in the 1830s, for example, was given to the *Quarterly Review* — the early council had hoped to adopt the "form and type" which appeared in that publication. Likewise, Francis Galton believed that the journal of the Society of Arts would prove a good guide for the newly restyled *Proceedings*. There was, seemingly, some uneasiness in developing a periodical that did not conform to the particular style and cultures of, what the council considered, reputable publications. The awareness of other publications in relation to one's own was seemingly not uncommon. Keighren, Withers, and Bell have noted in relation to the Murray publishing house that "existing texts of travel provided Murray's authors with a template to follow, or to ignore, depending on the character they wished to inhabit and the characteristics they wished to convey to audiences".[11] It is important to recognise in the case of the journal, however, the diversity of publications that the council looked to in order to shape their own publication. Where it has been illustrated that works of *geography* provided inspiration for the form and function of geographical publications, the production of the journal was part of a broader culture where literary and arts journals shaped the production of geography. If, as it has been argued, the society was at the forefront of shaping periodical geography, it is important to remember that it did so as part of a broader culture of science and periodical print.

[11] Keighren, Withers, and Bell, *Travels into Print*, 213.

The journal's relationship with other periodical publications extended beyond their influence on its form and function. Knowledge printed in the journal moved beyond its own pages to appear in other learned and lay publications. Geography was, then, involved in a broader textual economy — its content a commodity that moved beyond the pages of the journal itself. Although never explicitly stated, this movement of geographical knowledge into the pages of other journals, accomplished the society's founding aim to produce a regular work of geography for both its fellows and an interested audience. The circulation of the journal's content was not only the consequence of scissors-and-paste journalism associated with cheap hack publications — in some instances it was the consequence of formal agreements with other societies (what I refer to as the 'transplantation economy'). As I suggest in the final section of this conclusion, the movement of knowledge from the journal into other publications raises interesting questions about the wider circulation of geography in periodical publications. The networks of which the journal was part, whether through official agreements or as part of the wider nineteenth-century textual economy, are important in recognising the epistemic mobility of print.

Formal connections with learned institutions and professional bodies were instrumental in both the production and dissemination of geographical knowledge at the society. To date, the majority of work considering the spatial mobility of geographical knowledge has maintained a focus on the material and epistemic mutability of print in the hands of the author, editor, translator, publisher, and/or reader.[12] It has, then, positioned the

[12] See, for example, Innes M. Keighren, *Bringing Geography to Book: Ellen Semple and the Reception of Geographic Knowledge* (London: IB Tauris, 2010); Louise C. Henderson, "*Missionary Travels* in Britain and America: Exploring the Wider Circulation of a Victorian Travel Narrative," *Scottish Geographical Journal* 129, no. 3–4 (2013); Innes M. Keighren, "Circulating Seditious Knowledge: The 'Daring Absurdities, Studied Misrepresentations, and Abominable Falsehoods' of William Macintosh," in *Mobilities of Knowledge*, eds. Heike Jöns, Peter Meusburger, and Michael Heffernan

dissemination of geographical information in a notably commercial or personal context.[13] This thesis has largely eschewed such approach in ordered to illustrate the institutional governance of print. Its failure to circulate to a paid audience, its troubles with storage, and its distribution to a globally learned audience were all part of the institutional making of a journal that was distinctly 'for knowledge' rather than 'for profit'. In the context of nineteenth-century science, the sharing of scientific knowledge between learned societies was part of a broader 'force union in science' that the society's editor, John Washington, described in 1836. Both the domestic and international networks through which the journal was disseminated, demonstrate that the advancement of science was not the sole concern of the society when distributing its journal. The journal was also a means to convey the prestige of the society and to facilitate reciprocal textual exchange with both individuals and institutions. The journal and its movement were part of a deliberate strategy, with the aim of building the society's own collection of scholarly materials and print for its journal. These unwritten institutional rules also reveal the spaces to which the society's print did not travel — what I suggest are the journal's 'lost geographies'. The networks of circulation point to the wider culture of institutional transmission of knowledge being strictly governed by internal protocols. For the society, this meant exchanging only with like-minded institutions, insisting on reciprocity, and limiting the number of institutions eligible for exchange in each country. The networks of the journal's distribution to whom it travelled and did not, are evidence of the way in which the society perceived itself, other institutions, and operated as part of a wider evolving culture of learned science.

