A Century of Geography at LSE (1895 to 1995)

Michael Wise & Robert Estall

Two lectures given to a gathering of past and present students and staff of the Department of Geography on the occasion of the celebration on July 7^{th} , 1995, of the 100^{th} anniversary of the founding of the School.

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Contents

			Pages
The First Half Century	1895-1945	Michael Wise	3 – 17
The Second Half Century	1945-1995	Robert Estall	18 – 39

Figures:

		Page:
1.	LSE Academic Staff, Geography, 1895 – 1945	6
2.	Diplomas and Certificates	7
3.	First Degrees Awarded at LSE and Kings, 1921 – 1947	11
4.	LSE Academic Staff, Geography, 1945 – 1991	21
5.	Full Time Academic Staff, Selected Years, 1945 – 1995	22
6.	Geography Department Convenors, 1945 – 1995	25
7.	LSE, Geography Undergraduates by Degree Course, 1950 – 1990	27
8.	BSc(Econ), Part II, Special Subject Geography	29
9.	LSE, Total First Degree and Higher Degree Students, 1945 – 1994	34

The First Half Century 1895 - 1945

Michael Wise

Mackinder and the early years

Our story must begin with Mackinder. Ralf Dahrendorf (1995) has related the circumstances in which he became a founding member of the staff of the new School and has also assessed the achievements of his Directorship, 1903-1908. He lived throughout our period, though in the later years his health deteriorated and his connection with the School weakened

In 1895 he was still only 34, Reader in Geography in the University of Oxford and Principal of the new University College of Reading. To the task of developing geographical study in a school devoted to the social sciences he brought great strengths. He held a nationwide reputation as a university extension lecturer; in that capacity he was said to have covered 10,000 miles a year by rail so that the short distances on the efficient Great Western Railway posed no problem. He had strong backing from the Royal Geographical Society and was already familiar, from Oxford, with the practical problems of developing the subject within a University. Sidney Webb, the Founder, with whom he was on friendly terms, was aware of his passion for the subject in the 'new' form and shape in which it had been presented to the RGS in 1887 and of its potential in the programme of a School which would have the special aim of investigating "the concrete facts of industrial life and the actual working of economic and political relations as they exist, or have existed, in the UK and in foreign countries". There was a strong demand for teaching in commercial subjects; Britain was backward in relation to its competitors. It was in this context that an opportunity for the subject existed and Commercial Geography was one of nine principal subjects offered in the first session. Mackinder's lectures and classes on the influence of geographical conditions on commercial development and trade routes were given at the London Chamber of Commerce in Eastcheap on Tuesday evenings at 6.30 p.m.

The School did not at first undertake to prepare students for particular examinations but its courses were useful for some existing University examinations (e.g. in History), for the Civil Service examinations, those of the London Chamber of Commerce, the Institute of Bankers and other bodies. Some of Mackinder's students were taking geography as a

compulsory subject in the Higher Commercial Certificate of the Chamber of Commerce: others were teachers employed by the London School Board which had a high reputation for its teaching of geography (not all 19th century school teaching of the subject was poor and repetitive). The railway companies sent staff to the 'railway' courses which included railway geography.

Geography was not originally included in the School's three year `complete' course in economics and political science but economic geography came in in 1899-1900. The subject was organised on a regional basis. For example, the Economic Geography of the Indies, understood in "its old sense of the oceanic borders of Asia and Africa beyond the Isthmus of Suez" was offered in the Lent Term, with Latin America to follow in the Summer Term. Geography was also part of the two year Higher Commercial Course which aimed to provide `a scientific training in the structure and organisation of modern industry and commerce'.

While these opportunities were accepted another was lost. Mackinder had had the idea of establishing a School or Institute of Geography in London along the lines of those of Vienna or Paris (Cantor, 1962). The Royal Geographical Society, following the Scott Keltie report, was doing its best to foster geography as a university discipline and had already supported Mackinder's Readership at Oxford. On 11 December 1895 Keltie wrote to Hewins (the first Director of LSE) enquiring whether LSE would be willing to cooperate in developing such a School. Hewins was sympathetic and discussion followed. In February 1896 Mackinder produced his Prospectus for the new London School of Geography which would offer day and evening teaching and provide research facilities. In March 1897 the RGS agreed to support the venture to the tune of £400 a year providing that the remaining £800 could be raised by October 1898. Alas, the Technical Education Board of the London County Council, to which the School looked for funds, had more urgent priorities and the London project lapsed, much to the benefit of Oxford.

Developments and Problems 1900-1914

A new phase opened in 1900 with the establishment in the University of London of the Faculty of Economics and Political Science (including Commerce and Industry). LSE became a school of the University in the following year and a BSc(Econ) degree course was established with geography as one of the five first year courses. Second and third year students of Economic History, Public Administration, International Trade, Transport, and

Demography were required to attend lectures on `Applications of Geography to definite Economic and Political Problems'. New courses were introduced on, for example, Economic and Political Geography of the UK, and World Routes and Trade while Mackinder ran a seminar for advanced (research) students.

With the move to Clare Market in 1902 and the increase in the student population (542 in 1901-2; 1414 in 1905-5) opportunities for more specialised subject development opened up. The School Calendar for 1905-06 (the third year of Mackinder's successful period as Director) claimed that "the teaching of geography at the School is designed primarily to meet the requirements of students of economics, politics and history, but in that it is based throughout on physical geography it constitutes in fact a fairly complete course except as regards surveying." This omission could be made good at the RGS. From 1902 Mackinder had the assistance of A.W. Sargent who had been the first full-time student of the School, enrolled in 1896, and the second Chairman of the Students' Union. After one session as a lecturer at the School, Sargent had spent three years (1899-1902) as lecturer in economic geography at Owen's College, Manchester. Back at LSE, as Lecturer in Foreign Trade, Arthur Sargent taught courses on economic geography, on the great trade routes and on trade with India and the colonies. Mackinder continued to teach the introductory course as well as courses in regional and historical geography. Other teachers, among them G.G. Chisholm and LW. Lyde were brought in for particular courses (Fig. 1).

A look at the Special Intermediate examination papers of the time indicates the emphasis placed on `the influence of physical conditions', the geographical point of view' and `the geographical argument' and there was a strong regional emphasis. For example: -

"Analyse any one of the chief British industries from the geographical point of view, giving the main physical facts on which the industry is based and discussing the question of its permanence" ... or

"Divide up the South American continent into regions having distinct economic characteristics. Explain the physical bases of your division."

The teaching of Geography was still closely linked with that of Commerce but the demands for a formalised course leading to a qualification from the many teachers who came to the School led in 1905 to the establishment of a Certificate in Geography and the Teaching of Geography (Fig. 2).

