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British Geography's Republic of Letters: Mapping an Imagined Community, 1600-1800

Robert Mayhew

Introduction: Geographies of the Republic of Letters

One of the main ways in which scholars molded their self image in early modern Europe was as citizens of the “republic of letters.” At the level of professed ideals the concept of the republic of letters was simple: scholars would create an egalitarian world amongst themselves, where views could be expressed without the rancor of national, religious, historical, or other barriers to their exchanges. Recent studies have highlighted the impressive degree to which eighteenth-century scientists ignored war and xenophobia to exchange ideas, thereby enacting the cosmopolitan ideal of a republic of letters.¹ Yet the details of this ideal have been the subject of intense scrutiny and debate, in part because there were many versions of scholarly cosmopolitanism,² but more importantly because the reality of the republic of letters was in most instances at some distance from the ideal.³ There have been debates about the chronology of the rise and fall of the republic of letters, Miller seeing it as having risen to prominence in the later sixteenth century but in terminal decline by 1720. By contrast Goldgar shifts the era of the republic of letters to 1660-1750, and most recently Brockliss has argued for the essentially healthy state of the republic of

¹ Sverker Sörlin, “National and International Aspects of Cross-Boundary Science: Scientific Travel in the Eighteenth Century,” *Denationalizing Science: The Contexts of International Scientific Practice*, eds. Elisabeth Crawford et al. (Dordrecht, 1993), 43-72; and John Gascoigne, *Science in the Service of Empire: Joseph Banks, the British State and the Uses of Science in the Age of Revolution* (Cambridge, 1998), 147-65.

² P. Kleingeld, “Six Varieties of Cosmopolitanism in Late Eighteenth Century Germany,” *JHI*, 60 (1999), 505-24.

³ Lorraine Daston, “The Ideal and Reality of the Republic of Letters,” *Science in Context*, 2 (1991), 367-86.

letters into the era of the French Revolution.⁴ Such chronological debates have themselves been prompted by a major disagreement over the relationship between the republic of letters and the Enlightenment of the philosophes: was the former a mere token of the *ancien régime* which was destroyed by an incipiently radical Enlightenment,⁵ or was the ideal of egalitarian cosmopolitanism which the republic of letters championed the seedbed for such radicalism, thereby making Enlightenment philosophes a subset of the republic of letters rather than their successors?⁶

Clearly, debates about the meaning of the republic of letters have been sparked by its status as a quasi-political republican body and the extent to which this was mere terminology or was a real spur to new forms of political association. Yet the notion of a republic also presupposes a geography: a *polis*, fictive or real, needs a territorial scope over which it holds sway. Concerning the geography of the republic of letters, recent scholarship has been both more consensual and less critically acute. A number of scholars have documented the extent to which the republic's cosmopolitan ideals were undermined by national antagonisms and religious schisms.⁷ Furthermore, feminist scholars have pointed to the complexities of female participation in this arena, their salons enabling while their gender undermined their ability to negotiate a relationship with the public sphere of the republic.⁸ Clearly, there was a tension between nationalism (together with other forms of parochialism such as gender discrimination) and cosmopolitanism in the political geography of the republic of letters.

At a more concrete level, several studies have analyzed the geography of the republic of letters by trying to map its spatial extent in diagrams or prose. Ultee has looked at the spatial extent of Leibniz's correspondents, and Brockliss has likewise mapped Esprit de Calvet's web of communications.⁹ Parallel studies of scientific correspondence networks have been conducted for Albrecht

⁴ Peter Miller, *Peiresc's Europe: Virtue and Learning in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven, Conn., 2001); Anne Goldgar, *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1650-1750* (New Haven, Conn., 1995); and Laurence Brockliss, *Calvet's Web: Enlightenment and the Republic of Letters in Eighteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 2002).

⁵ Goldgar, *Impolite Learning*; Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994); and Daniel Roche, *Les Républicains des Lettres: Gens de Culture et Lumières au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1988).

⁶ Brockliss, *Calvet's Web*, conclusion

⁷ Goldgar, *Impolite Learning*, 194-98; and Brockliss, *Calvet's Web*, 111.

⁸ Elizabeth Cook, *Epistolary Bodies: Gender and Genre in the Eighteenth Century Republic of Letters* (Stanford, Calif., 1996); and Susan Dalton, *Engendering the Republic of Letters: Reconnecting Public and Private Spheres in Eighteenth Century Europe* (Montreal, 2003).

⁹ Brockliss, *Calvet's Web*, 69-96; and Maarten Ultee, "The Republic of Letters: Learned Correspondence 1680-1720," *Seventeenth Century*, 2 (1987), 95-112 at 102-3.

von Haller and the natural historians clustered around Buffon.¹⁰ In this respect perhaps the most theoretically sophisticated work has been produced by historians of science galvanized by the work of Latour.¹¹ Thus Lux and Cook have looked to the chains of contact and epistolary exchange by which Oldenberg came to credit knowledge claims for inclusion in the *Proceedings* of the Royal Society, while parallel methods have been used to analyze the geography of Jesuit scholarly exchange.¹²

Other elements of the circulation of knowledge in early modern Europe beyond correspondence have also been examined to give readings of the geography of the republic of letters. For example, Malcolm has given an exhaustive analysis of the reception of the writings of Hobbes across Europe, thereby giving a sense of the spatial extent of the transmission of texts, a similar project to that which Israel has performed for Spinoza.¹³ Beyond this, prosopographical work on the membership of learned societies gives some sense of the spatial extent of the republic of letters, as in Hunter's study of the membership of the Royal Society before 1700.¹⁴ Finally, the mapping of other elements of intellectual life gives another perspective on the geography of the republic of letters: public lectures, print houses, libraries, and so forth have all been mapped and give insights into the spatial patterning of the production, dissemination and reception of ideas.¹⁵

Yet all of these studies of the geography of the republic of letters work at the level of the realities of that republic; they trace, in other words, the spatial extent of certain types of bricks and mortar, the peregrinations of individuals and books. What they do not address is the tension between the ideal and reality of the republic of letters. For the republic of letters was an imagined community, in which all scholars were in theory connected despite the fact that they

¹⁰ Urs Boschung, "Göttingen, Hanover and Europe: Haller's Correspondence," *Göttingen and the Development of the Natural Sciences*, ed. Nicolaas Rupke (Göttingen, 2002), 33-49; and Emma Spary, *Utopia's Garden: French Natural History from Old Regime to Revolution* (Chicago, 2000), 49-98.

¹¹ Bruno Latour, *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers through Society* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987).

¹² David Lux and Harold Cook, "Closed Circles or Open Networks: Communicating at a Distance during the Scientific Revolution," *History of Science*, 36 (1998), 179-211; Steven Harris, "Confession-Building, Long Distance Networks and the Organization of Jesuit Science," *Early Science and Medicine*, 1 (1996), 287-318, and *idem*, "Mapping Jesuit Science: The Role of Travel in the Geography of Knowledge," *The Jesuits: Culture, Sciences and the Arts, 1540-1773*, eds. John O'Malley et al. (Toronto, 1999), 212-40.

¹³ Noel Malcolm, *Aspects of Hobbes* (Oxford, 2003), 457-545; and Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity* (Oxford, 2001), part 5.

¹⁴ Michael Hunter, *The Royal Society and its Fellows, 1660-1700: The Morphology of an Early Scientific Institution* (Chalfont St Giles, 1982).

¹⁵ David Livingstone, *Science, Space and Hermeneutics: The Hettner Lectures, 2001* (Heidelberg, 2002), 7-40; *idem*, *Putting Science in its Place: Geographies of Scientific Knowledge* (Chicago, 2003); and Charles Withers, *Geography Science and National Identity: Scotland since 1520* (Cambridge, 2001).

might never hear of each other, let alone meet and communicate. In Anderson's terms, the republic of letters, just like any other political community, was an imagined entity, held together by ties assumed and asserted through non-personal modes of interaction.¹⁶ It is to this ideal of a cosmopolitan sphere of scholarly exchange and the extent to which cosmopolitanism as opposed to nationalism drove scholars that this paper is addressed.