(Cham: Springer, 2017). The circulation of wider scientific knowledge in an institutional context has been considered in, for example, Diarmid Finnegan, *Natural History Societies and Civic Culture in Victorian Scotland* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009).

[13] For a notable example, see, Megan Barford, "Fugitive Hydrography: *The Nautical Magazine* and the Hydrographic Office of the Admiralty, c.1832–1850," *International Journal of Maritime History* 27, no.2 (2015).

My claim is that, throughout this thesis, we have seen that the journal was shaped in relation to individual, institutional, and wider metropolitan scientific cultures. We have noted an institutional culture of geographical print that was part of, and shaped by, a wider culture of scientific print — the two traditions coalescing to inform both the production and the dissemination of the journal. In suggesting a culture of co-production, I have drawn specific attention to the hands-on nature of geographical print. Here, I use 'networks' to refer to the less tangible elements of print that shaped both its production and dissemination. Recognising these intangible elements of print's making and mobility is to ultimately concur with and further advance Ogborn and Withers' assertion that "books cannot be understood outside their geographies" — the same, simply speaking, is true of periodicals.[14] That is to say that the individual, institutional, and wider scientific communities all actively shaped the making and movement of knowledge — the journal was a product of factors that converged to bring the publication into being and circulate it to particular places. Geography, at various scales then, matters when considering the epistemic and material making, and movement, of knowledge.

Periodical Geography: Implications, Futures, Opportunities

This study has contributed to the history of geography's periodical print culture. By attending to practices of production and dissemination of periodical geography, it has explored various institutional and individual contributions to the society's journal. This thesis, has too, contributed more broadly to an understanding of the nature of printed institutional knowledge in the nineteenth century. It has, for example, outlined the distinct metropolitan culture of knowledge making and circulation, whilst knowledge was from international scholars, and subsequently circulated within similarly international networks,

[14] Ogborn and Withers, "Book Geography: Book History," 25.

I have demonstrated that knowledge was scrutinised, evaluated, and authorised in the local context of the society's London headquarters.

The chapters of this thesis have also illustrated some wider claims about the audience of scientific knowledge and the way these were managed by institutional authorities in the nineteenth century. Audience, in some senses, brings this thesis together, as it demonstrates that differing audiences each consumed the knowledge produced under the auspices of the society in various forms and through a variety of publications. Audiences of scientific texts, as has been demonstrated by historians of science, are discursive and multiple, not easily defined. Yet, throughout, many of the decisions made by the society were intimately shaped by two distinct audiences; a known audience (in the case of the fellowship) and a relatively unknown audience (in the case of hopes to reach an interested reading public). Institutional transactions could often satisfy their members then, but reading publics were seemingly more difficult to engage. With a lack of potential profit to be made from institutional scientific print, it seems likely that this form of knowledge was not marketed and distributed (particularly to a paying audience) as well as it might have been if the knowledge contained in print was more commercially viable. The difficulties of maintaining a regular audience beyond societies' fellowships was also perhaps, in part, owing to scientific print being a fundamental part of learned institutions perceived authority. Print, through institutional practices such as refereeing and the careful composition of text, was a means in which to exhibit the work of learned societies, the significance of their disciplinary specialism, their importance to commerce and empire, and their own institutional standing. Authority was, in this sense, both demonstrated and made in print and therefore not necessarily for a wider reading audience. The evidence presented here, as part of the examination of the Royal Geographical Society's journal, has contributed to a wider understanding of institutional, scientific, and periodical publications in the nineteenth century, through specific attention to questions of authoring, authority, evaluation, and audience.