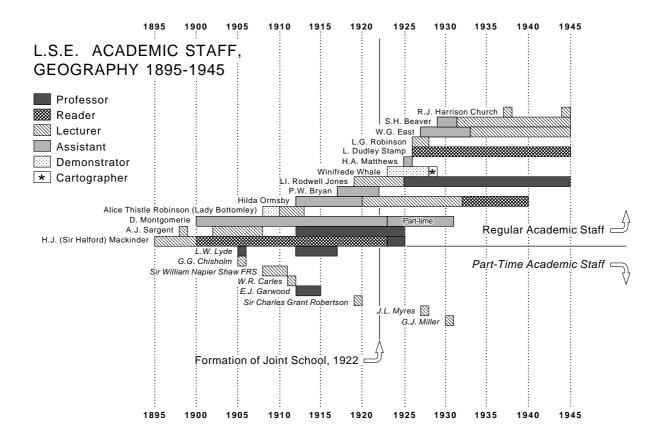


Figure 1.

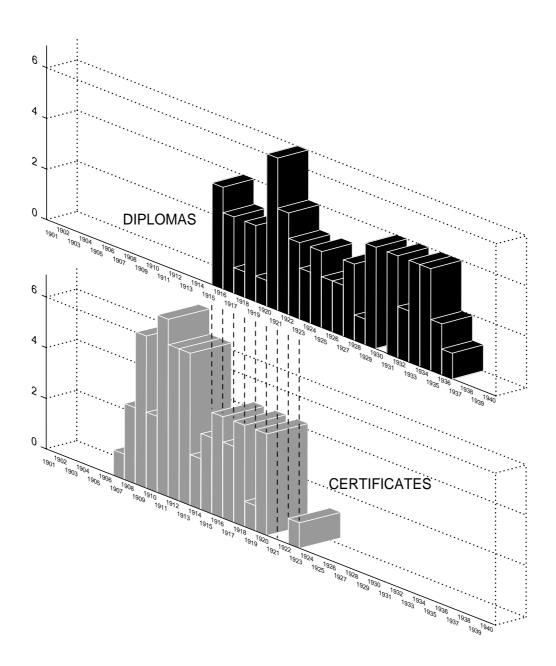


Figure 2.

Students were required to follow at least 100 hours of formal study which could be spread over more than one session. Mackinder and Sargent conducted special classes. Some remarkable students were attracted. The first Certificate to be awarded went to James Fairgrieve (1906) who, from 1912, was to take charge of geography in the London Day Training College (now the Institute of Education) and to produce such classics as *Geography* and World Power and Geography in School. In the following year Alice Thistle Robinson (later Lady Bottomley) was successful. She then became an assistant to Mackinder (1908-12). Hilda Rodwell Jones (later Ormsby) took the Certificate in 1909 and succeeded Lady Bottomley on the staff on which she was to remain until 1940. Other names include Hilda Hippisley Barnes who became the first lecturer in geography in the University of Birmingham. Ellen Smith and Catherine Matthews were authors of early LSE publications on, respectively, The Reigate Sheet of the One-Inch Ordnance Survey (1910) and The Highlands of South-West Surrey (1911). Nor should the name of P.W. Bryan (1912) be overlooked. By 1912 a Higher Certificate had been added involving additional courses in Surveying and Physical Geography under Professor Garwood's direction at University College.

With Mackinder occupied as Director (1903-1908), and from 1910 as a Member of Parliament, an increasing load of responsibility fell upon Sargent. His contribution, as Hilda Ormsby wrote in an unpublished note, has not been adequately recognised in writing on the history of the subject. While preparing also for the establishment of a Commerce degree (he was elected Professor of Commerce in 1912) it was Sargent who argued to Pember Reeves, the Director, that geography was now capable of fuller recognition as a degree course. Sargent built up the map collection, organised a departmental library and, with the aid of funds obtained by Sidney Webb, secured a map-room with specially designed desks for the study of large scale maps. He was not a brilliant lecturer like Mackinder: he tended to talk to the blackboard or to the map, reported Ormsby, rather than to the audience. But he was a careful and conscientious teacher.

Pressure bore fruit in 1912 when geography was added as an option in the final examination for the BSc(Econ) degree. Three papers out of nine could be taken in geography "with special reference to the economic and political development and present organisation of Europe and North America". Mackinder and Sargent offered detailed regional treatments of Europe and North America supported by Hilda Ormsby. Among the early successful students were V.J. Spary (1913), who was to take charge of the celebrated geography department at the William Ellis Grammar School and to become conference organiser for the Geographical

Association, and E.W. Shanahan whose text-book on *South America* was well known to students of my generation. Research students continued to present themselves: J.F. Unstead, for example, who took the D.Sc.(Econ) in 1912 and became Professor of Geography at Birkbeck College.

After the War

Hilda Rodwell Jones (she was to become Hilda Ormsby in 1920) held the fort during the difficult years of the First World War while also working for Admiralty Intelligence. Sargent was engaged in Home Defence and Lady Bottomley was occupied with cartographic work for the Services. Mackinder had his public work (including the origins of the National Savings Movement) but came to the School to give lectures on topics such as `The Geographical Conditions of the Reconstruction of Europe'.

As the war drew to an end the reconstruction of his geography department was much in Mackinder's mind. A paper to Pember Reeves of January 1919 reveals his thinking. Public work would prevent him from resuming his pre-war teaching routine. He wanted to be free from repetitive teaching. However, it was essential that the tradition of teaching which he had initiated should be continued. He was therefore against any move to fill a Chair by advertisement thereby bringing in a new professor with alien ideas: his views on some of those who might be considered were very critical - if not dull, they included vague idealists! The solution, he thought, was to be found in the close association of the departments of Geography and Commerce under the headship of Professor Sargent. Mackinder was willing to give up half his salary to him. In return he sought only a consultative and limited teaching role. New teachers would be required, especially as King's College had asked for help from the School for the regional teaching of South America for their commercial students of Spanish and Portuguese. To support Miss Jones he had in mind her young brother Major Llewellyn Rodwell Jones, who had taken the LSE Certificate in 1910 and had lectured in geography in the University of Leeds before earning distinction on active service marked by the award of the Military Cross with the West Yorkshire Regiment. P.W. Bryan could continue as a Demonstrator (Mackinder was already subsidising his salary) and another `outside' appointment was needed. He mentioned A.G. Ogilvie, Marion Newbigin and A.W. Andrews as possibilities.

But Pember Reeves was in the last, tired, months of his Directorship and was to leave the School in May 1919. Rodwell Jones was duly appointed to the staff but the other suggestions in Mackinder's paper were left in abeyance. There were five teachers of geography: Mackinder, now very much part-time; Sargent, as Professor of Commerce, very occupied with the new B.Comm. degree and heavily pressed as one of only three full-time senior teachers in the School, Hilda Ormsby, Rodwell Jones and P.W. Bryan as an assistant. The teaching load had been increased by the heavy influx of students at the end of the war and as an outcome of new responsibilities, e.g. teaching for the Intermediate and Part II examinations in the B.Comm. degree. There was now to be added the challenge of teaching for honours degrees in geography in the faculties of Arts and Science with physical geography and other aspects of the subject required. Laurence Dudley Stamp and his pupil (and wife to be) Elsa Rea graduated from King's College in the year of the first examinations, 1921. The first LSE student Alice Peile, who was to have a successful career as geography specialist and head mistress in girls' grammar schools, graduated in 1922.

