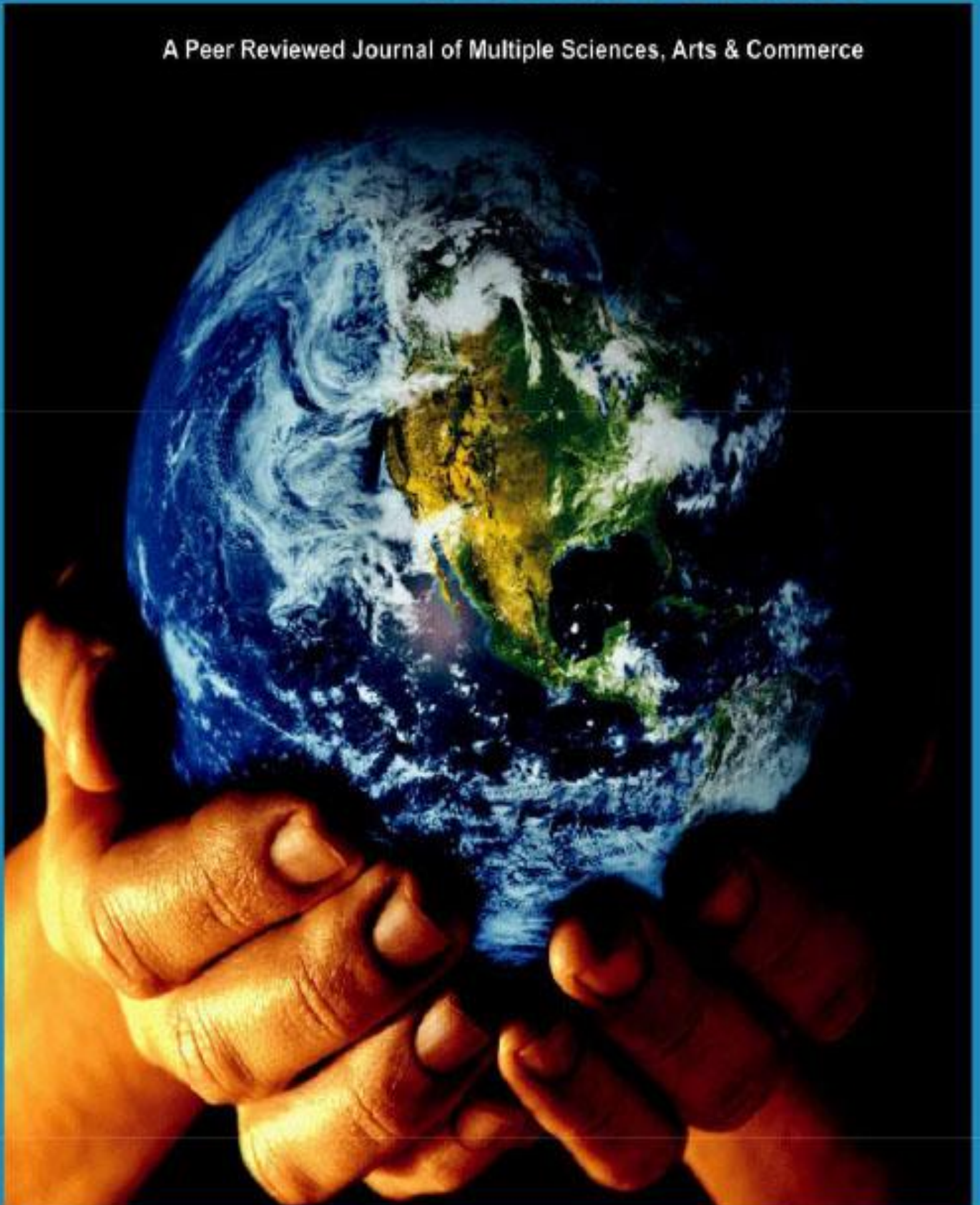


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From the Desk of Chief Editor...

*It is a matter of proud privilege for me to place before the Indian academia the 8th volume of **Research Fronts (2018)**, one of the most regular journals in our country. Over the years, scholars from various universities have been highly appreciative of our attempt, to not only regularly publish and but also improve the quality of a research journal, being brought out from a mufassil college in a backward region. Contextually, it needs emphasis that I have succeeded in my endeavors, to a large extent, because of my *alma mater*, **The Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi**. Despite shockwaves created by vested interests, the university is internationally recognized for scientific vision, academic freedom, interdisciplinary research and high quality of knowledge production. The *peer group* formed during my formative years in **CSRD/SSS/JNU**, are now noted academicians in various universities of our country. Whenever I requested for quality research papers for our journal, they never disappointed me. However, this 8th volume was hurriedly planned and executed, hardly within three months. Consequently, I could get response only from my JNU fraternity as well as from Indore University.*

*I, therefore, take an opportunity to highlight some of the salient features of the papers including areal coverage of the contributing universities as well as the disciplines. **One**, this volume contains **10 articles** from multiple disciplines of **Geography, Economics and Business Administration**. **Two**, the very first article, **Richard Hartshorne: A Biographical Sketch and Academic Pathways** is an outstanding piece of work, from the stature of a world class geographer that may encourage others to follow. Article on **Cultural Studies** will acquaint the readers with the emergence of a new discipline in the western world. Space and place may be considered as the *raison d'être* of geography. In this context, paper on **Space Imagination** interrogates the philosophy in a very simple language. Similarly, paper on **Social Justice through Quota in India**, conceptually rooted in the philosophies of social welfare provides some newer insights about it. Similarly, **all other papers** rooted in local/regional issues are also immersed in scientific rigour, employing appropriate methodologies and have their own great value.*

Three, it is a national level publication in terms of its geographical coverage of articles received from *North India* (3), *East India* (2), *West India* (2) and *Central India* (3). *Four*, the institutions involved are *Jamia Millia Islamia*, New Delhi, *ITS Engineering College*, Greater Noida, *The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda*, Vadodara, *Shivaji University*, Kolhapur, *Devi Ahilya Viswavidyalaya*, Indore, *Calcutta University*, Kolkata, and *Ravenshaw University*, Cuttack. The overall improvement in the quality of research production and geographical coverage of articles in this volume ostensibly reflect that the journal has come out of its stage of infancy, and can rightly claim its national status.

I am highly thankful to all the contributors who have sent their scholarly works for publication as well as promptly revising them according to reviewer's comments. I am extremely obliged to my friends, Shri Mumtaz Khan (New Delhi) and Prof. Gyan Prakash (Indore), for their kind help and consistent encouragement, over the years, for improving the quality of publication besides reviewing the papers and suggesting the required changes.

