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GATEKEEPING GEOGRAPHY THROUGH NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE:
STORIES FROM HARVARD AND DUBLIN

With 2 figures

ANNE BUTTIMER

Zusammenfassung: „Gralsbüter“ der Geographie im Kontext nationaler Unabhängigkeit: Die Beispiele Harvard und Dublin

Der Stellung der Geographie als Wissenschaft spiegelt die wechselnden Geschicke von Nationen und Staaten wider, blühend in Zeiten gesellschaftlichen Selbstvertrauens, des Altruismus oder der expansionistischen Herausforderung; erschlaffend beim Rückzug auf Routineaufgaben nationaler Haushaltsführung und Bestandsaufnahme, im Schreiben von Lehrbüchern bzw. in praxisorientierten Untersuchungen in Zeiten der Stabilität oder Depression. Perioden des Strebens nach Unabhängigkeit sind besonders geeignet, Zusammenhänge zwischen geographischem Denken und politisch-sozialem Kontext zu untersuchen. Wie sich solche Ereignisse auf die wechselnden Strömungen der Geographie als akademische Disziplin auswirken, ist von Ort und Zeit abhängig; die wechselnden Trends im politischen und geistigen Leben sind selten gleichlaufend.

Dieser Beitrag untersucht Elemente des geographischen Denkens in den Programmen nationaler Unabhängigkeit in Amerika im 18. und in Irland im 20. Jahrhundert am Beispiel der Curricula zweier kolonialer Colleges: des Harvard College in Massachusetts und des Trinity College in Dublin. Ähnliche Ideen und sogar ähnliche Texte wurden unterschiedlich ausgelegt und spiegeln somit die Bedeutung der „Gralsbüter“ und Zeitumstände. Obwohl beträchtliche Unterschiede in den historischen Rahmenbedingungen bestanden, gab es doch bemerkenswerte Ähnlichkeiten in der Abfolge von Denkstilen und -praktiken, die der jeweiligen nationalen Befreiung vorausgingen bzw. ihr folgten. Drei zentrale Themen lassen sich herausarbeiten: Erstens muß auf der Ebene der politischen Rhetorik unterschieden werden zwischen den durch die Gedanken der Aufklärung getragenen „Revolutionen“ des 18. Jahrhunderts und der damit verbundenen Vorstellung vom Staat als einem rationell organisierten Mechanismus auf der einen Seite und den romantisch inspirierten „Höhenflügen“ des späten 19. und des 20. Jahrhunderts und den damit assoziierten Vorstellungen von der Nation als Verkörperung von Identität und kultureller Integrität eines Volkes andererseits. Zweitens wird auf der Ebene der Denkmuster ein wesentlicher Unterschied zwischen den engeren Weltansichten gemacht, die politische Bewegungen im Vorfeld der Unabhängigkeit hervorbrachten, gegenüber weiteren Weltansichten, die im Nachhinein Sensibilität für Landschaft, Kultur und die Aufgaben des Staates begünstigten. Untersucht man drittens die Ebene der allgemeinen Akzeptanz, dann ist zu unterscheiden zwischen der „Befreiung von“ und der „Freiheit zu“: das Schwergewicht auf ersterer begünstigt häufig Strukturen, die Unterdrückung verschleiern bzw. rechtfertigen.

In Anbetracht der sich dramatisch verändernden politischen Voraussetzungen lassen sich für die Praxis geographischer Forschung im späten 20. Jahrhundert sicherlich mancherlei Lehren aus diesen Beispielen ableiten.

1 Introduction

The status of geography as scholarly field has mirrored the fluctuating fortunes of nations and empires, flowering at moments of societal self-confidence, altruism, or expansionary challenge; relaxing in routine-operational tasks of imperial housekeeping and inventory, text-book writing, and functionally-specialised research in times of stability or depression. Geographers have generally sought relevance to particular social contexts but their scientific status also requires active participation in the (international) scholarly community. Chronologically speaking, however, the changing trends in political and intellectual life have only rarely been synchronous.

Moments of national independence offer good foci for examining relationships between geographical thought and context. Declarations of national independence are quintessentially geographical statements: they proclaim changes not only in the world map but also in the self-understandings of people and places. How such events resonate with changing currents of academic geography varies also through time and place. This paper examines elements of geographical thought involved in rhetorics of national independence in eighteenth century America and twentieth century Ireland with an initial focus on the curricula of two colonial colleges, Harvard College, Massachusetts, and Trinity College Dublin. Similar bodies of thought were construed differently, reflecting gatekeepers and circumstances. Although vast differences in the historical context exist, there were similarities in the sequence of thought styles and practices which preceded and followed the actual event of national liberation. Against this background, special attention is addressed to the remarkable delay in the institutionalisation of geography as University discipline in Ireland. As in other post-colonial settings, the difficulties were not

primarily of an epistemological nature; rather they illustrate the salience of gatekeepers and the vicissitudes of political history in the negotiation of ideas and context.

Three central themes will be explored. First, on the level of geo-political thought, a distinction is made between the Enlightenment-inspired "revolutions" of the eighteenth century with their associated images of the State as an efficiently-organized machine on the one hand, versus the Romanticist-inspired "risings" of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with their associated images of the Nation as embodiment of a people's identity and cultural integrity on the other. Secondly, on the level of intellectual style, a distinction is made between the integrated world views ("root metaphors") which fostered political movements prior to independence, versus the dispersed world views which fostered sensitivity to landscape and culture and the affairs of state afterwards: the former associated with broader horizons of concern, the latter with more circumscribed horizons (BUTTIMER 1993). Thirdly, exploring the discourses of gatekeepers, a distinction is made between the rhetorics of "freedom from" versus "freedom to": emphasis on the former often serving to create structures which still "wore the mantle of the oppressor", the latter leading to fresh alternatives. Given the dramatically changing political contexts of the late twentieth century, and challenges facing geographers in newly-independent states, it is hoped that there may be lessons to be drawn from these stories.

2 Geography, Enlightenment, and Empire

The history of geography in the Western world is inextricably associated with empire (LIVINGSTONE 1992). Sixteenth century theories of Empire implied that it was the duty of civilised nations to undertake the political, economic, and religious tutelage of peoples deemed more "primitive" than the sponsor. Within earlier *studia generalia* and universities founded in Renaissance spirit, guilds of teachers were free to establish their own study curricula. After the Reformation, however, universities in Protestant lands were regarded as instruments of the State, training ground for functionaries of the State and National Church (MAXWELL 1946, 2).

The sixteenth century Elizabethan conquest of Ireland sought to root out heresy, to destroy the Gaelic system, and to convert the Irish from barbarism to English 'civilitie'. *Studia generalia* had existed in Dublin since 1311, and there had been several

attempts to set up a university there prior to the sixteenth century, but it was only in 1592 that the Queen granted a charter for "The Mother of an university", under the style and title of "the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity near Dublin founded by Queen Elizabeth" (MAXWELL 1946, 5). In a letter to the Lord Deputy and his Council on 29th December 1591, the queen granted this licence for the College (MAXWELL 1923, 137-138):

whereby knowledge and civilitie might be increased by the instruction of our people there, wherof many have usually heretofore used to travel into France, Italy and Spain, to get learning in such foreign universities, whereby they have been infected with Popery and other ill qualities, and so become evil subjects.

