THE MAKING OF CARL O. SAUER

THE MAKING OF CARL O. SAUER

AND

THE BERKELEY SCHOOL OF (HISTORICAL) GEOGRAPHY

By

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ABSTRACT

This is a study in intellectual history. The focus is on Carl Ortwin Sauer (1889-1975) and Sauer's ideas. The purpose of the thesis is to account for the intellectual motivation behind the "Berkeley School of Historical Geography" for which Sauer was wholly responsible. Historical geography in North America virtually owes its existence to Sauer's efforts. The thesis is not an analysis of the School per se, but rather an investigation into its origin and underlying world view.

The stimulus behind the Berkeley School was Sauer's 1925 essay on "The Morphology of Landscape". The "morphology" had a profound impact on the discipline of geography in North America, and it carefully outlined Sauer's perspective on the field. Accordingly, the bulk of the thesis covers the period from Sauer's birth until the penning of the "morphology". The different milieux of which Sauer was a member during that period are examined to determine their respective contributions to his ideas.

It is postulated that Sauer's conception of geography, as expressed through the methodology and epistemological framework delineated in the "morphology", was

a reflection of his strong German-American upbringing in the "Missouri Rhineland". In short, it is argued that Sauer was perpetuating the Goethean conception of science he was exposed to as an undergraduate at Central Wesleyan College, and that he was following in the intellectual footsteps of his father, a professor at Central Wesleyan. Sauer's graduate school experiences and his early teaching positions appear to have had only a passing influence on his definition of the discipline.

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CHAPTER ONE

AN INTRODUCTION

In April of 1923, Carl Sauer tendered his resignation as "Professor of Geography" at the University of Michigan and accepted an appointment as the new Chairman of the Department of Geography at the Berkeley campus of the University of California. Making the move from Ann Arbor to Berkeley required a great deal of thought for the thirty-three year old Sauer. The University of Michigan was a well-established institution and the American Midwest had always been the heartland of academic geography in North America (Bushong, 1981; James and Martin, 1981; Rugg, 1981). Conversely, the University of California was a less-established enterprise on the virtual fringe of American intellectual circles; prior to 1923, the discipline of geography was practically an insignificant entity at Berkeley (see Dunbar, 1981; Parsons, 1967). Today, sixty years later, it is a worthwhile exercise to look back on that move and try to capture its importance both for the field of geography in North America and for Sauer's personal achievements. As well, it is reasonable to ask, "Why did Sauer leave Ann Arbor for Berkeley?" He

remained at Berkeley until his death in 1975--producing some thirty-seven Ph.D. students and supervising an equally large number of M.A. theses--and the discipline of geography was never the same since his move west in 1923.

One fruit of Sauer's trek westward was the eventual establishment of what is today called the "Berkeley School of Geography". Emphasizing a cultural, historical, empirical, qualitative, landscape-focused approach to the interpretation of geographic phenomena, the Berkeley School of Geography is distinctive amongst institutionalized perspectives in North America (Brookfield, 1964; Dickinson, 1939; Duncan, 1980; Harvey, 1969; James and Martin, 1981; Johnston, 1979; Parsons, 1968; Speth, 1972). Taking history and material culture as givens for the study of human geography, Sauer created a "brand" of geography quite different from any other geography practiced on this continent. And, although Sauer is typically cited as the guiding force behind North American cultural-historical geography, it is striking that his approach found little or no accommodation outside of the west coast of the United States. Numerous writers, unfamiliar with Sauer's pre-Berkeley intellectual evolution, have thus attributed his emphasis on culture history to his contacts at Berkeley (Duncan, 1980; Jackson, 1980; Williams, 1983; Entrikin, 1984), but I contend that this represents an explanation far too simplistic when one looks beyond the

Berkeley milieu.

Purpose

The purpose of this thesis is to elucidate the origins of the Berkeley School of Geography by focusing on the pre-Berkeley and early-Berkeley intellectual development of Sauer. We shall trace the genesis and foundations of this school with particular emphasis on Carl Ortwin Sauer who was singularly responsible for its development. It should be noted at the outset that this is not a chronological study in the approach to geography taken by Sauer or his students. What we especially wish to discover is the early intellectual development of an individual and his subsequent influence in creating a school of thought--i.e., Sauer's pre-Berkeley intellectual and social milieux and the ways in which these milieux are evident in his approach to human geography. Whereas the focus is on Sauer, this is so only insofar as it explicates his intellectual development and his later contributions to both the shaping of a department of geography and the subfield of historical geography. The concern is *not* to ask, "Why did the Berkeley School develop?" as the answer to that question is clear: Sauer alone was responsible. Instead, the aim is to answer the more interesting question: "Why did the Berkeley approach--viz., Sauer's view of the discipline--possess the distinctive characteristics for which it is known today?" In

other words, why did Sauer's view of geography deviate from the "mainstream" and in what ways did it in fact differ? The contention throughout this thesis is this: Sauer was wholly responsible for the birth and growth of the Berkeley School of Geography; his perspective on what constituted the purview of geography defined the parameters of his approach; thus, his intellectual development must be examined in order to account for his particular definition of the discipline and the consequent makeup of the Berkeley School.

Scope of Thesis

Admittedly, there is no intention here of writing Sauer's biography. Less ambitious, the concern is to show why Sauer came to define geography in the manner he did and where his ideas emanated from. By doing so, we hope to demonstrate why the Berkeley School took on the characteristics associated with it today, that human geography and cultural-historical geography, as defined by Sauer, were synonymous, and that his understanding of geography can be traced to particular milieux in his pre-Berkeley development, most notably his hometown of Warrenton, Missouri. This is a study in the history of ideas, not a biographical account of Sauer's life. Biographical material is of course included, but solely to lend meaning to the Berkeley School's/Sauer's perspective on the underlying mode of explanation in geography.

There is no purpose in detailing Sauer's full intellectual development in the context of this dissertation. Sauer moved to Berkeley in 1923 a few months before his thirty-fourth birthday. By the end of his first decade at Berkeley his stamp on the department had been made (Speth, 1981), and most scholars familiar with his work will reference his "quickly written" (Spencer, 1974, p. 26) "Morphology of Landscape" (Sauer, 1925) as a pivotal point in North American academic geography (e.g., James and Mather, 1977, pp. 447-448 and 456-457; Hart, 1983, p. 113; James and Martin, 1981, especially pp. 320-324). Hence it is not necessary to go beyond these first few years in this study. Furthermore, others have indicated how these early years were the decisive ones for shaping the department (see, particularly, Speth, 1981). From the early-1930s onward, the tenor of the theses and dissertations coming out of the Berkeley Geography Department changed very little (Brookfield, 1964).

One could, of course, argue forever about the minute differences between the theses of Sauer's earliest students and those of his last students--some denying that a Berkeley School exists (Spencer, 1981)--but it is evident, and indeed well documented, that a school of thought unique to North American geography, a school immersed in historical and cultural modes of explanation, and a school that

unquestionably rests on the intellectual shoulders of Carl Sauer, was established at Berkeley. That fact may be taken as a given (Gade, 1976: Parsons, 1968). What *is* open to debate, however, is Sauer's intellectual makeup prior to his arrival in California, especially his childhood and undergraduate experiences in Warrenton of which virtually nothing is known. This thesis will investigate that early period in an attempt to provide a sharper understanding of the origin of Sauer's ideas and to unravel the mysticism surrounding Sauer's definition of geography upon his arrival at Berkeley. Accordingly, the focus will be on the periods covering his childhood thoughts and world view, his undergraduate experiences, his graduate school days at Northwestern University and at the University of Chicago, his seven years of teaching at the University of Michigan, the first years of his tenure at Berkeley, and all relevant aspects of his intellectual contacts in between those years (see Thesis Organization below). In short, the thesis is a study in Sauer's pre-Berkeley and early-Berkeley intellectual development as a prelude to his more fully developed thoughts, and his concomitant role in the forging of a department and a distinctive interpretation of the field.

Framework and Theoretical Perspective

This study falls broadly within the general rubric of "intellectual history". Intellectual history is at once a

very general term denoting the study of ideas and their context, while it is also a specific subfield of history. By either definition, the subject matter and the method of analysis are similar: both explore the development and creative nuances of the individual in social and intellectual context:

> In its widest sense, intellectual history may be said to have as its subject matter whatever record is left of the activities of the human mind. Its most important and most available materials are the products of philosophers, artists, writers, scientists, recorded in their works and in the special histories of specific disciplines--philosophy, literature, religion, the sciences, the arts (Brinton, 1968, pp. 462-463).

In this thesis, however, the plan is to build on the theoretical perspective developed by professional historians,[1] of which there has been a surge of contributions in recent decades (Skinner, 1969; Krieger, 1979; Baumer, 1949; Higham, 1954; White, 1969; Conkin, 1977; Gilbert, 1971; Skotheim, 1966; Holborn, 1968; Ekirch, 1973; Higham, 1951; Higham and Conkin, 1979). Traditionally, a fair amount of work in intellectual history was somewhat unrelated and disparate. Higham has written that as late as the early-1970s, the subfield "had no organized structure" (Higham, 1979, p. xiv), whereas today it has developed into a highly respected endeavor (Conkin, 1979).

Intellectual history examines individuals in their immediate social and intellectual contexts. It seeks to

understand the micro-level influences on individuals, as distinct from societal/cultural influences alone (Wood, 1979). The focus is on the creative individual, but the result is not biographical. While biography is an important part of intellectual history--and indeed the past generation of intellectual historians paid a lot of attention to individuals rather than groups and cultures, and thus their finished products reflected biography (Higham, 1979, p. xvii; Higham, et al., 1965, pp. 204-211)--today intellectual is distinguished from biography in its close attention to multiple levels of influence at both the social and personal scales of an individual's life. In essence, it is a re-enactment of an individual's life-stream in an attempt to pinpoint why he or she made critical decisions or adopted particular viewpoints. "The end product of research in intellectual history...should be a narrative that not only tells what happened and how it happened but makes it happen again for the reader" (Greene, 1981, pp. 17-18).

Intellectual history in North America[2] is akin to social history, but the two differ significantly. The single most obvious difference, perhaps, is the focus on the individual and not on the group or social consciousness.[3] The group context is noted by intellectual historians but the emphasis is on the unique member of the group: the one who conforms to a degree and

then steps outside of the expected course in some manner. As Veysey notes, American intellectual history is probably best described as a special type of social history:

> Most of the time, even in intellectual history, one is dealing with social aggregates. One is trying to explain change or failure to change within some collectivities. Is there anything special about the kinds of social aggregates the intellectual historian studies? Some would in fact define intellectual history on this basis, as the history of those small groups of people who, in modern parlance, we term "intellectuals". The virtue of this definition is that it provides a clear-cut...role for intellectual history within the overall context of social history....[such a definition] may in fact free the historian to pursue, without guilt or restraint, the most arcane thought processes of exceptional individuals (Veysey, 1979, p.9).

According to Veysey, American intellectual history is social history emphasizing intellectual periods of change or continuity, as exemplified by individual experience (Veysey, 1979, p. 7; also see Stout, 1980, p. 235). Social historians emphasize trends and general currents of thought, whereas intellectual historians look for those cases where the individual removes himself from the mainstream and hums a somewhat unique tune. Veysey summarizes this basic distinction:

> Social history portrays a deeply segmented society, split by race, sex, and social class. Intellectual history either suggests a single culture or dwells on subworlds within the Protestant and Jewish elites. Social history dwells upon blacks, immigrants, women, the poor, New Yorkers, Pennsylvanians, Marylanders. Intellectual history emphasizes ministers, lawyers, radicals, writers, professors, New Englanders, a few whites from the

> deep South, and (by an odd quirk) the more articulate politicians. For social historians the central institution of the past century is the factory; for intellectual historians, the university. Social history, finally, studies census returns and city directories, sources that offer representative evidence about populations. Intellectual history unashamedly studies some of the most unrepresentative evidence conceivable (Vevsey, 1979, pp. 6-7).

Thus an intellectual historian will approach change from the micro-level (the realm of the personal, the subjective), and search out the unique, the renegade, the non-conformist. The task of the intellectual historian is to account for this "deviant" behavior, in contrast to the more "predictable" behavior identified by the social historian and other social scientists.

The intellectual historian does not, however, ignore the research of his more socially-minded colleagues. He actually goes a step beyond their findings and uses their research to weigh his subject's actions against. The intellectual historian must see life from two very different levels: the scale of societal determinism on the one hand and of personal initiative on the other. His goal, then, is to strike a balance between both levels of analysis. To quote Wood at length on this point:

> What is permissible intellectually or culturally affects what is permissible socially or politically. In this way ideas affect behavior. Therefore, even if we want to write a fully satisfying intellectual history of only a few events occurring over a brief period of time, we will have to know what structures of conventions

> existed, what choices of ideas were available to the historical participants, in order to know why they selected and used those they did. In the end this means understanding the larger cultural world, the system of values and conventions, in which the historical actors lived....[however,] At this larger scale of intellectual life there is no possibility of our writing about individual intention and conscious will....From this broadened and distant cultural perspective individuals no longer seem as free as they did close up. They no longer use ideas but are used by them, and they are forced to deal with the inherited collective culture on its terms....If we are to write fully satisfying intellectual history we will need a kind of zoom lens that will enable us to move easily back and forth from the small, close-up world of unique events and individual volition where men try to use ideas for their own particular purposes to the larger aggregates and deterministic world of cultural conventions and collective mentalities where ideas control men....Only by being able and willing to move between these two worlds...can the historian write an intellectual history that will satisfy both his humanistic instincts and the demands of social science (Wood, 1979, pp. 35-38).

This dual approach to understanding change is similar to Buttimer's recent plea for a history of geography that recognizes an objective, *Rechnendes Denhen* style of thought, and the more subjective, *Besinnliches Nachadenhen* pattern of thinking alongside one another (Buttimer, 1981, pp. 83-84). Her aim is to fuse these two perspectives where one complements the other in a clear attempt to understand specific decisions in the history of geographic thought. "It is in this context that one could argue for a closer look at the unique personal experiences of particular geographers: how they were influenced, how they inspired others, what fresh insights they brought to the

field as a whole" (Buttimer, 1981, p. 84). Her premise, and the *raison d'être* behind intellectual history, is "a strongly felt need to explore the reflective and personal dimensions of thought as well as its analytical and empirical ones" (Buttimer, 1981, p. 82). In this thesis, Sauer's world view and approach to human/historical geography will represent the micro-level scale; "mainstream" North American human and historical geography shall serve as the macro-scale comparative agent.

Sources

In addition to Sauer's published writings, this thesis will utilize a large variety of primary sources. Sauer's professional correspondence--gathered together and housed as the Sauer Papers at the Bancroft Library, the University of California, Berkeley (hereafter S.P.) (see Kenzer, 1985c)--is examined for insights into his early intellectual development. As well, archival materials from other professionals who corresponded with Sauer are examined for their respective contributions. The archives of professional geography associations have been consulted, as have the archives and special collections of each university with which Sauer was affiliated (see Thesis Organization below). An extremely important source of information for this research is the private correspondence between Sauer, his wife, his parents, and his close friends and relatives.

This material resides with Sauer's daughter in Berkeley, California. I have been given full access to these letters and I will rely on them to a fair degree (particularly for the period 1908-1916) to supplement the more readily accesible secondary source materials.

A point emphasized throughout this thesis is that primary documents offer nonpareil insight into Sauer's changing thoughts and ideas. One can read his public works and gain a good sense of what he was doing and thinking and how his ideas changed through time. But it is through an examination of these private, primary data sources that we can more fully understand *why* his ideas changed and what the approximate social context was when those new ideas achieved fruition. If the published works represent the *body* of Sauer's ideas, then the thoughts conveyed in the primary source materials should be treated as the body's *soul*. They give purpose and meaning to the printed record.

Data Analysis

This dissertation will be entirely qualitative in nature; no statistical or quantitative methods are utilized in this thesis. History and things historical can only be glimpsed, fraction by fraction; they cannot be viewed in their entirety nor can they ever be completely perceived as they were seen by the individuals contemporary with their

happening. As such, I subscribe to the notion that we can only *understand* things from the past, never being completely able to *explain* them (see Cantor and Schneider, 1967, p. 29). Therefore, I approach data and investigations of an historical nature from a qualitative point of view. I realize the validity of statistics and quantification when dealing with samples and representative cross-sections of a population (see Babbie, 1979), but I do not use samples and I do not intend to suggest that this thesis will be directly applicable to other persons for other times and places.