Mapping the Republic of Letters as an Imagined Community: Methods and Limitations

To look at the geography of the republic of letters as an ideal realm this essay follows two authors of geography books, Peter Heylyn (author of *Microcosmus*, 1621) and John Pinkerton (author of *Modern Geography*, 1802), into their studies, looking at the spatial patterning of their reading by analyzing where the authors they chose to cite came from. The present analysis also looks at the eras in which cited authors lived, allowing an analysis of citation patterns meshing time and space into a historical geography. This allows us to gain both a sense of the spatial extent of the imagined community of scholars with whom Heylyn and Pinkerton were in intellectual dialogue, and some insight into the historical depth of their republic of letters. In this way the geography of the republic of letters can be assessed from a standpoint consonant with the fact that it was an imagined community.

This focus on citation patterns allows for a more nuanced and multilayered approach to the geography of the republic of letters than has been attempted heretofore, in that several types of geography of knowledge can be highlighted. Beyond the simple question of overall patterns of citation, we can look to variations in citation according to geographical region, as both books were subdivided by nation and continent. Was there a variation in the imagined community of scholarly interlocutors according to the region under discussion? The spot comparison of two authors across time provokes questions about the historical geography of the republic of letters at two main levels. First, was there a changing pattern of overall citation through time, and if so was the imagined community becoming more international or more parochial? Secondly, was there a change in the eras from which cited authors came, and if so, did this bespeak a decline in reverence for the ancients? Was there a decline in contact with neo-Latin writers? Did citation patterns deepen or reduce the engagement with past citizens of the republic of letters over time?

In this way the present analysis allows for an engagement with some broader questions about scholarly culture and the republic of letters. Notably, it should give some sense of whether there was a schism or a continuity in the character

¹⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1991²), 5-7 and chap. 3.

of the scholarly community from the seventeenth century to the era of the French Revolution. Further, whether we find change or continuity, this analysis also provides new light on the extent to which British members of the republic of letters were open to influences from Europe and the wider world as they constructed their images of the globe, a question fundamental to ongoing culture wars about European achievements and their “dark side.”¹⁷

The present approach is also open to methodological questioning. Above all, for a spot comparison between two authors, the comparability and representative status of my chosen subjects, Heylyn and Pinkerton, need to be addressed. In terms of comparability, they fare well. Both were authors of prose geography books, so they worked in essentially the same genre: as such, despite chronological separation their authorial intentions had much in common. Further, we know the sources to which both men had access in compiling their geography books were as extensive as could be reasonably expected in their respective eras: Heylyn wrote his *Microcosmus* in Oxford, having access to the Bodleian library and the library of Magdalen Hall,¹⁸ while Pinkerton wrote his *Modern Geography* in London with access to Sir Joseph Banks’s library. As such, both men’s works give us the geography of an imagined republic of letters which had been actively constructed by choice and rejection, rather than merely being driven by exigencies of book availability.

The main reason for focusing on Heylyn and Pinkerton is that they give fulsome references for their assertions, Heylyn by means of marginal citations, Pinkerton by means of expansive footnotes. The degree of citation practiced by both authors is highly unusual in geography books of the period, which in itself makes them in some ways unrepresentative of the broader tradition of geographical authorship at this time, in which silent plagiarism was far more common than careful acknowledgment of scholarly indebtedness.¹⁹ At one level this merely means that we can trace the lineaments of Heylyn and Pinkerton’s imagined community of letters more carefully than would be true for other geographical authors. More seriously, we might say that, through their fulsome acknowledgments, Heylyn and Pinkerton were closer to model citizens in the republic of letters than many of their peers. Obviously, it would be important for any more extensive analysis to found itself on a comparison of further texts in the tradition of prose geography books and to extend its analysis to texts in mathematical as well as prose geography. Moreover, such analyses could be further developed by a comparison between the imagined republic of letters in

¹⁷ James Schmidt (ed.), *What Is Enlightenment? Eighteenth-Century Answers and Twentieth-Century Questions* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996).

¹⁸ Heylyn may have had access to the libraries of the Inns of Court through his brother. My thanks to Anthony Milton (who is currently completing a biography of Heylyn) for his thoughts on the question of Heylyn’s access to libraries.

¹⁹ Robert Mayhew, “The Character of English Geography, c.1660-1800: A Textual Approach,” *Journal of Historical Geography*, 24 (1998), 385-412.

early modern geography books and that in other realms of scientific and scholarly practice. Did different types of scholarly practice—mathematical and prosaic, scientific and humanistic—develop differing imagined geographies or are there fundamental commonalities? Yet that more could be done in this mold merely affirms that the present approach has validity as a way into questions about the geography of the republic of letters. Another objection is that a simple count of citations does not deal with whether a citation was positive or negative, showed close reading and detailed engagement, or merely a quick skim. In response this essay evaluates as well as enumerating citations to obviate this potential pitfall. Furthermore, total citations of authors from various nations are tallied as well as head counts of authors cited being conducted, allowing disparities to show where Heylyn or Pinkerton’s engagements with groups were extended or shallow.²⁰

Two Geographies of the Republic of Letters

Peter Heylyn’s *Microcosmus* (1621) is dense with citation in the form of unannotated marginal references to authorities. Heylyn tends merely to give a name or at most a name and an abbreviated reference to the title of their work. As such all his references are “positive” in that all are references to authorities rather than indications of points of dispute. Heylyn, then, stood at some distance from the tradition of the variorum edition with compendious discursive footnotes and from classical histories which were unadorned with what were seen as pedantic footnotes, preferring instead to construct an essentially pedagogic text which simply acknowledges its authorities.²¹ In all, there are some 1650 citations in *Microcosmus* at an average of around four per page in this four hundred and twenty-page octavo. These citations have been analyzed both for the whole text and by continental subsection.

Looking first at the whole text, the preponderance of citation of literature by British authors becomes apparent, whether this is measured in terms of total citations or a head count of authors cited (see table 1).²² British sources amounted to forty percent of Heylyn’s sources, with no other national grouping exceeding 15%. Clearly, if Heylyn did see himself as a member of the republic of

²⁰ This of course means that the nation state has been taken as the main geographical unit of calculation in this analysis. As a historical assumption this is debatable, but it does reflect the way in which both Heylyn and Pinkerton structured their geography books.

²¹ Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (London, 1997), 115 and 140-42

²² For this paper I have lumped together England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland; a more detailed breakdown would show an overwhelming preponderance of English sources in *Microcosmus* and rather less so for *Modern Geography*. I have chosen to follow the modern political map of Europe, despite divergences with the realities in the era of both Heylyn and Pinkerton. Given that Heylyn and Pinkerton would themselves not have been able to recognize each other’s political maps of Europe, it seemed sensible to use a single benchmark—our modern political geography.

letters, he also saw himself as a member of a national polity, whose language and scholarly culture dominated his sources as he compiled an image of the world. Nationalism was something about which Heylyn was more explicit in *Cosmographie* (1652), his expanded rewriting of *Microcosmus*, where he says “as I have taken on my self the parts of an *Historian* and *Geographer*; so have I not forgotten that I [am] an *English-man*.”²³ In this, Heylyn points up the tension between the ideal of a cosmopolitan realm of free exchange and the reality of strongly segmented national cultures. Interestingly, this nationalistic citation applies strongly to Heylyn as early as 1620, a time when Latin remained the standard language of scholarly communication, something which should have allowed for more cosmopolitan patterns of citation than subsequent eras when vernacular languages came to dominate scholarly discourse.