While the seventeenth century witnessed the flowering of science in continental Europe, its early years were marked in England by orthodoxy struggles of Reformation and Counter-Reformation. There were arguments, too, between Puritans and Anglicans, puritanism apparently more attractive among those classes which objected to the economic restrictions imposed by monarchical and Anglican rule. But all who believed in the new spirit of free inquiry were hostile to the excessive power of the state and Divine Right of Kings. The early years at Trinity College Dublin were stamped with this conflict between democracy and absolutism. When James I, successor to the throne and victorious over Spanish "invaders", became the patron of Trinity College Dublin, he banished both Catholics and Puritans and by 1613 the Oath of Supremacy and 39 Articles of Religion were imposed on all. The first Provosts of Trinity College were Puritans, some of them coming from Trinity College Cambridge, centre of Calvinism. Catholics could go to the Continent, but Puritans had to await the foundation of colleges in New England. And it was there, in fact, that some of the earliest developments of Enlightenment geography in the English speaking world occurred.

2.1 Harvard College in Massachusetts

In 1636 the colony of Massachusetts Bay founded a college, naming it after the Puritan cleric, John Harvard, who donated half his estate and some 300 books to the venture. On the college gates was inscribed the intention (WARNTZ 1964, 8):

After God had carried us safe to New-England, and wee had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, rear'd convenient places for Gods worship, and settled the Civill Government; One of the first things we longed for, and looked after was to advance Learning, and to perpetuate

it to Posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate Ministry to the Churches, when our present Ministers shall lie in the Dust.

Quite a contrast to the rationale for the founding of Trinity College Dublin half a century earlier. But there were early contacts between the two "colonial" colleges, especially during Cromwellian times. During the 1620s John Winthrop (later Governor of Connecticut) was sent from Cambridge to Dublin by his father, a noted Puritan (later Governor of Massachusetts) to "breathe a freer air". Two Harvard graduates, Samuel and Increase Mather, came to Dublin and Increase received an M. A. there in 1658. Samuel Winter, Provost of Trinity in 1650, encouraged old Fellows to return and elected several non-Conformists as Fellows.

Of the curriculum at Harvard, Warntz has claimed, geography held a favoured place (WARNTZ 1964). In 1665 Sir Thomas Temple, Governor of Acadia (Nova Scotia) donated 'two Globes, a Caelestiall and Terrestriall'. The study course on "The Use of the Globes" was so popular that within ten years there were rules set up to prevent them from being borrowed outside the Library (WARNTZ 1964, 9). This course was also widely taught in all the colonial colleges (Dartmouth, Princeton, Yale, Columbia, Rutgers, and Brown) during the 17th and 18th centuries. Prescribed texts included Newton's *Principia*, Varrenius' *Geographia Generalis* (1650), Thomas Burnet's *Sacred Theory of the Earth* (1684), John Ray's *Wisdom of God Manifested in the Works of Creation* (1690), and Benjamin's *Philosophia Britannica* (1747). The Laws of Harvard College from 1650 to 1807 declared that nobody could be admitted until they had demonstrated sound knowledge of a "compendium of geography" (WARNTZ 1964, 28). Among the texts required was Guthrie's *Geographical Grammar*, published in Dublin¹¹.

Geography at Harvard has undergone various cycles between 1650 and 1950 (WARNTZ 1964). It offers a good example of how geographical thought and practice, transposed from one context to another, may often lead to outcomes quite different from those in the "producer" regions. The initial period was undoubtedly stamped with the Enlightenment esprit which applauded the values of science and technology for the advancement of civilisation and eventually a brotherhood of nations. These were, in fact, the two faces of geographic enquiry: on the one hand, an in-

tegrated global model to explain how everything functioned on the earth; on the other hand, a matrix within which encyclopedic information could be registered. The Newtonian doctrine opened up horizons on the world which could be articulated in elegant mathematics and explicable in terms of natural law, thus linking geography with philosophy, history, political and natural science, while textbook *Compendia* showed that geography was valuable as background understanding for history, training base for navigation routes, as information base for assessing the feasibility of commercial routes, and the conduct of affairs within this new continent. Logically speaking these positions seemed surely plausible and reconcilable. Actually, they led to two very different outcomes. The first led to impressive academic success: Geography in its Newtonian garb held an esteemed position in the liberal arts colleges of New England up to the War of Independence. The second led to its demise, its de-valuation and dismemberment (WARNTZ 1964).

Central to the seventeenth century Enlightenment project was an image of the world as mechanical system where all elements of nature and society were seen as functionally interrelated. The Irish philosopher Robert Boyle supplied an apt metaphor for this world view (BOYLE 1690):

The world is like a rare clock . . . where all things are so skillfully contrived, that the engine being once set a moving, all things proceed according to the artificer's first design, and the motions . . . do not require the peculiar interposing of the artificer, or any intelligent agent employed by him, but perform their function upon particular occasions, by virtue of the general and primitive contrivance of the whole engine.

The Newtonian world-view was apparently central in the framing of the American Constitution in 1787. Many of its signatories had graduated from the Colonial Colleges where this had become a reigning paradigm. Analogies between celestial and terrestrial systems suggested that positive Law should follow the dictates of natural law; the regulation of this new society should reflect the nature ("constitution") of that society itself. Warntz claimed that political science, based on mechanics, was far more sophisticated than the physical science of the day. Various forms of physical energy and their conversion were yet to be fully described, but the analogous social energies such as reason, feeling, authority, and their rich interplay were spelled out in the judicial, legislative, and executive branches of the Constitution (WARNTZ 1964, 155):

The imitation of the checks and balances of the solar system was a conscious one, yielding a balancing of powers among

¹¹ Several other compendia were published in Dublin during the latter half of the eighteenth century, e. g., R. Martin (Dublin, 10th edition 1784), and R. Sullivan (Dublin, 1789) both of which ran through several editions.

president, congress, and the courts, and in the congress between big and little states.

After Independence the nature and rationale for geography at Harvard changed. The case cited for its place in the college curriculum was epitomized in a speech by one Jared Sparks (class of 1815) who later became President of Harvard University. Every student of history, he claimed, must know the geographical facts of location, topography, distance, and climate; every trader, missionary or explorer should know the "lay of the land". His central case was for the usefulness of geography for all citizens, a vital component of general education. In 1816 geography was abolished from the Harvard curriculum.

Wartzt drew two major conclusions from this story. First, a contextual note, i. e., that the changing status of geography as university subject was intimately connected with national attitudes (WARTZT 1964, 158):

... as America has alternately turned out toward the world or inward toward its own affairs, the thoughts, attitudes, and practices in geography have reflected those shifts. In a very real sense, the country's wars have marked the beginning and the end of the alternative periods of internationalism and isolationism.

The second conclusion related to cognitive styles: as long as geography presented an integrated world view, he argued, it won the respect of other academic fields; when it became splintered into an array of specialised pursuits defined in terms of relevance for the particular public interests, it lost credibility as intellectual discipline, and was demoted to school level or fragmented among other fields. This thesis indeed invites examination in other contexts. The same two world views, or "root metaphors" – world as mechanical system, and world as mosaic, were not only exported in publications from Dublin during the eighteenth century; they were also expressed in political rhetoric advocating national independence, but the outcomes were quite different (Fig. 1).