While there are no straightforward rules respecting the selection and interpretation of personal correspondence, there is certainly strong agreement on the importance and potential of primary data. Indeed, it is difficult to find objections to the use of this form of insight since it is so popular in biographies, intellectual histories, and kindred works. Nevins, the celebrated American historian, says that private documents of this nature, in conjunction with books and public archival sources, combine to form the "triple base" of "modern historical research" (Nevins, 1963, p. 120). Similarly, Brooks advocates the use of such primary materials when writing any sort of historical narrative as "Private correspondence or memoirs can enrich it [the historical narrative] with the flesh of personal feeling, opinion, or

interpretation" (Brooks, 1969, p. 9). So too have social scientists spoken out in favor of such materials, calling attention to the added dimensions this form of personal data contributes:

> These materials provide insights into the private lives of people, their interpretations of events, and their descriptions of experiences. Used in conjunction with other materials, private sources can provide vivid descriptions of the experiences of people (Li, 1981, p. 110).

To this final point of Li's I tend to agree: Personal correspondence, if ever to be used in a manner more profitable than a "life and letters" approach, must be combined with other materials. I see these letters as augmentative forms of insight, not as the basis of an entire work in intellectual history. But I also agree with Selltiz that, in reality, the "traditional" forms of data are no better or worse than personal documents; they should be used in conjunction with one another because both provide complementary forms of insight:

> By and large, the rationale for the use of personal documents is similar to that for the use of observational techniques. What the latter may achieve for overt behavior, the former can do for inner experience: to reveal to the social scientist life as it is lived without interference of research (Selltiz, et al., 1959, p. 325).

Although researchers seem to disagree on specific "rules" for interpreting private correspondence, most are confident that they cannot be used haphazardly and that some form of caution needs to be kept in mind at all times. A

first concern is that the letters are actually personal documents and not written for public viewing. Selltiz suggests three internal criteria to determine whether one, in fact, is dealing with personal documents even before examining their contents. He asks, are they:

> ...(1) written documents; (2) documents that have been produced on the writer's own initiative or, if not, in such a way that their introspective content has been determined entirely by the author; and (3) documents that focus on the author's personal experiences (Selltiz, et al., 1959, pp. 323-324; also see Cantor and Schneider, 1967, pp. 33-34; and Nevins, 1963, pp. 209-225).

Meanwhile, Shipman has recently proposed criteria of an external nature:

> ...the first problem for the historian [is] the establishment of the authenticity of the document. Second, if the document is reliable, the credibility of the evidence in it has to be determined. The historian adopts the attitude of the lawyer towards evidence, questioning the ultimate source of the evidence, the ability and honesty of the witness and the accuracy with which he has been reported in the document. Finally he looks for corroboration by independent sources. Third, the historian has to assess the relevance of the information. It is useful historically only if it relates to other history rather than standing as an isolated incident, however interesting (Shipman, 1981, p. 120; also see Gottschalk, 1945, pp. 3-75).

One doubts that the intellectual historian could agree more with this point. One area where intellectual history can be distinguished from biography is the intellectual historian's search for order and continuity. He or she may be researching an atypical individual, but their respective goals are to make sense of that particular individual's

chronological intellectual development; the goal is not to recall peculiar bits of trivia nor to write anecdotal history which is an unfortunate characteristic of much biography (Freeman and Krantz, 1980).

In many instances the critical researcher is asked not to apply rigorous tests of validity or criteria of interpretation to personal documents such as correspondence, but rather to use plain common sense. Along these lines, Garraghan indicates:

> Letters of a private, confidential character, such as were not meant for publication, are assumed to be more reliable in their contents than letters written with a view to publication. The assumption is correct on the whole, and is often borne out by the eventual publication of letters originally confidential (Garraghan, 1946, p. 251).

Similarly, Li is optimistic about the use of such primary data believing that "these materials are originally written for the authors themselves or for a restricted audience. Writers would therefore tend to be very open in expressing their views in diaries or letters" (Li, 1981, p. 111).

In the use of personal correspondence (and kindred data), there are two overriding factors which must be kept in mind: context and continuity. Letters were not written in a vacuum, and they are truly important only when understood within their particular context or milieu. This introduces the important fact that all documents, whether private or public, were produced for some specific purpose. To

understand the context of that purpose is what is most essential for this sort of study:

> Each written document may be presumed to have been created for a purpose--to effect a transaction, to convey information, or to set down a record for the future. This purpose usually has a bearing on its meaning to the research user (Brooks, 1969, p. 11).

Moreover, it is equally as important to establish some sort of continuity. Anecdotal comments, passing remarks, and isolated statements of fact are all but useless without some sense of consistency to those statements. To use correspondence properly, one must read *all* the documents in order to identify a pattern of thought. Even remarks of a retrospective nature indicate a set of personal beliefs and ought not be regarded as sacrosanct, without some degree of consonance. Correspondence and other personal documents should be viewed relative to their original context and with respect to their internal consistency.

Thesis Organization

Beyond this introductory chapter, there will be six chapters, each highlighting a different aspect of Sauer's pre-Berkelev and early-Berkeley intellectual growth: his contacts, his social milieux, the things he was reading and thinking about at various points in time, his "unconscious" influences, and those numerous, intangible factors which all joined together from a variety of sources to account for Sauer's distinctive understanding and explanation of human

geography. The emphasis will be on those background components that fused to make up his world view--his personal *Weltanschauung*--in order to account for a geography steeped in culture history and historical methodology. Chapter Two will juxtapose Sauer's "brand" of human/historical geography, for the period circa 1900-1930, with the so-called "mainstream" of North American human geography during this same period. This thirty-year block of time includes the fifteen years immediately preceding Sauer's first publication and terminates with the final period covered in this thesis--viz., the publication of his seminal "morphology" article (1925) and a second related paper (Sauer, 1927b). This chapter closely compares Sauer's micro-level view of explanation in geography with the wider, macro-level view of the discipline in general. Here we examine "The Morphology of Landscape" in some detail. By doing so, we are firstly capturing Sauer's evolving world view as distinct from the "norm" (vis-à-vis human geography), and secondly we are focusing on the gradual development of the Berkeley School of Geography.

Chapters Three through Six are chronological forays into the changing social and intellectual milieux surrounding Sauer's pre-Berkeley and early-Berkeley life, examining one man's continuing endeavor of self-discovery and personal growth. The picture painted will at once familiarize the

reader with the general settings or backdrops in which Sauer found himself, while simultaneously showing the peculiar way in which Sauer, as an individual, as a creative, subjectively-motivated German-American, used those social and intellectual backdrops as a means for discovering and augmenting his own definition of geography. Chapter Three will provide the background into which the young Sauer was born--his German-American heritage in turn-of-the-century Missouri. We shall try to delineate the sorts of general influences one might discover in frontier Missouri during this period, but especially the frontier of this deeply German-American milieu. Finally, we will briefly identify some of the key elements which may have come together to make what might be called the typical German-American, but particularly the German-American who, like Sauer, was born in Warren County, Missouri in 1889.

Chapter Four is a widely-focused look at Warrenton, Missouri--Sauer's birthplace and home of Central Wesleyan College (C.W.C.), his undergraduate *alma mater*--and a look at what life may have been like in Warrenton between 1889 and 1908, the year Sauer graduated from Central Wesleyan and left Missouri for Evanston, Illinois and graduate school at Northwestern University. This chapter shall explore the makings of a German-American college education and the distinctive attitude towards learning at C.W.C. The chapter

represents a "contextual approach" (e.g., Berdoulay, 1981) and is consequently broad and somewhat general in nature. Chapter Five, on the other hand, is a more in-depth examination of the Central Wesleyan intellectual environment, with special reference to those individuals most influential in Sauer's undergraduate education. Here we shall examine the type of program Sauer was required to take at Central Wesleyan, and suggest how this training might be evidenced in his later writings and definition of geography. In contrast to the more general material provided in the fourth chapter, this chapter looks at the details and the specifics of Sauer's experiences.

The penultimate chapter is an overview of Sauer's intellectual experiences between 1908 and 1925, the year he published the "morphology" essay. Here we shall briefly highlight the key aspects of each milieu he encountered during this period--i.e., his year of graduate study at Northwestern University, his term as a Ph.D. student at the University of Chicago, a year of substitute teaching at Salem Normal School, his seven years of teaching at the University of Michigan (1916-1923), and the initial years of his relationship with the Berkeley campus--in a retrospective attempt to show that Sauer never lost sight of the world view he formed in Warrenton. Although it is argued that the Warrenton milieu was decidedly the most significant period of

his early intellectual development (and the most important period of his life when trying to interpret his 1925 publication on morphological change), the intervening period (1908-1925) is worthy of investigation as well. In particular, an overview of this period is desirable to illustrate the most conspicuous and important ideas he gleaned from these milieux, or, conversly, his reactions against these milieux. The focus on this period will also indicate the strong degree of continuity that exists in Sauer's published writings prior to and leading up to the penning of the "morphology".

The seventh chapter of the thesis constitutes a review and a conclusion of the main points discussed in the first six chapters. It will tie all the "loose ends" together and likewise summarize the overarching points made in the body of the thesis: the genesis of cultural historical geography in North America--viz., the rise of the Berkeley School of (Historical) Geography--as engendered and fostered by Carl O. Sauer, and: the distinctive social and intellectual milieux in Sauer's pre-Berkeley and early-Berkeley life which were responsible for his approach to and mode of explanation in human geography. Areas of further research and possible applications of this thesis in kindred endeavors will also be indicated.

CHAPTER ONE NOTES

1 Related endeavors by non-historians include "the history of ideas", "the history of science", "prosopography", and, to a lesser extent, "the sociology of knowledge". The boundaries between these related approaches are transitory, and thus I make no distinction between intellectual history and these kindred disciplines in this thesis. For the interested reader, I suggest the following sources: Adler, 1957; Berger and Luckmann, 1980; Cohen, 1977; Dawe, 1973; Elias, 1971a; Elias, 1971b; Hall, 1969; Hamilton, 1974; Kristeller, 1946; Kuhn, 1968; Kuhn, 1971; Lovejoy, 1940; Pyenson, 1977; Shapin and Thackray, 1974; Stark, 1958; Stone, 1971; Wiener, 1961; Wolff 1967.

2 I am specifically limiting my framework to North American intellectual history. Intellectual history on this continent is significantly different from its European counterpart. To explain the differences, however, would require a lengthy, separate essay. The concerned reader might wish to see Iggers, 1984, and LaCapra and Kaplan,

1982 (also see Note Three below).

3 I should explain that "intellectual history" is a broad undertaking, resulting in studies which may, on the surface, look quite disparate. Within this subfield, one will find works focused specifically on the individual (e.g., Manuel, 1963; Clive, 1973; Krieger, 1977; Wilson, 1972; Wade, 1969; Drake, 1978; Stansfield, 1984), while other intellectual historians will, instead, argue that society and the socioeconomic "structure" take precedence over the lives of individual decision makers (e.g., Thompson, 1963; Barzun, 1956; Seigel, 1978). The end products of these two "intellectual histories" are, of course, very different, almost contradictory at times. In fact, in a recent review, Darnton, trying to delineate current trends and future prospects of this sub-field, remarked that "Unfortunately...intellectual history is not a whole....Its practitioners share no sense of common subjects, methods, and conceptual strategies" (1980, p. 337). In the present study, I have opted for a biographical approach, with an understanding that an alternative tradition would explain Sauer's intellectual development in decidedly different terms. While Arthur Lovejoy, the recognized "father" of American intellectual history chose (for his own work) to examine the rise and evolution of ideas through time (Lovejoy, 1936), he was

never entirely specific on what a proper study within this genre should look like. To quote from the introduction to his well known, seminal essay, one finds ample justification for directing attention on an individual's intellectual development, as well as on ideas alone. According to Lovejoy, the correct study--indeed, "the eventual task"--of intellectual history leads us:

> ...to understand how *new* beliefs and intellectual fashions are introduced and diffused, to help to elucidate the psychological character of the processes by which changes in the vogue and influence of ideas have come about; to make clear, if possible, how conceptions dominant, or extensively prevalent, in one generation lose their hold upon men's minds and give place to others [emphasis in original] (Lovejoy, 1936, p. 20).

Thus, Lovejoy's definition would obviously include the influence of original thinkers. In this essay the focus is on Carl Sauer to accomplish precisely the objective Lovejoy articulates. Sauer was wholly responsible for the formation of the Berkeley School of Geography; he was also responsible for much of geography's post-1925 orientation in North America. As such, there appears to be plentiful reasons for examining Sauer's intellectual growth. At the same time, methodology is never carved in stone. As Greene reminds us, "no single approach to the study of the history of ideas is sufficient in itself. Tastes vary, problems vary, and every individual makes his contribution in his own way" (Greene, 1981, p. 25; also see Sills, 1968, pp. 466-467; Krieger,

1979, p. 109). Lastly, a biographical approach is also in keeping with the recent trend within North American intellectual history. North American intellectual historians seem to be placing greater emphasis on individual personalities, whereas European practitioners are directing their attention to *mentalités*, *epistemes*, and long-term, socio-historic backdrops, often in search of a collective social consciousness (see Darnton, 1980).

CHAPTER TWO

CARL SAUER AND NORTH AMERICAN ACADEMIC GEOGRAPHY 1900-1930

Introduction

That Sauer's "brand" of geography was distinctive by North American standards, is made all the more evident when we examine it in detail, relative to what other practitioners were doing at the same time. This chapter juxtaposes Sauer's early approach to explanation in human/historical geography, with the so-called "mainstream" approach, as identified by others concerned with the history and philosophy of North American human geography. By focusing on two of the most influential American geographers of the early twentieth century--William Morris Davis and Ellen Churchill Semple--an account is presented of what most professional geographers were doing between the turn of the century and the early-1930s, followed by an attempt to capture the flavor and epistemological undertones of Sauer's brand of geography during this same period. The purpose is to give the reader a "feel" for the general approach to geography at the time, and to show that in Sauer's writings there is a significant

departure from the "norm", including a very high degree of consistency in his published works and not the pronounced change or "paradigm shift" (noted by some) once he arrived at Berkeley (see Kenzer, 1985a). Though not all of his early writings fall within the scope of "human" geography, we shall see that even his decidedly "physical" papers were not without reference to man as a viable agent in terrestrial affairs.

North American Geography, 1900-1920

At the turn of the present century, geography in North America was, for the most part, a physically-based discipline. It was primarily concerned with the physical world and the discovery of physical processes on the earth's surface. Man was of only slight concern. In contrast to the condition in most of Europe where the discipline was already a well-established component of the educational curricula (e.g., "Geography in the University", 1919), geography on this side of the Atlantic traces its roots to geology and to the numerous field surveys of the late-nineteenth century (James and Martin, 1981; Spencer, 1974, p. 23). Most practitioners considered themselves physiographers (Pfeifer, 1938), *not* geographers as the term is currently understood. Physiography was essentially nature description, which paid little or no attention to people (see James and Martin, 1981, pp. 290-291). An interest in human activity,

in 1900, was virtually absent (see below).

Much of this physically-based geography, or physiography, was heavily influenced by Darwinian notions of explanation (Stoddart, 1966) and, even the small amount of research that was concerned with human activity or agency, must be seen in light of Darwin's impact on the entire social scene (Herbst, 1961).[4] While it is generally understood that "Even in their most extreme statement...[Darwinian principles] never came to dominate geographical thinking" (Stoddart, 1966, p. 697), it is commonly accepted that the two most influential figures of early-twentieth-century geography in North America--William Morris Davis and Ellen Churchill Semple--were ensconced in a Darwinian world view (Stoddart, 1981, pp. 271-272). William Morris Davis, the father of professional geography in the United States, and Ellen Churchill Semple, who captured the attention of all geographers with her mighty pen and loquacious writing style, influenced an entire generation of geographers. Both must therefore be examined in greater detail. Davis, a geologist qua physical geographer, and Semple, an historian turned human geographer, in turn, helped forge and shape a discipline during the first two decades of this century.