Table 1: Citations in *Microcosmus* (Whole Text)

	Head Count		Total Citations	
	%	Number	%	Number
Britain	31	41	41	686
Italy	8	10	15	241
France	6	8	5	79
Germany/Swiss	7	9	8	139
Not ID	25	33	14	238
Ancient	16	21	8	136
Low Countries	4	5	6	95
Church/Biblical	4	5	2	38
Modern Greek	1	1	0	2
TOTAL		131		1654

Looking beyond Britain, a couple of important points about the geography of Heylyn’s imagined republic of letters emerge. First, in terms of citation frequency a simple ranking of other nations cited shows Italy, then Germany, the Low Countries, and France. Italians are cited twice as often as Germans, taking a count of total citations. Italy was the most important national scholarly tradition in Heylyn’s imagined republic of letters after his own. For the Low Countries there is a disparity between numbers of individuals cited and total citations; clearly, Heylyn cited few authors from this area, but cited them frequently. In fact this is largely due to his heavy reliance on one source, Abraham Ortelius (the most cited single author in the European section of *Microcosmus*, with

²³Peter Heylyn, *Cosmographie in Four Bookes* (London, 1652), A4^v.

seventy-one citations), who accounts for seventy-eight of the total of ninety-five Low Countries citations in the whole text.

Two more general points about the republic of letters in Heylyn's time can be gleaned from this data. A minor point is that the large number of unidentified sources reflects the lack of clear citation in Heylyn's text, suggesting a scholarly culture in which precise referencing was seen as unnecessary or pedantic. Either Heylyn is assuming no one will want to chase up his references or that the most cryptic abbreviations of authorial names will make sense to his readers. The former scenario suggests Heylyn arrayed his marginal notes as a symbol of scholarly diligence whilst eschewing pedantry, the latter that he thought all in the republic of letters would be familiar with all basic sources, in which case he did not see geographical discourse as prone to the "information overload" which scholars have detected in early modern Europe.²⁴ Given the evidence of European scholars being overwhelmed by geographical data in the Age of Discovery,²⁵ we have to assume the former scenario, in which Heylyn used marginal references in good part to fashion himself as a geographer of repute and was far less concerned that the diligent reader could independently verify his claims.

The more important point which emerges from the national traditions cited by Heylyn concerns the question of religious schisms in the republic of letters. If we take French and Italian sources as (broadly) Catholic, and Low Countries and German sources as Protestant, Heylyn as a committed Anglican cites Catholic sources more (20% of total citations) than Protestant ones (14%). Obviously, nations cannot be reduced to a single confessional orientation, but more detailed analysis of Heylyn's citations does not change the picture. The key Italians cited in *Microcosmus*, for example, are Giovanni Botero, Giovanni Adriani, and Giovanni Magini, their works amounting to 85% of Italian citations: all of them were Catholic and the last of them a Jesuit. As such, Heylyn's Italian sources all contributed to counter-reformation scholarship.²⁶ Clearly, Heylyn as an Anglican was not averse to recognizing the geographical information to be gleaned from Catholic sources. On a biographical level this might be read as evidence about the nature of Heylyn's Anglicanism. Heylyn was a

²⁴ "Information Overload in Early Modern Europe" in *JHI*, 64 (2003).

²⁵ Anthony Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992); and J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New* (Cambridge, 1970).

²⁶ See Mordechai Feingold (ed.), *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003), 56 and 64. For Botero see John Headley, "Geography and Empire in the Late Renaissance: Botero's Assignment, Western Universalism, and the Civilizing Process," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 53 (2000), 1119-55.

Laudian by the time he penned *Microcosmus*,²⁷ and the Laudian position was unusual in English Protestantism for its favorable stance towards Catholicism.²⁸ As such it may be that the preponderance of Catholic sources in Heylyn reflects his doctrinally-driven receptiveness to the broader Catholic tradition of which he saw the Anglican church as one part. Further comparative work on Calvinist geographers of the era such as Carpenter or Purchas is needed to substantiate this point. Regardless of whether this openness to Catholic scholarship reflects Heylyn's personal position or the broader scholarly culture of geography, it does suggest that in the heart of the Thirty Years War, as confessional differences were wreaking carnage across Europe, the ideal of a republic of letters which neglected sectarian differences in favor of free and fair communication did eventuate in a scholarly reality of non-denominational citation in *Microcosmus*.

The final issue demanding attention is how Heylyn's citation pattern looks when broken down into the continental subdivisions around which *Microcosmus* was structured (table 2). Does the geography of Heylyn's scholarship vary according to which part of the world he is discussing?

Table 2: Total Citations (%) in *Microcosmus* by Continent

	EUROPE	ASIA	AFRICA	AMERICA
Britain	35	48	56	88
Italy	14	17	13	11
Low Countries	8	1	4	0
France	6	2	1	0
German	10	5	3	0
Not ID	17	9	9	0
Ancient	7	12	10	2
Church	1	7	4	0

Table 2 does suggest significant variations in Heylyn's imagined republic of letters according to where he was writing about. Italian sources are used equally regardless of area, but beyond this two significant and reciprocally related patterns emerge. First, all national traditions other than the Italian and the British are cited most frequently in Heylyn's discussion of Europe and fall

²⁷ Robert Mayhew, *Enlightenment Geography: The Political Languages of British Geography, c.1650-1850* (London, 2000), chapter 3; and Anthony Milton, "The Creation of Laudianism: A New Approach," *Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart England: Essays in Honour of Conrad Russell*, eds. T. Cogswell et al. (Cambridge, 2002), 162-84 at 165-68.

²⁸ Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640* (Cambridge, 1995).

away drastically in his discussion of all other regions of the world, a finding which applies equally to Catholic French and Protestant German sources. It is notable also that this observation applies equally to nations with no empire and to the great imperial powers of the day, a surprising finding given the extent to which European scholars were reliant on global imperial exploits for geographical information. Thus Heylyn cites almost no Spanish and Portuguese material even in the sections on Asia and the Americas, areas where they dominated the flow of information to Europe. If, as shown above, aggregate figures show Heylyn was not hostile to Catholic sources, this finding applies to Italian and French Catholicism, not Spanish and Portuguese. Clearly, the geography of Heylyn's Catholic republic of letters was a highly particular one. The second pattern is that Heylyn's reliance on British sources is lowest in Europe and goes up in direct proportion to how little the continent under discussion was known to Europe. Thus, British citations form over half of his authorities for Africa and an extraordinary 88% for America. This perhaps suggests that where little reliable information was available, Heylyn had recourse to digests of information compiled by British authors rather than to primary material, a finding strengthened if we look at Heylyn's section on the Americas. Here two British compendia, Abbot's *Briefve Sum of Geography* (1599) and Purchas's *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (1613), constituted 75% of Heylyn's total citations. These authors were both mainstream Calvinists and as such were on the opposite side of the confessional struggles dividing British religious thought at this time from Heylyn, something which once again points up the extent to which Heylyn was theologically ecumenical in his imagined republic of letters. The geography of citation in *Microcosmus* is then arrayed around a binary of Europe/not-Europe, with the discussion of Europe drawing on a wide range of national literatures, while more far-flung places were narrated through a more parochially British framework of authorities.

Clearly, then, one does find pronounced geographies of citation in *Microcosmus* (see map 1, p. 275). Three main patterns stand out. First, the overall reliance on British sources, suggesting that nationality did significantly inflect the cosmopolitan ideal of a republic of letters. Secondly, Heylyn cited authors regardless of their religious persuasion, whether Catholic or Calvinist Protestant. If *Microcosmus* was a Laudian project, the materials used in its composition were anything but dogmatic, showing an ecumenical stance in the republic of letters. Finally, there were real variations in the imagined communities of scholars on whom Heylyn drew in composing the descriptions of the various continents. Above all, Heylyn's citations became more parochial the further afield from known territories his narrative ventured.