I am extremely thankful to our Principal Dr. R. N. Singh for his patronage, inspiration and encouragement in this noble effort. I highly appreciate the academic and moral support of my enthusiastic colleagues, Dr. Shailendra Singh and Dr. Sanjay Thiske, the editor and associate editor respectively. I extend my special thanks to Dr. Pramod Kumar Mahish and Shri Raju Khunttey, both assistant editors, for extending their technical know-how in setting, formatting and converting the word files into pdf ones, so that we may be saved from the blunders of unprofessional printers of this small town. However, as Chief Editor of the Journal, for any lacunae, the sole responsibility lies in me. Moreover, suggestions for improvement in the quality of the journal would be highly appreciated.

Krishna Nandan Prasad

Richard Hartshorne: A Biographical Sketch and Academic Pathways

Mumtaz Khan*

“Discoveries are evanescent for they are soon replaced by better ones. The historian must try not only to describe those evanescent discoveries but to find in science that which is timeless... It is the historian’s main duty to revive the personalities, rather than to enumerate their scientific discoveries. Discoveries may be important, but personalities are infinitely more so”.

Sarton, 1948:19

Introduction

Interpretation of evolution of philosophy and methodology of any discipline, including geography, gains authenticity by concentrating on the life history of individual scholars who have made fundamental contributions to their field¹. Understanding the crucial moments in the career path of these scholars helps us to comprehend the context in which they not only shaped their own professional career but also by adopting or discarding current ideas and evolving newer ones defined a course for fellow travellers and future generations. Undoubtedly, “philosophies and ideas are embedded in the histories of the humans who make them, including their finitude. Such histories include *inter alia* places, institutions, lives and personalities and the circulation of ideas” (Barnes, 2008:650). In this context, it may be pointed out that Richard Hartshorne was one of the greatest masters of geographic thought during the 20th century. Whether as an exemplar in geography, or a target of criticism, he remained a central figure in the field of geography, for over half century. While for his admirers he had set the benchmark of scholarship in the English-speaking geographic world, his opponents during the ‘quantitative revolution’ viewed him as their larger-than-life adversary. In fact, during the mid-century, it was he who set the terms of debate in Anglo-American geography. A comprehensive understanding of life and work of such a prominent personality becomes immensely important for the succinct analysis of the evolution of geography and the contemporary milieu in which the discipline thrived. The present paper ,

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therefore, seeks to provide a biographical sketch and the academic pathways of Richard Hartshorne.

Biographical Sketch

Childhood and Early Education

Richard Hartshorne was born on 12 December 1899 at Kittanning in western Pennsylvania (USA). His father, Francis Cope Hartshorne was an Episcopal minister and a Darwinian enthusiast; while his mother, Marguerite (Haughton) Hartshorne was a little known litterateur. He had four brothers and one sister. The enlightened parents living in a rural environment brought up their children into a regimen where reading books and knowledge of the Bible were considered essential (Martin, 1994:480). Charles Hartshorne, his elder brother, became an eminent philosopher (an authority on bird-song) and remained close to Richard throughout his life.

Hartshorne received his elementary education in the public schools, initially at Kittanning and later at Phoenixville when the family moved there. It may be emphasized that geography had been a favourite subject of Richard Hartshorne in elementary school (Hartshorne, 1979: 64). He, later, recalled the impact of a fascinating author, Jules Verne, whose books he borrowed from the Carnegie Library at Kittanning and read them during his childhood (Martin, 1994:488). Afterwards he went through the rigorous training at Yeates School in Lancaster for four years and passed his secondary examination. “At Yeates he was Valedictorian, Prize Debater, officer of the school paper, manager of the baseball team, and member of the football and soccer teams” (Martin, 1994: 480).

Higher Education

Princeton University -Major in Mathematics

Hartshorne enrolled at Princeton University in 1917 and received his degree of B.S. in 1920. Likewise, his twin brothers, James and Henry, also graduated from this University (1921); an uncle J. Duncan Spaeth was already teaching there as a member of the faculty. Just like his school days at Yeates, in the University Hartshorne also took part in various activities. He received “University-wide prizes in German and oratorical contests, played class soccer and was a member and acting sergeant of the Student Army Training Corps” (Martin, 1994:480). However, his academic career had a short break (October to December 1918) when he joined US Army as a private. He performed excellently in his chosen field of study at Princeton and

won the “Class of 1861 Prize in Mathematics”. “After completing his B. S. with a ‘major’ in mathematics from Princeton University (1920), Hartshorne started graduate work in it but as he did not want to spend his life in that field, after a few months shifted to geography in which he had become interested through readings, but in which he had no previous courses” (Khan,1990:4).

Chicago University-Drifting into Geography

Admittedly, after his initial interest in elementary school, Hartshorne had neither encountered geography nor had an idea of its contents till he shifted to this field. Surprisingly, during his undergraduate courses at Princeton he had taken a number of “single courses in several of the natural sciences-in philosophy, psychology, history and literature-but no courses in any other social science or geography” (Hartshorne, 1979:64).

Undoubtedly, Hartshorne was “attracted into geography from readings in books by Ellsworth Huntington and Ellen Semple” (Hartshorne, 1979:64). In the last undergraduate semester, a geology teacher, Bill ‘Geology’ Scott, as they used to call him, recommended Ellsworth Huntington’s *Pulse of Asia* and *Civilization and Climate* in his course on evolution. Hartshorne was immensely impressed by the ideas of Huntington “about causation, the effects on civilization of climatic changes and also in his description of places where he’d been” (Dow, 1972:79). Parenthetically, it may be pointed out that he was so much impressed with the writings of Huntington that he enquired from his instructor in geology: “This is the stuff that seems interesting to me, where would I study this?” On being told that it is geography he exclaimed: “Oh no, I had geography in grade school that was something different”. He was informed that this is what they call geography now and they teach it at Chicago (Dow, 1972:79-80). Despite joining the graduate programme in mathematics he changed his mind. In fact, Huntington’s *World Power and Evolution* overwhelmed him to such an extent that he made up his mind to study geography and wrote a letter to Huntington: “I have recently read with the greatest interest your book . . . I find the modern science of geometry, as you outline and define it in your preface the most interesting department of modern learning...Since reading your book last August... I have decided to give up my mathematics in the near future and am very much interested to know what opportunities there are for a man to spend his life in the study and development of geography as you define it” (Martin, 1994:481). Since Yale University where Huntington was working as Research Associate had much reduced its geography department in 1915, he suggested Hartshorne to have a “general grounding in the sciences of geology, anthropology, biology and economics”

and to undertake work at Columbia, Pennsylvania or Chicago (Martin, 1994:481). Hartshorne observed that Huntington agreed that after completion of elementary work in geography “if I wanted he’d be interested in my coming to study with him. So, I went to Chicago, but I didn’t go back to New Haven, I stayed and got my degree there” (Dow, 1972:80).