William Morris Davis (1850-1934)

"The advancement of Davis and of geography are

coincidental....For over forty years he used his acumen in physical geography to advance the cause of academic geography as a whole in the United States" (Beckinsale, 1981, p. 110). And so it was. Davis's mark on North American geography cannot be overestimated. From the latter years of the nineteenth century until the second quarter of the twentieth century, Davis's interpretations and definitions of the differences between geology and geography were preeminent in North American academic geography. From his base at Harvard University, Davis's influence extended to virtually all points on the continent. What he advocated was that geography--the inter-relationship between physiography (natural, physical processes on the land) and ontography (the human element), to use his terms--should study the association between the organic and the inorganic. The inorganic (nature) was in control, the organic (man) was at its mercy (Martin, 1981). Davis's own research, however, was notably on the inorganic side (Leighly, 1955) and his consequent influence was predominantly amongst physical geographers (Chorley, et al., 1973),[2] though his debt to geology was equally profound (see Johnson, 1934). His primary goal was to justify the existence of an autonomous discipline called geography and his efforts were directed toward achieving an independent, scientific status for the emerging field (Beckinsale, 1981).[3] While

the jury is still out on Davis's overall contribution, one finds it difficult to disagree with Herbst that "American academic geography reached its pinnacle of respect and achievement under the leadership of William Morris Davis" (Herbst, 1961, p. 540).

Of greatest importance for this study was the new paradigm Davis instituted within professional geography, to the extent that not only his approach, but his terminology and also his methods were evidenced in an entire generation of American geographers (Martin, 1981). Davis's primary contribution to the field was his "geographical cycle", more popularly known as "the cycle of erosion". In its simplest form, the "cycle" stipulated that landforms were produced under certain ideal conditions, and that these landforms, in turn, would predictably change under specific, ideal sequences. In short, landscapes were postulated as units experiencing a succession of stages whereby a given landform would enter first a "youthful" stage, followed by a "mature" stage, ultimately reaching a stage of "old age". Eventually, following Davis's logic and terminology, a landscape would begin the sequence once again, at which point an old landform would become "rejuvenated" and thus enter a youthful stage for a second, third, or fourth time. Landform units were typically large, raised blocks of terrain which subsequently were worn down by erosion and later uplifted again due to

tectonic forces. It was a highly idealized, Darwinian model (Stoddart, 1966, p. 686) that was far from non-controversial, and it served the geographic community in two important ways. Firstly, it created what would ultimately become a separate branch of the discipline--viz., geomorphology. More importantly, however, it elevated geography's academic status to the level of "science", as it provided practitioners with a well-defined, deductive, hypothetical, testable model. Using the minute and elaborate descriptions for the various stages and the associated characteristics Davis attributed to each stage, two full generations of geographers embarked upon their fieldwork in an attempt to prove or disprove his claims (see James and Martin, 1981, pp. 281-292).

Davis was also responsible for the creation of the first professional association of geographers in North America. Due almost entirely to his tireless character, the Association of American Geographers (A.A.G.) was formed in 1904 with Davis installed as its first president (James and Martin, 1981, pp. 292-294). He served as A.A.G. president three times--1904, 1905, and 1909--and on the first two occasions (and at many other professional meetings), delivered professorial dicta on the status and trend of American geography (James and Martin, 1978; Colby, 1936, pp. 27-28).[4] These bold pronouncements of Davis's were characteristic of his writing in general, particularly in

regard to his efforts to elevate geography's status within academic circles (see Davis, 1954, for a sample of his writings).

American geographers have always been inclined to define and redefine the goals and motivations of their undertakings (see Hartshorne 1939, p. 277 [101]). In part, this has been a natural result of seeking scientific recognition (Herbst, 1961). Following Davis's lead, many A.A.G. presidents have used the opportunity of delivering a presidential address to pontificate on geography's past, present, or future course (James and Martin, 1978). In consequence, however, these annual dissertations have had the latent effect of steering the course of North American geography toward a preoccupation with self-examination. Curiously, contemporary practitioners and indeed A.A.G. presidents themselves recognized this point:

> It is a peculiarity of geography to be always discussing and debating its own content--as though a society were to be organized for the sole purpose of finding out what the organization was for....The situation is...unique [to geography] and can scarcely fail to be remarked by on-lookers from other sciences, who have no such doubts as to what their subjects are about....It is probably unnecessary to point out that this is purely an American attitude. Geography of the European brand has no such concern for its own purity or fear of being absorbed [by other disciplines] (Fenneman, 1919, p. 3).

Sauer once remarked that the presidential addresses of the A.A.G. are "the mirrors and mould of geographic opinion in

America" (Sauer, 1925, p. 19; also quoted in Pfeifer, 1938, p. 2) and nothing could be closer to the truth (also see Colby, 1936, p. 18). In fact, if there is anything specifically "American" about American geography (cf. Wright, 1966) it may be this tendency to survey the discipline at annual gatherings, a trend initiated by Davis. James and Martin have indicated that "the [A.A.G.] addresses in the early years were similar in nature to the Davisian model" (1978, p. 53). Their terminology, content, and very nature mirrored Davis's first pronouncements on the rising field of physical geography. His influence on North American academic geography and his early emphasis on physical processes were borne out at every turn.

The Drift from Physical to Human Geography

A noteworthy feature of academic geography in North America during the early decades of this century was its relatively swift change from a focus on physical processes to an emphasis on man's relationship with his environment. Leighly has noted the degree to which this disciplinal change took place, indicating that it "was scarcely if at all a result of change in the interests of the original members [of the A.A.G.....but rather] in the identity of the persons who read papers [at the annual meetings]" (Leighly, 1955, p. 313). By the outset of World War I the trend toward human geography was already apparent, as indicated in an informal

survey of predominantly American geographers (Roorbach, 1914).

As the Association's membership grew, its outlook changed to accommodate the varying backgrounds of its members. Yet, while the spotlight moved from landforms to man, the explanatory medium failed to change. The organic component of the equation (man) was still seen as decidedly insignificant when viewed against the inorganic component (nature). Thus, while American geography witnessed a rapid switch in focus, practitioners continued to rely on a former epistemological perspective to explain the earth's geography. Nature was still the immutable element in the equation; man, although now the focus of increased attention, was still regarded as a manipulatable creature, forever at the will of nature. To a significant degree, a large part of geography's post-1900 history can be seen as a move further and further away from its physically-based heritage (Mikesell, 1981), accompanied by, at best, a modicum of epistemological reorientation.

Human geography, as we think of it today, did not exist in 1900. Even in studies where man was the overriding center of interest, he was not looked upon as an agent of significant geographic importance. Rather, he was considered as yet one more variable on the earth, manipulated and endlessly constrained by the natural environment. Known by

many titles but referred to today as either "environmental determinism" or "environmentalism" (Kersten, 1982), this perspective characterized geography's early years in America to an extent often forgotten (James, 1954, pp. 12-13). Briefly, environmental determinism states that man is subservient to the environment; he is a mere pawn, molded and conditioned by the locale in which he lives. He basically has little or no influence on his well being, as the "natural" world controls his or her every action and, furthermore, *determines* his or her racial and/or cultural characteristics. In short, man has no say whatsoever in deciding the outcome of his actions or in the day-to-day decision-making processes which might otherwise influence his life (e.g., Lewthwaite, 1966: Platt, 1948: Tatham, 1951). Expressed slightly differently, this was "the geographer's version of social Darwinism" (Herbst, 1961, p. 540). To illustrate this thesis in practice, one need only look at the writings of one individual, albeit an exceedingly important figure in the history of geographic thought: Ellen Churchill Semple.

Ellen Churchill Semple (1863-1932)

Ellen Semple is generally regarded as the archetype of geographical determinism in the United States. Her influence was virtually ubiquitous and her name synonymous with a tenet now shunned by most North American

practitioners. A prolific writer with the ability to win converts with the sweep of her pen, Semple's poetic-like verse captured the attention of twentieth century geography from the start. An often-quoted but revealing passage will illustrate her ability to entrance the reader:

> Man is a product of the earth's surface. This means not merely that he is a child of the earth, dust of her dust; but that the earth has mothered him, fed him, set him tasks, directed his thoughts, confronted him with difficulties that have strengthened his body and sharpened his wits, given him his problems of navigation or irrigation, and at the same time whispered hints for their solution. She has entered into his bone and tissue, into his mind and soul. On the mountains she has given him leg muscles of iron to climb the slope; along the coast she has left these weak and flabby, but given him instead vigorous development of chest and arm to handle his paddle or oar. In the river valley she attaches him to the fertile soil, circumscribes his ideas and ambitions by a dull round of calm, exacting duties, narrows his outlook to the cramped horizon of his farm. Up on the wind-swept plateaus, in the boundless stretch of the grasslands and the waterless tracts of the desert, where he roams with his flocks from pasture to pasture and oasis to oasis, where life knows much hardship but escapes the grind of drudgery, where the watching of grazing herd gives him leisure for contemplation, and the wide-ranging life a big horizon, his ideas take on a certain gigantic simplicity; religion becomes monotheism, God becomes one, unrivalled like the sand of the desert and the grass of the steppe, stretching on and on without break or change. Chewing over and over the cud of his simple belief as the one food of his unfed mind, his faith becomes fanaticism; his big spacial [sic] ideas, born of that ceaseless regular wandering, outgrow the land that bred them and bear their legitimate fruit in wide imperial conquests (Semple, 1911, pp. 1-2).

Her "brand" of human geography was not new, but it was Semple who introduced and disseminated it to a North American

audience. It was anthropogeography imported from Germany, more specifically from the lectures of Friedrich Ratzel at Leipzig. Semple traveled to Germany twice to study under Ratzel and absorbed his words at every turn (see Sauer, 1934). Unfortunately, however, she borrowed only a portion of the master's ideas, ignoring or refusing to accept the remainder. She failed to hear Ratzel's complete lectures and thus failed to understand that he was also striving to show the effects of cultural diffusion on place[3]--a concept that was later adopted and turned into "possibilism" in the hands of the French geographers (James and Martin, 1981, p. 190)--a notion that runs counter to the belief that places condition local events (see Sauer, 1966, p. 70; Sauer, 1984; Dow, 1983). In the main, "She made use of Ratzel's ideas concerning the relationship between historical events and the settings in which these events took place" (James, et al., 1983, p. 32).

Semple was concerned to explain the correlation between place and history, the relationship between geographical conditions and historical event. Her position on this issue was simple and straightforward:

> The more the comparative method is applied to the study of history--and this includes a comparison not only of different countries, but also of successive epochs in the same country--the more apparent becomes the influence of the soil in which humanity is rooted, the more permanent and necessary is that influence seen to be. Geography's claim to make scientific investigation of the

> physical conditions of historical events is then vindicated. "Which was there first, geography or history?" asks Kant. And then comes his answer: "Geography lies at the basis of history." The two are inseparable. History takes for its field of investigation human events in various periods of time; anthropo-geography studies existence in various regions of terrestrial space. But all historical development takes place on the earth's surface, and therefore is more or less molded by its geographic setting. Geography, to reach accurate conclusions, must compare the operation of its factors in different historical periods and at different stages of cultural development. It therefore regards history in no small part as a succession of geographical factors embodied in events....This is the significance of Herder's saying that "history is geography set into motion." What is to-day a fact of geography becomes to-morrow a factor of history (Semple, 1911, pp. 10-11).

By postulating a direct correspondence between varying facts of locale, Semple extended Ratzel's notions to include "immediate causal relations between the earth's surface and man...[an idea which was] particularly well adapted to the conditions of the New World..." (Pfeifer, 1938, pp. 2-3). In this sense, her notions about the correlation between the physical terrain and human history were analogous to Turner's thesis about frontier settlement in the New World. In fact, Semple's simplistic generalizations on the relationship between man and the land (especially as they applied to New World conditions) differed from Frederick Jackson Turner's series of recurring stages on America's western frontier only in terms of emphasis (see Turner, 1920).

Semple and Turner were colleagues at the University

of Chicago and both participated in the 1907 "special session of the American Historical Association on 'Geography and History'" (James, et al., 1983, p. 32; also see Billington, 1973, pp. 227-229). For Turner, history was a succession of stages, each stage a product of geography (i.e., distance, local resources, transportation routes, etc.). He was a frequent guest at geographical conferences where he often delivered his perspective on the role geography played in historical study (e.g., Turner, 1914). Like Turner, history for Semple was unexplainable without reference to the local, physical, underlying conditions of place (i.e., landforms, climatological characteristics, etc.). In sum, Semple's human geography was inextricably linked to both the physical conditions of place, and the manner in which those conditions helped *determine* the subsequent human history of that place (Sauer, 1934; cf. Jones, 1955, p. 71).

While it has been argued that Semple granted the uniqueness of differing cultures in her thesis on the relationship between man and his natural milieu (James and Martin, 1981; James, et al., 1983, pp. 33-40) her influence on the discipline--i.e., her immediate influence on practicing geographers and her ultimate legacy within the discipline--was that man is a product of specific places and, ultimately, he is far less important than the environmental conditions which surround him. Her two most familiar books,

American History and its Geographic Conditions (1903) and *Influences of Geographic Environment* (1911) carry titles that convey their respective messages: man is a product of the natural environment.

Geography Moves Forward

For the first two decades of the twentieth century, academic geography in North America was a reflection of the ideas of either Davis or Semple, or, increasingly, some combination of the two. Unfortunately, the two perspectives created a situation where man and land were regarded as independent variables, indeed, separate entities to be studied in and of themselves. In essence, a dichotomy was developing in geographic thought. This dualism between physical investigations on the one hand, and an analysis of the human uses of the earth's surface on the other hand persists to this day (e.g., Cannon, et al. 1983). Basically, two distinct fields of study were simultaneously evolving, both bearing the same name: geography. One, physical geography, following the lead defined by Davis, focused on the physical processes creating and forever altering the surface of the earth. The other, anthropo-geography, using Semple's simplistic (but captivating) cause and effect thesis of inorganic controls, treated man as a product of his environment. To demonstrate the severity of the dualism, we find one American geographer asking, in 1928, whether

Mexico's then-current ills were due to "geo" or "anthropo" factors (Whitbeck, 1928)! This gulf between the physical and human sides of the discipline has characterized North American geography ever since.

There were, of course, other professional practitioners besides Davis and Semple who were influential during the early decades of this century. On the physical side, noteworthy contributions were made by North American writers such as Wallace W. Atwood (Koelsch, 1979; Cressey, 1949; Mather, 1950), Thomas C. Chamberlin (Chamberlin, 1934; Collie, 1932), Richard E. Dodge (Visher,1952; Dodge, 1950), Nevin M. Fenneman (Rich, 1945; Walters, 1945), Rollin D. Salisbury (Chamberlin, 1931; Densmore, 1931; Pattison, 1982; Visher, 1953), and Robert DeCourcy Ward (Brooks, 1932; Davis, 1932; Koelsch, 1983), to cite but a few of the more important names. On the human side, among those who had a more-than-passing degree of influence on geographic thought included Oliver E. Baker (Baker 1949; Visher and Hu, 1950), Harlan H. Barrows (Colby and White, 1961; Platt, 1961), Isaiah Bowman (Martin, 1977; Martin, 1980; Wright and Carter, 1959; and Wrigley, 1951), Ellsworth Huntington (Martin, 1973; Visher, 1948), Mark Jefferson (Bowman, 1950; Martin, 1968; Visher, 1949), and Ray H. Whitbeck (Whitbeck 1938; Williams, 1940). In the main, however, it was the respective views of Davis and Semple that predominated. Both were tireless

workers and their names are synonymous with North American geography during the first twenty years of the present century.

The 1920s: A Tumultuous Period

The 1920s represent an interesting but confusing period in the history of North American academic geography. It was a time of turmoil: Competing ideas, changing notions about the focus of geographic inquiry, and the first serious challenge to the paradigm put forward by Davis and implemented by Semple appeared. In many respects, this was the decade of decision for American geography, a decade that would set the stage for the following thirty years of research. While some are content to suggest that "the dualism that plagued American academic geography [viz., Davis's and Semple's respective approaches to the discipline]" lasted from "about 1900 to 1930" (Broek, et al., 1980, p. 12), this may actually be a gross oversimplification. For two related reasons, a more comprehensive analysis of the 1920s needs to be written, as the '20s did indeed have a marked influence on the future direction of the discipline.

Firstly, by the early-'20s, the situation in North American geography ostensibly began to change. Indeed, by the late-1920s the discipline was on a totally new track, with only the slightest resemblance to its former course.

The changes that brought about this reorientation, though complex and somewhat vague, need to be sketched here as a first step in trying to account for geography's pronounced change of perspective by the early-1930s. Secondly, an attempt to account for the changes taking place during the 1920s is important to this study, as it in part helps explain the wider context of Sauer's influential writings of this period. The publication of his "Morphology of Landscape" (1925) is generally regarded as a turning point in North American academic geography. Few realize, however, that Sauer was not alone in his inquiry into an alternative to the Davis-Semple models. For this reason, it is necessary to draw a picture of the intellectual "mutterings" taking place among North American geographers during the decade, to establish Sauer's peer-group context, and to account not only for the motivation behind the "morphology", but the motivation behind the motivation.