John Pinkerton's *Modern Geography* (1802)

Pinkerton's *Modern Geography* was a two-volume quarto, comprising nearly 1500 pages. Pinkerton's citations came in the form of footnotes, most of which gave fairly extensive bibliographical information and many of which engaged in prolonged discussion with the sources cited. In this Pinkerton was aligning his text with the tradition of scholarly footnoting of the eighteenth-century French *erudits* on whom (as we shall see) he drew extensively. Overall, Pinkerton makes about 1800 citations, or just over one per page on average, compared to Heylyn's four per page. Unlike Heylyn, Pinkerton made depth of engagement with cited sources, rather than density of citation, a key badge of scholarly rigor. This means that his citations demand careful scrutiny, as many of them are slighting to various degrees.

Table 3: Citations in *Modern Geography* (Whole Text)

	Head Count		Total Citation	
	%	Number	%	Number
Britain	43	146	52	964
France	18	60	16	288
Spain and Portugal	3	11	2	38
Italy	6	19	2	33
Germany + Switzerland	9	29	16	294
Ancient	2	8	2	31
Dutch	4	12	1	23
Scandinavian	3	11	2	41
Medieval + Bible	2	7	1	18
American	2	7	3	50
Arab	1	3	1	13
Not ID	7	24	2	45
TOTAL		340		1841

Looking at the nationalities of the authors Pinkerton cites, a number of characteristics of the republic of letters as viewed from his reading become apparent. First, we see the overwhelming preponderance of British sources in the construction of Pinkerton's text. Furthermore, this preponderance is greatest in the realm of total citations, with British sources comprising over half of all the referenced authors in *Modern Geography*. Once more, then, Pinkerton's national identity was the primary factor determining his pattern of citation; indeed, this was even more so for him than it had been for Heylyn. This may

reflect the context in which Pinkerton wrote. *Modern Geography* was a text which positioned itself as a geography of the world as it had settled after the upheavals of the French Revolution.²⁹ Pinkerton may well have felt the need to make his geography discernibly British if it was to chime with the public mood of strident nationalism.

If the nationalism of Pinkerton's citations parallels that found in Heylyn, beyond this trends in citation show significant differences (see map 2, p. 276). Pinkerton was mainly reliant on data from two other national traditions of geographical enquiry, the French and the German.³⁰ Both geographical arenas produced 16% of the total citations in *Modern Geography*, but the composition of this citation was significantly different, in that for Germany Pinkerton relies on a small coterie of authors whom he cites frequently, where for France his tendency is to cite many authors sporadically. Yet we should beware the meaning of the data for both German and French sources for several reasons. First, if we look to the most cited authors from each national tradition, they are the great geographers of the previous generation, such as Anton Büsching in Germany and Jean Baptiste D'Anville for France. Many of Pinkerton's references to these figures are to undermine their authority. Pinkerton's response to D'Anville, the archetypal antiquarian geographer, is interesting, in that he both mirrors D'Anville's scholarly conventions of footnoting and rejects his excessive pedantry, thereby aligning himself with Gibbon's ambivalent response to the French *erudits*.³¹ This is true to the prefatory remarks to *Modern Geography*, where Pinkerton castigated eighteenth-century geography as "not a little injured in truth and perspicacity, by the mixture of ancient and modern names,"³² a comment which seems particularly targeted at the type of scholarship practiced by D'Anville, whom Gibbon had lauded in the *Decline and Fall* as "the first of geographers."³³ Equally, Büsching was dismissed as "of most tremendous prolixity, arranged in the most tasteless manner, and exceeding in dry names, and trifling details,"³⁴ this despite the fact that Pinkerton goes on to cite Büsching some forty-four times. So citation of a national tradition of geographical scholarship is not necessarily positive, and moreover, Pinkerton saw scholars such as Büsching and D'Anville as worthy of refutation, a clear acknowledgment of their influence and his indebtedness. Finally, Pinkerton's citation of German, French, and overseas sources is frequently via translations, which complicates

²⁹ Mayhew, *Enlightenment Geography*, chap. 9.

³⁰ In Pinkerton's case the German category includes authors from Austro-Hungary as well as Switzerland.

³¹ Grafton, *The Footnote*, 181-89; and Guido Abbatista, "Establishing the 'Order of time and place': Rational Geography, French Erudition and the Emplacement of History," *Edward Gibbon: Bicentenary Essays*, ed. David Womersley (Oxford, 1997), 45-72.

³² John Pinkerton, *Modern Geography* (2 vols.; London, 1802), I, xi.

³³ Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. David Womersley (3 vols.; Harmondsworth, 1994), III, 282.

³⁴ Pinkerton, *Modern Geography*, I, viii.

any assessment of his indebtedness to particular national traditions of scholarship. For example, references to Büsching are not to the German original of the *Erdbeschreibung* but to the six-volume partial English translation of 1762 and a more complete French translation in ten volumes. In general Pinkerton seems to rely on English- and French-language sources, regardless of the nationality of the cited author. Exactly how, therefore, to assess Pinkerton's relation with various national traditions of scholarship is frequently difficult (far more than for Heylyn).

Yet for all the complexities of assessment, it is clear that Pinkerton drew on an impressive geographical range of authors scattered all over Europe. In his republic of letters we see, for example, the recognition both of the Iberian contribution to geographical knowledge, and of the Scandinavian tradition of scientific scholarship, notably an awareness of Linnean botany and early inquiries concerning Norse and Icelandic traditions. While neither of these traditions are much-cited, they join Dutch and Italian sources (together with a few Russian and Eastern European references) to give the sense that Pinkerton was aware of geographical scholarship from the whole of Europe, even if he tended to rely upon the work of British, French, and German authors. Further details about Pinkerton's indebtedness and its geographical character can be gleaned by breaking down his citations by geographical region.

Table 4: Total Citations (%) in Modern Geography by Continent:

	EUROPE	ASIA	AMERICAS	AFRICA
Britain	64	34	30	42
France	9	21	21	24
Spain and Portugal	0	0	11	7
Italy	2	1	2	5
Germany + Switz.	15	24	11	1
Ancient	2	2	0	7
Dutch	0	2	1	6
Scandinavian	3	1	4	1
Medieval + Bible	1	1	0	2
American	0	0	19	2
Arab	0	2	0	0
Not ID	4	2	1	2

The character of Pinkerton's reliance on sources from various parts of the world is geographically variable, and that variability is very different from that in Heylyn. Above all, Pinkerton is most reliant on British sources in the area of the world about which most was known, namely Europe, his total citations of

British sources being nearly two-thirds of all references in his discussion of that continent. By contrast his discussion of the Americas demonstrates under half that level of citation of British sources. It is difficult to speculate as to why Pinkerton was so reliant on British authors in an arena about which so much had been written by many overseas authors. It may reflect the fact that it was the status of Europe which was of greatest concern to Britons after the French Revolution and that it was here that Pinkerton felt the greatest pressure to assert his “orthodox” national pride. There was less political tension about the representation of the rest of the world, which may have given Pinkerton greater scope for a less nationalistic pattern of citation. This speculation would fit with the fact also noticeable from table 4 that in the extra-European arena, Pinkerton was far more reliant on non-British source material, to the point where for Asia and the Americas he was almost as indebted to French sources as to British. Perhaps, then, nationalistic pressure worked against the ideal of a cosmopolitan republic of letters where all authors would be cited regardless of their nationality, but this pressure was only felt in the politically-sensitive European arena.

Another point which table 4 makes clear is that Pinkerton’s sourcing of information about the non-European world was far more responsive to the existence of European empires than had been Heylyn’s. Thus Spanish and Portuguese authorities were a significant source for his discussion of the Americas, consonant with their vast empires and catalogues of information about these areas. Furthermore, Pinkerton was true to his prefatory claim that he would rely on travel accounts (something which Heylyn did very infrequently).³⁵ Whilst this cannot be directly gleaned from my aggregate data, a simple tally of works entitled “voyage,” “travels,” and the like, together with references to well-known travellers such as Cook and La Perouse, suggests that a minimum of one hundred of the 340 authors cited in *Modern Geography* were travel writers. By contrast, using the same criteria yields a count of only seven of Heylyn’s 131 cited authors in *Microcosmus*. As such, we can say that there was a pronounced geographical character to Pinkerton’s use of sources; according to which continent he was describing, he used very different national archives, according to the pattern of European imperial and peregrinatory contacts. In short, Pinkerton was sensitive to varying European “spheres of interest” in the construction of his geography.