This may be considered a defining moment in the life-path of Richard Hartshorne when he left graduate work in mathematics at Princeton and chose to study geography at Chicago. Undoubtedly, it was the best department in the country at that time. He was fortunate in taking courses there, commencing in March 1921, with a galaxy of geographers in the department including Semple, Goode, Barrows, Colby, Jones, Whittlesey and Platt, besides two visiting geographers-James Fairgrieve (England) and Sten De Geer (Sweden). Moreover, he also took courses in physiography with Bretz (geology) and plant ecology with Cowles, in the allied departments (Hartshorne, 1979:64). Although Barrows, chair of the geography department, was his official advisor he admitted later that the influence of Charles Colby and Wellington Jones was greatest during those days.

Having a course on the environs of Chicago with Wellington Jones, and on ‘Ocean Trade and Transportation’ with Charles Colby he decided to study Lake traffic in the Chicago area for his doctoral study. Wellington D. Jones became his thesis advisor. The initial idea of doing research on the Port of Philadelphia was shortly dropped because the department felt that it would duplicate the work of Frank Williams who had undertaken a similar study (Martin, 1994: 490 fn. 9). Consequently, he changed his research proposal and received the degree of Ph. D. on his thesis ‘The Lake Traffic of Chicago’ in 1924. It “was concerned with practical problems in attempting to determine how important it would be for the city of Chicago to keep the Chicago River open to lake vessels” (Hartshorne, 1979:64). Fortunately, Charles Colby had arranged a job for him with the city of Chicago which wanted to make a comparative study of ship traffic through the Chicago River versus street traffic across lift bridges. “Hartshorne thus studied the lake traffic simultaneously for the city and for his dissertation with adequate salary, typing and drafting costs. These financial considerations were of some moment for a student of modest means” (Martin, 1994:482). Besides this, his employment at the Gamma Alpha house had also played a similar role in his education. His thesis was not published as such but an abridged form was published as “*The Port of Chicago: Its Commerce, Facilities and Requirements*” (Martin, 1994: 482 and 490 fn. 11). An abstract of the thesis is also available in print (Hartshorne, 1924).

Marriage and Family

In 1928 Hartshorne married Lois Huntington Wilde, the daughter of a Professor of Philosophy at the University of Minnesota and a distant relative of Ellsworth Huntington. He was a committed family man and had three daughters -Judith Ann (Jones), Marguerite Wilde (Udell) and Harriet Huntington (Strobel). In 1978, six years after the death of Lois Hartshorne, his wife of forty four years, Hartshorne remarried to Donna Taylor, “She was an archivist and oral historian who met Hartshorne while working on oral histories relating to the University of Minnesota” (Khan, 1990: 4).

Academic Pathways

University of Minnesota (1924-1940)

While working for his research degree at Chicago Hartshorne worked as Fellow or teaching assistant at his alma mater (1921-23). During the summer of 1923 he was Instructor at Iowa State Teachers College, Cedar Falls. He also worked as an investigator in Chicago’s River Bridge Survey (1923-24). All these were very helpful for a person, belonging to a family of modest means, in acquiring higher education.

Immediately after the successful completion and award of the degree of Ph. D., Harlan H Barrows, arranged for Hartshorne to take up a post (instructor) under Darrell H. Davis who was chairing the recently established Department of Geography at the University of Minnesota (Martin 1994, 482). After working as instructor for three years (1924- 1927), he remained as Assistant Professor for ten years (1927-1937) and Associate Professor for three years (1937 -1940). He had also worked as Assistant Professor during the summer session at Pennsylvania State College (1925).

Unfortunately, under the working system of Darrell H. Davis, Hartshorne felt suffocated. He “yearned for significant and stimulated dialogue and personal recognition and perceived that from Davis he received neither” (Martin, 1994:482). Although after joining Dickens and Brown in the department in 1929 he had found good company, yet the system in the department remained the same². He started attending annual meetings of the Association of American Geographers where Wellington Jones introduced him to some of the leading American geographers including W. M. Davis. However, it was at the spring field conferences that he found young and energetic peer group discussing their respective research works in a truly scholarly environment. Later, he recalled, “that was the most important development in my education for the next five or more years, because, as you know, I was

intellectually rather isolated at Minnesota with only one other member in the department and we did not discuss much for four or five years. These meetings in the spring field when we thrashed all around the field of geography were just like seminar[s] for me, I came back tremendously stimulated” (Dow, 1972:81).

Though space does not permit us here to discuss his contribution we can briefly point to the broad areas of his research. It must be admitted that the initial publications of Hartshorne related to his doctoral research were applied in nature but later his papers diversified to manufacturing (Khan, 1995-1996), agricultural (Khan, 2006), social (Khan, 2007), urban (Khan, 2008a), transportation (Khan, 2008b) and climate (Khan, 2009). Of course, his contribution in the broader field of economic geography is of signal importance in the development of this branch of study in the USA. This may be the product of the depression years when greater emphasis was placed on the study of the utilization of resources-agricultural, mineral and industrial. However, one can notice a gradual shift in his publications from economic to political and then the inclusion of geographic thought within a decade. He wrote: “The shift from economic to political was in part chance; in part intentional ...I took it on simply as another teaching area, along with the economic geography in which I was doing research. But before long, I found my interest was greater in the political geography and decided to make the shift”³. In fact, after the First World War, there was a slow but considered interest to develop political geography in American universities including his own at Minnesota. One may consider, as background, the role of geographers both in war and peace in the US and France.

Upon his return, from a sabbatical year (1931-32), to study boundary problems of Germany and its eastern neighbors, he produced some outstanding papers. He not only brought some of the rich German thought in political geography to America but also made a scathing attack on German geopolitics (Hartshorne, 1935). Moreover, through his contribution in this neglected field, very shortly, he could find himself in the company of Bowman and Whittlesey, two of the leading political geographers in the country.

However, his greatest contribution came in the form of *The Nature of Geography* (1939) which emphasized the historically evolved concept of geography as a chorological science. Parenthetically, it may be pointed out that he was neither trained in the history of geographical thought nor intended to make it a principal area of his research. But circumstances encouraged him to produce this monumental work. Despite it, he did no

teaching in this field until he came to Wisconsin. He has provided the sequence of events resulting in the publication of this book (1979).