The Search for Alternatives

Seen within the wider context of North American geography, Sauer can be characterized as merely one of many practitioners who stormed the palace gates to challenge the existing approach to and definition of the field. Academic geographers, some overtly, others less conspicuously, were looking for change. From today's vantage point, it is apparent that it was the A.A.G. hierarchy that was chosen to

define the parameters of that change.

As mentioned above, the presidential addresses of the respective A.A.G. leaders carried an uncanny influence and they cannot be overlooked during this period. Presidents began to remark on the growing dualism that witnessed the physical and human sides of the discipline moving further and further apart from one another, and on the underlying models of explanation in geography. There was a burgeoning lack of commitment to a field defined in terms of either the identification and delineation of physical processes on the surface of the earth *or* man's response to the environmental constraints of specific places. Often subtle, frequently camouflaged in intricate discourse, questions were being asked and alternatives were being sought. In an address given on the eve of the new decade, for instance, Charles Dryer commented on the shift toward an ever-more humanized geography and articulated the growing concern voiced by opponents of the Davis-Semple programs. Thus he asked his colleagues to consider the following definition of geography:

> If we take environment as the key note of geography, the question at once arises sharply, how much of the environment? Must we take into account all its phases or only the physical or natural environment? In a study of Indiana as a geographic environment [for example], the position of the state, its relief, drainage, soil, climate, vegetation, native animals and mineral resources, and the influence of each on the condition and character of the human inhabitants must be given

> serious consideration. But how much weight, if any, should be given to the fact that the population was originally derived from two contrasted strains, one from the Carolinas and Virginia through Kentucky, and the other from New England, New York, and Pennsylvania through Ohio, each bringing its own peculiar political and religious opinions, social customs and vernacular speech? (Dryer, 1920, pp. 8-9).

In essence, Dryer was calling attention to a seminal awareness among his North American colleagues to the differences between ethnic groups and a realization that all peoples do not "respond" to the same environment in the same way. Roderick Peattie, writing for a less sophisticated but kindred readership, would anticipate Dryer's words and perhaps express the same idea more eloquently: The "new geography" he wrote, is "the study of a region's domination of a people...of the cultural diversity of peoples and the reasons which lie back of that diversity". He would go on to argue that "man is a product of his heredity plus his environment, social and physical" (Peattie, 1919, p. 421). The influence of heritage and ethnic preferences were gradually coming to the forefront as objects of significant inquiry.

With an increased emphasis on the human side of the discipline taking sway, honest concern was developing in the ranks of professional geographers that the simple cause and effect formula espoused by Semple may be an extreme generalization of actual complex conditions. Human

characteristics and emotions were beginning to be seen as a complementary, even if only peripheral, factor in the understanding of human geography. Put in Semple's terms, history was perhaps no mere reflection of environmental conditions alone, but also (or at least partially) an outgrowth of differing peoples reacting distinctively to their respective milieux. Dryer regarded these human characteristics as "psychological factors" and, though he duly acknowledged their existence and influence, he concluded his address in an anticlimactic, reductionist note, asserting that "if any one is troubled by doubts, he may console himself with the thought that any psychological phenomenon, when traced back far enough, may be found to be closely related to some conditions of physical environment" (Dryer, 1920, p. 9). Perhaps, given the intellectual climate of the time and the inertia of a professional institution, it was all one could expect from an A.A.G. president. But Dryer's mere awareness of the issues raises questions with respect to the growing recognition among Association members concerning their dissatisfaction with the existing geographic paradigms and their corollary awareness of alternative perspectives.

Several years later, as the then-president of this august body of professional geographers, Harlan Barrows delivered an address entitled "Geography as Human Ecology". The gist of Barrows's message is captured in its title where

he argues that geography, because of its growing preoccupation with human beings (rather than its diminishing interest with physical processes), and due also to the then-prevailing desire for geographers to see themselves as "scientists" (Herbst, 1961, p. 539), should rally around the concept of "human ecology". As Barrows noted, "geographers in increasing numbers define their subject as dealing solely with the *mutual* relations between man and his natural environment" (emphasis added); or, as he himself defined it, "the relationships existing between natural environments and the distribution and activities of man" (Barrows, 1923, p. 3). Barrows's definition of the field, while seemingly commonplace, if not benign, from today's perspective, is highly significant when seen relative to how his predecessors had defined the purview of the discipline. By calling for a geography based on "the *mutual* relations" of environment and human action, he was not only acknowledging the dissatisfaction with cause and effect explanations recognized in Dryer's earlier address, but was now sanctioning and indeed advocating a discipline focused entirely on the human scene. Barrows's geography was a fully *human* geography and the very title of his paper was designed to emphasize the impact of humans on the landscape. He was explicit on this point, exclaiming that "geography treated as human ecology will not cling to the peripheral specialisms...[that is]--to

physiography, climatology, plant ecology, and animal ecology--but will relinquish them gladly to geology, meteorology, botany, and zoology, or to careers as independent sciences" (Barrows, 1923, p. 4). His address was a wide-open call to exorcise the physical half of the field in favor of the half dealing with man and his interaction with the natural world. This was turning American geography on its head, categorically ignoring the natural environment and its moderating effects on man's activities.

Barrows was also perpetuating a contemporary predisposition to turn geography into a social science, as opposed to a physical or biological science from which it was born only years before (see Barrows, 1923, p. 5). During the 1920s the term "social science" was becoming synonymous with the total curtailment of all social ills using the "scientific method" (see, especially Barnes, 1925). Barrows's summons to join the ranks of the socially-minded sciences was probably a predictable undertaking given the existing intellectual climate of contemporary academia, particularly those practitioners concerned with human activity. In retrospect, however, one can only evaluate Barrows's perspective as naive at worst, misinformed at best. While admittedly moving toward what would become a progressively stronger interest in humans and their use of the earth, the discipline was still dominated by

"reconstituted geologists" in 1923. Of the original forty-eight members who formed the Association in 1904:

> ...nineteen held positions as geologists, four could be called field geographers and explorers, and nine taught geography in secondary schools, teacher-training schools, or universities. In addition there were three ecologists, two oceanographers, one climatologist, one geophysicist, three economists and statisticians, two biologists, one ethnologist, and one diplomat. One was editor of a geographical periodical...and one [was an] historian....Among the forty-eight original members, fifteen had studied with Davis at Harvard (James and Martin, 1978, p. 38; cf. Spencer, 1974, p. 23).

A similar corp of A.A.G. members still formed the nucleus of the organization in 1923. Moreover, it was, after all, the physical not the human side of the field that was most respected by the other sciences, and it was the physical side, at least according to Davis, that had thus far made the greater progress (Davis, 1924, pp. 195-196). Hence, this was hardly the time to announce that the physical side of the discipline should be routed and replaced with an outlook directed entirely on human activity. To do so would have inferred a strong aversion with academic geography's North American heritage, a rather short, ill-established, and little-understood heritage of less than twenty years. As well, though not explicit, the implication was to castigate Davis's approach in favor of the only remaining alternative--viz., Semple's geography, a move the membership was unwilling to entertain in 1923.[4]

What was essential, but what was still lacking during the early-1920s, was an explicit alternative to both Semple and Davis. The call was out and the membership was seemingly aware of its need to reformulate the field to accommodate the spirit of the times, but a proper, well-defined, systematic alternative had yet to be realized. Furthermore, it had to be an alternative that would guarantee geography the independent status that the American practitioners so avidly sought. More importantly, however, the new geography would have to break ties with the Darwinian overtones provided by both Davis and Semple. Whether it was consciously considered by these early practitioners or not, the first two decades of North American geography were heavily influenced by Darwinian ideas, and the discipline's subsequent malaise was due, in no small part, in ridding itself of this heritage (Herbst, 1961).

In 1925, thirty-five year old Carl Sauer constructed a well-planned, carefuly-worded statement on what should constitute the enterprise of geography. His paper would virtually signal the end to the Davis-Semple programs, and usher in a non-"deterministic" era that emphasized "regional geography". Sauer's "Morphology of Landscape" (Sauer, 1925) was the prologue to change that the discipline rallied around in the mid-1920s. It offered a viable alternative to that held by the first generation of academic practitioners, and

it served as the focal point for the (much larger) second generation of professional geographers on the continent. The context for interpreting Sauer's essay and the evolution of his ideas will be examined in Chapter Six. What follows is an overview of his early geography to indicate the differences between his approach to explanation in geographic research and the approach taken by the followers of Davis and Semple.

Sauer's Early Geography

While other practitioners were claiming that human activity was environmentally determined--i.e., a simple product of local physical conditions (see, for example, Kersten, 1982; Tatham, 1951)--or that the discipline should focus on the natural processes occurring and forever shaping the earth's surface--i.e., the followers of Davis's geomorphology--Sauer asked his American colleagues to consider the impact and importance of culture in altering the surface of the earth. For Sauer, the interpretation of a given landscape feature involved no less than an intimate appreciation of the history of the land in its entirety; an understanding of the culture that sculptured a landscape was requisite. Physical processes explained only a part of the story; deterministic tenets failed to explain the real world differences from place to place.

In 1925, drawing upon a traditional German approach

to geography, Sauer defined the domain of the discipline as the study of "the morphology of landscape" (Sauer, 1925). For Sauer, "landscape" was synonymous with geography--i.e., "our naively selected section of reality" (1925, p. 53). "Morphology," on the other hand, was both conceptual and methodological. As a concept, morphology was identical with "forms" or "structural units." The term itself, wrote Sauer, "originated with Goethe and expresses his contribution to modern science" (1925, p. 30). Form studies, as pursued by Goethe, were phenomenological in basis he would argue, "without prepossession regarding the meaning of its evidence, and presupposes a minimum of assumption: namely, only the reality of structural organization" (Sauer, 1925, p. 31). As method, morphology was "synthesis": the identification of changing processes responsible for the creation of different "forms". By necessity, the search for processes required a temporal perspective, and time became the critical variable in explicating the change from a physical to a cultural landscape (Sauer, 1925, pp. 36-47). In short, Sauer advocated the search for the processes behind the creation of cultural "forms" across the earth's surface. As Mikesell has recently summarized it, Sauer's was "an enterprise devoted to [the] study of how 'natural landscapes' evolve into 'cultural landscapes'" (Mikesell, 1984, p. 185) within a temporal framework. "The Morphology of Landscape" was at once a call

to eradicate determinism from the discipline (Kersten, 1982), a statement of identity and independence for Sauer (Leighly, 1976, p. 340; Williams, 1983, pp. 4-5), a plea to ground geography in a chorologic (area studies) approach (James and Martin, 1981, pp. 320-322), and a turning point that had a profound effect on American academic geography for the next twenty years (Hart, 1983, p. 113).

While others (such as Dryer, Barrows, and Peattie mentioned above) would merely hint at the significance and importance of ethnic identity, Sauer would place cultural heritage at the forefront of geographical concern. Similarly, whereas there were those who would recognize the short-term benefit of analyzing ethnic variations relative to specific groups and their respective uses of the land, Sauer's call was to enthrone culture as *the* single most important variable in discovering why places differ:

> The cultural landscape is fashioned out of a natural landscape by a culture group. Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape the result....With the introduction of a different, that is, alien culture, a rejuvenation of the cultural landscape sets in, or a new landscape is superimposed on remnants of an older one. The natural landscape is of course of fundamental importance, for it supplies the materials out of which the cultural landscape is formed. *The shaping force*, however, lies in the culture itself [emphasis added] (Sauer, 1925, p. 46).

Quite literally, Sauer's message to his North American colleagues was to turn their existing methodologies

upside-down. Not only were physical processes--i.e., a focus on the natural landscape--now of secondary importance, but the environment in general was being shown to have far less of an influence on the use and reuse of an area than had previously been considered. In sum, the method Sauer was suggesting would nullify the approach of the folowers of Davis, while it effectively would eradicate those who saw human geography in light of Semple's principles--i.e., man as a product of his environment. A priori assumptions concerning man's passive or non-participatory role were eliminated under Sauer's formula: "We are concerned with 'directed activity, not premature realization'" (Sauer, 1925, p. 53). The search for the differing cultural "forms" resulting from human activity across the earth's surface was an exploration into the influences of ethnic and cultural groups on the changing natural landscape. By definition, such an exploration would immediately preclude predetermined attitudes regarding the influence of environment on human action and creativity.

What Sauer's dictum essentially achieved, was to focus geographical study toward a better understanding of places. Because cultural activity will vary, often considerably, from one place to the next and, in the process, express itself in a variety of "forms", the important contribution that geographers can make is to articulate those

differences in their spatial manifestations. Regardless of the scale of analysis--e.g., local community, larger portions of the planet influenced by an identifiable cultural group, or well-defined physical regions--geographers were concerned with *areas*. Place was regarded as the domain of the geographer:

> Geography assumes the responsibility for the study of areas because there exists a common curiosity about that subject....No other subject has preëmpted the study of area. Others, such as historians and geologists, may concern themselves with areal phenomena, but in that case they are avowedly using geographic facts for their own ends (Sauer, 1925, p. 21).

Sauer would argue that chorology, the study of areas for the sake of insight into their descriptive natures or character, is geography's jurisdiction, *prima facie*, because, if traced back to its earliest scientific formulations, it can be shown that the discipline has always been concerned with area as evidenced in the writings of Herodotus, Polybius, but especially of Strabo. Indeed it was this very tradition of chorology, first expressed and practiced by the Greeks, which was more recently revitalized and given acclaim by the German geographers beginning in the mid-nineteenth century. This accounts for Sauer's decision to use the term "landscape" (and "morphology", following from Goethe) in the title of his 1925 paper (1925, pp. 21-24). "The Germans have translated it [geography] as *Landschaftskunde* or *Länderkunde*, the knowledge of landscape or lands"

he would note; "the other term, *Erdkunde*, the science of the earth in general [approximate to the then-current definition of geography in North America], is falling rapidly into disuse" (1925, p. 21; also see Pfeifer, 1938, pp. 7-9).

In addition to culture, however, Sauer's "morphology" called attention to and subsequently altered geography's predisposition toward an analysis of the contemporary scene. Geographers on this continent have typically seen their discipline as a present-oriented enterprise. This emphasis continues, more or less, to the present (James and Martin, 1981, pp. 404-426; also see McManis, 1978, p. 72). In large part, this attitude appears to have developed as a concomitant feature of the discipline's self-image as a "science". Science is not immediately concerned with the past. In the main, science is directly interested in the "facts" of the present and the prediction or, less dogmatically, the forecasting of future conditions. The past, if it is regarded at all, is usually analyzed in terms of its demonstratable lessons, or as an example, to understand more fully the present and (often) the future (see, for example Theobald, 1968; Schutz, 1963). Geography assumed this stance early in the century under Davis's watchful eye and it was, by 1925, an a priori fact that the field was indeed a "science" and therefore concerned with the present. When, for instance, Sauer's doctoral dissertation

(1915) was finally published (Sauer, 1920b), reaction to the strong historical component of his thesis set in at once. One writer actually claimed that the work was in fact history, *not* geography, because parts of it were heavily focused on the past for the past's sake and "**as Geography deals with present conditions, the past is only to be evoked when it is necessary to explain the present**" (emphasis in original) (Unstead, 1922, p. 56). An historian, however, found no such problem with the book when he reviewed Sauer's thesis that same year (see Violette, 1922).

Sauer's notion of an "historical" geography was thus a decisive break with the existing norm. Moreover it was a break he was conscious of and, perhaps, the single most important aspect of his methodology; it was the one thing he refused to relinquish. A temporal approach characterized his work to the very end. For Sauer, all human geography, all *meaningful* human geography, must have a genetic component. Even toward the end of his long life, he would still reiterate this point and explain why he was seemingly so persistent and adament about it:

> By and large, geography [as universally practiced] has been historical. It has been historical in the physical sense, also. Professor William Morris Davis made the most gallant attempt ever to make physical geography [in North America] non-historical, and he failed. No one may ever do as well as that again! When man is introduced into the geographic scene and into the geographic process, explanations can only be in terms of origins and changes (Sauer, 1970, p. 6).