The final exemplification of Pinkerton’s sensitivity in these matters can also be seen from table 4, namely, that he was willing to cite extra-European scholars, thereby according them a status in the republic of letters. Much ink has been spilt in recent years about the extent to which Enlightenment literati

³⁵ Pinkerton, *Modern Geography*, I, v.

lived up to their cosmopolitan ideals of tolerance.³⁶ Clearly Pinkerton paid more than mere lip-service to the rhetoric of inclusiveness in the republic of letters in that he cited Asian sources in his section concerning Asia, these mainly representing the tradition of Arabic scientific endeavor, and more notably in his extensive citation of scholars from the fledgling United States of America in his section on the Americas, some one in every five references here being to a native of the Americas. While most references in this latter case were to North Americans, Pinkerton did also muster a few citations of Peruvian and Mexican sources, thereby widening his sense of the republic of letters still further. The sense of inclusiveness could in some ways be greater still than the figures in table 4 suggest, in that Pinkerton cites some of the great pioneering works of late-Enlightenment literati which show a greater receptivity to non-European cultures. Most notably he makes extensive reference to Sir William Jones and the work published in the *Asiatic Researches*. Furthermore, he makes liberal use of the anthropologically-sophisticated work conducted by the Forsters on Cook's voyages. Clearly, then, Pinkerton was sensitive to non-European knowledges and to European attempts to come to know the other. Of course, this sensitivity is within tightly defined limits, but it does suggest that for Pinkerton the republic of letters was not implicitly a Eurocentric entity, but one which could cross the seas and attain to an ideal of cosmopolitan inclusiveness.

Two Historical Geographies of the Republic of Letters

Accepting that conceptions of the republic of letters had pronounced geographies, were there also discernible shifts in these geographies over time which we might call historical geographies of the republic of letters? Analysis of Heylyn and Pinkerton allows this question to be addressed in two ways. First, were there changing patterns to the citation of modern authors? Secondly, do citation patterns for ancient, neo-Latin and modern sources suggest that Heylyn and Pinkerton had differing conceptions of the relevance of authors from different eras as voices in the republic of letters?

Comparing the citations of modern authors in Heylyn and Pinkerton, notable changes in the conception of the republic of letters, its nature and its geography, emerge.³⁷ If we look first at the scholarly ethos which drove both writers, two elements of their modes of citation reveal significant shifts in the character of the republic of letters between the late Renaissance and the later Enlightenment. First, tables 1 and 3 show that there are significantly fewer

³⁶ G. J. Schlereth, *The Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought: Its Form and Function in the Thought of Franklin, Hume and Voltaire, 1694-1790* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1976); and Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, Calif., 1994).

³⁷ For the present analysis, "modern" has been taken to mean post-1492.

citations which remain unidentified for Pinkerton, a mere two percent of total citations and only 7% of the head count of cited authors. These figures are under one third of those for Heylyn's author count and one seventh of those for his total citation count. Clearly, Pinkerton felt a need to reference his authorities precisely such that the inquiring reader could scrutinize them independently. Furthermore, Pinkerton's citations point to an age of innumerable authors with whom he does not assume his readers will have prior familiarity. Pinkerton cites over two and a half times as many authors as does Heylyn, this despite using only some 10% more citations in total. Clearly, Pinkerton lived in an age of information overload, where precise citation was both good scholarly practice and a necessity given the sheer bulk of geographical information in print.

Secondly, what the tables do not reveal is that Pinkerton cited a whole category of literature which has been seen as betokening the "professionalization" of scholarship, namely the periodical journal. Heylyn cites no periodical literature at all beyond two references to a Dutch newspaper, the *Mercurius-Gallobelgicus*, where Pinkerton references twenty journals in 106 citations, a significant 5% of his total citations. Not only are journal citations statistically visible in Pinkerton (unlike Heylyn), but they are also references to scholarly rather than popular sources. McClellan has suggested that there were two kinds of journals in the eighteenth century, one of which covered all fields of endeavor, the other being the specialist or "disciplinary" journal which only came to the fore in the last years of the eighteenth century.³⁸ In support of this contention Pinkerton cites both types of journals, drawing heavily on general journals, notably the *Philosophical Transactions*, but also showing a familiarity with disciplinary journals, such as the French *Journal des Mines* (geology) and the *Asiatic Researches* (anthropology). Almost all of Pinkerton's journal references are to French and British sources (some 98 of the 106 citations), the wider net of European scholarly journals passing unnoticed. This reinforces the impression that his republic of letters was strongly centered on British and French sources. Taken together, the precision of his citations and his use of specialist journals suggest that Pinkerton's conception of the republic of letters was of a professional cadre, tied by codes of accurate acknowledgment. Pinkerton also points to the impact of a nascent disciplinary culture which divided up knowledge systems into specific subjects gathered under a major schism of arts and sciences.³⁹ As such, not only does Pinkerton's mode of citation appear modern to our eyes in a way Heylyn's does not, it actually operates on the cusp of modern conceptions of good scholarly practice.

³⁸ James McClellan III, "Scientific Organisations and the Organisation of Science," *The Cambridge History of Science: Volume 4: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. Roy Porter (Cambridge, 2003), 87-106 at 96.

³⁹ Several scholars point to this as an era of intellectual reconfiguration towards our modern disciplinary approach, most influentially Michel Foucault in *The Order of Things* (London, 1972).

Comparison of Heylyn and Pinkerton also points up interesting changes in the geography of the republic of letters. There are specific changes, such as the remarkable decline in the role of Italian scholarship in Pinkerton as opposed to Heylyn, but such details may merely relate to the biographical circumstances of both authors. Two more general shifts can be identified, one in the geography of the republic of letters, the other in the spatial variability of sources used by region. On the first point, the present analysis suggests there was a very real tension between nationalistic impulses and the ideal of a cosmopolitan republic of letters. This tension is strongly felt in both geography books, but Pinkerton's *Modern Geography* seems to be the more stretched between the two poles, in that it is both more reliant on British sources in its composition and simultaneously more open to foreign sources. Pinkerton uses a greater percentage of British citations than Heylyn, but he also draws on a more geographically wide-ranging republic of letters, implicitly constructing a scholarly map of Europe which includes Iberia, Scandinavia, and even Eastern Europe, not just Western Europe as in Heylyn. Furthermore, Pinkerton's republic of letters manages to cross both the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, so that over time the tension between national scholarly communities and an international republic of letters became more intense.

The other major change in the geography of the republic of letters comes in the sphere of the geography of sources used to describe various regions of the globe. It is noticeable that Heylyn and Pinkerton deploy opposite strategies, Heylyn citing British sources least frequently in the best known (i.e., European) areas of the globe, whilst Pinkerton deployed them most frequently in the self-same areas. A similarity between the two is that both see one continent of the world as unknown and that both treat that area via a different mode of citation from the other continents. Yet interestingly, there is a transition in which part of the world which is treated as *terra nondum cognita*. In Heylyn it is the Americas which are new and unknown, and his response is to resort to a few British compilations to construct his account, this despite the fact that far larger areas of the Americas were in Spanish and Portuguese hands than were under British control in 1620. In *Microcosmus* the Americas are treated last, after the three continents of the old world, each of which is seen as a reasonably known entity. By contrast, in *Modern Geography* it is Africa which is treated last in the text as an unknown area. This is because Pinkerton's conception of knowing a region is not that the ancients were aware of it but that accurate modern data is available, in which sense he argues "America may be said to have been discovered before Asia: and of Africa our knowledge continues imperfect."⁴⁰ Pinkerton's response to a lack of information is, as table 4 shows, the reverse of Heylyn's in that he relies on a wide range of sources from all over the European

⁴⁰ Pinkerton, *Modern Geography*, I, 6.

republic of letters, rather than retreating into reliance on a few British sources. Perhaps as with his use of journals and accurate citation, we see here that Pinkerton wanted to produce geographical descriptions validated by modern, scientific scholarship. If so, he clearly had reservations about ancient scholarship and indeed accounts which were simply dated, something which raises the question of Heylyn and Pinkerton's respective conceptions of how long an author could continue to hold sway in the republic of letters.