Contextually, it may be emphasized that Hartshorne belonged to a generation, mostly trained as geographers, who entered the field with a strong belief in competitive discussions and emphasis on field work (James, 1976). Consequently, the period witnessed a paradigm change wherein the earlier environmentalist paradigm was replaced with the chorological one (Martin, 1985).

It may be emphasized that with the publication of his book (1939) he acquired an international reputation. Moreover, he was invited by Finch and Trewartha to join their department at the University of Wisconsin. His shift to Wisconsin in 1940, at the same rank, provided him a more congenial and academically sound environment. Undoubtedly, Wisconsin's gain was Minnesota's loss. Although, he had published his book while working at Minnesota credit was taken by Wisconsin as just after its publication Hartshorne established his residence there.

University of Wisconsin (1940-1941 & 1945-1992)

Hartshorne joined the University of Wisconsin, Madison as Associate Professor in 1940 and subsequently became Professor in 1941. During the war period (1941- 45) he was employed by The Office of Strategic Services (OSS) and shifted to Washington D.C. After the war he again joined his university. He was member, National Council, American Association of University Professors (1948-52). In 1949, first semester, he was member civilian faculty, National War College, Washington. He had also worked as chairman of the Department of Geography (1950-54). In 1970 he was officially retired but was retained by the department as Emeritus Professor. On this occasion the department brought out a book (1970). It was a collection of his writings and statements, not related to geography but to the problems of university governance-faculty and student. It demonstrated his credentials as a champion of academic freedom and democratic student activities.

Although Hartshorne had published significant research papers in political geography during the thirties his presidential address to the Association of American Geographers (1950b) provided the field of political geography with a much needed conceptual framework. Moreover, his later publications in this branch may also be considered as trend setters (Hartshorne, 1950a; 1953; 1954; 1959b; 1960; 1968). Despite his desire to drop the work in

the field of geographic thought and ‘produce substantive work in political geography’ circumstances forced him to devote his energy elsewhere.

Hartshorne’s book (1939), received commendable comments from most of the leading American geographers, besides a number of European scholars. In fact, Hartshorne internationalized American geography. It was recommended reading for the course on history of geographic thought throughout the English-speaking world and beyond. However, John Hart has aptly portrayed the reality: “...all right-thinking graduate students slept with a copy under their pillows. A few had even read parts of it, and quoting it was one of our favorite indoor sports; Hartshorne was certainly our most quoted and least understood author” (1979:111).

Although, *The Nature of Geography* was not immune from criticism from the beginning but the issues during those day were raised demonstrating responsible scholarship. However, the publication of Schaefer’s paper (1953), containing numerous misrepresentations of others and false accusations received a scathing rebuttal from Hartshorne (1955). After an exhaustive analysis he concluded: “In total, almost every paragraph, indeed the great majority of individual sentences in the critique, represents falsification, whether by commission or omission” (1955:243). Further, demonstrating the extent he observed: “In total, this re-examination has left as possibly reliable material about one tenth of the verbal content of the essay, of which that part which concerns geography contains nothing that appears new” (1955:243 fn. 102). Undoubtedly, this may be considered one of the most rigorous rebuttals ever written in geography.

Thus, having demonstrated the unreliability of Schaefer’s paper, Hartshorne later clarified the issues, made his dense arguments of earlier study (1939), more clear and demonstrated the change in his own views (1959a). As an aside, emerged an article (1958) on the concept of geography as a science of space. He emphasized that instead of having any direct link, Kant, Humboldt and Hettner writing independently arrived at the same conclusion. This suggested that the logic of defining the place of geography in the system of science is sound. Moreover, in an entirely different case, Frank Ahnert drew a new meaning from the historically evolved concept of areal differentiation wherein the focus of geography shifted from the study of areas to individual phenomena (1962). In response to it, Hartshorne’s thought provoking article (1962) clarified the difference between the true meaning of the concept and its altered meaning provided by Ahnert.

Hartshorne believed that after the publication of his book *Perspective on the Nature of Geographic* (1959) he would concentrate on his substantive studies in political geography. He observed: “What I wish is that the time I spent in responding to the Schaefer article could have spent in substantive work in political geography to demonstrate my methodological views in that area.”⁴ However, opponents, in their enthusiasm to make geography more theoretical, found a sympathetic chord in Schaefer’s paper (1953): distortion and misrepresentation of Hartshorne’s ideas followed. He could hardly tolerate this trend and consequently remained busy in analysis to his last days (1962; 1975; 1976; 1979; 1988). Paterson had aptly observed that, “many of Hartshorne’s friends and former students may well have assumed that he had died long ago. Not so his critics; they knew he was alive, and went on criticizing his work, while he on his part continued to battle to the end” (1993: 307).

In this context, it would be worthwhile to notice the ferocity of criticism aimed at Hartshorne by William Bunge (1962). As an ardent protagonist of Schaefer he emphasized that Hartshorne confused “*unique* with *individual* case” (1962:9). Ironically, he admitted later: “Hartshorne is correct about the uniqueness of locations. Considering that I have published under the title “Locations Are Not Unique” and that Theoretical Geography is an unmitigated attack on uniqueness, the necessity publicity to admit to my printed error was not without pain” (1979: 173).

As a true scholar, Hartshorne was offended by the abuse of scholarship by the new geographers and in one of his papers concluded with a challenge: “The low level of reliability in re-presenting methodological reviews of previous students, and the continued reliance on a source long since shown to be of negative reliability - these constitute facts in the writings of the disciples of scientism in geography. If they do not accept my suggested explanation, it is for them to offer a better one”, (1976). Though, this unpublished paper presented in AAG annual meetings is devoid of references one may infer the targets.

In another unpublished paper, presented in an AAG annual meeting, Hartshorne responded to May’s comments (1972). Having gone through the original writings of Kant, Hartshorne in this paper succinctly put his role in geography in proper perspective (1975). Moreover, in a noteworthy article (1979), he had traced the circumstances leading to the publication of *The Nature of Geography* (1939). Similarly, a couple of his articles that appeared during this period also need mention. In a significant study of Davis he traced the development of his concept of geography, which strangely escaped the attention of scholars, including Hartshorne himself, earlier (Hartshorne 1981). Another article published in German

is related with Ritter's influence on the development of geography in USA (1980). It is the second joint paper (Co-authorship Klaus D. Gurgel) ever written by him.

His last paper exposed the reality of 'exceptionalism' in geography and the distorted views of Schaefer and his followers. He concluded: "What studies in the quantitative revolution were in conflict with any of Hettner's teaching, as I have just presented it? Quite honestly, I have never understood what the shouting was about, what freedom you lacked that made necessary the violence of unbridled attack on major works in our heritage, and the continued abuse of scholarship in repeating statements long since shown to be untrue" (1988:4).