2.2 Trinity College Dublin

Academic programmes at Trinity College followed quite a different course from those at Harvard. Whereas physics and astronomy were taught as general science, the curriculum was primarily oriented toward the Classics, literature, and philosophy (DIXON 1902; MAXWELL 1946; HOLLAND 1991). Not that Trinity lacked the text-materials. In a note on the library possessions one finds the record of a donation from the English Army as a thanks offering for their

victory at Kinsale, of £ 1800 and an inventory of College possessions in 1608:

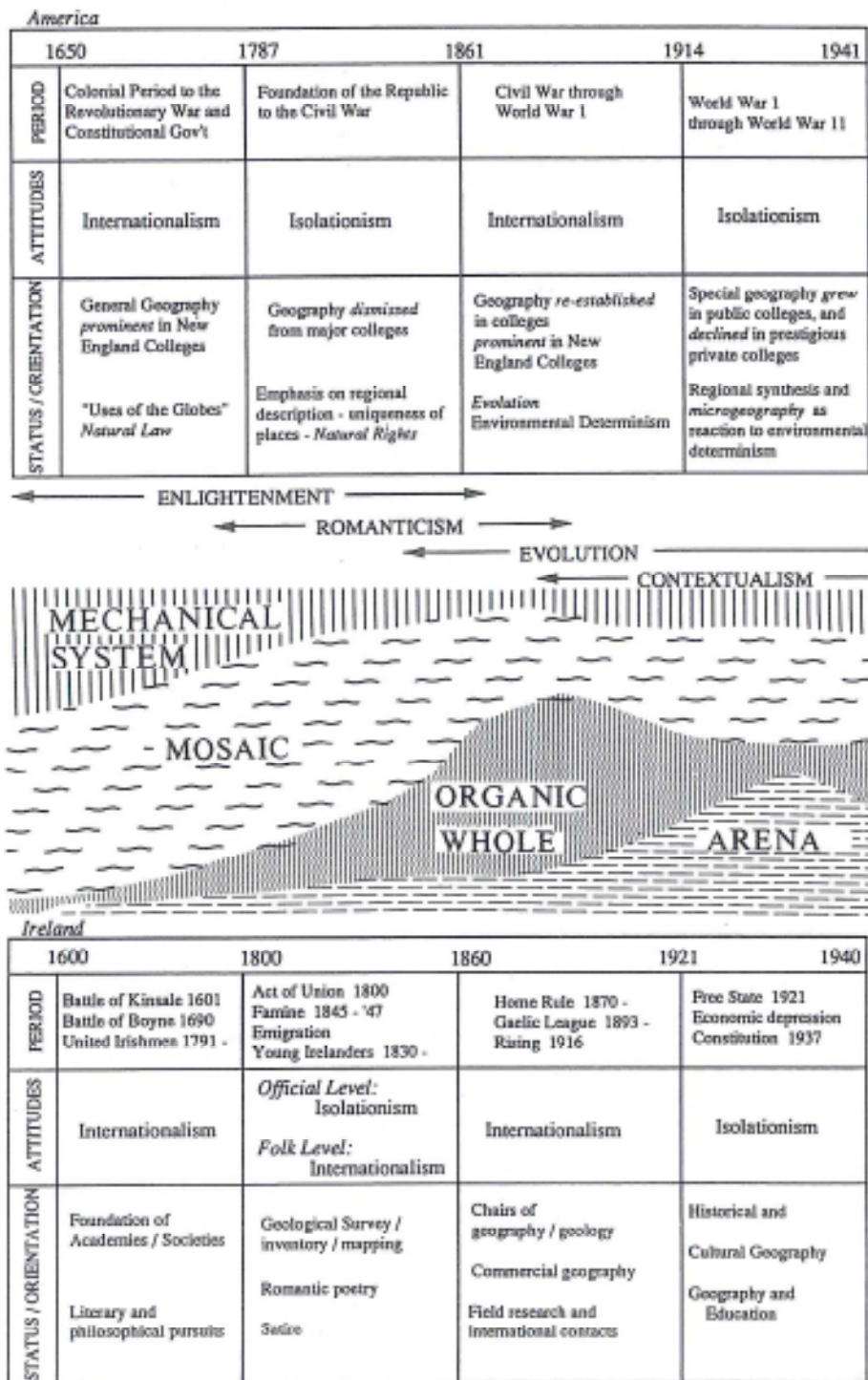
Three tables upon frames, and six wainscott formes, a table of benefactors, 12 great mapps besides many of the lesser, 4 Dutch tables, a scoliton with taffety hangings, a table with two globes". In the gallery were "Two woddon dores grate wyse made for ye Library, a mapp, a standinge deske turninge, the stompe of a woddon sphere. A beam for woddon skales".

There is little evidence of enthusiasm for the "Uses of the Globes", or correspondences between "natural" and "positive" laws, in the record of the early years at Trinity. There was a strong commitment to science, as evidenced in the proceedings of the Dublin Philosophical Society (DAVIES 1977; 1986). Science lectureships were established in the Medical School in 1712 and the College Museum placed strong emphasis on biology and geology from the late eighteenth century on (DAVIES 1984). A chair of Natural Philosophy was established in 1724 but apparently the Professor was none too active (DIXON 1902, 158). In 1759 the schoolmasters of Dublin applied for some direction on student text-books. Among the recommendations was the following (DIXON 1902, 154):

'That Globes and Maps, such as those by Cellarius, be used in every school. It has been found of singular advantage to oblige the young gentlemen themselves to draw maps, and to trace out the boundaries of Countries and Provinces, and that you instruct them in the composition and proper pronunciation of English.'

These counsels were apparently heeded. A Chair of Natural and Experimental Philosophy was founded in 1762. A report on *Antient and Modern State of Ireland* (1759) lists among the subjects taught at Trinity, "Natural and Experimental Philosophy ... The Newtonian Philosophy; the excellent Boyle's experimental Philosophy and Mr. Locke's Metaphysics prevail much in the College of Dublin: which for extent, convenience, magnificence and a most sumptuous library, exceeds any one college in Europe" (MAXWELL 1946, 149). Two very popular courses were those of Dr. Helsham, a physician and friend of Swift, and his *Lectures on Natural Philosophy* (1738), published after his death, remained as a student text for nearly 100 years. George Miller's *Lectures on the Philosophy of History* (1799–1803) were so popular that they had to be held in the Examination Hall. One Michael Wycherly of Fermanagh who received his B. A. in 1782 left some notebooks with entries on Swift, Locke, Newton, and nineteen lectures on astronomy, e. g. (MAXWELL 1946, 152):

Q. What are the most valuable gifts God has given Mankind?



(Obs!): The antithesis of isolationism vs. internationalism is not easily applied to Ireland. Attitudes varied between the governing class and the people at large. Attitudes toward Britain also probably differed from attitudes toward other countries).

Fig. 1: Intellectual trends and national independence
 Intellektuelle Entwicklungen und nationale Unabhängigkeit

R. Those which consists in the improvement of the mind by Arts and Sciences.

Q. What is the use of studying Astronomy?

R. The great necessity of it is evident from this, for without it we could have no Geography or Chronology of consequence, no certain declaration of History, navigation has received the greatest improvement from it, besides it wonderfully pleases and recreates the mind.

Q. What is the moral use of studying Astronomy?

R. Because it leads us to entertain just notions of the infinite wisdom and goodness of our Creator.

Q. Can we from this our earthly habitation take an accurate view of the motions and phenomena of the celestial bodies?

R. No; for tho' our bodies are as it were chain'd down to our earthly Mansion, yet our Imaginations and Minds may ascend through the heavenly regions and thence contemplate the surprising system of the Universe.