To address which eras Heylyn and Pinkerton granted scholarly authority, their citations of ancient authors, and of Biblical, patristic, and medieval authors have been tallied.⁴¹ Furthermore, in the realm of modern authors writing after 1492, counts have been made of which authors wrote in Latin and which in the vernacular.⁴² A good entry point into this question is provided by the two authors' respective prefaces. Taking the title page and preface alone, Heylyn cites seven ancient, one neo-Latin, and no vernacular sources, this despite his being one of the first British geography books in the English language. Clearly, Heylyn viewed the ancients as authorities to be referred and indeed deferred to. As such, the historical geography of Heylyn's republic of letters seems to be a "deep" one, the interleaving of millennia of scholarly inquiries. This impression is accentuated by Heylyn's ensuing "Praecognita," or discussion of the nature of geography, in which neo-Latin and ancient citations again outweigh modern, vernacular ones. By contrast Pinkerton opens his preface by referring to the latest discoveries of Vancouver and La Perouse, his general point being that "it may be safely affirmed, that more important books of travels and other sources of geographical information, have appeared within these last few years, than at any period whatever of literary history."⁴³ He goes on to praise the method of ancient geographers, but this is largely a stick with which to beat his immediate predecessors, rather than any acknowledgment that they are still active discussants in the republic of letters; for "in this study [of geography] the modern state ought always to claim precedence, because the genuine form of countries ... [is] only ascertained by recent observations; and upon this immutable basis ancient geography must ultimately rest."⁴⁴ Ancient authors, then, can only be authorities in *Modern Geography* in parts of the world so little visited that their findings have yet to be corrected by modern scholarship. As such

⁴¹ No simple chronological division would be wholly defensible, but I have taken ancient to include non-Christian authors up to around 400 AD; Christian authors from this era are treated in the "church" category which includes Biblical citations. Medieval is taken as 400 AD to 1492.

⁴² For consistency, my definition of a Latinate as opposed to a vernacular author is driven by which language Heylyn or Pinkerton is most likely to have read them in. I have tended to assume both read authors in a modern language where such a version existed. As such, counts of Latinate authors are structurally certain to be underestimates, but in most cases where I could make a positive identification, both had indeed used vernacular rather than Latin versions.

⁴³ Pinkerton, *Modern Geography*, I, v.

⁴⁴ Pinkerton, *Modern Geography*, I, xi.

Pinkerton’s prefatory material points to a republic of letters whose dynamic is about modernity and the creative destruction of knowledge claims. We might even say Pinkerton’s world sounds like a scientific republic of letters, where old claims will be consigned to oblivion in the face of new knowledge, whilst Heylyn’s sounds like a humanistic republic of letters, in which voices will converse down the ages.

Yet the question remains: do Heylyn’s and Pinkerton’s texts live up to the ideals professed in their respective prefaces? Here the answers are more complex (table 5).

Table 5: Selected Sources in Heylyn and Pinkerton:

	Heylyn	Pinkerton
Ancient (Total Citation %)	14	2
Ancient (Head Count %)	8	2
Church (Total Citation %)	2	1
Church (Head Count %)	4	2

Looking first at ancient citations, Heylyn was indeed far more reliant on ancient authors than was Pinkerton. As such, citation patterns do fit the ideals of scholarship implied by their respective prefaces, yet some caution should be exercised about Heylyn’s indebtedness to the ancients for two reasons. First, he uses ancient authors in his text proper about half as frequently as in the prefatory material (14% of the head count as opposed to 29%). Clearly, the preface gave Heylyn’s text a far more classical tone than the text was to adopt. Secondly, many of Heylyn’s classical citations were not really there to make any point relevant to his geographical description at all, a number of them being piquant passages from Ovid or pointed epigrams from his favorite author, Martial.⁴⁵ Even if classical citations are frequent in Heylyn, they often perform little work in a geographical text beyond betokening the cultivation of the author. Yet this itself shows an important difference between Heylyn’s conception of the republic of letters and that of Pinkerton. Heylyn felt the need to create his persona as a scholarly geographer by drawing upon the classics, where Pinkerton seems to have felt a reverse pressure not to cite the ancients unless absolutely necessary as he sought to create a modern, scientific persona for himself as a geographer. It is noticeable in this regard that Pinkerton only made extensive reference to ancient sources in one context, namely, Africa, where they were some 7% of his total references, as opposed to a mere 2% for both Europe and Asia. As we have already seen, Pinkerton envisaged Africa as a land not yet illuminated by modern, scientific travellers, and as such it was

⁴⁵ Milton, “Creation of Laudianism,” 165.

only in this part of the world that the conditions for the citation of ancient authors set out in his "Preface" were met. Clearly, creating authority as a geographical author demanded opposite strategies for Heylyn and Pinkerton, which led to very different historical geographies in their works.

Overwhelming differences surface again between Heylyn and Pinkerton's use of neo-Latin sources. Looking at head count data, some 28% of the modern authors Heylyn cited in *Microcosmus* were in Latin, with no obvious vernacular translation. It was only in the context of the Americas that Heylyn cited no modern authors writing in Latin, and for both Europe and Asia some third of all modern authorities cited wrote in Latin. By contrast, only two or three sources in Pinkerton's entire text fall into this Latinate category, amounting to some ten of his total of 1800 citations. As such, there is an enormous difference between the two men's historical geographies of the republic of letters in terms of the relationship between language and nation. For Pinkerton, language and nation were tied, such that he relied largely on sources in French and English, other national traditions of scholarship being mediated through these two languages. By contrast Heylyn's extensive use of Latinate sources meant that nation and language were decoupled: distance was annihilated for Heylyn by a shared language of scholarly communication which facilitated a cosmopolitan republic of letters. This may explain why Pinkerton's citations were more parochial despite his geographically more inclusive conception of the republic of letters. Clearly, the decline of Latin as a scholarly *lingua franca* had major consequences for the inclusiveness of the republic of letters, even for an author as cosmopolitan as Pinkerton.

Yet we must not overdraw the distinction between Heylyn and Pinkerton on the basis of their citation of Latinate authors. On the contrary, both authors share a conception of the historical geography of the republic of letters in that both tend only to cite materials from the previous hundred years. For Heylyn, this meant relying of necessity on Latinate sources: writing at the "waning" of the Renaissance,⁴⁶ the scholarly landscape from which Heylyn took his prospect was strongly Latinate. Two centuries later, Pinkerton's scholarly inheritance was of necessity in the vernacular. Yet both were in historical terms relatively "shallow" in their conception of the republic of letters. Rather than being a dialogue across the ages, both tend only to hear the voices that are nearest to them in time. Pinkerton, for example, consistently cites authors from his own century (i.e., 1700-1802) some 80% of the time. The only occasion on which this changes is for Africa, where some 60% of sources are from the previous century. This once more shows that Africa was an exceptional space to Pinkerton, in which he was far more reliant on ancient sources and also on seventeenth-

⁴⁶William Bouwsma, *The Waning of the Renaissance, 1550-1640* (New Haven, Conn., 2001).

and sixteenth-century travel accounts (19% and 9% of citations respectively), *faute de mieux*. Before the previous century of scholarly endeavor, both Heylyn and Pinkerton tended to ignore most sources, as is apparent in the realm of patristic and Biblical citations, where there is far less difference between the two authors than in the realms of ancient and Latinate works, neither being at all reliant on them. This is unsurprising for Pinkerton, but not in Heylyn, given his lifelong defense of Anglicanism and the extent to which his geographical works were a part of that defense. The republic of letters preferentially preserved the contributions of those who were proximate in time, even if the prefatory statements of Heylyn suggested otherwise. This can be seen as a finding parallel to that concerning the overwhelming reliance of both Heylyn and Pinkerton on British authors. Clearly, both in time and space proximity to the author was pivotal to inclusion in their imagined republic of letters.