It is also interesting to know that he was 'distressed' with the views expressed in Entrikin and Brunn's edited volume (1989). Even at the advanced age of 92 when his body was frail yet "his thought processes and recall remained astonishing" he was writing critical appraisal of the book. Unfortunately, because of his deteriorating health, "his essay, which already straddled many pages of notes and which threatened to assume very considerable length, remained unfinished at the time of his death" (Martin, 1992:487-488).

Admittedly, this Schaefer-Hartshorne debate may be considered an unfortunate episode in the history of geographic thought (Khan, 1978; 1995; Martin, 1989). One may concur with the perceptive views of Paterson that "it was a tragic diversion of creative energy" of Hartshorne and "no one will ever know how much useful new thought we were all deprived of by this switch to reverse gear" (1992: 308). Nevertheless, it also demonstrated the sensitivity, intellect and dexterity and sacrifice of Hartshorne to defend the idea of responsible scholarship in our discipline.

Undoubtedly, Hartshorne's contribution to cartography, generally neglected in the geographical discourse, also needs to be recognized. Goode recognized Hartshorne's (a graduate student with major in mathematics) contribution for having computed the position mathematically in his newly devised homolosine projection (Martin 1994:481). Later, Richard Edes Harrison, a leading American cartographer, had acknowledged the influence of Richard Hartshorne, besides some others, in his Atlas (McMaster and McMaster 2000:309). However, his major contribution came for vigorously promoting cartography during his war-time duties in OSS and later in his own department at Wisconsin. Realizing the need and potential of cartography in the war services, even en-route to join at Washington he chose Robinson, still a graduate student at Ohio and after a month or so invited him to associate with the task in Washington DC (Dow, 1984:116). Robinson created an independent map

division in the OSS which gradually developed to recruit 100 persons with at least 50 professional cartographers. After returning to his university, Hartshorne encouraged the development of a cartography programme which initially included two basic cartographic courses and aerial photo-interpretation course (Robinson, 1991:156-157). For this he invited Robinson, his trusted man, for a faculty position, who later on became the leading expert in cartography.

Association of American Geographers Affairs

AAG and The Spring Field Conferences

Hartshorne had a very long membership in the Association of American Geographers (AAG)⁵. He gave his first paper in 1924 at the meeting of the Association and, the condition to be introduced by a member, was fulfilled by Darrell H Davis (Dow, 1979b:102). Despite the fact that the membership of the Association during those days was much restricted he was admitted in 1926. James pointed out that “The reason for the requirement that you should have a substantial record of published research before you could be elected to the Association was a result of a situation back in 1904 when the Association was being formed” (Dow, 1979b:102). Hartshorne attended the annual meetings of the Association (1923-1989) for a 66 year stretch unequalled by anyone else (Martin, 1994:489). He presented papers, acted as a referee, became its President and was deeply involved in various other activities.

Furthermore, he was also actively associated with the Spring Field Conferences which may be considered a by- product of the annual meetings of the Association. In fact, the idea of organizing these conferences was proposed at the AAG meeting in 1922. Wellington Jones and Carl Sauer invited some of the former participants in the famous Salisbury seminar to a dinner meeting and suggested the need to have annual field conferences which started in 1923. However, inspired by these the junior members, mostly from Midwestern universities, started their own conferences from 1926 (James and Mather, 1977:447-448). While initially, both senior (1923; 1924; 1925; 1926; 1927; 1929; 1931; 1932) and junior (1926; 1928; 1929; 1930; 1931; 1932) conferences were held separately, ultimately they formally combined and shared their conferences (1935; 1936; 1938; 1940). Hartshorne participated in most of them. It needs emphasis that these conferences had also played a major role in the development of ideas in the United States (James and Mather, 1977).

The Merger of AAG and the ASPG

The Association of American Geographers was founded in 1904, just three months after the International Geography Congress was held for the first time in the USA. Since W. M. Davis, its founding father, wanted to make it a research oriented association, its membership was restricted from the beginning. Later with the large scale expansion of geography departments the younger people felt neglected. Preston E. James claimed to have initiated a new way. As Secretary of the Association he “asked Ed. Ackerman, who was not a member then, to organize a young geographers group and have a special round table discussion in the hotel. This he did and this was the origin of the Young Geographers Society, which became the ASPG” (Dow, 1979b:105). However, it could not solve the basic problem.

During the World War a large number of geographers were assembled at Washington to render their war services of various kinds. A larger section was absorbed in the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). Their concentration at a single place thus provided them with the chance to interact and share their views. Upset with the slow pace of admission of members in the AAG, despite having substantial publication, the younger group formed the American Society for Professional Geographers (ASPG) in 1943. But this formed a generational and institutional cleavage in the profession. Moreover, even at the time of merger, some of the senior persons strongly resented it. Charles Colby, among them, ‘too discouraged about the merger’ announced to leave the venue and not join the evening banquet (Dow, 1979b:105). The society and its merger with the AAG has been well documented (Harris, 1993).

In this context Hartshorne’s role became of paramount importance. He was called the ‘shepherd of the amalgamation’ of both the societies. Of course, he observed: “That is the point when I might have been called the shepherd. As it happens I had nothing to do with the plans for the merging as a joint organization ... I was picked to be President before a couple of colleagues... But for some reason or other they knew it was going to be a problem to get the two groups merged happily together, and they thought that may be I would be able to do that” (Dow, 1986a:274). Of course, he not only persuaded Charles Colby, his former teacher, to attend the evening programme but also successfully managed the merger. His oral remarks as President elect (1949), had a soothing effect on the antagonism and bitterness of both the groups. Martin believed that his “writing on that occasion was some of the finest prose he has ever put on paper” (Dow, 1979b:105).

AAG and the Publication of his Books

It is strange that Hartshorne wrote only two books in his long career. Incidentally, both of them had their circumstantial origin and were published by the Association of American Geographers. His first book (1939) was published in *Annals of the AAG*, initially in two numbers and subsequently in book form the same year. He informed Whittlesey, the editor of the *Annals*, that the work had been edited in far greater detail than would be expected from the editorial staff of a publishing house-that is, edited geographically-and even far more than from the editor of a series of books... I am sure that had the book been published elsewhere, it could not possibly have been as good” ,(Hartshorne, 1979: 75).