The Joint School of Geography

The solution, as L.D. Stamp and S.W. Wooldridge (1951) related, lay in the formation of the Joint School of Geography with King's College. LSE had a new Director, William Beveridge, much seized with the potentialities of a scientific approach to the social sciences. The scheme agreed in 1921 with Dr. (later Sir) Ernest Barker, Principal of King's College, was simple and effective. King's College offered the Physical Basis of Geography, including Geomorphology, Meteorology and Bio-geography. King's College was also to provide the History of Geographical Discovery. LSE was to offer the Regional and Economic aspects, Historical Geography, and the Distribution of Man. Methods of Mapmaking was to be shared (Beaver 1987).

Stamp and Wooldridge agree that, in those days, LSE was the operative centre. King's College had no Department of Geography and its geography students "tended to be little more than birds of passage, visiting the College for lectures, but living and working at LSE". LSE had the BSc(Econ) students and teaching for both day and evening students remained, as it had been since the foundation, a major and largely distinct task for the LSE staff. Between 1921 and 1939 (inclusive) LSE produced 22 BA (Hons) and 206 BSc(Econ) students, King's 140 BA(Hons) and 87 BSc (Special) students (Fig.3). LSE also had the larger number of post-graduate students.

FIRST DEGREES AWARDED at:

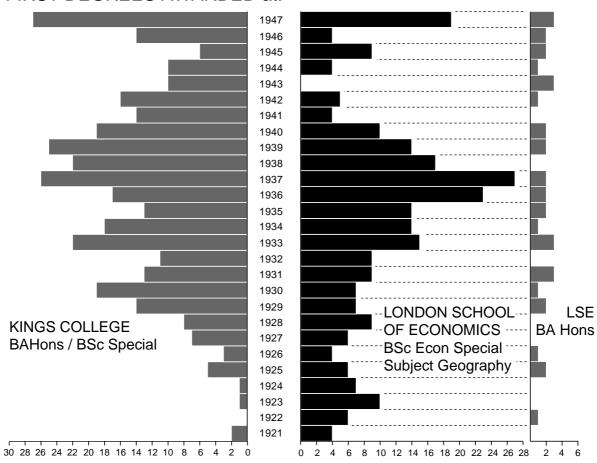


Figure 3.

The agreement with King's College made no mention of Mackinder although he had been involved in the discussions. Sargent seems to have been regarded as in charge at LSE and Mackinder, though still giving lectures, was now less active. The title of Professor was conferred on him in 1923; he had resisted pressure to accept the title since at least 1912, if not before, and he retired in 1925.

Increasingly Rodwell Jones was now taking over the conduct of affairs and two new assistants H.A. Matthews and D.H. Montgomerie were appointed. Mackinder was insistent that Rodwell should succeed him, so maintaining his tradition. But the ambitious Beveridge was set on bringing the best geographer in the country to LSE and had H.J. Fleure in mind. Failing Fleure, Roxby or MacFarlane were possibilities. L.D. Stamp was also on the short list but his time had not yet come. In the event, Mackinder had his way. Stamp remarked later that this defeat made Beveridge unhelpful to geography. a situation worsened by the fact that Mrs. Ormsby did not get on with Mrs. Mair, the Secretary of the School. But very few members of the staff did! And Beveridge certainly seems to have given valuable practical support to Stamp's Land Utilisation Survey of Great Britain.

Rodwell's inaugural lecture "Geography and the University" (Economica, V, 1925) is a reflector of the state of geography as a university discipline at the time, clear as to his purpose but "not yet feeling quite at home". Stamp and Wooldridge paid tribute to his leadership qualities and teaching ability. "He was," they wrote in the introduction to his memorial volume (1951), "indefatigable in guiding the work of the Joint School and maintaining its intellectual standards." On a field excursion in the Sheffield district in the later 1950s Wooldridge, a great field teacher himself, confided to me that the route that we had that day followed, and the methods he had employed, were `learned from Rodwell'.

Sargent was now able to give less time to geography, and the demands of teaching for intermediate courses for BSc(Econ) and B.Comm. students had grown. L. Dudley Stamp was appointed to a Cassel Readership in 1926 as the result, it seems, of a decision by the Director, Beveridge, to strengthen teaching and research in geography especially into the natural resources of Great Britain. Beveridge was a positivist and believed in the value of the process of survey, analysis, and report, thereby gaining influence (Dahrendorf, 1995). This was very much what Sidney Webb had had in mind at the time of the School's foundation and Stamp's Land Utilisation Survey exemplifies the value of the approach. The Survey, launched in 1930, became a co-operative effort uniting members of the Joint School in the recording and checking of field surveys and in work on the county reports (Stamp, 1948). Possession of the

facts of land use change, and publication and explanation of the results, was to put Stamp into the highly influential position of adviser to governments and formulator of policies for land use classification and control.

His international reputation brought visitors from many lands to LSE and the graduate school of geography began to flourish, his students returning to their own universities overseas to develop their own geography departments. Happily, Dr. E.C. Willatts who was Organising Secretary of the Survey, is here today and I will not try to anticipate what he may wish to say at the opening of the Exhibition later today - except to remark that Stamp's Survey will be remembered in times to come long after other much lauded contemporary work in the School has been overtaken by events.

The years between 1925 and 1930 proved to be a key period of consolidation and development. Important appointments to the staff were made in 1927 with the arrival of W.G. East to teach historical geography and in 1929 when S.H. Beaver came to teach economic geography. Both have recorded their impressions of an active phase with the five members of the LSE staff working closely with their three colleagues at King's College. The war years then brought separation with King's in Bristol and LSE in Cambridge, and urgent calls to work of national importance. When, in 1945, Rodwell Jones retired, the then Director Dr. A.M, Carr-Saunders, in his Report for the year, paid a noteworthy tribute to him and to the department.

"Under his guidance," he wrote, among other complimentary remarks about Rodwell, "this department has become one of the foremost in the country, taking the lead, it may be claimed, in the social aspects of the subject," (Carr-Saunders, 1947).

Conclusion

How can the achievements of the first fifty years be summarised? The initial impetus given by Mackinder had been sustained by Sargent. Rodwell Jones and his sister had maintained forward progress while taking on duties to assist Stamp in the undertaking of his great Survey. From across the Strand, S.W. Wooldridge had put his heart as well as his great quality as a physical geographer into the Joint School.

Mackinder had shown that geography as a discipline had a necessary place in a school of social sciences. Economic, social and political events and problems were played out in a real world of varied environments, a world where space and spatial relationships mattered. The first task had been to provide essential information for the world of commerce. That

achieved, a discipline could be built to contribute in its own right to many of the more general questions which concerned the School: among them questions of location, resource use, urban change, the historical background to international political change, the spatial consequences of technical change and political decision, evaluations of the environment and the formation of policies for the management of environmental change.