Might one surmise that readings in Natural Philosophy were oriented toward speculative and even theological reflections rather than toward practical or political uses, as at Harvard? The names of George Berkeley and Robert Boyle, two towering figures of Enlightenment mechanism, often occur in the records. Berkeley, Trinity Fellow in 1707, and generally regarded as prototypical Idealist, did engage in practical pursuits, encouraging agriculture, industry and foreign missions (LEYBURN 1937-38). As for the works of Boyle, pioneering genius in physics and mechanics, there really was no department in which they could become foundational texts; engineering was only introduced in the nineteenth century. It is not to the academic curriculum, however, that one looks for evidence of interest in human geography at Trinity. Rather it is to the Societies organised by Trinity Fellows and graduates.

In 1731, a society was founded "for Improving Husbandry, Manufactures, and Other Useful Arts and Sciences" (after 1820 known as The Royal Dublin Society), the first Society of its kind in Europe (BERRY 1915, 24-27). This group stirred attention to the Irish landscape, its resources, traditions, and potential usefulness within the Commonwealth (DE VERE WHITE 1955; CAMPBELL 1991). Statistical surveys of Irish counties were conducted and by 1830 a survey of land quality was completed (DAVIES a. MOLLAN 1980). From the 1740s on, several clubs were founded, e. g., the College Historical Society, which by 1780 had 700 members. Many of the distinguished orators of the Irish Parliament, such as Plunket, Emmet, Moore, and Wolfe Tone, received their first training in this Club. Fellows of the College were also associated with the Royal Irish Academy, founded in 1785, for "Science, Polite Literature, and Anti-

quities". Some of the finest works of Irish political literature, such as William Molyneux's *Case of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England* (1698), condemned in Absolutist fashion by the English Parliament in 1719, was but forerunner of Swift's *Drapier's Letters* (1724) which pronounced the principle that "all government without the consent of the governed is the very definition of slavery" (DIXON 1946, 89).

In grass-roots political consciousness, the Enlightenment was already bearing fruit in the stirrings of national independence. From the end of the seventeenth century and the defeat of the Jacobites in 1691 the military-minded emigrated (almost half a million joined the French army alone between 1691 and 1791). Localized secret societies became the channels of resistance to colonial power, and from Trinity came impulses for fresh initiatives. Followers of Molyneux and Swift formed a Patriot Party which demanded Free Trade and a free Parliament; they took advantage of the American War to organise the famous Volunteers and made their demands effective. While New England delegates to Philadelphia were drafting a Constitution for the new United States of America during the 1780s, Wolfe Tone's United Irishmen were making a bold effort to liberate the island from colonial rule. Inspired by the French and American Revolutions, the Rising of 1798 was also defended intellectually in terms of Enlightenment views. Its failure, despite the arrival of a French fleet, marked the destruction of the revolutionary movement and a 'consequent discrediting of the ideals of fraternity and religious equality which had been at the base of its thinking' (DUDLEY-EDWARDS 1973, 71). The 1800 Act of Union marked the end of an era of hope for national independence and also one where horizons of intellectual and popular concern were internationalist in scope (Fig. 1).

3 Enlightenment versus Romanticism

In the nineteenth century, the USA pressed on with its state consolidation agenda, while in Ireland, energies were forced to come to terms with the practical agenda of a "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland". At Harvard, as already noted, there was a shift in cognitive style from integrated views of the world as *mechanical system* to the more dispersed view of the world as *mosaic of patterns*. The mechanist view still held appeal at the upper reaches of political rhetoric and even at the research frontiers of systematic sub-fields such as meteorology, geophysics, and

navigation; the formist one was the guiding metaphor in survey, inventory, and boundary-definition. From northern Europe, however, and from the woodlands of Vermont in New England, there were other world views emerging from the literature, viz., the [integrated] view of the world as *organic whole* on the one hand, and the [dispersed] view of the world as *arena of spontaneous events* (BUTTIMER 1993). The nineteenth century, in Ireland as well as in USA, reveals a fascinating record of tension among these world views; not least for their resonances in popular movements related to national identity.

Among geographers, the image of the world as mechanical system, or as mosaic of defensible or exploitable territory, was staunchly contested by the early nineteenth century. Romantics denied the universalist claims of the Enlightenment, horrified by the prospect of reducing the description of all cultural and natural phenomena to the language of mathematics and physics. Nature was not a machine to be set in motion for human purposes: it was a sacred force, imbued with spiritual qualities. And the relationships between humanity and the earth would be better understood in *organic*, rather than *mechanical* terms. Humboldt's *Cosmos* (1808) sought to reconcile yet transcend the apparently contrasting views of Enlightenment and Romanticism, presenting nature "as one great whole, moved and animated by internal forces" (Vol. I, vii). The assumption that all of cultural history could be articulated in terms of the progressive "march of civilisation" was particularly objectionable among historians such as Herder, Michelet and the New England Transcendentalists. Each human group should be interpreted in terms of its actual environment and the story of its adaptation to local resources. This world view certainly found appeal among Irish scholars such as Thomas Moore (1779–1852), James Clarence Mangan (1803–1849), and Thomas Davis (1814–1845).

3.1 Nineteenth Century America

Following Independence in USA, Warntz suggests, geography as a discipline coasted for a while with survey-and-map, until new ideas arrived from Continental Europe, Switzerland and Germany. The American Geographical Society was founded in 1852, and soon thereafter university departments were established, e. g., at Princeton (1854), Yale (1863), Cornell and Wisconsin (1868). By mid-nineteenth century the lived geography of the continent was characterised by some turmoil as rapid industrialisation, big business and urbanisation propelled by

railroads pressed on toward the West. Scarcely daunted by the myth of the Great American Desert, immigrants swarmed westwards, eager to preserve their own ethnic traditions and yet to become part of the evolving frontier. While Arnold Guyot, Swiss immigrant and disciple of Ritter and Hegel, waxed eloquent on the "geographical march of history", poets and novelists decried the profligate waste of natural resources; vainly did geographers such as John Wesley Powell (1834–1902) preach about the ecologically harmful effects of the grid system in chopping up territories in the Arid Zone. George Perkins Marsh (1864) warned about the inevitable consequences for nature if Americans were to blindly follow the myth of progress. Nathaniel Shaler worried about the suitability of races other than the Anglo-Saxon for a continent such as North America. Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* meanwhile was raising consciousness about the scandals of slavery. From mid-century on, a Civil War was looming. And as in the American War of Independence and many a later war, there were Irish on both sides!

Fresh challenges from the environment, and the advance of fresh ideas together led to the second cycle of geography at Harvard. This was not achieved until opposition to Darwinian ideas among the leading geographers of the day such as Louis Agassiz, Arnold Guyot, and Matthew Fontaine Maury, had been overcome (STODDART 1981). By century's turn, however, William Morris Davis (1859–1936), a central personality in the Second Cycle of geography at Harvard, could claim that the spirit of evolution, now accepted in many fields, could actually lead to a transformation of geographical thought (DAVIS 1909, 86). Davis was well known for his famous "cycle of erosion", analogous to the life cycle; the history of the earth told in terms of "physiographic control and organic response". A new paradigm, proclaiming an integrated world view, was solidly anchored by 1900. American geographers could again relax on the plateau of environmentalism. Organicist models, imported from Europe, served to explain the continent's [actual or potential] superiority among nations in terms of its resources, territory, and technology. The geographical thought of native Americans, scarcely heeded except for a few, posed no competition for reigning orthodoxies.