Hartshorne’s second book (1959a) may be considered partly an outcome of his debate with Schaefer (1953) coupled with the issues raised by other scholars. Planned as an article to clarify the issues agitating the minds of many geographers and providing positive answers to the questions raised in Schaefer’s paper it also became a book length study (1959a). Undoubtedly, this book reflected 20 years of thought and work in the field of geography and also the change in his own ideas. It must be emphasized that Hartshorne never received or claimed the royalty of these books and had no regrets.

Hartshorne and the Second World War: The OSS

The relationship between colonialism, war and the discipline of geography has always remained very close (Hudson, 1977; Stoddart, 1992; Smith, 1994; Driver, 2001). Not only that geographers were involved in the First World War from its inception but the role of Isaiah Bowman and his team during negotiations leading eventually to the Versailles Treaty had been very substantial. The Great War, of course, had a major impact on the discipline of geography. “In a relatively brief period of time, geography’s physiographic roots were eclipsed by economic and political analysis, which had greater practical applications within government and commerce... consequently, when global conflict reemerged in the thirties, there already existed a framework of geographers with experience within the state apparatus” (Kirby, 1994:305).

Hartshorne’s publications in economic geography and political geography during the inter-war period had carved out a place for him in the geographic profession. However, the publication of his book (1939) made him a ‘rising star’ of the profession. He was invited in September 1941 to join the Office of the Coordinator of Information under the supervision of the Joint Chief of Staff, which was shortly renamed as Office of Strategic Services (OSS).

During the war period (1941-45) he was working as Chief of Geography Division (1941-42) and Assistant Branch Chief, In charge of Research (1942-45). Moreover, he was also appointed Chairman of the Projects Committee (1942) and Military Classification Committee (1944) and member of the Joint Intelligence Sub-Committee (1943).

Martin has rightly pointed out that “very little has been written about the activities of American geographers during and after both World Wars” (1994:488). Though one may briefly go through the contribution of geographers during those days (Harris, 1977; Stone, 1979) there is much yet to be done. It may be emphasized that “six hundred and seventy geographers were involved in some way in the wide range of paramount agencies (interior, state, war), the armed services, and temporary agencies” (Kirby, 1994:306). It needs emphasis that Hartshorne’s role during the war was tremendous and needs a thorough study. It is gratifying to note that within one year, “From one person and one secretary, the division grew under Hartshorne’s management to nearly one hundred persons including sixty five to seventy professional geographers brought together from more than twenty universities” (Martin, 1994:488).

The Office of Strategic Services (OSS) created in 1941 by William Joseph Donovan, initially as an intelligence organization later developed into a major centre related to war service. However, the Research and Analysis Branch faced a major problem because of a philosophical and methodological orientation of its workers. In the new era of total war, the regional specialists whether historians or geographers were relegated to secondary positions by the positivistic social scientists with their interdisciplinary approach. Moreover, besides these two groups a third cluster consisting of refugees from Germany, mostly belonging to the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory, frequently clashed with both the regionalists and social science positivists. However, it may be emphasized that, “Here in the crucible of the wartime state, we see significant foundations of a ‘social science’, dedicated to the explanation and prediction of human behavior” (Kirby, 1994:307). This tradition had a major influence on the philosophy and methodology of various disciplines including geography during the post war period.

Within the purview of the Research and Analysis branch of the OSS a projects committee, under the chairmanship of Richard Hartshorne, was formed in 1942. Hartshorne was a staunch supporter of ‘objective’ and ‘scientific’ writings and responsible for a tough screening of its documents. This brought him into collision with the people like Marcuse, Schorske and Sherman Kent (Kirby, 1994:309). A close analysis of Hartshorne’s OSS

activities reveals the fact that he was a positivist emphasizing the scientific method based on objective analysis. Hence the charge against him by Schaefer (1953) and others seems to be based on very shaky grounds.

Kirby argued, convincingly, that Hartshorne “is not as well remembered as Herbert Marcuse, for instance, but a case could be made that his impact within the R and A branch of the OSS was a good deal greater. On the projects committee, he played a significant part in determining what policy documents were circulated within Washington, including what would be seen by the President. It was Hartshorne and his colleagues on the Committee who limited the members of the Frankfurt School to a subsidiary role, restricting them to the task of providing information which was ultimately crafted into more ‘rigorous’ reports by their American Colleagues” (1994:311-312).

Furthermore, Hartshorne’s wartime services in the OSS made him learn how to handle two or three antagonists and persuade them to reach an agreeable position. His handling of the meetings of the officers of the Army and Navy with their undefined seniority and personal egos was very effective. Parenthetically, it may be interesting to know the scenario as described by Hartshorne where the fight between “admiral up here and general down there” made so much trouble that they finally appointed a committee to prepare country surveys. In a couple of meetings Hartshorne was ignored because, without having a rank, both the officers of Navy and Army “did not know how to talk up or down”. He tactfully decided “to wait until they got tired and then I could come in, because they would see they were not getting anywhere in their argument”. Ultimately, he got them convinced to appoint an editor for the changes in the final draft, if any, before being signed by the top generals and admirals, and put the system to work (Dow, 1986a: 275). In fact, Hartshorne’s expertise in handling two opposite camps was suitably utilized in the merger of the American Society for Professional Geographers (ASPG) and Association of American Geographers (AAG) in 1948 (Kirby, 1994:312-313; Martin, 1994: 488). Moreover, it has been argued that “It was here that Hartshorne learned to distrust the arbitrary nature and exercise of power by those in authority and his thoughts concerning the fragility of academic freedom seem to date from this experience” (Martin, 1994:488).

International Sojourns, Awards and Honours

Although unlike some of his contemporaries, Hartshorne never cared to dominate the awards ceremonies, yet the year 1960 seems to be significant in his career as his professional