Much of the early work had a strong regional emphasis; the term `Detailed regional geography' appears frequently in the syllabus. The accompanying study of large-scale maps was fostered. Regional texts appeared: Rodwell Jones and P.W. Bryan's *North America* (1924), E.W. Shanahan's *South America* (1927), Hilda Ormsby's *France* (1931), (alas, material for her book on Germany was destroyed during the war). Stamp and Beaver's *The British Isles* (1933) among them. After the war, Spate's *India and Pakistan* (1954) and R.J. Harrison Church's *West Africa* (1963) continued the tradition.

Note must also be made of the tradition of work on London, exemplified in the period under discussion by Hilda Ormsby's *London on the Thames* (1924) and Rodwell Jones's *Geography of London River* (1931). In these studies and in others from Mackinder's *Britain and the British Seas* (1902) onwards a strong historical approach shines through. Gordon East's *Historical Geography of Europe* (1935) was a major contribution to the development of the field.

Only some of the contributions to economic geography can be mentioned. Rodwell Jones's studies of the industrial regions of *North England* (1921) and S.H. Beaver's work on industrial localisation and pioneer studies of industrial dereliction come at once to mind. From Stamp's work came general principles of agricultural change. Stamp kept alive the earlier tradition of Commercial Geography. His *Intermediate Commercial Geographies*, based on his course for the BSc(Econ) Intermediate examinations, had a world-wide market. He also revised, edited and enlarged Chisholm's *Handbook of Commercial Geography* and, even if this did not bring him credit in some intellectual quarters, it was certainly a much valued aid to commerce and trade. Mackinder, Beaver and Sargent all made important contributions to the geography of transport; their early models have been overlooked by more recent writers. Sargent's work on hinterlands is worth special mention in this connection.

Geography had become more specialised. It has been argued that Mackinder, with his insistence on the importance of the regional tradition and the 'geographical point of view' would have been unhappy as specialised geographies made their appearance. The issue is debatable. Certainly, in an address in 1935 he felt that geography was not profiting from the

divergencies of approach adopted in the different universities. On the other hand, he would perhaps have judged developments on their merits in the context of changing ideas and demands. He would certainly have approved of the developing tradition of applying geographical studies to relevant problems of the time.

One of his students (the late Martha Wilson Woolley) has given me a postcard which she once received from Mackinder commenting on work which she had sent him to read. His comment concludes with the old Scottish adage "Who does the whiles the best he can will yet do ma'er". It will thus be interesting to hear Professor Estall's view of whether the Department which Mackinder initiated, in the School of which he was to become Director, continued in the second fifty years to "do ma'er".

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The Second Half Century

1945-1995

Robert Estall

Our second half century has been a period of great change, both in the subject of geography itself and in its teaching at Universities generally in the UK. It may be helpful, therefore, to begin this review with a comment on national change, which is well illustrated from first degree teaching - although there have been equally important developments at graduate level.

The National Context

The early post-war years brought an increase in UK undergraduate student numbers which was largely associated with returning service personnel. This was followed by a period in which the numbers of university institutions and undergraduate students grew quite slowly. But the Robbins Report on Higher Education in 1963 ushered in a period of strong growth, which accelerated in later years. When the Universities Central Council on Admissions (UCCA) was set up in 1961 there were 29 university departments of geography, admitting about 1,500 students. By 1994, 54 university institutions were offering courses in geography, and the available places totalled more than 5.200.¹

Clearly, in the early post-war years there were fewer (and normally smaller) geography departments which, by and large, preserved their pre-war characteristics. Staff numbers were rather small, and departments were often known for a particular specialism, which was often associated with an eminent individual who ruled the roost in more ways than one!

Subsequently, however, it became steadily less easy to identify the particular specialisms of most departments of geography. Many have become very large, with numerous members of staff teaching large bodies of students in a greatly expanded range of themes; physical, human and methodological. Similarly, the research and publications records of individual departments came to embrace a wider and wider range of specialisms. Change has thus not only affected the number and size of departments, but also the subject

itself; the approaches to geographical studies, the identification of major issues and methods; the form of teaching and the character and funding of research.

There is, of course, no fault-line to be found when tracing such academic developments over the years. Much of what has been claimed as 'new' has firm roots in past decades e.g. the so-called quantitative or theoretical revolution of the 1960s and early 1970s. Certainly there was no sharp transition at L.S.E. from a 'non-quantitative' to a 'quantitative' approach. Students from the `40s and `50s will recall the statistical requirements and exercises, and the discussion of theories and methods that was associated with their undergraduate work.

But the subject has certainly changed, becoming yet more numerate, more nomothetic (as opposed to idiographic) in its approach, more process and policy oriented, and much more diverse in its research and teaching themes. Among other things, all this implies that it has become less easy to link individual departments with particular specialisms and lines of approach.

LSE

That being said, the LSE Department of Geography remains most widely recognised for its view of geography as a social science, and as a subject that benefits greatly from (and contributes to) the other social sciences researched and taught at LSE. Our work during our second half-century has also (as traditionally) stressed the `applied' or `policy' contributions of geography to the study of human society. This has not been to the exclusion of theoretical study, of course; and advances in the theory of geography developed here (for example, in social and economic geography) have influenced the patterns of geographical work both nationally and internationally in the post-war years.

I approach this review of developments in Geography at LSE during our second half-century with some diffidence. Much has certainly happened in respect of our major functions of teaching and research. But it is still perhaps rather too early to identify the work and developments that will prove to have had the greatest long-term significance. It is also, happily, the fact that most of the academic participants in important events and achievements are still alive, and I would not wish publicly to identify those who I think might prove to be the Mackinders or Stamps of our second half-century! Here and there, of course, names will be mentioned but my emphasis will lie on events rather than personalities.

Staffing

Perhaps the first matter of record should concern staffing, which is so crucial to the achievements of any academic department. Figure 4 continues the detailed record of Figure 1 for the period 1945-1996. In numbers, the years since 1945 brought two notable periods of growth (the first on a very small post-war base), followed by stability and then decline. Figure 5 displays the broad trends. In 1945 the Department had but 4 members (of whom Prof. Harrison-Church is the sole survivor). By 1952 (when I entered the department as an undergraduate) staff numbers had grown to 9, and I think it justifiable to note (with delight) that, of this group (in addition to Harrison-Church) Michael Wise, Keith Clayton, Audrey Lambert, Bob Rawson, Ken Sealy and Dan Sinclair are still enjoying their retirement in 1995.

The next major expansion began in the 1960s, and by the late 1970s full-time staff numbers reached their maximum of 19 - a level approximately maintained until government pressures on Higher Education in the 1980s reduced the total to only 12 by 1989. From that low we slowly recovered to reach an expected 17 in October 1995. (It might be noted that the ability to sustain a desirable range of undergraduate teaching depended, for some years, on part-time help, especially from retired staff).