3.2 Nineteenth century Ireland

Early nineteenth century Ireland offered, in many ways, the "push" factors which corresponded to the "pull" factors for trans-Atlantic migration. Though

many of its charismatic leaders had emigrated or died, the spark of national independence was re-kindled on several occasions. Daniel O'Connell succeeded in achieving Emancipation for Catholics in 1828 but the general movement for Repeal of the Act of Union floundered. More significant was the Young Ireland movement which was closer in spirit to the ideals of Enlightenment philosophy. In contrast with the "repeal" efforts of the "old" Ireland, with its emphasis on Catholicism, the Young Irelanders promoted a more integrated approach and this culminated in the 1848 Rebellion. The Fenian movement, founded in America in 1858, very quickly made an impact in Ireland. Though suppressed in 1868 and not supported by the Catholic Church, Fenian elements remained alive, converging with those of the Irish Republican Brotherhood in the early twentieth century.

The nineteenth century also witnessed steps toward the foundation of geography and geology in Ireland. Railroads were to be built and canals dug; survey and mapping to be done, e. g., by the Ordnance Survey. In 1845 the Geological Survey of Ireland was inaugurated and a 1" to the mile geological map of the island was complete in 1890. It was in 1845 also that the Dublin Museum of Economic Geology was founded. Later to be named as Museum of Irish Industry (1847), College of Science for Ireland (1865), this was the first institution to establish a Chair of Geology in 1890. The Queens' Colleges of Belfast, Cork, and Galway were also founded in 1845 and physical geography was taught there in the context of geology departments. At Trinity, geology acquired departmental status in the context of the Engineering School as early as 1841; its orientation from the start was toward geo-physical rather than biogeographical phenomena; for better or worse, there do not appear to have been any major storms over evolutionary theory, as in America.

Famine, however, and massive emigration from mid-century on, diminished popular energies, and it was not until the 1860s, with the revival of consciousness about national heritage, land, and language, that Ireland again reached toward international horizons. At the level of popular consciousness the sense of nationhood was evoked by Romantic poets, inspired no doubt by the critical satire and critique penned by their eighteenth century colleagues, Molyneux, Swift, and Goldsmith, and beginning to fashion a new concept of Nationhood based on the intimate bonds of life and landscape, sense of place and human identity. Thomas Osborne Davis, auditor of the Trinity College's Historical

Society in 1840, joined the Repeal Association, and in 1842 was cofounder of the *Nation* newspaper, organ of the Young Ireland Party. Davis proclaimed a fresh notion of nationhood, anchored in a rhetoric of "freedom to" rather than "freedom from":

A Nationality which will not only raise our people from their poverty, - by securing to them the blessings of a domestic legislature, but influence and purify them with a lofty and heroic love of country - a Nationality of the spirit as well as the letter - a Nationality which may come to be stamped upon our manners, our literature, and our deeds - a Nationality which may embrace Protestant, Catholic, and Dissenter, - Milesian and Cromwellian, - the Irishman of a hundred generations and the stranger who is within our gates - not a Nationality which would prelude civil war, but which would establish internal union and external independence - a Nationality which would be recognised by the world, and sanctified by wisdom, virtue and time.

A vitally different conception of Nation from the eighteenth-century machine-like conception of Nation-State was involved here, and it was one which found strong resonance in popular sentiment right through to the Nationalist Rising in 1916.

At a more formal level, efforts to achieve national independence also stirred, but tensions were indeed apparent between "unionist" and "republican" elements. The discourse was still heavily weighted by the rhetorics of "freedom from" oppression. The Home Rule movement, launched in 1870 by Isaac Butt, ex-Professor of Political Economy at Trinity, sought a federal arrangement with Great Britain, allowing Ireland to run its own affairs. It gained little popular support initially, and successive Home Rule Bills (1886, 1893) were defeated in the House of Commons. Meanwhile Douglas Hyde had initiated the Gaelic League movement in 1893; Arthur Griffith started the *United Irishmen* newspaper in 1899. The third Home Rule Bill, allowing Ireland extensive local powers but with London retaining control of police and revenues, was introduced by Asquith in 1912. The Ulster (Unionist) Volunteers were stirred; southern (Republican) volunteers responded, culminating in the nationalist rising (1916), war of independence (1918-22), and the partition of Ireland into the twenty-six-county Free State and six counties of Ulster remaining part of the UK in 1922.

While America at the close of the nineteenth century could claim both national independence and solid foundations for academic geography, neither of these could be claimed in Ireland. Two distinct worlds of discourse, in fact, were being shaped: an organicist rhetoric of nation-building with widely-based popular appeal, and another, reformist in rhetoric and formist

in cognitive style, characterising a scholarly world committed to maintaining the unity of the British Isles. Denominational, ideological, and at times linguistic differences also separated these two worlds.

4 "Gatekeeping" Twentieth Century Geography in Dublin

The turn of the twentieth century witnessed the establishment of geography as university discipline in most European countries. By 1922, geography was taught in 120 European universities; the only countries without geography at University level were Latvia, Albania, Greece, and Ireland (DAVIES 1977; 1986). While courses were offered at Queens' University Belfast by the late 1920s, and at Trinity by the mid-1930s, the first Professor of Geography in the National University was appointed in 1959 at University College Cork; the second in 1960 at University College Dublin. By the late twentieth century, of course, geography claims its territory at tertiary level in twelve institutions in this island (ALEXANDER & GILLMOR 1989; KILLEN & SMYTH 1992). But there is a "twilight" period, spanning the pre- and post-Independence period when here, as in other European countries, the case for geography as university discipline was being championed (CAMPBELL 1991). Three particular voices: those of Grenville Arthur James Cole (1859–1924), a geographer, Horace Plunkett (1854–1932), an agrarian reformer, and Timothy Joseph Corcoran (1872–1943), a professor of education, illustrate the puzzle of "gatekeepers" and the reverberations of unfinished business in history.

4.1 Grenville Arthur James Cole (1859–1924)

Grenville Arthur James Cole, Professor of Geology at the Royal College of Science for Ireland since 1890, and appointed part-time Director of the Geological Survey of Ireland in 1905, has been regarded as Ireland's first professional geographer (DAVIES 1977). He travelled widely, throughout Ireland and continental Europe (WYSE JACKSON 1989; 1991), conducted comparative studies of glacial landforms and hydrology, and published popular and scientific works on the geography of Ireland (COLE 1895; 1914; 1920). His international network was impressive: he invited Albrecht Penck, to become life member of Royal Irish Academy in 1906, and in 1911 accompanied William Morris Davis through southwest Ireland on the first steps of the trans-European excursion organised by the International Geographical

Union (DAVIS 1912). An active member and President (1919) of the British Geographical Association, he was instrumental in founding an Irish affiliate, the Irish Geographical Association, over which he presided from 1918 to 1922.