Sauer realized that change was an inevitable feature of our reality. Process, or the underlying mechanism behind that change, was therefore the one undeniable constant. This was true whether one was interested in the past, the present, or even the future. The natural landscape was continually changing due to physical processes--climate, soil properties, vegetation cover, etc.--and the cultural landscape was, likewise, undergoing a series of changes due to human initiative--emigration, immigration, technological achievement, warfare, etc. (see Sauer, 1925, pp. 40-47). It was therefore only logical that the time factor be given utmost emphasis in his geography. And, since "the natural landscape is being subjected to transformation at the hands of man" (Sauer, 1925, p. 45), it was *the time element in relation to man* that became the most crucial identifying factor in Sauer's view. The search for the origins of cultural "transformations", regardless of the time period involved and irrespective of their present-day or future implications, became the crux of Sauer's geographical inquiry. Thus the geographer was predisposed, nay, obligated, to investigate as far back into the past as was necessary to identify and understand the changes wrought by human activity. It was man's imprint on the natural landscape that interested Sauer, not man's contemporary utilization of or interrelationship with that landscape:

"Under this definition we are not concerned in geography [as the morphology of the cultural landscape] with the energy, customs, or beliefs of man but with man's record upon the landscape" (Sauer, 1925, p. 46).

This concern for time and its associated search for cultural origins and "forms" was a complete departure from current practice. Even Barrows, whose address noted above was radically liberal in its own right, and whose opinions respecting the purview of the discipline were decidedly broad, would stand firm on this notion of contemporary application in geography. He would readily concede that historical geography was viable: it was, after all, the human ecology of past times (Barrows, 1923, pp. 9-11). But he was quick to note further:

> History...deals largely with the past. Geography proper deals largely with the present....The historian...begins his studies with what our remote ancestors saw; the geographer begins with what we ourselves see (Barrows, 1923, pp. 5-6).

It was consistent with this view that Barrows declare that "historical geography, the geography of the past, helps to show *the significance of past geographic conditions in the interpretation of present-day geographic conditions*" (emphasis added) (Barrows, 1923, p. 11). This, of course, was not the sort of geography, the historical-cultural geography, that Sauer had in mind. In 1927 he would further explicate his notions and declare that *all* geography was

both historical and cultural by using the terms "cultural geography", "historical geography", and "human geography" synonymously (Sauer 1927b). As one of his students would later write:

> ...he [Sauer] advocated geographical inquiry into such themes as the man-modified landscape and the origin, spread, limits, and alteration of the elements of that landscape. Holding that all geography is essentially historical, he systematically used any kind of data pertaining to human settlement and activity, and he often found archeological evidence fully as pertinent as written documents (Parsons, 1968, p. 18).

To be sure, Sauer's cultural-historical approach to geographic research was not without its vocal opponents. When Dryer (above) reviewed the "morphology" for the *Geographical Review* he had little positive to say of Sauer's 1925 "brochure". In particular, he attacked Sauer's phenomenological method that called for, in Dryer's words, "uncontrolled freedom of choice in observation". To enact such a method, he continued, would be an absolute waste of the geographer's time: "the result is likely to be a catalogue half rubbish like a child's collection from a dump heap, and wholly unscientific" (Dryer, 1926, p. 349). Dryer basically dismissed Sauer's manifesto on the basis that "there seems to run in the German blood the instinct and the ability to grasp an idea by placing it in the midst of all knowledge, like a single tree in a dense forest of all species". After all, a close examination of what Sauer was

stating leads to the recognition that he was fully ignoring his native geographical tradition and turning instead to his European (but especially German) colleagues for advice. "Of 56 references [used by Sauer in the 'morphology'] " Dryer would remind the reader, only 8 were English, whereas "34 are to works in German, 7 in French" (Dryer, 1926, p. 348).

Yet, in the long run, the "morphology" proved to be the most influential geographic essay written during the 1920s. For those opposed to the Davis-Semple models, it rapidly assumed biblical proportions. James has written of its influence:

> ...Sauer's paper was like the clear notes of a bugle call to the younger members of the profession, most of whom had completed their graduate training since 1920 and had recently been appointed to one of the many new geography staffs then being formed (James, 1972, p. 401).

Although printed as an "in-house" publication in Berkeley, California on the periphery of American academic geography, the lengthy article nonetheless received considerable attention by this younger generation of geographers. Reflecting back on the period, two prominent practitioners recalled that the "morphology" was widely circulated and "regularly discussed" by Sauer's colleagues all across the continent (James and Mather, 1977, p. 448). Together with a longer, second methodological piece published two years after the "morphology" (Sauer, 1927b), a third, shorter article written for *The Encyclopaedia of Social Science* (Sauer,

1931), and numerous (early) substantive, empirical essays (see, especially, Sauer, 1927a; Sauer, 1930; Sauer and Meigs, 1927; Sauer and Brand, 1930; Sauer and Brand, 1931; Sauer and Brand, 1932), the "morphology" and Sauer's influence were broadly felt throughout North American departments of geography. In short, academic geography on this continent was significantly changed for the next two decades. By 1930, the discipline no longer resembled its former image. Davis's physical geography had given way to a more humanized field; by the end of the 1920s, the relationship between man and his environment had been turned around. Semple's anthropogeography was abandoned in favor of a perspective giving cultures and ethnic groups greater control over the natural landscape (Leighly, 1955).

Conclusions

This chapter has shown the basic and essential differences between Carl Sauer's approach to geography and the other two concurrent approaches (the Davis-Semple models) that we have deemed "the mainstream". It should be clear at this juncture that Sauer was working within an entirely different tradition from the mainstream, one that contrasted sharply with the available paradigms offered by Davis and Semple. Excepting the three short years he spent in Germany as a child, Sauer was a product of an American academic education. Yet his notions of geography were unquestionably

different from his colleagues' definitions of the discipline. In brief, his underlying perspective on explanation in geography derived from what the German geographers, not his North American peers, were practicing. As Entrikin has recently put it, Sauer's "brand" of geography was an assault on the "environmentalist position" in an effort "to reestablish the German classical geographical tradition in American geography" (Entrikin, 1984, p. 405). The critical questions which immediately arise and those which will be addressed in the balance of this thesis are, "Where did Sauer's notion of a morphology of landscape come from?" and "Why did he turn to the foreign (notably the German) literature in his attempt to place the field on more solid footing in 1925?"

CHAPTER TWO NOTES

1 For an excellent treatment of Darwin's influence on the whole of the social sciences, see Hofstadter, 1965.

2 For those especially interested in an extremely detailed (yet highly readable) account of Davis's life, thought, and influence on the discipline, I strongly recommend Chorley, et al., 1973. This is the most comprehensive work on Davis and is unsurpassed in its ability to capture Davis's changing yet predominant views on geography.

3 On geography's evolving professionalization, the interested reader should take a look at Dunbar, 1981 and Koelsch, 1981.

4 Those concerned with a well-documented (archival) history of the A.A.G., including Davis's role in its formation and his long-term influence on the association's subsequent development, should consult James and Martin, 1978.

5 Semple's anthropogeography also differed from Ratzel's in two other significant ways. Firstly, hers was an "historical environmentalism" (Hartshorne, 1954, p. 171;

also see Clark, 1954, p. 82). Secondly, Ratzel's notions of the state as an organism was flatly rejected by Ms. Semple (James and Martin, 1981, p. 304; Hartshorne, 1954, p. 185).

6 It should be pointed out here that Barrows was the first A.A.G. president who was not a part of the "constituent membership" (Brigham, 1924, p. 114). Thus he may have certainly been regarded as a "threat" of sorts.

CHAPTER THREE[1]

BACKGROUND TO SAUER'S WORLD VIEW

Introduction

Throughout this thesis it is argued that, as time moved forward, Sauer's new environments appear to have had less and less of an effect on the fundamental world view he acquired in Warrenton, Missouri. More specifically, it is postulated that his earliest environment was the most significant relative to his geography. But, before we explore the circumstances germane to Sauer's early experiences and education in Warrenton, it is important first to develop the social and historical background into which Sauer was born--in a sense, to "set the stage" before the actors begin the play. Like the rest of us, Sauer was born into a particular context--a certain milieu where recognizable associations of people and events acting in space and through time can be identified--and he consciously and unconsciously came to accept that context as "reality". It was this first milieu, his initial "construction of reality" (Berger and Luckmann, 1980), that I shall argue was the most crucial one for an understanding of Sauer; all

subsequent notions of "reality", all future orientations and reorientations must be seen with respect to his earliest world view (see Chapters Four and Five). Essentially, I subscribe to the same view expressed by Anderson:

> Men and movements are not born in a vacuum; neither do they find their fulfillment apart from temporal and social considerations. A productive soil is just as necessary for the full development of ideas and institutions as it is for botanical species (Anderson, 1940, p. 478).

The aim, then, is to expose the "soil" into which Sauer was born, within which he developed his first world view. Thenceforth, that first *Weltanschauung* acted as a sort of filter by which he screened his experiences and, through which, everything he read and assimilated had to pass.

Sauer's anthropogeographic approach to the study of geography, his reliance on an historical mode of explanation, his emphasis on culture history, and his insistence on a scholarly (though inductive) orientation, are all elements taken from turn-of-the-century German social science, more specifically, German geographic thought (see Leighly, 1938; cf. Hartshorne, 1939, pp. 260-277 [84-101]). The purpose of this chapter is to indicate the degree to which Sauer was steeped in a German world view long before he began reading German geography in Chicago's "Loop", and long, long before he arrived in Berkeley and penned his "morphology" essay.[2] Once this has been accomplished, I can then speculate on my proposition that his later (Berkeley) "brand"

of geography, in large measure, can be traced back to this formative period of his life, rather than the popular notion that his contacts with anthropologists at Berkeley accounted for his intellectual orientation (see Kenzer, 1985a). The question is, *Can we continue to ignore or underplay Sauer's rich and characteristically Germanic heritage, in any serious attempt to understand his intellectual development and his contributions to geographic thought in America?*

At the outset of this chapter we discuss German emigration to America, with an extended focus on the distinctive mid- and late-nineteenth century phases of that emigration. Next, we shall look at frontier conditions in America during the nineteenth century and examine the Mississippi and Missouri rivers district in particular. After establishing the historical and locational context of German immigration in general, we will concentrate attention on the more specific circumstances relating to the immigration and New World settlement of Sauer's family. By the conclusion of the chapter we will find the Sauer family settled in Warrenton, Missouri, we will have been introduced to the environment in which young Carl Sauer will shortly find himself and, lastly, we will suggest what a child born at that exact time in that specific place, might expect to encounter in terms of his education, his family and social relations, as well as those other "intangible" elements that

conjoin to shape and guide a child's intellectual development.

America: Land Of Immigrants

America! The word itself conjures images the world over. In terms of all of Western civilization, America must surely be regarded among the most unique and influential experiments in human history. Over the decades, the term "America" has been substituted for an array of optimistic expressions: the New World; "land of the free, home of the brave"; "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"; democracy; social mobility; "land of opportunity"; "from rags to riches"; religious freedom; academic freedom; freedom of speech; freedom of the press; freedom to assemble; and a dozen other "freedoms" of varying types and degrees. Not everyone, however, has seen the United States in such a utopian light. To some, the word "America" has come to denote less positive characteristics: "watchdog on the world"; big brother; anti-communism; world power; warmonger; "frontier individualism"; the right to bear arms; Social Darwinism; Manifest Destiny; industrialism; greed; corporatism; imperialism; and many, many other dubious expressions. Irrespective of one's political vantage point however, there is little doubt that, as a nation, the United States has had a more profound effect on world history and human migration than any other country in such a relatively

short period of time. In terms of its global influence, especially in the realm of personal rights and a concern for social welfare, it can truly be called the first "new" nation (Lipset, 1963). Imperfect, replete with domestic problems and inconsistencies, America was, regardless, considered a utopia and a land of promise for over one-hundred years. By the mid-nineteenth century, Lincoln would assert that the United States was "the last best hope of earth" (Palmer and Colton, 1969, p. 332).

Until World War II, America was a land of immigrants. Too often this point is either overlooked or altogether forgotten. The United States was charted, founded, designed, built, and directed by immigrants. Primarily from western Europe, but representing almost every pocket of Old World and Eastern cultures, immigrants joined together to create a new nation, a nation somehow *different* from the scores of nations these same migrants chose (or were forced) to abandon. Each decided to journey to the United States for different (often contradictory) reasons, but most migrated across the Atlantic seeking an "opportunity for free enterprise" (Wittke, 1967, p. xi). Irrespective of which positive or negative expression (from the above paragraph) one chooses to identify as that which is characteristically American, the fact remains that since its first permanent settlement, the so-called "open door" policy of the United

States has led to a situation where more emigrants have found a new home in America than anywhere else (Archdeacon, 1983).

American immigration records are vague prior to 1820 and therefore absolute numbers of people migrating to the United States are no more than estimates. Yet we can be fairly certain that between 1783 and 1815, a period of controversy and critical decision-making for the new nation, approximately 250,000 people left their homes and families in Europe (and elsewhere) to set sail for America (Jones, 1960, pp. 54-65). Of these, the majority were probably English, with the Irish constituting a close second (Hansen, 1940). In total, however, the steady movement of people to America before the turn of the last century is almost insignificant when compared to subsequent migrations.

The Nineteenth Century Pattern

It was the nineteenth century that witnessed the great, unprecedented, continual flow of people and ideas across the Atlantic to America. Between 1820 and 1890 alone, at least 15,000,000 immigrants arrived in the United States (Wittke, 1967, p. xvi). Looking at a somewhat larger period (but perhaps a more pertinent span for the present study), Jones indicates that at least 30,000,000 people left Europe for the West between 1815 and World War I (Jones, 1960, p. 93). The source of that migration, however, was undergoing a noteworthy change. Toward the middle of the century,

conditions in Europe had fostered a situation that would curb the steady tide of Irish and English emigrants--theretofore the predominant representatives of European culture in America (Hansen, 1940)--at which time the Germans would assume ascendancy. By 1854, a peak year for American immigration, the Germans would account for over one-half of all immigrants entering American ports, a total greater than the number of British and Irish immigrants combined (Taylor, 1971, p. 63). Turning again to the one hundred-year period preceding the first world war, immigration records in the United States confirm that over 5,000,000 immigrants, or nearly 18 percent of the total, were from Germany (Wittke, 1967, p. 186; cf. Johnson, 1951, p. 2). Moreover, when we examine the figures for the nineteenth century as a whole, we find that German immigration to America exceeded all other nationalities, bar none (Faust, 1969, vol. 1, pp. 581-582; also see Stephenson, 1926, p. 42). So great was this century of immigration from German-speaking lands that, by 1900, the Germans represented "the biggest foreign element" in "no fewer than twenty-seven of the states and territories comprising the continental United States..." (Hawgood, 1970, p. 82), accounting for over 31 percent of the "foreign stock" of the nation (1970, p. 79; also see Turner, 1901a; Turner, 1901b). In short, whereas we typically think of the United States as a homogeneous "melting pot" of different cultures

and traditions. American immigration was ostensibly dominated by Germans and German-speaking peoples during the last century.

Nineteenth-century German emigration to the United States, while important in terms of the sheer number of people entering the country, varied considerably with respect to its overall influence on American life. It is difficult if not impossible to generalize for the century as a whole however, because the volume of German migration changed dramatically from the beginning to the end of the century, even from decade to decade. German-speaking peoples came from numerous nations, some of which no longer exist, most of them consolidated under new names. The majority entered the United States as simply "Germans". To illustrate, we need to look briefly at the different "waves" of German emigration during the past century, and particularly *where* those migrants settled and their respective influence on local conditions in America.

Waves Of German Emigration

The movement of Germans across the Atlantic during the nineteenth century can be divided into several distinct periods or "waves", each wave corresponding to specific social and/or political conditions, both in Germany and the country to which the emigrants were bound. In general, the bulk of their emigration occurred between the years 1816 and

1885.[3] The initial departure, beginning about 1816-1817, corresponded with an extremely unsettled social climate in southwestern Germany and concomitant years of exceedingly severe harvests. *Auswanderung* during this early period was minuscule by later standards, but it seemed to set the movement in motion. Many of the 200,000 emigrants of 1815-1817 sought relief in other parts of the Continent (frequently other parts of Prussia), but the majority made their way to the United States (Walker, 1964, pp. 1-41). A second wave, much larger than the first, began about 1830 and lasted until the mid-1840s. This second exodus seems to reflect a period of adjustment amongst the numerous German states to the changing political geography of Europe: in the main, a time of prolonged internal conflicts following the Napoleonic Wars and general tumultuous conditions for the coalescing German Empire (e.g., Blackbourn, 1984). *Auswanderung* spread during this second wave from the southwest of Germany to the more eastern and northern sections of Prussia,[4] coinciding as well with restrictive local legislation (Wyman, 1984, pp. 51-54).