accomplishments was recognized by both the leading professional geographical societies of America. He received an 'Award for Outstanding Achievement in Scholarship' from the Association of American Geographers and 'Charles P. Daly Medal' from the American Geographical Society. In 1971 Clark University (USA), conferred on him an honorary Doctor of Laws Degree. The Royal Geographical Society of England awarded him the Victoria Medal in 1984. Its President announced that it had awarded to Professor Richard Hartshorne, "for contributions to the study of the history of geographical thought and regional geography. His book, *The Nature of Geography*, has influenced successive generations of geographers throughout the world in the history and methodology of the subject. Our late President Sir Dudley Stamp used to boast that he did not know what geography was until he had read this book.... it is surprising that the Society has not honoured this great geographer before today" (*Geographical Journal*, 1984:429). Although this recognition came too late, he was greatly pleased and went to England to receive the Medal. It would be interesting to know the acceptance speech of Hartshorne who observed: "I noticed that quite a number of them [past recipients] were writers on whom I had depended on what I had to produce. Although, no doubt, the large majority have crossed the Ultimate Divide over which no explorer can return. I now easily imagine myself crossing over to talk with them. With John Scott Keltie I would exchange impressions from our explorations of geography in German universities at widely separated times; I would thank E.G.R. Taylor for her salty characterization of that 'wishy-washy word Possibilism'; and uncover from J.N.L. Baker the strangely hidden source of my statement about Mary Somerville which he found doubtful. Of the many others I would wish to talk with I will speak now only of two: one is my single compatriot in this company, Carl Sauer, without whose example and provocative publications I might never have [been] stimulated to do the study and writings that apparently have brought me here. Given one more chance, could I not persuade him that in our views of geography we are far more in agreement than he ever recognized? Most especially, I would wish to talk with the author identified only by the initials 'J.L.M.' who reviewed *The Nature of Geography*...If that review had been required reading for students in the history of geographic thought in the English-speaking world, a great amount of lost effort and unnecessary controversy should have been avoided" (*Geographical Journal*, 1984:429). Though extremely brief as the occasion warranted, these remarks may be considered as one of the finest literary piece of writing he had ever composed. Besides Carl Sauer, it may be pointed out; he was the only American geographer who received this Medal up to that time.

Moreover, the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of *The Nature of Geography* was celebrated by the Association of American Geographers. It arranged a Presidential Plenary session at its annual meeting in Baltimore (1989) and published an edited book (Entrikin and Brunn, 1989) as the inaugural volume of its newly introduced 'Occasional Publication Series'. The main objective of this volume was to assess the impact of Hartshorne's book (1939) on the discipline of geography and its present relevance. It was indeed a great honour for Richard Hartshorne that his book was celebrated in such a way. Hartshorne was however 'distressed' with some of the contributors who misrepresented his views⁶.

Hartshorne as a Teacher and Scholar

Besides being an eminent scholar Hartshorne also distinguished himself as an excellent teacher. Since the department at Minnesota did not have graduate studies during those days, Hartshorne started supervising the students for their research degrees only after he joined University of Wisconsin at Madison. Under his supervision 32 students received their Masters and 11 their Ph.D. degrees⁷. In this context, it would be appropriate to quote the reminiscences of Prof. Joseph E. Schwartzberg, who received his degree of Ph.D. under his supervision. "His solicitude for his students was always in evidence. He encouraged intellectual independence and allowed students to proceed at their own pace, while making himself readily available when a guiding hand was sought. The seminars on the history of geographic thought, which he held at his home one evening every week, were memorable for their conviviality and vigorous exchange of ideas. When carried away by a particular train of thought, Hartshorne was often oblivious of his surroundings and personal appearance, fitting the prototypical role of an 'absent-minded Professor'. But that never seemed to stop him from the faithful discharge of his academic obligations"⁸.

These observations aptly portray the personal and academic qualities of Hartshorne both as a teacher and a supervisor. Contrary to some of his contemporary scholars he gave full freedom to his students regarding the choice of research problem and method of its handling. Further, one can easily gain an insight of the working system of Hartshorne, as an ideal supervisor, by going through his narrative of a case of his own student. He observed: "Joe Schwartzberg... wanted to go to India and in various ways make a study of Indian villages. As he was describing (I think, he wrote out his purpose) I thought how is he going to be able to do this? How is he going to do this, this, and this. Then I realised I am asking what would I do if I were trying to do what he proposes? I do not need to go any further; I know perfectly

well I wouldn't know how to do it. I thought would Joe know how? I don't think he knows right now, how he's going to do it. But I am confident he will find ways of doing it, because I knew his work up to then. So I supported him in doing it, of course, and I have been enormously glad ever since" (Dow, 1986b:297). This amply demonstrates that even by ignoring his own initial doubts and skepticism he decided to have full confidence in the competence of the researcher to find ways to methodologically handle his research problem. Hartshorne later admitted that he cherished the outcome. Parenthetically, it may be pointed out that with his pioneering work in India Schwartzberg developed a life long interest and became one of the leading scholars in the world on South Asia.

Undoubtedly, Hartshorne's books (1939; 1959) and other publications established him as a leading scholar in the world. His scholarship was recognized by American and European scholars immediately after the publication of his book (1939). Wellington Jones, his supervisor at Chicago, who also worked with Hettner for a year and had a keen interest in the field, wrote: "You are the only American geographer, living or dead who could have done this job" (Martin, 1989:70). Moreover, while paying homage to Hartshorne at the time of celebration of the book. David R. Stoddart, even his critic, proclaimed: "But I do believe that *The Nature of Geography* is one of the most remarkable contributions to geographical scholarship in this century, and Hartshorne himself a scholar of stature and authority" (1989:163).

A major issue, more specifically in methodological writings, is how to avoid the personal problem while critically analyzing the views of other scholars. Since Hartshorne's book, *The Nature of Geography*, was based on critical evaluation of the writings of geographers, past and present, he was too sensitive and, later, proclaimed: "if the present writer has at any time failed to adhere to these standards, he expresses his regrets to any who may have been offended" (Hartshorne, 1948:124). In one of his prominent articles (1948), he clearly pointed out the general rules in the academic world and followed them throughout his life. "A close perusal of the writings of Hartshorne reveals that he was following these mores of methodological discussion much before he set them in print. All these important mores of methodological questions, responsible scholarship, very high standards of scholarship for dealing with methodological questions and critical evaluation of previous writers, and the repeated assertion that criticism applies to the writing, not the writer, were the hallmarks of his methodological writings" (Khan, 1989:143).

It is strange that a Russian publication, *Moscow Literary Gazette*, while “damning American geographers as war mongers” primarily named Hartshorne as “the master theoretician of American geography... from the Russian point of view that was a very important statement” (Dow, 1986b:295). Undoubtedly, some of his writings in political geography may lead us to believe that he was writing from the American perspective. However, his opposition to Nazi geopolitics and criticism of the Soviet system were entirely based on his liberal democratic ideas and objective scholarship. Hence, the implication as ‘master’ of war mongers is decidedly based on shaky grounds. Moreover, in critical situations he did not hesitate to take a stand against the American state politicians (Khan, 1989:145).