The bald numbers naturally conceal a certain turbulence, and since 1945 a total of 46 academics served the Department (Figure 4). Some stayed only a few years, but the majority stayed for 10 years or more while no fewer than 17 served for more than 20 years. Of those that left before retirement it is also worth recording that most went directly to chairs in other institutions in U.K. or overseas - surely a sign of the quality, vigour and reputation of Geography at LSE.²

A special comment may be made in respect of male/female ratios - a subject currently of general interest. Here again it seems appropriate to mention some names, because there have been so few - as Figure 5 shows.

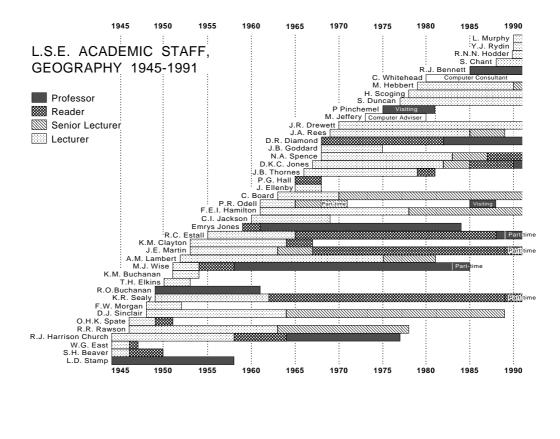


Figure 4.

Department of Geography Full Time Academic Staff 1945-95 (selected years)

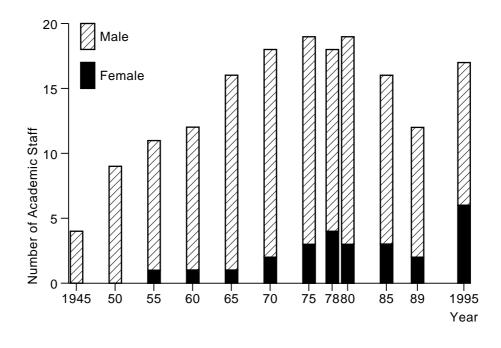


Figure 5.

The first female academic member of the Department in its second half-century was Audrey Lambert, who came in 1952. She remained the sole representative of her sex until joined by Judith Rees 17 years later. Then, in 1973, Margaret Jeffery joined the Department as our first computer consultant and Helen Scoging came five years later. Thus, in 1978, for a brief period, we had 4 female members of staff – almost ¼ of the total! Subsequently, all four left for new jobs or retirement³, but, apart from the 'black' year of 1989, new recruitment kept the total at 3 to the present time. If expectations are fulfilled, however, our second century will open in October 1995 with a total of 17 members of staff, of whom no fewer than 6 (35%) will be female. This may be compared with the LSE average of 21% female members of academic staff in 1994. It should be noted that there has been no deliberate policy involved here. Our female members of staff are here simply because they are the best!

Convenorship

It is appropriate briefly to mention here the subject of the `headship' of the Department during our second 50 years. In fact, the official adoption of a departmental system at LSE did not come until the 1960s but, if we ignore that complication, there have been 8 `heads of department' (convenors) in our second half-century (Figure 6).

The convenorship is certainly no sinecure. It often imposes a heavy burden on its incumbent and, at times of financial and other pressures (i.e. all too often), the work can be quite crucial to the well being of the department and the maintenance of its position in the School. Thus the role of our convenors in our second half-century deserves special recognition. But of this distinguished group I shall speak briefly only of L.D. Stamp and R.O. Buchanan, both of whom died many years ago. Professor Wise has already spoken of the great work done by Professor Sir Laurence Dudley Stamp during our first half-century. Here I simply add that, for all his brilliance and great distinction as a geographer of global stature, he was probably not the best `head' for the Department in the critical early post-war years, when the subject needed to confirm and advance its position within the School. He was often away on global travels (probably covering more miles in a month than the much-travelled Sir Halford Mackinder did in a year!) and he was not much interested in administration.

Thus, in 1949, Robert Ogilvie Buchanan, a New Zealander who had studied here at LSE in 1925-7 and gone on to teach at University College, London, was appointed to a Chair. His task was to bring new drive to the future direction both of this Department and the Joint School of Geography, with King's College. He led us with great competence for more than a

decade, becoming widely admired for his organisational and committee skills (which he also used more generally in the service of London University). His own geographical expertise was in economic geography, where he produced new insights into the links with economic theory, and where his teaching greatly influenced the emerging patterns and directions of geographical study. This was quickly reflected in LSE teaching, where new courses in the Advanced Economic Geography of Industry and Agriculture were introduced in a revised and revitalised BSc (Econ) Special Subject Geography degree. After retirement he vigorously edited the Bell's Advanced Economic Geography series, to which several members of our staff made contributions. In short, R.O.B. was surely one of the `great' names in geography in our second half-century⁴. He will undoubtedly be joined in such recognition by other members of this illustrious group; but that must await a later appraisal of the history of this Department.



Figure 6.

Undergraduate Matters

The expansion of teaching staff over the years was not reflected in a large growth in the numbers of geography undergraduates. Intakes to the various departments of the School have been closely controlled - among other things to preserve what was thought to be the appropriate size and character of the institution, while making way for new Social Science specialisms. Thus our number of undergraduate geography students remained roughly the same from the early 1950s, and most expansion of student numbers came in the Graduate School.

The relative stability of our undergraduate body, however, masks important changes (Figure 7). For long the BSc (Econ) was the chief degree taught in the School, setting a model that was widely adopted in other institutions. Historically, for the BSc (Econ) degree, the department offered both well attended `alternative subject' courses for all BSc (Econ) students, and a special subject in geography for its own students. The special subject geography was initially very popular amongst undergraduates, and numbers were strictly limited to 30 per year, in part because of restricted space for laboratory work in the Old Building. (My own struggle to obtain a place as a student above the quota in 1952 subsequently became a departmental joke).

Meanwhile, the numbers graduating with BA Geography degrees fluctuated between 5 and 10, as suggested in Figure 7. During the 1960s, however, a significant switch occurred in favour of the BA or the new BSc Geography degrees⁵, so that by 1970 the relative positions had been reversed, with about 30 students preparing for BA/BSc degrees and about 10, or fewer, opting for Geography in the BSc (Econ) format.

Among the reasons for this was the introduction of new `course unit' teaching in the BSc course, which offered greater flexibility in the structure of first degrees. Also, a heavy political emphasis on the desirability of 'scientific' qualifications in the 1960s persuaded large numbers of undergraduates to choose science courses. Then, in the late 1960s, the University Faculty of Arts also came to accept the course unit degree structure and this (coupled with the dropping of the entry requirements concerning a classical language) increased again the popularity of the BA degree. Thus our main undergraduate courses became the BA and BSc Geography degrees, and the BSc (Econ) special subject Geography fell on bad times, declining to an intake of <u>one</u> in 1990.