Cole believed in the indissoluble unity of the United Kingdom, as well as the unity of physical and human geography. He claimed that geography was no longer a purely descriptive subject, but rather a challenging, analytical discipline concerned with the interrelation of spatial phenomena – a subject where geologist, historian, meteorologist and even psychologist could meet. His favoured cognitive style was formistic – view of the earth as *mosaic of patterns* – yet he did not hesitate in responding to the wider challenges of his time and place, viz., Ireland's identity in the twentieth century. The concluding paragraphs of *Ireland; Land and Landscape* (1915) offer witness to his respect for Irish people and landscapes (COLE 1915, 140):

When we look at the hills and valleys, we cannot help thinking of the men and women who knew them also in the old times, who gathered wood in the forests to light their fires in ringed encampments, and who heard the wind blow round them from the sea, while they said to one another; "Here we have made a home" . . . Family by family, age by age, an Irish race has grown in Ireland.

Five years later, in his best remembered work, *Ireland the Outpost* (1920), he argued that the notion of a pure Irish national stock was a myth. He argued strongly for the inclusion of geography in Irish universities as a measure that would assist the integration of the new Irish state into the global community of nations (DAVIES 1986) and tried in vain to link the College of Science with Trinity College Dublin (CAMPBELL 1991).

As with many another liberal voice, Cole's found little response among audiences of sharply divided ideological commitment. By the time of his death in 1924 there was still little sign of interest in geography within Irish universities. His ideas, like grains of wheat that fell into the ground, would bear fruit only a generation later. His main success at the time was to lay foundations for geology which retained its status as subject at University level throughout the island (COLE 1924; DAVIES 1977, 91).

Commerce provided the second potential foundation for modern geography in Ireland (CAMPBELL 1991). Commercial geography flourished particularly in Northern Ireland, where liberal Unionist industrialists and merchants were urging educational reforms after the current English, Continental and American models. How was this message to be received

ed in a potentially free Republic of Ireland? It was in this context that two quite distinct voices, neither of them from the ranks of professional geography, emerged on a potentially appropriate direction for education in human geography. Ideologically-based controversy, exaggerated by political events, would mark the first quarter of the twentieth century.

4.2 Sir Horace Plunkett (1854–1932)

Horace Plunkett, best known as founder of the rural cooperative movement, had a keen interest in education. Schooled in the radical Liberalism of the 1870s in Oxford, his travels in Scandinavia and North America stirred his enthusiasm for education toward self-help and economic development. The root cause of Ireland's backwardness, in his view, was not so much British rule, but rather the deficiencies in Irish education. For the rehabilitation of Irish economic life and the fostering of courage, initiative and self-reliance Plunkett encouraged his Belfast friends to extend 'the economic thought with which you are indoctrinated . . . to the rest of Ireland' (PLUNKETT 1899). While the Home Rule efforts were floundering and Conservative government re-instated in England, Plunkett convened a committee of enquiry into Irish affairs during the parliamentary recess of 1895–96. One outcome of this Recess Committee's report was the setting up of a Department of Agricultural and Technical Instruction (DATI) which was to promote improvements in agriculture, co-operative development, and the training of rural youth.

The educational system in Ireland at the turn of the twentieth century, he argued, "geared to the multiplication of clerks and professional men with a distinct distaste for any industrial or productive occupation" should be supplemented by vocational education better attuned to Ireland's needs (PLUNKETT 1904, 129):

. . . I believe that by awakening the feelings of pride, self-respect, and love of country, based on knowledge, every department of Irish life will be invigorated . . .

In his search for a suitable model, Denmark's *Folkhøgskoler* offered promise. He was impressed by their courses in history, geography, and technical skills for rural adults (PLUNKETT 1904, 131):

It is to the "High Schools" [Høgskoler] founded by Bishop Grundtvig, and not to the Agricultural schools that the extraordinary national progress is mainly due . . .

Danish friends explained that their success was not due to the technical training provided, but rather to the humanities. Plunkett concluded: "nothing is more evident to the student of Danish education . . . than that one of the secrets of their success is to be

found in their national basis and their foundation upon the history and literature of the country" (PLUNKETT 1904, 133). Would Irish rural people not benefit from these lessons?

The form of education involved here – the one in which "geography" exercised its greatest appeal in several European countries during the early years of the twentieth century – was *Heimatkunde* (home area studies). From Balkans to Baltic, Catalonia to Norway, students queued up for courses in survey, documentation, and mapping of their territories (BUTTIMER 1994)²¹. Plunkett's vision, however, was more akin to Enlightenment mechanistic views of economic and social development. The products of his curriculum would constitute "an industrial army . . . organised and disciplined for the task of doing battle for Ireland's position in the world market", with a constitution "so skillfully contrived that it will harmonise all the interests involved" (PLUNKETT 1904, 133). Unlike the organicist interpretations of areas and people, where issues of community and cultural identity played a central role, the mechanist interpretation laid primary emphasis on economic productivity and growth.

Programmes in commercial geography were encouraged within the Department of Agricultural and Technical Instruction (DATI). In 1899 the Royal College of Science for Ireland was adumbrated under the aegis of DATI and steps taken to improve the quality of science teaching in secondary schools (CAMPBELL 1991). A "Higher Certificate in Geography" for secondary school teachers was announced in DATI's *Journal* 1917–18, and set of textbooks initiated by the Assistant Secretary for Technical Instruction, George Fletcher. The editorial in this five volume *Provinces of Ireland* 1921–22 presents the case rather defensively (FLETCHER 1921, v):

The aim of this series is to offer, in a readable form, an account of the physical features of Ireland, and of the economic and social activities of its people. It deals therefore with matters of fact rather than with matters of opinion; and, for this reason, it has happily been found possible to avoid political controversy . . .

²¹ In terms of cognitive style, *Heimatkunde* incorporated at least three distinct world views, or root metaphors. The mapping of phenomena and inventory of a landscape's history and resources yielded a mosaic of patterns which could eventually constitute sheets for the national atlas, to be later perused in the interpretation of places, cultural traditions, and the region as arena of spontaneous events, or nations as organic wholes.

The "facts", however, were not deemed uncontroversial. Commercial geography, thus authored, was regarded as alien to the nationalist cause, and gained only a limited audience during the subsequent years. It continued at the Rathmines School of Commerce, and within the Commerce Faculty at University College Dublin, where advanced certificates in Commercial Geography were secured from the London School of Economics even into the late twenties (CAMPBELL 1991). Trinity College Dublin started its own School of Commerce in 1925 (DAVIES 1986). In 1926 the Royal College of Science was absorbed into University College Dublin. And it was from there that the most vocal opposition to all "Unionist-inspired" texts emerged: the training of teachers and the editing of textbooks in this newly-independent state was to be moulded along strictly nationalistic and denominational lines (Fig. 2).

4.3 Timothy Joseph Corcoran, S. J. (1872-1943)

Father Timothy J. Corcoran, Professor of Education at UCD 1909-1942, was one of the most influential architects of educational policy in the Irish Free State. "The principal duty of an Irish educational policy, it was argued in the *Irish Statesman*, should be "the building up of an Irish civilisation", for ... "Irish political freedom without Irish nationality is not worth one drop of ink" (MACNEILL 1925, 169). Geography could be a vital shaper of such a vision. Inspired by the organicist views of historians such as von Herder and Michelet, MacNeill stressed the importance of the native language, literature, and folk traditions. Without its native language, Ireland would become 'a mere geographical expression' (MCCARTNEY 1973, 79). Geography, Corcoran claimed in 1915, was the best possible field in which the Irish language could be fostered. "No other subject of the whole course of general education is as suitable as Geography for training in a new vernacular" (CORCORAN 1923, 618). As in France, Corcoran believed that geography's closest ally should be history (CORCORAN 1923, 622; CAMPBELL 1991).