Another area of concern in scholarly world is whether academicians should restrict their research at the level of analysis or be concerned with finding solutions. Hartshorne clearly observed that academicians should not stop at analysis and leave to practical people the working out of solutions or to prophets the prognosis of future disasters. The interest of academicians, like those of national leaders, extends to implementation of solutions and its outcome (Hartshorne, 1946:6). However, when a fellow geographer was under attack from the political elites in USA for his independent views, like a true champion of academic freedom and demonstrating solidarity within the profession he proclaimed: “we geographers are...exposed to the danger of attack from political demagogues who find in any divergence of opinion from their own a sign of disloyalty to the state. We cannot foresee where the blind lightning of ignorance will strike, but must recognize that such attack on any one of us is attack on the freedom and integrity of all our profession (Hartshorne, 1950b:103). Of course, he was opposed to the harassment of academics in American universities during the McCarthy era. Likewise, he was a staunch supporter of democratic student activities in the campus and always pleaded for the academic freedom as well as responsibilities (1970).

The importance of Hartshorne’s contribution may be ascertained by the fact that after the initial stages of adulation or over-criticism, later on, his thoughts generated a newer interest. Not only his ideas were (re)evaluated and (re)interpreted (Entrikin and Brunn, 1989), but a number of other studies were also published (Paterson, 1993; Martin, 1994; Jones III, 1995; Harvey and Wardenga, 1998; 2005; Campbell, 1994; Khan, 1984; 1989; 1990; 1995-96; 2006; 2007; 2008a; 2009). This continued interest even up to the present century reveals the relevance of his contributions. Moreover, unlike others who got the distinction of being interviewed by the peer group only once or twice Hartshorne was the only geographer who was interviewed five times (Dow, 1972; 1979a; 1979b; 1986a; 1986b).

Before we close this write up let us quote the opinion of Geoffrey J. Martin, a great historian of geography and an authority on Hartshorne: “He was withal a quiet and unassuming figure who held a commanding place in American geography for more than half a century. He was thoughtful, introspective, and not hasty of judgment. Intelligence, wisdom and learning came together in this person for whom accuracy and excellence of scholarship were primal forces. His contribution forms an indispensable part of American geography in the twentieth century” (1994: 489 - 490).

Concluding Remarks

Richard Hartshorne, like any other scholar, was a product of his time. During his long academic career he produced innovative work in various branches of geography. However, his major contribution, of far reaching consequences, came in the fields of geographic thought and political geography. As a man of outstanding intellect and an exemplar in geography he brought American scholarship in the field to its perfection. Strangely, despite working throughout his life in the systematic branches of geography he was erroneously labelled, by some, as champion of the ideographic approach emphasizing only regional geography. His life, indeed, reveals the highest level of scholarship, objective thinking, champion of academic freedom, protagonist of mores of methodological discussion without any personal rancour and dexterity to confront opponents with logic and giving credit, if due, even to his critics and above all the courage to change his own ideas, if needed. He was an excellent teacher and gave full freedom to his graduate students in pursuing their research. His contribution, more particularly in geographic thought, may be considered a benchmark. Now that both ontology and epistemology of the field has undergone substantial changes one needs to evaluate how far we have advanced in our endeavors from that. It, therefore, becomes highly desirable to comprehend fully his life and thought.

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Notes

- 1 In this context Dow’s pioneering project, *Online Geographers on Film Transcriptions*, acquires a significant place. Starting in 1970, it recorded the views of

a large number of geographers relative to their life-paths and academic achievements. This archival and also a visual medium has now become a treasure house for the future generations. In another landmark study, Association of American Geographers devoted a special issue of its mouthpiece. *Annals*, at the seventy-fifth anniversary celebrations in 1979, where one finds a number of articles (biographical and autobiographical) about the scholars, departments or ideas. Moreover, Martin's books (1968; 1973; 1980) heralded a significant contribution in these genera wherein three prominent American geographers were subjected to detailed analysis of their life and thoughts. Similarly, the book-length autobiography (Tuan, 1999) or the fourteen autobiographical essays (Gould and Pitts 2002) and a host of other such works provide a vital source for understanding the contextual climate in which the thoughts of these scholars were nurtured and evolved.

- 2 Professor Fred E. Lukermann, a graduate student after Hartshorne left the department, observed: "I recall the stories about the old department, the department of Hartshorne, Brown, Davis and Dicken, which was a teaching department up until twelve o'clock noon and a research department from twelve noon on. The doors were locked and the inner sanctum was one of producing research (Dow, 1971:88).
- 3 Richard Hartshorne to Mumtaz Khan, May 17, 1977.
- 4 Richard Hartshorne to Mumtaz Khan, May17, 1977.
- 5 James and Martin brought out a comprehensive history of the Association of American Geographers during its Platinum Jubilee year (1979).
- 6 In a personal communication he wrote: "Currently I was reacting negatively to one or more of the authors of '*Reflection on Richard Hartshorne's The Nature of Geography*', describing to the readers my purpose in writing the work in terms I did not recognize at all...If you do not find it [the book] let me know. I have no reprints but I am sure I can see that you get one. I will be interested in your reactions to it" (Richard Hartshorne to Mumtaz Khan, April 3, 1991).
- 7 Based on Hartshorne's list (which missed Schwartzberg's name) Martin pointed out that 10 students got their degree of Ph.D. under him (1994, 489). Probably, Hartshorne was assisted by another faculty member in preparing the list and he would not count that. However, on my request, Schwartzberg procured a copy for me and before sending corrected the mistake. The complete list of his students and the year of award of degree is as follows (Khan, 1990:7):

Masters Students- Peterson, William (1941); Rodgers, Allan (1946); Sommers, Lawrence (1946); Kostka, Eleanore (1947); Olson Roger (1947); Smith Ruthanna (1947); Thompson, John (1947); Albertson, Mary (1948); Bernard, Robert (1948); Taube, Edward (1948); Barker, Allan (1949); Paterson, John (1949); Bates, Richard (1950); Dawson, Wynard (1950); Doherty, Donald (1950); Clancy, Hugh (1951); Treece, Walter (1951); Multhauf, Delmar (1952); Hudson, James (1954); Caroe, Lucy (1958); Kirkberg, Max (1959); Hess, Charles (1960); Soja, Edward (1961); Hunter, Beatrice (1964); Zimolzak, Chester (1964); Carley, Allen (1965); Argersinger, Robert (1967); Alley, Frank (1968); Cumminsky, Jacilyn (1969); Heidt, James (1969); Lau, Benjamin (1969); Wicks, Sandra (1970).

Ph.D. Students- Kline, Hibbard (1941); Rodgers, Allan (1950); Gehrke, Willis (1952); Wallace, William (1956); Burghardt, Andrew (1958); Johnsrud, Robert (1958); Joseph E. Schwartzberg (1960); Paulsen, Thomas (1963); Walter, Bobbie Jo (1968); Reitsma, Hendrik (1969); Gomez-Ibanez, Daniel (1972).

8 Joseph E. Schwartzberg to Mumtaz Khan, September 17, 1993.

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