LSE: Total First Degree and Higher Degree Students, 1945-94 (Full and Part Time)

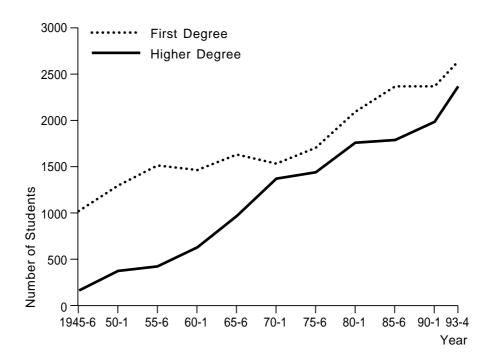


Figure 7. Geography Undergraduates by Degree Course

We have never satisfactorily identified the cause(s) of this decline in popularity of the BSc (Econ) format, although there does seem to have been a surprising lack of awareness in schools that geography could be studied in this way. Another reason may have been the refusal of the BSc (Econ) to adopt the increasingly popular course unit structure. Further, the number of special subjects available to BSc (Econ) students at LSE rose from 14 in 1953 to 26 in 1984. This may have siphoned off potential students. But the facts remain and, while many older members of the Department thought highly of the BSc (Econ) route for the study of geography (- in a sense typifying the unity of social science at LSE -) that route declined during our second half-century, and is now in fact closed. The BSc (Econ) degree is now available only to students of economics. However, in common with other departments for whom the BSc (Econ) format has ended, the Geography Department is currently developing subject combinations under BA/BSc regulations that will offer attractive social science packages for geographers, such as Geography with Economics, or Geography with Population Studies, as well as the established specialist geography degrees in Arts and Science.

Undergraduate Teaching

It follows from the changing and widening range of interests represented by larger numbers of staff, that the course offerings for undergraduates both increased in number and changed in character during our second half-century. Early post-war changes were perhaps especially important in the development of Economic Geography (rooted in the publications and teaching of R.O. Buchanan and M.J. Wise) to embrace advances in the theory and application of geography to the development and location of industry and agriculture

Certain other long-term changes are well exemplified in the courses offered to BSc (Econ), students under the regulations that ran from 1961 to 1994. These changes, which reflect the shifts in the department's teaching interests over a period of more than 30 years, are illustrated in Figure 8. In 1961 the two year Part II course included the systematic subjects of Physical Geography and Economic Geography (both compulsory) plus a choice from Political, Historical, Social and Transport Geography. On the regional side, courses on the British Isles and Europe were compulsory, while a choice of one <u>further</u> region from North America; Monsoon Asia and Africa was also possible.

Geography Undergraduates, by Degree Course 1950-90

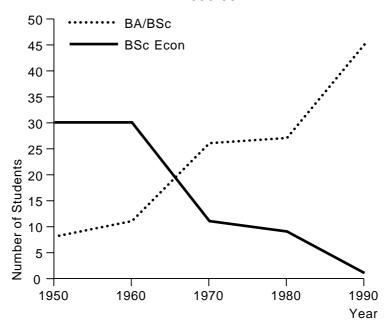


Figure 8. BSc. Econ. Part II Special Subject Geography

The comparison with 1994 is sharp. Figure 8 shows that the compulsory papers were all systematic, and that no regional study was <u>required</u>. The changing scope and approach of the optional, regionally oriented, courses is also suggested in their titles.

Other courses taught by members of the LSE Department for the BA/BSc degrees in 1994 further illustrate the developing subject orientation: Methods in Geographical Analysis; Applied Geographical Information Analysis; Mapping and Geographical Information Systems.⁶

All of this clearly reflects the development of new interests, new priorities and new specialisms in the study of geography. Especially has the impact of Information Technology grown substantially. As the BA/BSc course provisions mentioned above suggest, the Department has been among the leaders in the application of I.T. to spatial affairs. It not only greatly increased its technical capacity, in terms of specialist equipment, but also introduced in the early 1970s the post of geography computer adviser. Nonetheless, there remains clearly evident from Figure 8 the traditional concern for and the applied, or policy, orientation - to which, of course, the development of information systems and information analysis are closely linked.

It may well be asked how such a large number of undergraduate courses remained viable, given our long-term intake of only 40 or so undergraduates per year. Some were, in fact, taught to rather small groups (although numbers could fluctuate remarkably across a few years). But there was also the Joint School link with King's. This brought many students from their larger intake to swell the numbers taking LSE courses. In addition there was the wider appeal of several courses that attracted considerable inter-collegiate numbers - most notably, perhaps, for the Transport Geography and the Planning and Urban Geography courses.

Another theme worthy of comment here concerns the role of regional geography. At the opening of our second half-century, the objectives and methods of regional study were still seen to be central to the study of geography. This view was reflected in the requirements for all undergraduates to study at least two regions (Figure 8). There is no time to review the often acidic debate over regional geography that was mounted in the academic world in the 60s and 70s. Suffice to note that the role of regional study diminished in the face of the massive advances and achievements in the techniques, methods and subjects of systematic geography. At the LSE the change was reflected in the contrasting course offerings for 1961 and 1994. It came about gradually, as specialist regional teachers retired and were replaced by academics with a deep commitment to the systematic specialities. Undoubtedly, this

served geography well in its standing among social science disciplines. But it behoves geographers to bear in mind the potential of regional study (properly interpreted and applied) to give geography a distinctive role in the synthesis of economic and social factors that is essential for proper understanding of social and economic life in any given place. To me, personally, it is a matter of some concern that present-day undergraduates <u>can</u> achieve a first degree in geography without taking a single regional course.

The Costs of First Degrees

We may well disagree a little about the desirability of all the changes in the structure of first degree teaching here. But we must all agree that achieving a first degree has become much more expensive. One or two facts illustrate the point.

In the early 1950s, a full-time BSc Geography undergraduate from any part of the world would be required to pay an LSE fee of £35.14s (£35.70) per session. By 1961, that had risen to £50 but the same fee still applied to home and overseas students. Now, as our second half-century closes, a BSc Geography course (for Home and European Union students) costs £1,600 per session; while an Overseas student pays £7,120!

In this and other ways (such as the very high costs of living in London), the financial pressures on students are very great and, even more than formerly, students need to manage their financial affairs efficiently. The effects of these changes on the composition of our student body may also have been considerable; deterring potential LSE undergraduates from poorer homes and poorer countries to which we once had strong links.

Evening Teaching

Another notable change in our undergraduate work during our second half-century was the demise of evening teaching. Evening teaching was one of the great traditions at LSE, catering for mature students whose circumstances prevented them from pursuing full-time study. Evening teaching for the BSc (Econ) degree continued here until 1967, and special subject Geography was taught to the end. They were enjoyable students to teach, possessed of an enthusiasm and commitment that enabled them to persevere with their studies here over a long haul of 5 years, despite the demands of full-time employment during the day. It is not surprising that our evening teaching produced a large number of our best graduates

The demise of this service, when it came, was not unexpected. The numbers presenting themselves fell sharply from an early post-war peak so that, although the School steadily restricted the range of special subjects available, the number of participants became too few for an effective programme. Alternative avenues of part-time first-degree preparation had also become available at the Open University and the Polytechnics. Thus the tradition could no longer be maintained here, and the School (not without misgivings) withdrew from this part of its mission (and has failed so far to respond to prompting that it should reestablish its role as demand for part-time study, 'refresher' and other courses again increases).