A third nineteenth-century wave of German emigration began in 1848, the year of the so-called "German Revolution", and lasted well into the middle of the following decade (in America, this coincided with the peak immigration year of 1854 mentioned above) when the volume of people leaving

Germany began to ease somewhat. While small in terms of the numbers of actual emigrants who made it to the United States (Ripley, 1976, p. 51), this emigration was, by far, the most important of the century.

The first two waves of emigrants were composed mainly of peasants, farmers, the poor, and those generally of the ne'er-do-well stock. Conversely, the "Revolution of 1848" witnessed the loss of a better-educated, more highly cultivated German citizen (Walker, 1964, pp. 103-152, but especially 103-133), and has consequently been referred to as "the revolution of intellectuals" (Namier, 1944). According to one writer, this was the exodus of Germany's "men of distinction", a generation of scholars and influential orators who were "the true heirs of Kant, Fichte, and Hegel in their devotion to freedom of thought and belief..." (Wittke, 1967, p. 192; also see Wittke, 1952, and Wittke, 1973, pp. 59-74). Among the more prominent intellectuals who found reason to flee Germany at this time we find men like Carl Schurz (1829-1906), Friedrich Hecker (1811-1881), Karl Heinzen (1809-1880), Wilhelm Rapp (1828-1907), Frederick Niedringhaus (1837-1922), Franz Sigel (1824-1902), Gustav Struve (1805-1870), and many other Germans who subsequently became well known American citizens. "There can be no doubt" writes Wittke, "that the arrival of the 'Forty-eighters' brought about a unique intellectual and cultural renaissance

among the Germans in America, and in two centuries of German immigration no other group made such an impact upon the United States as the few thousand political refugees of 1848" (Wittke, 1973, p. 37).

In truth, the complete failure of the 1848 Revolution in Germany was most likely the final impetus that many required before they would actually decide to leave their homeland (see Billigmeier, 1974, p. 79; Wyman, 1984, pp. 57-63). And indeed the greatest percentage of those leaving during this third stream of emigration did not in fact depart in 1848. Rather, they waited until the early- to mid-1850s, well after the hostilities at home had subsided (Wittke, 1952, pp. 3 and 43). Many of these third-wave "revolutionaries" were reluctant to abandon the Fatherland. When they finally did leave, it was with the intent of returning to Germany when the European political climate changed for the better. Yet the majority remained abroad (especially those who fled to America), eventually to assimilate into the host societies as best they could (see O'Connor, 1968, particularly pp. 119-128).[5] In part, their desire to remain separate would account for their penchant to inhabit the frontier portions of the western United States and their resistance in America to speak English. They were a proud people, a displaced group of "intellectuals", and they emigrated with a desire to create

small, distinctive German states in the New World (see below).

A fourth and final wave of nineteenth century German emigration lasted from about 1871 until 1885. Though important in regard to the large numbers of *Auswanderer*, this last flood of emigrants was relatively insignificant in terms of its lasting importance to the United States. Many Germans waited until the American Civil War was over before they decided to depart for their new home (cf. Turner, 1901b). Those who finally did leave Germany were on the tail-end of the revolutionary furor so to speak, and few from this last period of emigration were of much noteworthy acclaim.

Remarkably, this last period of German emigration corresponds generally with a period of financial well being in Germany. Indeed, after German unification (1870) the new nation saw at least twenty years of growth and prosperity (e.g., Ripley, 1976, pp. 81-83). In the mid-1880s, Germany's economy began to grow significantly. Prosperity led to a stable German government, and for the first time Germans were able to look toward establishing an overseas colony (Taylor, 1970). Thus it is reasonable to assume that many now were leaving Germany not because they lacked opportunities at home, nor due to poor, localized social conditions. Rather, they probably left because of the

attraction of foreign countries (especially the United States), where cheap, abundant land and an inviting social climate ensured a lasting peace of mind and greater opportunities for their children. Railroad building and promotional schemes attracted countless German immigrants to the American West. Not surprisingly, extant records from this period suggest a marked increase in the emigration of whole families, in contradistinction to earlier waves where unmarried, lone Germans constituted the largest segment of the *Auswanderung* (see Walker, 1964, pp. 175-194; Ripley, 1976, pp. 71-84). This fourth wave represents migrants heading *toward* something they perceived as better, instead of *away* from something familiar that they feared.

Location of German-Americans

The location of German-Americans during the nineteenth century is a revealing story. Although the arriving Germans settled in all parts of the United States, there was a curious tendency for each new immigrant wave to move farther west with the ever-changing frontier.[4] Thus Faust has noted that when trying to understand their settlement pattern, it is important to distinguish between American-born, second-generation German-Americans on the one hand, and their first-generation German parents who left Europe to settle in the United States. The former tended to assimilate more readily and dwell in the heavily populated,

urban sections of the country. Conversely, the newcomers had a tendency to head immediately for the then-current frontier of settlement, to isolate themselves from the rest of society, often intending to create a virtual "Germany in America" (e.g., Hawgood, 1970, pp. 93-226; O'Connor, 1968, pp. 87-97).

By the middle of the nineteenth century, when German immigration was nearing its peak, the American frontier was synonymous with the Mississippi Valley (Turner, 1920, pp. 136-139). Not surprisingly, this is where we find the greatest concentration of budding German-American communities during this period (Faust, 1969, vol. I, pp. 432-467). Given the social environment of the time, it is quite obvious why the Germans on the American frontier would want to create discrete, German-like settlements. There was a profound desire to distinguish themselves from their Old World relations, while openly concerned to establish a sense of identity distinct from their assimilated German-American compatriots in the eastern states of America. As one astute writer has noted:

> Conditions prevailing in both Germany and America at the time favored the rise of a Germanism which in the isolation of the Western frontier frequently sought to further its cause independent not only of American influences but also of contacts with the older German culture of the East. We are dealing with the rise of a unique German civilization which, sometimes divided against itself, did not begin to integrate with American culture until the national crisis of the Civil War (Schneider, 1939,

p. v, also see pp. 27-30).

For the purposes of the present study, however, we shall ignore the settlement frontier of the *entire* American Middle West--"the German-American heartland" (O'Connor, 1968, p. 5; also see Johnson, 1951)--and instead focus our attention on the state of Missouri alone, where Carl Sauer was born and raised.

Nineteenth Century German Settlement in Missouri

During the early part of the last century, the Germans constituted but a small percentage of the total population of the present state of Missouri. In 1800, Missouri's population was probably no more than 7,000 (Shortridge, 1980, p. 57), most of whom were of American or French background (U.S. census figures cited in Anderson, 1937, p. 150). By 1815, the French continued to dominate as the largest "foreign" element of the state, the remainder being "a few Germans of negligible influence, a few Irish, and a growing majority of Americans...." (Anderson, 1937, p. 163). When Missouri officially became a state in 1821, the Germans still represented a small fraction of the state's total population of nearly 70,000 (Hawgood, 1970, p. 109). But the numbers were soon to increase, at times dramatically.

Although German-speaking peoples settled in what is presently Missouri as early as the 1770s (Ellis, 1929, pp. 68-69), it was not until the late-1820s and the early- to

mid-1830s that the state's German population began to grow in sizable numbers. Some claim that the flood of Germans into Missouri was primarily due to the influence of Gottfried Duden (e.g., Hawgood, 1970, pp. 23-24; Gerlach, 1976b pp. 14-15; and O'Connor, 1968, pp. 68-70). Duden came to America "to become a farmer". He found his way to St. Louis in 1824 and soon thereafter migrated farther west, to what is today Warren County, Missouri (see Chapter Four), immediately north of the Missouri River in the northeastern Ozarks (Kargau, 1900; cf. Schneider, 1939, pp. 15-16). Duden's exaggerated reports of Warren (originally a part of Montgomery) County attracted considerable influence in Germany (Duden, 1829), and he was undoubtedly guilty of convincing a large number of German immigrants to make their way to the newly-constituted state of Missouri:

> His [Duden's] skillful pen mingled fact and fiction, interwove experience and imagination, pictured the freedom of the forest and of democratic institutions in contrast with the social restrictions and political embarrassments of Europe. Many thousands of Germans pondered over his book and enthused over its sympathetic glow. Innumerable resolutions were made to cross the ocean and build for the present and succeeding generations happy homes on the far-famed Missouri (Faust, 1969, vol. 1, p. 441).

Duden was apparently responsible for the *Giessener Gesellschaft*'s decision to migrate to Missouri, as they had originally intended to settle in Arkansas (Hawgood, 1970, pp. 109-110). Likewise, as a result of what Duden had written,

the *Deutsche Gesellschaft* of Philadelphia probably chose a similar portion of Missouri for the establishment of its "colony" in Hermann (see Bek, 1907). On the other hand, it should be noted that Missouri was also the focus of "at least a dozen other German-language travel books...by 1830" (Gerlach, 1976a, p. 28), so Duden alone cannot be held accountable for the thousands upon thousands of Germans who chose to make Missouri their destination. Whatever his ultimate legacy may have been to the "Show Me" state, it is a fact that the German population grew steadily after the 1829 publication of Duden's infamous book, and "during the third decade of the nineteenth century Missouri became the most favored location for German settlers in the West" (Schneider, 1939, p. 19). As early as 1837, the number of Germans moving into distant Missouri was exceeded only by those migrating to Ohio to the east (see Gerlach, 1976a, p. 35).

By the 1850s, segments of Missouri were beginning to resemble authentic German "colonies" in terms of their ethnic and social characteristics. Ellis reports that in 1850 the number of Missouri residents who were born in Germany had already exceeded 44,000 (Ellis, 1929, p. 126), and Missouri was rapidly achieving the German flavor it would bear for the next one-hundred years. In 1855, Oskar Falk described what he considered a "typical" German settlement in Missouri. From his portrayal we note the degree of "Germanness" one

might have encountered in the predominantly "German-American" sections of the state:

> The German settlements in the West are remarkable for their completely German appearance and their purely German atmosphere. While the German farmer in Pennsylvania is more accustomed to Anglo-American ways, and has sacrificed his native language, or half of it at least, on the altar of his new Fatherland, the German settlements in the West have preserved their native colouring pure and unmixed. You think that you are in a village in Germany when you set foot in one of these settlements. The architecture of the houses, owing of course to differences in climate is a little different, but the household furnishings, the family customs, the style and method of plowing, sowing and harvesting all remind one of Germany (quoted in Hawgood, 1970, p. 130).

But early-1850 was really only the beginning of the massive German influx into Missouri. As noted earlier, most "revolutionary" Germans emigrated to the United States several years after the 1848 uprising, and those who made Missouri their destination during this third "wave" began to leave Germany on a predominantly group-wide basis. By mid-century approximately three-fourths of the German immigrants in St. Charles and Warren County (Sauer's home) could be traced back to a thirty-mile radius within Westphalia, usually to the same few villages (Kamphoefner, 1978; Kamphoefner, 1982). In other words, by the 1850s, German-American communities in Missouri were becoming more than haphazard, circumstantial agglomerations of German immigrants; they were often transplanted German villages on American soil.

Between 1850 and 1860, German immigrants virtually poured into Missouri. They decided not to settle ubiquitously across the state however, but tended to concentrate instead in the fertile, border areas of the Ozarks, notably along the Missouri and Mississippi rivers (e.g., Gerlach, 1976c, pp. 11-15). Turner noted that the Germans in Pennsylvania seemed to prefer to establish their communities in and near the limestone areas (Turner, 1901a), presumably due to the experiences of particular groups who were familiar with a karst-like topography in Germany. This pattern seemed to hold true all across the country (see Faust, 1969, vol. 2, pp. 34-37), and indeed much of Missouri under German settlement was in the limestone portions of the state as well (e.g., Collier, 1953, p. 18).

As mentioned above, a large number of those entering Missouri during this period headed immediately for the Missouri River area where Duden had already attracted thousands with his eloquent pen and his vivid imagination. So heavily concentrated with German-speaking peoples was the district to become, that it would subsequently be deemed the "Missouri Rhineland" (Rafferty, 1982). Faust notes that "this [area] was destined to become the centre of the most widespread settlement of Germans west of the Mississippi" (Faust, 1969, vol. 1, p. 444), while another writer calculated that, by 1860, the Germans represented "probably

more than two-thirds of the entire foreign population" of the northern Missouri Ozarks (Schultz, 1937, p. 75). Faust specifically elaborates on the strong degree of German influence in this riverine portion of the state:

> On both sides of the Missouri River, from its mouth, a little to the north of St. Louis, upward a distance of about 125 miles, all is German territory. In all towns from St. Louis to Jefferson City, such as St. Charles, Washington, Hermann, Warrenton [Sauer's home town], Boonsville, and even beyond and including Kansas City, the Germans are very numerous, generally constituting over one half of the population (Faust, 1969, vol. 1, p. 444).

In the county where Sauer was born, he contends that, by 1870, "**On the north side of the River the Germans numbered nine tenths of the population in Warren County**" (emphasis added) (Faust, 1969, vol. 1, p. 444; see Chapter Four).

It is clear that Missouri's German population grew at an unprecedented rate between 1850 and 1870. Whereas there were probably less than 45,000 Germans living in the state in 1850 who were born in Germany (see above), the number of native-born Germans climbed to nearly 114,000 by 1870 (Ellis, 1929, pp. 126 and 152); in our study area of the northern Ozark Border, the "foreign-born population...was greater, proportionally, than in the state as a whole" (Collier, 1953, p. 50). Hence, while Faust's estimate (above) that Warren County was 90 percent German in 1870 may be slightly exaggerated, it is certainly true that the region was unquestionably Germanic in character. In fact, it has

been found that the population of some towns in this "Rhineland" region were actually 100 percent German at the time (e.g., Johnson, 1951, p. 13). Even today, many towns in the Missouri Ozarks exhibit considerable evidence of their deep German heritage (e.g., Gerlach, 1976a, especially pp. 59-109; also see Gerlach, 1973). Some communities, like Hermann, Missouri, for instance, are still distinctively Germanic in both appearance and culture (see Roueché, 1982, pp. 59-86): at least as late as the 1930s, German continued to function as the preferred language in Hermann (Bratton and Langendoerfer, 1931).

The Sauer Family

Carl Sauer's father, (William) Albert Sauer, emigrated to the United States from the south of Germany in 1865, apparently due to his poor health. Little is known about the elder Sauer before he arrived in Warrenton, or indeed even why he eventually chose to settle in Missouri. He moved to Warrenton in 1866, but returned to Germany in 1868 to attend to his ailing mother. He then journeyed back to Warrenton in 1875 where he married Rosetta J. Vosholl (sister of Henry Vosholl, see Chapter Five) three years later (Central Wesleyan Star, 1918b).

In 1881, (William) Albert and Rosetta Sauer had their first child, (Henry) Albert. Like his father, (Henry) Albert Sauer (1881-1936) availed himself of a higher education. He

attended Central Wesleyan College, the local college in Warrenton where his father taught music and French (see Chapters Four and Five). Unlike his father, however, H. Albert simply was not "cut out" for an academic career. He became first a "skilled machinist" and later turned to farming. In 1906 he married Nellie Paul (1880-1962) of Alton, Illinois, and they remained together, childless, until his early death in 1936 (Warrenton Banner, 1936b). It seems as though H. Albert Sauer may have inherited his father's penchant for poor health. The younger Sauer was frequently ill and eventually died following a long-term "lymphatic infection" (Warrenton Banner, 1936a). Beyond these few scant biographical details very little is known of the Sauers' first son.[7]

In the 1880s and '90s, the Sauers held a moderately respectable position in the small community of Warrenton. They were not rich, nor did they own a great deal of land. Sauer Sr., however, was head of the Department of Music at Central Wesleyan College and a man of high profile within the local academic community. As a college professor, he enjoyed a measure of prestige similar to the so-called "German Mandarins" of the Fatherland during this period (see, for example, Ringer, 1969; Paul, 1984). Professors were highly revered and they carried an air of distinction, an honor accorded them by the mere fact that they were academicians in

an age when higher education was of great repute (see Chapter Five). It has been noted that William Sauer had several offers of employment from a number of more "prestigious universities", but he declined each one due to "a strong commitment" to Central Weslevan (E.S. FitzSimmons to M.S. Kenzer, October 16 and October 27, 1984, personal correspondence; also see Kenzer, 1985b) and a similar devotion to the local German-American community at large.