This thesis — despite the wider significance of the study outlined above — has only examined one particular institutional history. There are many more to be told, both at the society and beyond. There is, too, much more to be said about the relationship between geography and the periodical. As has been demonstrated by historians of science and the book, and specifically the work emerging from the *Science in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical* (SciPer) project, the wide-ranging proliferation of print throughout the nineteenth century means there are a wealth of publications — scientific and lay, institutional and commercial — waiting to be scrutinised for what they reveal about geography's history and its wider print culture.[15] Given what attention to print — in various forms, but most notably the book — has revealed about geography's making and its subsequent circulation, it is curious that the periodical as a specific medium has not been subject to more sustained attention. This fact may reflect the particular methodological challenges that projects such as this one pose — specifically, the abundance (or absence) of unpublished material and the time required to consult these materials. Despite these difficulties, I wish to identify some further directions of study for periodical geography specifically concerned with the production and dissemination of geographical knowledge.

There is much to be said about the wider culture of geography's appearance in periodical publications. Such work would begin to outline the extent to which geography circulated in disciplinary and non-disciplinary publications and, therefore, give a greater contextual backdrop to the study of individual geographical periodicals. The implication of further work would be to identify the diversity of reading communities that were engaging with geography through periodical print. This has been shown successfully in the case of books — various editorial practices and differing price points of publications have, for example,

[15] Louise Henson, Geoffrey Cantor, and Sally Shuttleworth (eds.) *Culture and Science in the Nineteenth-Century Media* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2014).

been used to argue that geographical knowledge was widely available in different kinds of books.[16] Further, any attempts at a wider survey of geography in periodicals would assess how geographical knowledge "comingled" with science, literature, art, and instruction.[17] There are more specific questions to be asked of the nineteenth century. What new exclusively geographical publications were established in this period? How did they operate as the discipline established and developed? Moreover, what was happening prior to the founding of the geographical society and its journal? This thesis acknowledged, for example, that various fellows were publishing in the *Quarterly Review*. What other publications might they have been publishing in? And, more significantly, what about writers that were *not* metropolitan elites? Which outlets did they use to disseminate their geographical findings in periodical form?

Beyond this contextual framing of geography's periodical history, there are more questions that will interest scholars who have been keen to investigate the practices of authoring and editing scientific knowledge. As this thesis has demonstrated, geographical knowledge was subject to particular institutional practices and procedures. This fact raises an interesting question concerning the extent to which other institutions shaped the production and dissemination of geographical knowledge. It would, for example, be interesting to know more about the Foreign Office's relationship with geographical print in periodicals in light of its agreement to send information to the society but also its requirement to screen knowledge ahead of print. What other institutions and publications had these relationships?

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[16] See, for example, Adriana Craciun, "Oceanic Voyages, Maritime Books, and Eccentric Inscriptions," *Atlantic Studies* 10, no. 2 (2013); Henderson, "David Livingstone's *Missionary Travels* in Britain and America"; Julie McDougall-Walters, "British School Atlases, 1880–1930: Questions of Relevance, Credibility, and Authorship in the Production of Geographical Knowledge," *Imago Mundi* 66, no.1 (2014). For studies that, explicitly take scientific knowledge and audience as their focus, see, Johnathan R. Topham, "Periodicals and the Development of Reading Audiences for Science in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain: *The Youth's Magazine*, 1828-37," in *Culture and Science in the Nineteenth-Century Media*, ed. Louise Henson, Geoffrey Cantor, Gowan Dawson, Richard Noakes, Sally Shuttleworth, and Jonathan R. Topham (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

[17] On the comingling of science in periodicals, see Laura Otis, ed., *Literature and the Sciences in the Nineteenth Century: An Anthology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

And how did such relationships impact the way in which geographical knowledge was mediated? There are, of course, as Bond has shown, a wealth of non-anglophone institutions and periodicals that present an opportunity to understand the development of printed geography and institutional practices in other cultural settings. Most notably, the Paris and Berlin geographical societies and their associated publications seem worthy of further attention and give the opportunity for comparison with their London counterpart.[18] There are also various smaller domestic geographical societies that attempted to publish their own set of transactions. It seems likely that these small provincial institutions were reprinting information from other publications and this practice as well as the wider textual economy of geography is certainly worthy of further study. Periodicals, either individually or collectively, present an opportunity to investigate the untold histories of geography's development in print.