The Joint School

Another historic feature of the teaching of geography here that continued through most of the second half-century was the operation of the Joint School of Geography with King's, the background to which has been dealt with by Michael Wise. For long into the post-war years the Joint School represented a valuable and logical dovetailing of resources; bringing expertise in a rich range of geographical work to the training of geographers on both sides of the Strand. The Joint School was long held up as a striking example of the benefits of collaboration between colleges in London University; with the suggestion that similar arrangements could, with benefit, be made elsewhere.

In more recent years, however, as the numbers of staff and the range of specialisms available in both Departments grew, the two Schools became rather less complementary in structure. The difficulties and frictions created by attempts to operate so closely together became more evident as the King's undergraduate intake increased considerably in size. Timetables became more difficult to construct and LSE and King's administrations became less sympathetic to Joint School needs. Financial pressures and constraints also played an increasing part in making the link less easy to operate and justify.

Thus the formal association ceased in 1993. Among other things, this permits us more vigorously to pursue our links with other departments within LSE. This now seems to be in the general interest. Nonetheless, although co-operation with King's will continue in certain courses, many past students will undoubtedly see the closure of the Joint School as one of the negative products of our second half-century.

Postgraduate Work

Given the relative stability of undergraduate numbers, it follows that much of the teaching effort of the larger staff at LSE has been directed to graduate students. Comparative data for particular subject areas are hard to come by before c.1980. But the increasing role of graduate studies at LSE as a whole is demonstrated by reference to the total number of regular students studying here for first and higher degrees. This is shown in Figure 9.

Between 1945 and 1994, the number registered for first degrees at LSE increased two and a half times. Meanwhile, registrations for Higher Degrees experienced a 12-fold increase. Without considerable research, it is not possible to judge the role of the Geography Department in that expansion. But, certainly, the Graduate School of Geography, well established and of high reputation in our first half-century, grew yet further in size and status in the second. A surviving departmental list for 1961 shows no fewer than 50 research students working for higher degrees. Many of these were part-time, however, and quite a few of them had been (or would be) on the register for quite a few years - something that is no longer officially permitted. But the numbers are indicative of the continuing importance of the Graduate School of Geography.

The subsequent development of higher degree work, both in the School and in the Department, was affected by a variety of changes. For example, the mid-1960s saw the introduction of a new, research-based MPhil degree, to accompany, at a lower level, the traditional PhD. The MSc also changed, becoming recognised as serving chiefly for advanced training purposes. In earlier years our MSc (Geography) embraced the detailed study of a country or region; or of a specialised theme normally in the field of industrial, agricultural or historical geography. Subsequently, the emphasis was placed on training for research, so that the study of geographical methodologies and research techniques became prominent, with dissertations and written papers reflecting the growing interest of the supervising staff in such areas as Environmental Planning, Hazards, Resource Management and Third World Urbanisation.

BSc (Econ): Part 2 Special Subject Geography (8 papers to be taken)				
1961	1994			
 Physical Geography Economic Geography British Isles Europe CHOICE OF: Political Geography Historical Geography Social Geography Economics of Transport North America Monsoon Asia Africa 6,7,8. (Outside Geography) Economics Political Thought History 	 Environment & Society Locational Change & Business Activity OR Space, Society & Culture Planning, Land & Property CHOICE OF: Environmental Policy Process Geography of Gender Hazard & Disaster Management Independent Essay Contemporary Europe Europe & the Global Economy The Thirdworld, Social & Econ Developments Latin America (Outside Geography) Economics History Politics British Society etc. 			

Figure 9. <u>LSE Total First Degree and Higher Degree Students 1945-94</u>

The direction and funding of Higher Degree work was also affected by the setting up by the government of the Social Science Research Council (and its successor, the Economic and Social Research Council). This brought constantly changing policies for the award of studentships and research grants, together with quota systems and uncertain funding. Pressure was also applied to achieve much quicker research results, while the introduction of so-called "full cost" fees for overseas students (today standing at over £7,000 per session) brought further pressures and complications - particularly to places like LSE with its heavy commitment to overseas students. There is no time to expand on such issues, however, and these comments on our Graduate School will be closed with a few straightforward notes on the present factual position in the Department.

Recent data show about 10 students per year taking the taught Masters Degree; while 20 or so take the M.Sc Regional and Urban Planning course. The latter is a possibly unique inter-departmental course, established in 1966, in which Geography plays a leading part, alongside Economics and Government. It attracts students from all over the world.⁸

Further, at the MPhil and PhD level over the past decade or so, something above 30 students have been registered with us each year - working at a pace and at a level that has made heavy demands upon their supervisors. The scores of theses produced for our MPhil and PhD degrees contain many notable contributions to the subject and have served to enhance our reputation. Many graduate students have also given important assistance with the major research projects of members of staff. Our Graduate School has thus served us well in our second half-century and, despite cost and other difficulties, many graduate students have continued to come from overseas. The subsequent career patterns of our Higher Degree students show many to have moved on to influential posts, both in U.K, and overseas. They have become a major presence in academic life, in public agency research and in government posts in their home or adopted countries, as well as in business and commercial enterprise. In sum, our second half-century has seen LSE develop one of the largest and most prestigious graduate schools of geography in the country and one which continues to attract able students from all over the world.

Research Contributions

For a University Department this is at once the most important, and the most difficult, area of work to review. Undoubtedly, over our second half-century, each of the 46 academics who have served here has contributed positively to the subject. But an attempt to comment on all work would result simply in a tedious `litany of the saints'.

At first (and rather naively) I thought that an examination and categorisation of staff publications as listed in the Calendar would enable me to follow some developing threads of interest through the years. I soon discovered this to be an impossible task - for the best of reasons. A count of listed publications between 1950 and 1994 yielded a total of over 1,500, embracing a variety and richness that defies categorisation.

Not all, of course, have been of equal weight. Some are books or reports that were the fruit of many years of work, some are major articles that set out new ideas and principles, test old approaches, re-visit long-accepted dogma, or develop numerous themes of study in a variety of ways. Others contribute in a more `subdued' way, as it were; providing fresh evidence of established ideas or offering fuller illustration etc. But the sum of all this is truly enormous and it is beyond my capacity to review it or do appropriate justice to all the individuals involved.