Mrs. Sauer, a teacher "for several years" prior to her marriage, was likewise a highly respected citizen of Warrenton. Affectionately known locally as "Mother Sauer" (Warrenton Banner, 1942), she was hardly the inconspicuous "housewife" we might assume or expect under similar circumstances.[8] In short, the Sauer family was a "step above" the more typically "average", contemporary German-American family of Warren County. At the turn of the century, for example, when the Sauers had returned from a three-year stay in Germany, the local newspaper would hail their arrival for all Warrentonians to read, announcing proudly that "Prof. A.W. [sic] Sauer and his estimable family" were now back home (Warrenton Herald, 1901).

The family (and particularly W. Albert Sauer) remained spiritually linked to their German heritage. In countless letters between Carl Sauer and his parents, the subject of Germany and German culture would arise. Until 1918, all

letters among family members were in the German language. At the outbreak of World War I, the correspondence understandably turned to the German situation and little else seemed to matter to the Sauers. Sauer Sr., born in Beinstein (Remstal), Germany and ever-fond of his homeland, was perhaps the archetypical German academic of his era (see Kenzer, 1985b). Undoubtedly American in his allegiance, his sympathies remained with the Fatherland till the end. On the anniversary of his twenty-fifth year of service to Central Wesleyan College, the school newspaper ran a short tribute to their esteemed professor: "If we were to describe him to our readers" the author(s) wrote, "we would first of all mention his upright German character..." (College Star, 1898b). According to a colleague who paved homage to the elder Sauer immediately following his death, (William) Albert was described as "the best that the religious and educational life of the Germany of other days produced...." (Central Wesleyan Star, 1918b). On the eve of Carl Sauer's birth, a fair appraisal of the Sauer family would suggest that a strong religious leaning and a heavy, nineteenth-century German *Weltanschauung* were predominant. Little acculturation had taken place in Warrenton, Missouri in the 1880s and '90s, and the Sauer family cannot seriously be examined outside of this strong Germanic context.

Prelude to Carl Sauer's First Milieu: A Summary

In 1889, when the Sauers bore their second child, Carl Ortwin, there was of course no way of predicting what his interests might be or what sort of person Carl would become. There was no way of telling whether he would be inclined to pursue a practical vocation like his older brother, or whether his verve would carry him into an academic career such as his father and his father's father enjoyed (see Beinsteiner Heimatblatt, 1920, p. 4). No one could accurately forecast that the youngest Sauer would amount to anything at all; his precociousness (see Kenzer, 1985c: Chapter Five) would not have been evident at so early an age. However, given the intellectual and cultural milieu he was born into, given the social climate of late-nineteenth century Warren County, Missouri, and considering the academic bent of Carl's mother and father, one can begin to speculate on the likelihood of Carl's world view being significantly different from what he would soon encounter in this first experience with "reality", and the probability that Carl's character, vis-à-vis a more distinctly "American" youth, would be very much different from his peers in Warrenton.

The Warren County into which Carl Sauer would soon be born was decidedly Germanic in flavor. While accurate figures are non-existent,* I believe it is safe to

assert that the county was predominantly German before the turn of the century (see Chapter Four; Kamphoefner, 1978; Kamphoefner, 1982), and that Warrenton, the county seat, was undeniably a German-American community. As we have seen above, for several reasons Missouri became a preferred area for German immigrants settling west of the Mississippi River and that, consequently, today this northern part of the Missouri Ozarks is deemed the "Missouri Rhineland". *At the very least*, we can say that someone born into the Warrenton milieu at this time would have had a preponderance to emulate his German-American neighbors, more so than any other ethnic or cultural group. As we shall see in Chapter Five, the Warrenton intellectual climate was indeed Germanic in a more-than-passing fashion. Central Wesleyan College, where Carl Sauer would matriculate and receive two undergraduate diplomas and where his father taught music and French, was, in essence, an outgrowth of the third "wave" of German "intellectual" emigrants (outlined above) who fled to America--literally, an American college in the tradition of the German *Kollegium* (Haselmayer, 1960). At the time of Sauer's birth, the community was rich in German culture and this local college was the embodiment of that culture in the remote Missouri Ozarks (see Chapter Four).

It is not suggested that, by merely analyzing his peer-group milieu and the society and the culture of

Warrenton, we can then extrapolate what Carl Sauer's childhood ideas or experiences must have been like. We are mindful of the fallacy of adopting a purely contextual approach (Diggins, 1984). (The details surrounding Sauer's intellectual development shall be treated in Chapters Four and Five; also see Kenzer, 1985a; Kenzer, 1985b). Rather, the present chapter was designed to give background, flavor, and circumstance, to show what the predominant local social climate was like at the time of his birth. This chapter has suggested the *limits* to a young man's possible experiences when born at this specific time, in this specific place. The ability to utilize those "limits" effectively, however, was something that only the child himself could determine, tempered, of course, by his family and his friends' persuasion. Ultimately, as we shall see in the following two chapters, it was Carl Sauer alone who determined how he would use the Warrenton milieu to his own advantage--which characteristics he would adopt or amend, and which he would question and reject.

CHAPTER THREE NOTES

1 Portions of chapters three and five, especially those germane to W.A. Sauer, will be published as "Like Father, Like Son: William Albert and Carl Ortwin Sauer" in M.S. Kenzer (ed.) *Carl Sauer--A Tribute*, Oregon State University Press: Corvalis, 1985 (Kenzer, 1985b).

2 In 1972, Sauer wrote to William Speth, exclaiming "In the years I worked in The Loop [in Chicago] I read German geographers evenings who were doing what I wanted and when I came to Berkelev I put it together as the Morphology of Landscape" (C.O. Sauer to W.W. Speth, March 3, 1972, S.P.). From this sentence, Speth has argued that Sauer's major introduction to German geographical thought came from his Chicago period (W.W. Speth to M.S. Kenzer, February 23, 1983, personal correspondence), though his views are now shifting (cf. Speth, 1985). Speth is probably voicing what most geographers believe to be true about Sauer: that his concept of the cultural landscape was ignited at Berkeley through his close association with anthropologists Robert Lowie and Alfred Kroeber. His

German background is seen as peripheral, if not insignificant, to his future intellectual directions (most clearly expressed in Duncan, 1980; Jackson, 1980; and Williams, 1983; cf. Kenzer, 1985a). In part, this perspective is due to the fact that Sauer referred to a paper by Kroeber in his "morphology" essay (Sauer, 1925, p. 52). Yet, in the very next sentence of Sauer's 1972 letter to Speth, he recalls that "The association with Kroeber and Lowie came later [after the "Morphology of Landscape]". Moreover, John Leighly, who worked with Sauer in both Ann Arbor and Berkeley, has privately declared that Sauer's "view of geography" was independent of his "knowing Kroeber and Lowie in Berkeley." Leighly says that "certainly they [Kroeber and Lowie] had little influence on him in the first year he was here, when he was working on...the Morphology of Landscape. He had acquired most of the ideas he expressed there from his reading of the German geographers....The cultural landscape was not a part of the [Berkeley] anthropologists' stock of ideas [then]" (J. Leighly to M.S. Kenzer, August 7, 1984, personal correspondence).

3 I rely a good deal on Mack Walker's masterly study for this particular section (Walker, 1964). As a complement to Walker, specifically with regard to emigration from Westphalia to Missouri, see Kamphoefner, 1978 and

Kamphoefner, 1982.

4 By 1844, however, Prussia as a whole began to experience a greater degree of emigration than annual immigration (Archdeacon, 1983, p. 44).

5 The German "revolution" of 1848 was, of course, only one of numerous European social uprisings which occurred between 1848 and 1849. This, in part, accounts for the large number of individuals who chose to emigrate to the New World, rather than to other parts of Europe during this generally unsettled period. It also suggests a possible explanation for the small number of those who actually returned to Germany after the nation achieved a degree of stability. The entire European political environment was fragile and many feared that additional hostilities might arise. For an introduction to the overall European situation at the time, the following sources are helpful: Fejtö, 1948; Maurice, 1969; Robertson, 1952; Stearns, 1974.

6 Johnson has indicated that Germans were more evenly distributed across America than all other "foreign born groups" by 1870 (Johnson, 1951, p. 3).

7 John Leighly, Carl Sauer's friend and colleague for over fifty years, does not mention the existence of Sauer's

older brother in either of the two lengthy reminiscences he wrote following Sauer's death in 1975 (Leighly, 1976; Leighly, 1978a). In a subsequent letter, Leighly has acknowledged that he never even knew that there was an older brother until after Carl Sauer had died (J. Leighly to M.S. Kenzer, March 23, 1983, personal correspondence)!

8 For an interesting account of some of the differences between American-born women and their contemporary German-American counterparts, see Billigmeier, 1974, pp. 66-68; cf. Faust, 1969, vol. 2, pp. 448-464. Also see the more recent article on stereotypes of German-American women in Missouri by Pickle (1985).

9 Unfortunately, Warren County records are rather poor. When I was in Warrenton I tried to examine the extant material for the early period, but much of it is either missing or water-damaged. Land records (deed books), for instance, had been stored in the humid basement of the court house for many years. Thus many of these books were illegible and moldy, while many others are simply lost or misplaced. A similar account could be told for the rest of the early Warren County archival material.

CHAPTER FOUR[1]

CARL SAUER AND THE WARRENTON CULTURAL MILIEU

Introduction

Carl Sauer was born and raised in Warrenton, Missouri. At the turn of the century, Warrenton was a distinctly German-American community and the fifteen and one-half years Sauer spent in Warrenton were, decidedly, a strong influence on his life. Excepting the three years he lived in Calw, Württemberg (1898-1901),[2] the Warrenton social and intellectual environment served as Sauer's frame of reference. Life in Warrenton, to a considerable degree, seems to have set the stage for his future outlook and intellectual development.

Sauer acquired his basic world view from his first milieu which, in turn, colored his subsequent understanding and interpretation of reality. While it is of course impossible to claim that any one milieu alone can influence a person entirely--i.e., that no later changes or ideas can come about irrespective of this one critical environment--some do make this claim. Indeed, the bulk of psychohistory is predicated on this very point: An

individual's beliefs, directions, and actions can all be traced back to his or her earliest milieux.[3]

Psychohistorians assert that our childhood and adolescent years, the formative period of our lives, are, to lesser and greater degrees, directly responsible for a significant percentage of our subsequent beliefs, opinions, attitudes, and therefore our actions. Their claim is that we must fully understand the unique, fundamental set of circumstances that went into the "creation" of a person's earliest development, if we are ever to account for that person's behavior at any ensuing point in time. Historian Peter Loewenberg presents a convincing case for a psychohistorical approach, arguing that "psychohistory....is developmental--stressing the longitudinal growth and adaptation of the person, including events and learned behaviors from infancy, childhood, adolescence, and young adulthood" (Loewenberg, 1983, p. 15). In addition to historians, however, numerous psychiatrists and psychoanalysts also practice a variant of psychohistory,[4] likewise arguing that we must treat past personalities as historical patients, utilizing theories that derive, in the main, from psychoanalysis.[5]

This study, of course, is not an exploration in psychohistory. I am neither eager nor qualified to conduct such a study. Nevertheless, it is my belief (and I carry

this assumption throughout the course of this thesis) that a person's first milieu becomes a vital component of that individual's ever-lasting cultural and intellectual baggage. I am becoming increasingly convinced that this first environment--a combination of specific social, cultural, and intellectual encounters, indentifiable and open to explication--defines, in large measure, the very way we relate to and interpret our subsequent day-to-day experiences. While it is not suggested that this initial milieu "determines" our future world view (in the sense that it *prescribes* and/or *inhibits* our choices), it is argued that it colors it to a considerable degree. Consciously or subconsciously, it remains a part of our noetic development--a lens, by which and through which, we examine and explain the world around us. The purpose of this fourth chapter, therefore, is to accentuate the most conspicuous aspects of Sauer's first cultural milieu: a focus on Warrenton, Missouri and the social climate he encountered and experienced as a child and adolescent. We will use biographical detail to present a portrait of this initial German-American environment which was also the home of the now defunct Central Wesleyan College, Sauer's undergraduate *alma mater*.

Warren County, Missouri, 1880-1910

Like most of southeastern Missouri, Warren County's

physical geography reflects its limestone bedrock and numerous examples of karst topography abound. Situated immediately north of the Missouri River and a few score miles west of St. Louis, most of the 426 square miles of Warren County (Rafferty, Gerlach, and Herbec, 1970, p. 71; cf. Remmert, et al., 1974, p. 10) lie between 400 and 800 feet above sea level (Rafferty, 1982; cf. Collier, 1953, p. 14). In an average year, more than forty inches of rain will fall across the county and snow is not uncommon during blustery winters. In Sauer's era, nearly 65 percent of Warren County was still in full timber, the majority being a combination of hickory, pine, and white oak forests (Shantz and Zon, 1924; Rafferty, 1982).

Warren County was one of several counties which constituted "The Missouri Rhineland" region during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries (Rafferty, 1982; see Chapter Three). At the time of Carl Sauer's birth--December, 1889--there were approximately 10,000 people residing in the county and over 20 percent were of German origin; the percentage who spoke German was indeed much higher (Rafferty, Gerlach, and Herbec, 1970, p. 12; cf. Rafferty, 1982 and Faust, 1969, vol. 1). This was the part of Missouri where Duden chose to settle and write about, an area supposedly similar to portions of southern Germany. Consequently, many Germans were aware of the area long before they set foot in

America, and many emigrated explicitly to take up land here. Ironically, a large number of Westphalians (from the northwest of Germany) decided to make Warren County their new home also (Kamphoefner, 1979; Kamphoefner, 1982). The county was officially organized on January 5, 1833, immediately prior to the German influx, and named for the American patriot Dr. Joseph Warren (Eaton, 1918, p. 71).

Between 1880 and 1910--a period that includes the twenty or so years that Sauer lived in Missouri--Warren County witnessed few overall changes. The population remained fairly rural, averaging nearly twenty people per square mile (Remmert, et al., 1974, p. 10). Black settlers never accounted for more than 10 percent of the population, and accordingly this German-American county would vote Republican with uncanny consistency (Rafferty, 1982). As one of the wealthier counties in the Missouri Ozarks--of course the entire Ozarks region was (and still is) one of the most distressed areas of the country--social conditions in Warren County were never as severe as elsewhere (Rafferty, 1980). In general, the Warren County that Sauer was born into and the region he would frequently remember from his youth, was an extremely stable place where change was gradual at best.[4]

Warrenton, Missouri: Sauer's Birthplace

The county seat and geographical center of Warren

County is Warrenton. First platted in 1835 and named after the county (Eaton, 1918, p. 71), this was Sauer's birthplace and this was where he spent the better part of his childhood and adolescent years. At the turn of the century, Warrenton and its sister community of Truesdale represented a true central place for that northern section of the "Rhineland" district and Warrenton functioned as a service center for the entire county. Selected as the only scheduled passenger stop in Warren County, Warrenton benefited tremendously once the North Missouri Railroad was extended in 1857 (Schowengerdt, 1976, p. 140).

By national standards Warrenton was still rural in 1890, but locally it was esteemed a bustling and important urban-like settlement. The town contained nearly one-third of the population of Elkhorn Township (Remmert, et al., 1974, p. 24) and its main street--Boone's Lick Road--was a veritable mile and one-half of non-stop activity. Semi-urban conveniences such as a photograph gallery and a twenty-four-hour livery stable (Schowengerdt, 1976, p. 131) were found on Boone's Lick Road as early as the 1880s. As the site of the first organized bank in Warren County (1872), the township's turn-of-the-century population of 2,530 (Rafferty, Gerlach, and Herbec, 1970, p. 77) cannot be considered rural relative to the immediate area. Compared to major contemporary cities like Chicago or St. Louis,

Warrenton was indeed rural. But in terms of the surrounding countryside it was a highly prosperous community and its well-being was reflected in its range of services, particularly after 1835 when selected as the county seat (History of St. Charles, Montgomery and Warren Counties, 1885, pp. 1066-1069). In sum, Warrenton was a thriving settlement by 1890 and not one of the stereotyped, "backward" Missouri communities normally associated with the Ozarks (see Rayburn, 1941).