At the society, in particular, there are various questions still to be asked of the archival materials that inform this thesis. There is more to be said about the practice of certain individuals, such as the individual practices of editors. This task will, in particular, suit scholars with particular biographical interest in editors — the amount of correspondence housed at the society for Arthur Hinks, for example, is considerable and would require a biographical rather than broader institutional narrative. More details about authors, and how these changed throughout the century, would be helpful in understanding further the practitioners of geography, their motivations, disciplinary contributions, and literary styles. There are many wider questions about the society that arise from this study. What, for example, were the practices of the journal's production and dissemination as the society moved into the twentieth century? How did the change of title to *The Geographical Journal*

[18] For work that has considered the Bulletin of the Paris Society, see, Martin S. Staum, "The Paris Geographical Society Constructs the Other, 1821–1850," *Journal of Historical Geography* 26, no.2 (2000).

influence the commercial circulation of the journal? Later in the twentieth century, how did the society organise the publication of multiple journals and how did the incorporation of these journals under the auspices of the society influence the form and function of their existing titles? More specifically, the culture of peer review demands further attention and will make a demonstrable contribution to wider studies on the development of peer review as a scholarly guarantor of quality. What happened in the twentieth century at the society when its rate of submission would likely have increased. The development of the referee's list might indicate a new direction, where expertise was not simply a conduit of being a society fellow or council member. To follow up on this line of investigation offers the opportunity to say something about the developing institutional parameters that governed knowledge.

As this thesis has maintained throughout, the practices of geography's production and dissemination were shaped in the examples presented here by an institutional context and a particular genre of print. The historical geographies of the publication have demonstrated a changing journal, through close attention to local context and wider networks. The journal did not just derive from the practices of the society, it "expressly embodied them".[19] Attention to the relationship between geography and the periodical — and the various factors that shaped its production and dissemination — is crucial to a richer understanding of geography in print.

[19] Adrian Johns, "Miscellaneous Methods: Authors, Societies and Journals in Early Modern England," *British Journal for the History of Science* 33, no.1 (2000): 165.

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November 1841–March 1853

April 1853–January 1859

March 1890–March1896

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1841–1865

1865–1872

September 1872–October 1877

1877–1883

March 1883–December 1890

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CB2/287 Adam Johann von Krusenstern

Krusenstern to Unknown, 24 September 1838.

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CB2/343 C. J. Maslen

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CB2/344 Phillip Maughan

Maughan to John Washington, 2 February 1838.

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CB2/438 Carl Christian Rafn

Rafn to John Washington, 1 December 1838.

CB2/472 Henry Salmon

Salmon to John Washington, 5 October 1837.

CB2/540 James Vetch

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CB3/201 Charles Darwin

Darwin to Julian Jackson, 14 October 1842.

CB3/231 Solomon Moses Drach

Drach to William H. Smyth, [1849].

CB3/322 J. H. Glover

Glover to Julian Jackson, 18 November 1842.

CB3/371 R. W. Hay

Hay to John Shillingshaw, 1 August 1846.

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Jackson to Dr Humble, 9 December 1847.

CB3/518 Richard Henry Major

Major to Julian Jackson, 4 July 1846.

Major to Julian Jackson, 8 July 1846.

CB3/604 Woodbine Parish

Parish to Norton Shaw, 23 July 1850.

CB3/649 George Cecil Renouard

Renouard to Julian Jackson, 5 March 1841.

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CB3/794 John Washington

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CB4/232 George Smith Brent

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Smith Brent to Norton Shaw, 10 November 1857.

CB4/292 Richard Burton

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CB4/330 Paul Chaix

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