As a second idea, I thought to tap the judgements of members of staff (past and present) as to the most notable research contributions since 1945. I am most grateful for the helpful and unselfish response from so many of them. In the event, however, my problem was not eased by such consultations. There were many nominations of works (books, articles, reports) that were judged to have had profound influence on the development of the subject, on the teaching agenda of university departments, and in policy applications. That such judgements are widely shared can be confirmed by reference to the Social Science Citation Index. This shows the work of past and present members of our staff to be widely used and regularly cited in publications from over the English-speaking world. It would be invidious of me to quote some examples at the expense of others.

One general development that can be noted, however, concerns the style and manner of pursuing advanced research, here as elsewhere. In the earlier years of our second half-century, the normal pattern remained that of the `lone' scholar; pursuing his/her own research, gathering the data, undertaking field work, working up and presenting the results, largely in isolation and often with limited, or no, financial support. Work done here on London, on the Netherlands, on Yugoslavia and Africa, on North America, Belfast and the West Midlands;

on environment and natural resources, on air transport and industrial and social geography provide many examples of significant lone scholar work that come to mind.

To this model has been increasingly added, however, the co-operative work of pairs, or small groups, of scholars which shades up into team work that may involve academic input from several centres and be supported by the employment of research officers and by funding running into scores, or even hundreds, of thousands of pounds. Examples of such co-operative endeavour at the various scales in our Department include the production of the London Atlas; the work of the inter-disciplinary Greater London Group; and the numerous reports commissioned and funded by such bodies as the ESRC, the Departments of Environment, Agriculture, Transport and Defence, the Air Ministry, the European Community and overseas governments (as in the Middle and Far East). This kind of work often calls for a different approach to research and, increasingly, for major computing resources, and even for access to international networks of sources, scholars, etc. Unfortunately, for all of its importance, much of this LSE-based work never reaches a wider public and remains a valuable, but largely unseen, contribution.

But, despite the current prominence of the team work and network style of research, a role remains for the `lone scholar' who typified the earlier decades, - working, for example, on themes that do not (at a given time) appear to justify major financial inputs, but which continue to build up a body of knowledge and understanding that could well prove of subsequent value in some larger scheme of things. Indeed, our net-working scholars may well themselves at some stage return to 'lone-scholar' status in order, for example, to pursue a side issue thrown up by the major work.

In sum, however, (to return to the research contribution) the second half-century in the Department of Geography at LSE has produced meritorious work across the whole spectrum of issues that involve this School of Geography. Important contributions abound in the general systematic areas of economic and social geography, in regional study, in planning, resource and environmental issues. This adds up to a contribution to problem analysis and policy debate that has done much to shape the discipline and the practice of geography in our time.

One further point may be made in this context. Outside the School, the standing and prestige of the Department has rested not only on the volume and value of its research and publications, but also on the many contributions made to the subject in the editorship of key journals, in the holding of posts as presidents or chairmen of learned societies and other distinguished bodies⁹.

Without doubt, this relatively small department has been a great source of geographical influence both nationally and internationally in its second half-century. This has in part been reflected in the position of this Department as a kind of Mecca for distinguished academics from all over the world. They have come from most, if not all, European countries, from the Middle East, the USSR, China and Japan; from Australasia and the Americas, Africa and elsewhere. A full list would comprise an impressive array of `world geographers' of the second half of the 20th century.

Conclusion

In closing, I am conscious of the fact that my choice of themes for this short address may not receive universal approval, and that there will have been omissions of significant contributions to, or events in, the Department during its second half-century.

Among the missing themes are references to the move from our very cramped accommodation in the Old Building to the St. Clement's building in 1961, a move that permitted and promoted a variety of developments on both academic and technical sides. One would also wish to acknowledge the contribution of those members of staff who have represented the "unity" of the School, and reinforced the standing of the Department within the LSE by serving in major posts:- such as Pro-Director, Vice-Chairman of the Academic Board, and Chairmen of many committees, such as the Library, Research, Graduate School and Admissions committees and so forth.

Then one thinks of the support services from which the Department, and the School, have benefited so greatly decade after decade - such as the Cartographic and Photographic services; the Map Room (now the `Geographical Information Room') and the highly supportive secretarial staff. Such services as these provide essential components of our own internal network that promotes and sustains teaching and research.

But I terminate these comments by returning to the present, and to the academic staff. I look with great pleasure and pride on the evidence of current research and teaching work – such as is reflected in the displays of 'recent geography department publications' that grace the entrance to our department on the 4th floor of the St. Clement's building. As one whose own career at LSE has spanned the greater part of the School's second half-century, I am confident and happy that we enter our second full century in good hands.

The Second Half Century by Robert Estall: End Notes

¹ The data are not fully comparable but nonetheless portray the scale of the changes quite accurately. The 1961 figures were drawn from reports of the U.C.C.A. (Universities Central Council on Admissions). The 1994 figures came from U.C.A.S. (Universities and Colleges Application Service) reports and the C.R.A.C. (Careers Research and Advisory Centre) Degree Course Guide for Geography. (N.B.: U.C.A.S. replaced U.C.C.A. in the early 1990s as former Polytechnics and other Colleges of Higher Education became Universities in their own right. The definition of a 'geography' course also changed somewhat over the period.)

² W.G. East to Birkbeck College, University of London	(1947)
S.H. Beaver to the University of Keele	(1950)
O.H.K. Spate to Australian National University	(1951)
K.M. Buchanan to Victoria University, Wellington, N.Z.	(1954)
P.R. Odell to the Rotterdam School of Economics	(1965)
K.M. Clayton to the University of East Anglia	(1967)
Peter Hall to the University of Reading	(1968)
J.B. Goddard to Newcastle University	(1975)
J.B. Thornes to Bedford College, University of London	(1981)
J.A. Rees to the University of Hull	(1989)
M. Hebbert to the University of Manchester	(1994)
N. Spence to Queen Mary College, University of London	(1995)

³ Judith Rees returned to LSE to take up a Chair in Geography in October 1995.

⁸ The origins of this programme are outlined by M. Hebbert, "Town Planner as Social Scientist: the case of the LSE programme", *Environment and Planning B., Planning and Design*, Vol. 19, 1992, pp.402-12.

⁴ See M.J. Wise and E.M. Rawstron (Eds.) *R.O. Buchanan and Economic Geography* (Bell, London, 1973).

⁵ The balance between the BA and BSc Geography degrees fluctuated sharply. From 1945 to 1967 virtually all non-BSc (Econ) Geography students here were registered for Arts, but from 1967 to 1972, all such students took BSc degrees. The BA degree re-appeared in 1973, since when both BA and BSc courses have been available. Some reasons for this complex story are touched upon the in the text.

⁶ One title still on the list that would strike a chord with students from the early post-war years is Political Geography.

⁷ In 1973, Margaret Jeffery and, from 1980, Craig Whitehead.

⁹ For example, only two UK academics have served as Presidents of all the leading geographical societies involving UK geographers: - the International Geographical Union, the Royal Geographical Society, the Institute of British Geographers and the Geographical Association. They are L.D. Stamp and M.J. Wise. Many other members of our Department have also served in one or more of these and other academic organisations.