In sum, the relationship between the age, language, and authority accorded to an author was profoundly different in Heylyn and Pinkerton and led them to have different historical geographies of the republic of letters. At one level both follow the same practice, in that they preferentially cited “contemporary” authors, but the differing scholarly mores of their respective eras led to very different results. Living at the end of the Renaissance, Heylyn felt a need to cite the ancients in order to validate his scholarly credentials. He was also in direct contact with the thoughts of scholars across Europe as they shared a language, namely, Latin. As such language was not the determinant of scholarly visibility to Heylyn that it would be to Pinkerton. Moreover, Heylyn’s culture encouraged him preferentially to include in his republic of letters not only scholars from the past century or so, but also the ancients, whilst ignoring the medieval era entirely. As such Heylyn’s historical geography of scholars crosses national boundaries and centers on two moments in time separated by the chasm of a millennium. By contrast Pinkerton operated in a culture in which modernity was the key criterion of authority. Ancient sources are only valued where they have yet to be overturned. Consequently Pinkerton seems to value authorities in direct proportion to their temporal proximity to him, rather than having two accredited eras of scholarship as Heylyn had. The criterion of modernity should have led Pinkerton to value sources by newness rather than geographical location, and therefore to be inclusively cosmopolitan, but this was vitiated by barriers of linguistic incomprehension which were far more severe than they had been for Heylyn. As such, Pinkerton tended to be forced into a more relentlessly modern and nationalistic imagined community of scholars.

Conclusions: Continuity and Change in the Republic of Letters, 1600-1800

The spot comparison conducted in this essay would appear to suggest that there was a balance between continuity and change in the republic of letters in the era from the late Renaissance to the late Enlightenment. Powerful changes can be seen in the realms of language and scholarly culture when we compare Heylyn and Pinkerton, changes symptomatic of broader intellectual currents. Above all there was a significant decline in the hold of the classics over the scholarly imagination in the realm of geography. The exact timing of this decline is debated and varies by realm, but in geography by the age of Pinkerton it was only in specific areas such as Africa that ancient geographers were still voices to be heeded. If this holds good for ancient sources, there was an even more precipitate decline in the role of neo-Latin authors: even if neo-Latin culture remained vital in the realm of poetry into the age of the French Revolution,⁴⁷ the geographical culture of the age had turned its back on the colossal achievements of Ortelius et al., the authors on whom Heylyn had drawn so extensively. Taken together, these shifts amounted to a major and indeed terminal collapse in the contribution of classical culture and language to the geographical tradition. This had a major impact on the geography of the scholarly community as imagined by intellectuals such as Pinkerton, tending to narrow their citation towards authors writing in or translated into their own language. As such, communication as a key ideal of the republic of letters was undermined by the decline of Latin as a shared language.

The other major change was in the scholarly culture to which geographical authorship was connected. By the time Pinkerton wrote, there was a demand for precise citation of authorities, coupled to acknowledgment of findings in specialist journals in cognate realms such as geology. Simply put, Pinkerton had to conform to many standards modern academics might cling to as proofs of their scholarly rigor. Far different was the culture to which Heylyn attached his work as a geographer. Heylyn cited Latin and Greek authors with some frequency and furthermore saw the need for those citations not to be restrictedly in the realm of geography but to encompass poetry and epigrams. This, coupled with Heylyn's tendency to opaque citation, suggests his conception of geography was humanistic. For Heylyn, learning had to be worn lightly if it was to be palatable, and as such precision and rigor were antithetical to his purpose as a geographer. It is no doubt too simplistic to say on this basis that Pinkerton saw geography as a science, while Heylyn saw it as a humane inquiry, but it is clear that the dictates of writing a geography book were seen by

⁴⁷ David Money, *The English Horace—Anthony Alsop and the Tradition of British Latin Verse* (Oxford, 1998).

them in profoundly different ways which tended towards such a polarity. Not only does our analysis of citation patterns illuminate the changing role of geography in the republic of letters, it also suggests that the character of the republic of letters as a whole, its standards and dictates, were changing under the pressure of “professionalization.”

Yet there were important continuities in the character of the republic of letters as well. There was a pronounced geography to the republic of letters for both Pinkerton and for Heylyn two centuries before him, and this geography bespeaks an enduring tension between nationalism and cosmopolitanism. The ideal of the republic of letters was a cosmopolitan one, but the realities of access to books, linguistic competence (particularly in the later era) and engagement with ongoing political and scholarly debates tended to push authors towards a more parochial and nationalistic focus. If anything the tension between these two poles became more intense over time, but its form was basically unaltered over the two hundred years separating Heylyn from Pinkerton. As such, the central geographical problematic of a republic of letters—how to annihilate the power of distance thereby allowing free communication—was unresolved by the passage of time, the proliferation of print, or the purported transport revolution.

The other major continuity shown in this analysis is that there was an uneven geography of citation according to which region of the world was under discussion. Above all, both Heylyn and Pinkerton were unsure of how to discuss areas which they believed were *terrae incognitae*. Their responses were different, Heylyn becoming more nationalistic, whilst Pinkerton became less so and less of a “modern,” but both recognized that some parts of the world put the republic of letters under strain because they were not yet adequately incorporated into the scholarly worldview. The realities of geographical ignorance undercut the ideal of a republic of letters, then, just as surely as issues of language and nationalism.