Beyond his scholarly achievements (GLEESON 1943), Corcoran was a practical person, eager to cultivate geography as vital ingredient in "education for the land" in rural schools particularly. His views on rural development in Ireland were quite different from those of Plunkett. He harangued against those curricular reforms promulgated by the DATI which "stretched out its grasp towards secondary and primary schools" ... seeking "absorption and control, not adjustment of studies" (CORCORAN 1923,

617). Not only had the teaching of geography through English, by teachers of English literature, brought the subject into disrepute in secondary schools, but the texts were misleading for Irish youth (CORCORAN 1923, 619-20):

The Geography manuals too often used in Ireland have descended from the text-books devised fifty years ago in English, when the doctrines and the point of view of the Manchester School of Economics widely prevailed. In the eyes of its writers, thinkers, teachers, it was the big factory town that mattered . . . The rural industries of all modern countries are politically less influential than those of urban areas . . . For the good of the Irish people this policy should be reversed. A regional treatment of the country, directed towards the land and its uses, can be made, on the basis of structural geography, to yield abundance of varied and practical matter.

Corcoran, echoing some of the concurrent anti-urban bias within French geography of the 1920s, was adamantly opposed to the biases of the "Manchester School". If a foreign standard were desired, then Denmark, Holland, and Switzerland might provide more durable guidance. "Much better", however, "if we develop our own scale of human and economic values and apply them in teaching Geography no less than in handling History."

And so it was to be. The text which qualified best for the teaching of geography was Eleanor Butler's *The Irish Student's Geography*, which opened thus:

IRELAND - OUR NATIVE LAND

Ireland is a land shrouded in song and story. Poets have sung her. Calling her 'a rich and rare land', 'the land of the pure and the free', 'a land of eternal youth'. They have personified her as 'Dark Rosaleen', as 'The Shan Van Vocht', as 'Cathleen Ni Houlinhan'. Of yore they sang of her as Banba, as Fodhla, as Eire - three fair queens of the Celtic imagination; and today, as centuries ago, they still revere her, addressing her as Inisfail, the Isle of Destiny.

This land, which has called forth so much song, and which has a literature, the most ancient and the most wonderful in Europe, has moreover, since the dawn of history, nursed generation after generation of brave men and good women; so much so that the name by which our fathers most loved to call their land was 'Eire Ogh', that is, 'Holy Ireland'.

This is the land which we propose to study in these pages, and the study will be for us a task of love; for Ireland is our own land - the dearest land on earth to us; and so any study that helps us to know more about that land cannot be without interest for us.

BUTLER'S *Structural Geography of Ireland* (1929) and *Student Atlas* were to become the standard texts throughout the Republic for several generations. One

might indeed regard Eleanor Butler, a disciple of Cole, friend of de Valera, and author of several bilingual textbooks, as perhaps ultimately the most influential "gatekeeper" on geographical thought in modern Ireland. Her works provided a compendium of factual information, with little concern about ideological controversies, on the physical and human geography of Ireland.

The *impasse* between "Plunkett" and "Corcoran" views of education for rural development was obviously related to conflicting ideological positions on Irish independence. While both admired the Danish models of *Folkhøgskoler*, there were also fundamental differences in the "root metaphors" used. Plunkett wrote in the stridently integrated metaphors of organicism and mechanism; Corcoran, while admiring the French geographers' organicist style, favoured the metaphors of formism and contextualism to emphasize the practical utility of geography for the achievement of pedagogical aims. There was another main difference in their rhetorical styles: Plunkett seemed to place greater emphasis on "freedom to" develop rural Ireland, while Corcoran invested much energy on emphasizing the need for "freedom from" all that he deemed alien. The price of his success was, to some extent, a donning of "the mantle of the oppressor": as geography had been taught and examined in the framework of English language and literature, he argued, so in future it should be subsumed under the teaching of Irish language and life. Plunkett lost the battle on the curriculum for geography, but was eventually to win the war on modernisation within Irish agriculture. Corcoran won the battle on curriculum and remained a powerful influence on Irish geography teaching programmes at the secondary school level (see also JOHNSON 1992), but eventually lost, or at least postponed the war over the establishment of the discipline at University level.

It was not from academics that pressure emerged for the establishment of Geography Departments in the Republic of Ireland. Rather it was from school teachers who needed textbooks. In 1934 the Geographical Society of Ireland was founded, and Eleanor Butler was a founder member. One of their first projects was to persuade Trinity College to upgrade its Diploma course in geography to an honours degree course. A Chair in "Geography and Education" was announced in 1936 and T. W. Freeman was appointed. Meanwhile at University College Cork, Isaac Swain continued as Professor of Geology (1909-1945), and a joint lectureship in Geography-Geology set up in 1932 enabled students

to follow courses leading to B.A. degree. C. S. O'Connell, appointed in 1940, assumed responsibility for Geography and Geology in 1946, and introduced Geography as a degree subject in 1948-49.

In 1940 the teachers made an unsuccessful plea to University College Dublin to begin a degree course in geography. Tensions between professor of commercial geography and political economy led to the abandonment of the former in 1947 (CAMPBELL 1991). Renewed pressure from the GSI, however, resulted in a new lectureship in geography there in 1950, when T. Jones-Huges arrived. In 1959 the first chair of Geography in the National University of Ireland was created at University College Cork, with C. S. O'Connell as Professor. One year later University College Dublin followed suit. In 1962 a statutory lectureship in geography was set up within the Geology Department at University College Galway. In the same year degree courses in geography were instituted at Magee University College in Derry. In 1967 a Professorship in geography was established at the New University of Ulster in Coleraine (GLASSCOCK 1967).

For the three acclaimed "founding fathers" of twentieth century geography at University level in Ireland - E. Estyn Evans at Queen's University Belfast, T. W. Freeman at Trinity College Dublin, and T. Jones Hughes at University College Dublin - it was neither commerce, geology, nor twentieth century politics or rural development that was of primary concern. All three fostered links with history; all were dedicated to research on landscapes and life in pre-twentieth century contexts. Evans cultivated links with the humanities, especially with anthropology and history, Freeman supported traditional regional geography and field observations in the spirit of Cole, and T. Jones Hughes cultivated historical and cultural geography, strengthening the Welsh connection which continues to this day. At University College Cork, Professor Charles O'Connell presented a full range of courses in physical, human, and regional geography, and always sought to maintain an integrated and environmentally-sensitive field. The strength and quality of undergraduate training in Ireland, North and South, has been applauded by colleagues in Europe and North America, where many of the graduates have pursued their careers.