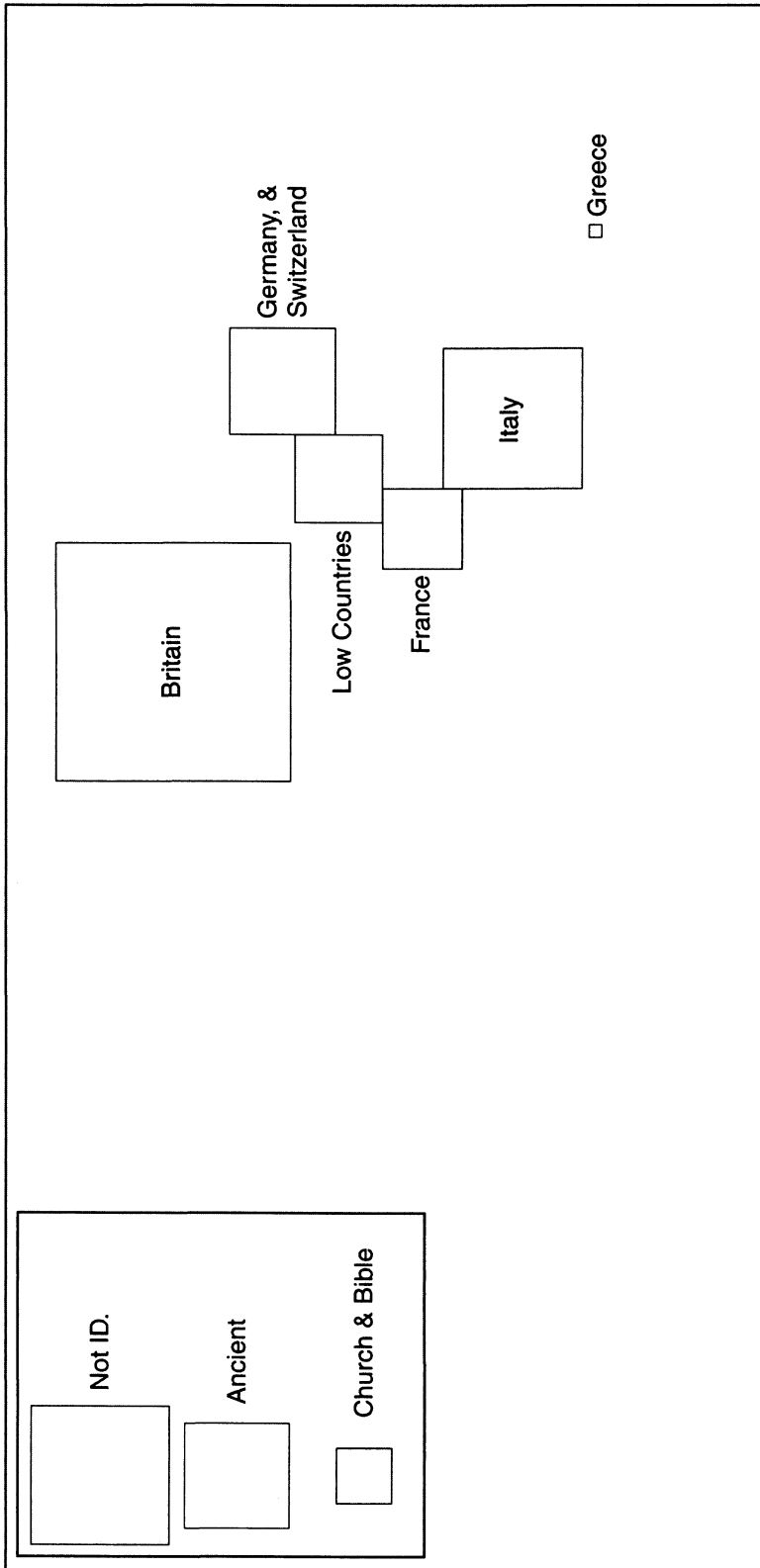
The ideal of the republic of letters proposed to annihilate the friction created by space, but the reality saw distance reassert its dominion. The present analysis of the geography of the republic of letters shows that parochialism vitiated the ideal of a free communication of ideas and that geographical ignorance amongst European scholars also pushed geographical authors in the same direction. As such, there was a pronounced geography to the republic of letters throughout the period under discussion, and furthermore the realities of actual global geography reinforced spatial inequalities in the production, reception, and dissemination of knowledge. Yet rather than seeing the ideal of a republic of letters as a delusion or early modern scholars as failures, we should conclude by recognizing that the ideal of open communication was a powerful one which did lead scholars to open their eyes to a far-flung community and to see all as sharing an essential kinship. As Johnson reminds us, citing Erasmus, “the dead

it is true can make no resistance, they may be attacked with great security; but since they can neither feel nor mend, the safety of mauling them seems greater than the pleasure; nor perhaps would it misbeseem us to remember ... that we are likewise men ... and ... shall soon be dead ourselves.'⁴⁸ Heylyn cites French neo-Latin poetry with wit and grace in *Microcosmus*; Pinkerton includes a reference to a Peruvian newspaper, the *Mercurio Peruviano*; how many of us, if exposed to scrutiny such as the present, would match up to the ideal of open communication as well as they did?

University of Bristol.

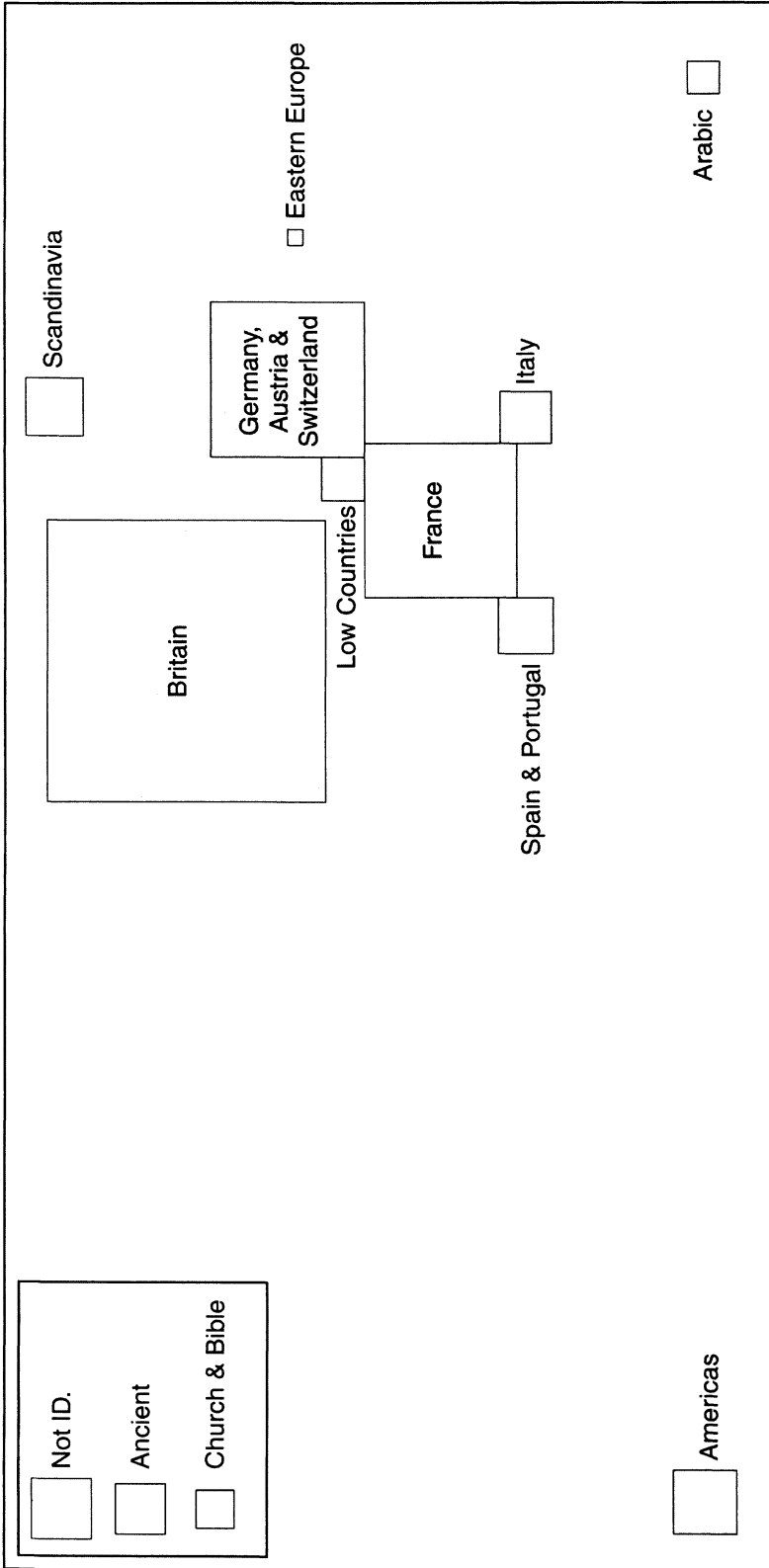
⁴⁸ Samuel Johnson, *Johnson on Shakespeare*, ed. Arthur Sherbo (2 vols.; New Haven, Conn., 1968), II, 985.

PETER HEYLYN'S REPUBLIC OF LETTERS



Equal Area Pictogram of Total Citations in *Microcosmus* (1621)

JOHN PINKERTON'S REPUBLIC OF LETTERS



Equal Area Pictogram of Total Citations in *Modern Geography* (1802)

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[Footnotes]

²⁶ **Geography and Empire in the Late Renaissance: Botero's Assignment, Western Universalism, and the Civilizing Process**

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