5 Conclusion

There were many historical parallels and even interactions between England's oldest colonial col-

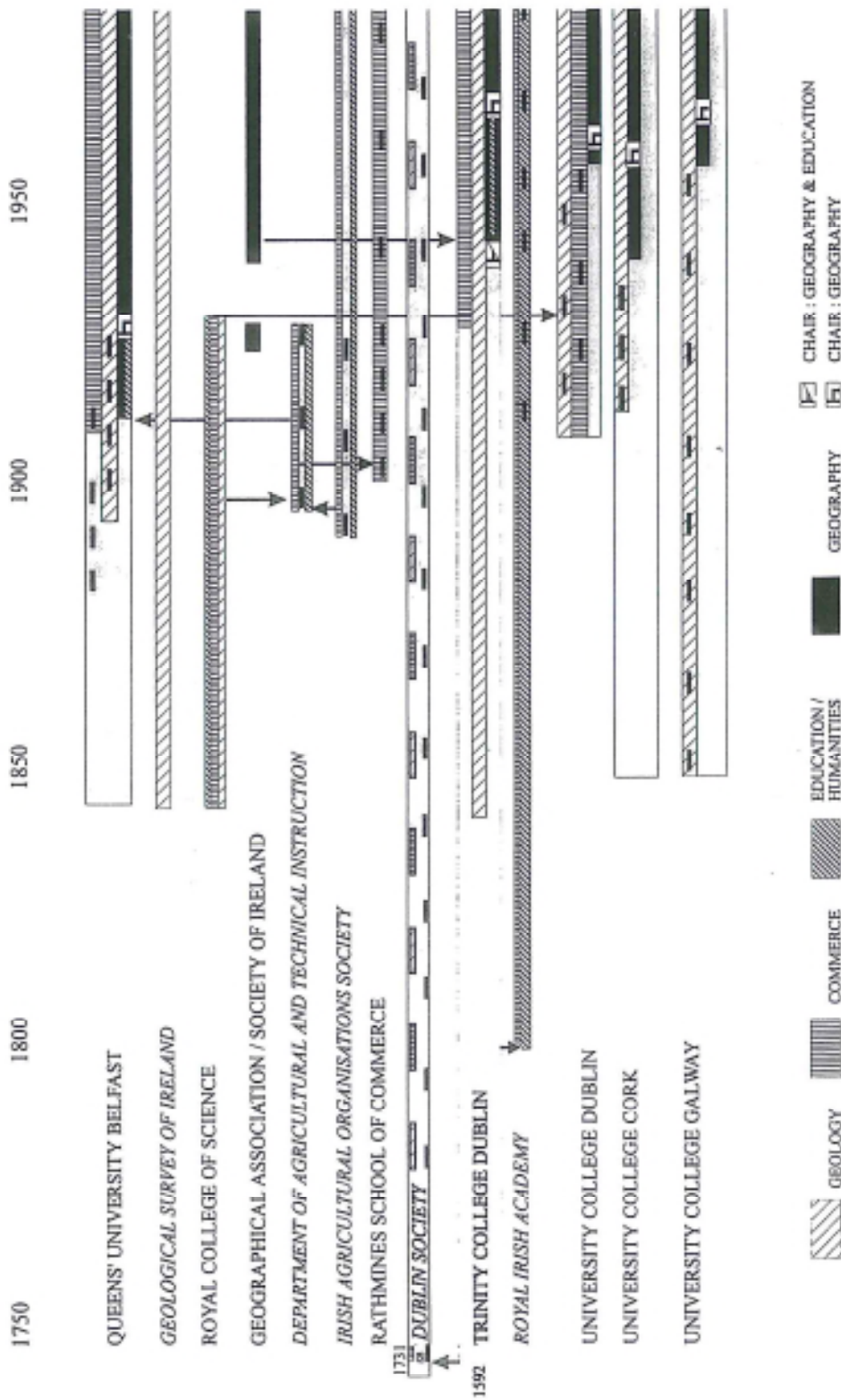


Fig. 2: Institutionalisation of geography in Ireland
 Institutionalisation der Geographie in Irland

leges in Ireland and America. Despite imperial pressure, neither satisfactorily fulfilled the overt colonial intention of subjugating 'barbarism' for English 'civilitie'; from the start both were staffed by non-conformist elements. The contexts, of course, were quite different: Ireland often providing the laboratory where colonial strategies could be tested and monitored more easily before further applications across the Atlantic; Ireland's cultural history quite different from that of native North Americans. Explicit at Harvard, but only implicit at Trinity, the idea of a universe totally explainable in terms of mechanical laws, was already the hallmark of the European Age of Reason. The Classical texts of Enlightenment mechanism were to inspire different responses at Harvard than they were at Trinity College Dublin during the eighteenth century. The American Revolution (1776) succeeded, that of the United Irishmen (1798) failed.

Of the reasons commonly adduced for the differences, the obvious ones include the favourable circumstances in which the New England Puritans found themselves, the relative salience of "freedom to" rather than "freedom from" in their revolutionary rhetoric; on the Irish side, meanwhile, not only a demographic haemorrhage through plantation, famine, and Penal Laws, but also the geographical proximity of England and its continuing "gatekeeping" role in the curriculum at Trinity. Whereas the Americans pushed forward with a mechanistic world view in the design of their new Constitution and later regarded geography as resource inventory and boundary definition in post-Independence years, Ireland's intellectual life, upon the demise of the United Irishmen in 1798, was characterised by contextualist interpretations of life and nationhood. The "whole picture", in other words, in North America, was machine-like and once in place, could accommodate infinite varieties of geography as mapping and inventory executed with analytical precision. In a new world *tabula rasa*, effectively cleared of indigenous native claims, and free of oppression from colonial powers, why not freedom "to" rather than "from", why not global horizons? The same "whole picture" stirred again among the Young Irishmen in the 1840s. But for the Trinity intellectuals, there was still much "from" which one wished to be free; much talent was addressed to satire, before it could entertain such hopes for the future. The contextualist view of the world as *theatre of events*, so excellently voiced in *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), marked, in fact, the necessary twilight before the horizon was cleared for the integrated world view of the earth

as organic whole, each cell of which should have its own integrity. The notion of Nation, as distinct from State, could then be shaped by poets such as Mangan, Moore, and especially Davis (1779-1852), Poet Laureate of the Irish Nation.

The prospectus for Irish nationhood, as proclaimed by Padraic Pearse, leader of the 1916 Rising, involved elements of both Enlightenment and Romanticism, of freedom to build, as well as of freedom from enslavement (PEARSE 1916, [1952 ed.] 180). Post Independence Ireland was to become anything but that globally-minded Nation of which Davis, George Russell, and even Pearse had dreamed (BROWN 1981; LEE 1991). Professional geography made little headway; except for a few specialists in geology and commerce, the discipline had to wait a few decades before it was accorded institutional status.

The twentieth century post-independence scene in Ireland does seem to fit the central thesis of this essay: pre-Independence models of a global, integrative, nature, post-Independence models of a housekeeping, domestically-oriented nature. Once in place, emphasis in university geography was on historical and cultural branches of the field. The fact that all three "founders" were themselves non-Conformists may indeed be significant, for the Free State educational orthodoxy had actually begun to wear the garments of the former Oppressor. The National University of Ireland, with its Statutes laid down in 1908, proceeded to encourage Irish-nationalist style 'civilitie'. Perhaps the "founders" of modern geography in Ireland were understandably cautious to steer clear of potentially controversial affairs of Ireland's concurrent regime? Or perhaps they were simply being good professionals, eager to remain in tune with concurrent trends within the discipline? Their cognitive styles indeed reflected the dominant trends of the interwar years in northern Europe and north America: the dispersed view of the world as mosaic of patterns. Concerns about methodological rigour in systematic human branches of research, and the promotion of research on Ireland's cultural history seemed far more important than engagement in the heated intellectual debates which geographers elsewhere were conducting over environmental determinism.

To conclude, then, with an invitation for dialogue on the following claims:

1. Integrated world views have provided rhetoric for movements leading to national autonomy: those of **mechanism** salient in the framing of States, those of **organicism** more salient in bolstering the Nation as symbol of cultural identity, territory and relationships of Nature. In post-Independent times there has

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