There was a strong sense of community in Warrenton--a common characteristic of the predominantly ethnic settlements on the Middle Border (Atherton, 1954; Sauer, 1963)--that was more pervasive than in other Midwestern service centers. Town members would frequently gather for street parties and Sauer would later recount, in his correspondence, the loss he felt when no longer able to partake in these affairs. On certain occasions, such as when friends would either depart from or arrive in Warrenton, large numbers of local residents would congregate at the train station to bid the esteemed travelers farewell or to greet them upon their return (Kenzer, 1985a). Raised in such an intimate environment, it is evident why Sauer was ambivalent toward urban culture and instead, to recall John Leighly's telling remark, favored an "appreciation of simple people living in close contact with inorganic nature and in symbiosis with plants and animals"

missionaries, teachers, medical men, lawyers and businessmen" (Haselmayer, 1960, p. 211).

Central Wesleyan College was a bilingual institution; instruction was initially in both English and German. College personnel took great pride in the strong German-language component of the school and in its authentic Germanic educational standards. Embedded in the text of a county history published four short years before Sauer was born, we read that the "distinctive feature" of Central Wesleyan was its devotion to a bilingual education. It is worth quoting from this publication at some length, in order to convey the sense of Germanism prevalant in this small Midwestern college:

> A characteristic feature of the college is the special attention it pays to German. The German language is indispensable to the business man, the lawyer and the physician. Young men and ladies who are able to speak, write, or teach German, are preferred in many vocations of life, and therefore command higher salaries. The facilities of the college for giving students not only a theoretical, but a practical mastery of the language are unequaled by any college in the West. The majority of the students, so far, are of German parentage. German is used as a medium of instruction in about one-fourth of the classes. One of the four literary societies, Germania Verein, conducts its exercises entirely in the German language. **All of the professors speak German**, and four of them finished their education in Germany. Up to the year of 1881, none but German catalogues were published, since then catalogues are issued in both German and English [emphasis added] (History of St. Charles, Montgomery and Warren Counties, 1885, p. 1076).

Thirty years hence, it would appear as though Central

Weslevan's (and seemingly Warrenton's) ambience had changed very little. Frank Bernstorff, Professor of German at Northwestern University, would write in 1916:

> I regard C.W.C. as a good school for learning German. There is a German atmosphere at C.W.C. that most schools can not have. Students who wish to hear German outside of the schoolroom at C.W.C. may easily avail themselves of this opportunity....I think about 60 per cent of the total number of students here enrolled in the College of Liberal Arts do work in the German Department (Central Weslevan Star, 1916, p. 7).

There seems to be little reason to doubt that the institution was bilingual in every sense.

By 1918, however, with the aftermath of World War I and because of the ill feelings in America toward Germany, the governing board of Central Weslevan was forced to excise a large portion of the German program (including all published materials) (Central Weslevan Star, 1918a, pp. 8-9). It was at this point, with the elimination of the college's especial Germanic character, that it began to lose its *raison d' être*. It was ironic and indeed sad that an institution founded in part to serve the needs of one war, would then lose its usefulness as a consequence of a second war (see Kenzer, 1984). By 1925, the institution's German character was completely lost (Wolff, 1957). By the outbreak of World War II, Central Weslevan was at the mercy of "outside" opinion and failed to fulfill its original function. In 1941, with little of its Germanic heritage

remaining, the then "jr. college" was forced to close its doors (Haselmayer, 1964, p. 41).

Sauer's Undergraduate Interests and Social Milieu

Sauer's experiences in Warrenton included involvement in the Epworth League, a society devoted to "Christian fellowship". The Epworth League was primarily a Methodist-based, missionary-like association that served to instill Christian brotherhood through singing, prayers, testimonials, and oratorical presentations (Harmon, 1974). As an adjunct Sunday School of sorts, the League was a common entity across Christian America during the first decade of the present century (Wagenknecht, 1982, p. 90). Although it was not a college organization per se, the League enjoyed a tenuous relationship with the College Church and Sauer joined as an undergraduate. One description of the League characterized it as "the one organization...in which the young people of the church, community, and college cooperate in the culture of the spiritual life, the awakening of interest for foreign and home missions, the doing of practical mercy and help work and the upbuilding of the Kingdom of Christ" (Pulse, 1921). It is interesting that Sauer, who later in his life found little satisfaction in organized religion (see Kenzer, 1985b), was affiliated with such a zealous, church-related organization. . Then again, this was indicative of Sauer's tendency either to embrace or

reject entirely his heritage. Hooson has perceptively noted the degree to which Sauer's past was important to him. "even if only to react against....he was always very conscious of his own history..." (Hooson, 1981, p. 15).

In 1911 Sauer wanted to become an editor of a country newspaper so he left the University of Chicago to "break into" the publishing industry. His interest in publishing probably resulted from his undergraduate experiences in Warrenton. As a student at Central Wesleyan he was a staff member on the student yearbook, *The Pulse*, and an "assistant German editor" of the school newspaper, the *College Star* (Kenzer, 1985a, p. 256; Walter, 1908). He never forgot those experiences and, as early as 1909, would exclaim that "The call of the country editor is strong upon me again, the very smell of a printing office lures me" (C.O. Sauer to L.L. Schowengerdt, October 3, 1909). It was his early "inside" view of the publishing industry that provided him with the necessary confidence to leave school and to seek a career other than the one he had originally intended to pursue. He never received that big "break" he had hoped for, but he did find related work with The Municipal Art League of Chicago and he later did editorial work for the Rand McNally Company (see Leighly, 1976, p. 338).

Sauer and Goethe

One further note on Sauer's academic experiences and

intellectual development as an undergraduate needs to be made here. His activities at Central Wesleyan included membership and devoted participation in the Goethenia Society (see Kenzer, 1985a, p. 204; Kenzer, 1985b). The Society was first organized in 1865, taking as its name "the Goethenian Literary Association". In March, 1871, under pressure from one of its early members, John H. Frick (see Chapter Five), the name was changed and the organization was incorporated as the Goethenian Society (Maynard, 1884,* pp. 12-13). In addition to Frick, Sauer's uncle, Henry Vosholl (see Chapter Five), was also listed as one of the incorporators of the Society in 1871 (Constitution and By-Laws, 1876, p. 4). At some point in its history, the final "n" was dropped from the name and the organization was thereafter simply referred to as the Goethenia Society.

The Goethenia Society was the oldest and most revered of all literary societies at the college. The Society's purpose was to read and discuss the writings of Goethe and others, and occasionally they held private (and sometimes public) debates on contemporary issues. They met weekly in their own hall and generally non-members were excluded from all meetings. In 1907, Sauer and William L. Morsey, Jr. debated two other Goethenia members behind closed doors on the topic "Roosevelt was justifiable [sic] in his actions on the Brownsville affair". Sauer and Morsey argued the

negative side but lost (Record of the Goethenia Society, 1895-1908, p. 451).

The Society's main function was debating, by which the members would become experienced public speakers and quick thinkers. In the words of one member, its greatest asset was its ability to help members "to overcome that peculiar fear of self consciousness that tends to take possession of one who is making a public [presentation]..." (Pulse, 1913). Likewise, in 1906, Sauer and Paul W. Wipperman (a fellow Goethenian) wrote:

> The literary societies are one of the most important and one might also say, necessary features in a college. Thus it is in C.W.C. Without a course of training in one or the other of the literary societies of the college, a student's education would be incomplete. It is here that it is made possible for him to develop the literary side of his nature. A term of service in one of the societies, will soon rid himself of his inborn stage fright. He learns to face and [sic] audience deliberately and cooly. In the debates he learns to make discrimination with the acuteness of a lawyer. The essays and orations he is called upon to deliver help him to learn to express his thoughts fitly and to the point, and also furnish occasion for literary research work, and thus acquaint him with the thoughts of others and widen his views on the subjects (Sauer and Wipperman, 1906, p. 11).

We know that at least one former initiate used his Goethenian experience to his benefit, becoming an Illinois congressman in 1904 (Pulse, 1923). It was an all-male association until 1913, at which time women were finally permitted to join (Pulse, 1925).

Sauer took his membership in Goethenia seriously. He

held various positions in the Society including music director, secretary, corresponding secretary, and vice president. While it is always difficult to ascertain the effects of an organization on its members, in Sauer's case he provides us with a record of his impressions of the worthwhileness of the Society. For those familiar with Sauer's published works and his ever-present insistence on a geography where the only constant is process or continual change (especially, Sauer, 1941a), the following statement made while he was an active member of Goethenia should have particular significance:

> One thing is evident, that Goethenians believe in living life for all there is in it, and there is something doing in every session of this society. Perfection is not our boast in the present state, but we are aiming high in the realm of morality and of learning. Our errors are but guide-posts to the final goal. **The eternal law of nature that all things are subject to change**, is borne out in Goethenia [emphasis added] (Sauer, 1907).

The notion of an "eternal law of nature" where "all things are subject to change" has a striking resemblance to Sauer's later concept of historical geography and morphological change: it surely tells us a good deal about the origin of his outlook on geography. Moreover, these exact words (emphasized above) seem to have come from Goethe himself (see Ungar, 1963, pp. 24-203). Two years hence, at a time when Sauer was contemplating a move from Evanston to Chicago, he would use almost the very same expression in a somewhat

romanticized moment of undergraduate reminiscing:

> ...[Graduation] week a stranger spoke grand words to us, lined up before him; after that we stood upon the stage, receiving a roll of parchment from the hands of the president, and then it was all over. And now, others have taken our places, and the school doesn't even seem to notice its loss. Of course, in a desultory fashion, as our Alma Mater she will ever remember us, but we 'don't belong' any more, and even if we have not as yet passed our first anniversary, a year ago is ages back....Strange how the college-bell peals, whereas it used to drone so! And we will find that we have been day-dreaming, and that the old days at C.W.C. are gone for good. And now we begin to see how good those days were.
>
> **The law of eternal change is demonstrating itself upon us.** but may this be only upon our conditions, for our hearts shall remain true to each other and to the institution which gave us not only learning, but the principles of inspired living, however far we may fall short of them [emphasis added] (Sauer, 1909).

One wonders whether Goethe himself could have expressed the same sentiment so eloquently! In Chapter Five we shall discover how Goethe's conception of morphological change and culture history are evident in Sauer's early works.

Sauer and Warrenton: A Summary

It deserves mention that Sauer's experiences in Warrenton did not revolve solely around religious, intellectual, and career-minded pursuits. A preoccupation with sports seems to characterize most youths, and Sauer was no exception. Described in the Central Wesleyan yearbook as "a walking encyclopedia of professional base ball" who "can give instant information on parentage, nationality, age, early educational advantages, personal appearances, batting

average and future prospects of any base ball player in either league" (Walter, 1908). Sauer's interest in baseball[10] and sports of all kinds persisted for most of his life (see Hewes, 1983, p. 140). He was a member of the "alternative" tennis team at Central Weslevan (see Kenzer, 1985a, p. 267), and he attended sporting events of every sort--football, baseball, basketball, and others--while a student at Northwestern and at the University of Chicago. He maintained a keen interest in athletics and sought to keep in shape with a weekly game of tennis, an evening of ice skating in wintertime, and an occasional swim in Lake Michigan when later living in the Chicago area.

In terms of cultural influences, it would be foolish to suggest that Warrenton, Missouri was anything less than a German "colony" at the turn of the century. The Missouri Rhineland was still predominantly German and would remain so until at least World War I. Any child born in Warren County prior to 1900, and especially one of Germanic heritage, could hardly be considered typically American in this sense. To have been born into a family such as Sauer's however, where a strong emotional link to the Fatherland was ever-present (see Chapter Five), certainly had to have a marked and significant effect on that child. It is therefore with little wonder that one German-American scholar would refer to Sauer as "an intellectual bridge between two continents" (Douglas, 1939,

p. 260); nor does it seem strange that a fellow geographer would consider Sauer "the medium of transference" between German- and English-speaking geographers (Dickinson, 1939, p. 4). Born in the American Midwest, he was raised and educated in the culture of southern Germany. It was this background and his early experiences in both Warrenton and Calw, Germany that would "shape" Sauer and forever color his world view. As we shall see in Chapter Six, he continually compared his immediate surroundings to both Calw and Warrenton. No interpretation of his published works, regardless of the time they were written, can fail to take these facts into account.

In the following chapter we will look at the C.W.C. faculty and some of the micro-level aspects of Sauer's undergraduate training at Central Wesleyan. We will begin to understand how the Warrenton milieu *influenced* Sauer's academic training, and, furthermore, how it later served as his point of reference, not only culturally, but intellectually as well. By focusing on his undergraduate education, and by calling attention to those individuals who helped Sauer realize and develop his penchant for the natural world, we will see how the Warrenton "intellectual landscape" (Kenzer, 1985a) came to play a decisive role in his developing view of geography.

CHAPTER FOUR NOTES

1 A somewhat different version of Chapter Four (and isolated portions of Chapter Five) appears in the *Annals*, Association of American Geographers, vol. 75, no. 2 (June, 1985) as "Milieu and the 'Intellectual Landscape': Carl O. Sauer's Undergraduate Heritage," (Kenzer, 1985a).

2 It is beyond the scope of this thesis to delve into the cultural particulars of Calw and the general Swabian character of Sauer's ancestors. For those interested in these related subjects, however, a good starting point might be the biographical novels of Hermann Hesse (1877-1962) who was raised in Calw. The best introductory works on Hesse (with particular reference to the community and his works situated therein) are Baumer, 1969, especially pp. 18-34; Freedman, 1978; Greiner, 1981; Mileck, 1978, especially pp. 1-14; Otten, 1977; and Ziolkowski, 1972.

3 Psychohistory is a large field, with many branches and sub-specialties. I do not intend to discuss the entire sphere of this approach. Psychohistory is at once

technical, drawing extensively on psychoanalytic theory, and also a rapidly growing endeavor among historians. Biographical studies tend to constitute a large percentage of the research undertaken in this field and, consequently, there is an arm of the field called psychobiography. A focus on the creative individual seems only natural in these sorts of studies since, according to one practitioner, psychoanalysis is an attempt to elucidate "the inner drives and conflicts which determine human behavior, and the mechanisms whereby man controls, directs, transforms, and adapts these internal forces in the conduct of his various relationships" (Mack, 1971, p. 143). For those who are interested in this field, the following sources will provide a good, non-technical introduction to this approach: Albin, 1980; Davis, 1976; Dietrich, 1982; Friedländer, 1978; Prisco, 1980; Wolman, 1971. The classic example of a study in psychohistory is Erikson, 1958; but also see Loewenberg, 1971.

4 Introductory sources for this topic are Little, 1969; Mack, 1971; and Wittles, 1946. Also see Task Force on Psychohistory, 1976, which contains an excellent bibliography. For a good discussion of the temporal implications of a psychoanalytic approach, see Meyerhoff, 1962.

5 In all fairness to the discipline, it ought to be observed that the use of psychoanalysis by practicing psychohistorians is, after long last, on the wane. Whereas it was once the predominant approach, psychoanalytic techniques appear to be losing ground to less rigid, less reductionist modes of explanation (see, for example, Dietrich, 1982, pp. 85-88).

6 In terms of the population, Warren County was not only "stable" during Sauer's time, but for many decades thereafter. While the Germanic population recognized the importance of change, demographically the county was indeed uniform and unchanging. In fact, during the eighty-year period, 1890 to 1970, the county had a population that never fell below 7,600, never rising above 10,000 (Remmert, et al., 1974, p. 10). More recently, however, Warren County has experienced considerable growth. Between 1970 and 1980, for example, the population surged by over 30 percent, while Missouri as a whole grew by only 5.1 percent (Kansas City Times, 1984).

7 The actual number of students at Central Wesleyan College was never very large. When the institution first opened in Warrenton there were only 188 students, and the college enrollment remained at or about 200 for the next fifteen years. Following the academic year 1881-1882, however,

the institution experienced slow but continual growth. Between 1901 and 1908--the years Sauer attended as first a "preparatory" student and then as a regular college student--Central Weslevan averaged 305 students per year. During Sauer's graduating year, 1907-1908, the institution's enrollment hit a (then) all-time high of 322 (see Distribution of Students, 1865-1922). On the other hand, this was a respectable student body for the time and especially for C.W.C.'s location in the Ozarks. By way of comparison, Northwestern University (founded in 1851), shortly before the turn of the century, boasted of "a total attendance of 1,692 students" (quoted in Willard, 1891, p. 52; also see Williamson and Wild, 1976, p. 49; Ebner, 1984, p. 58). By further comparison, it has been noted that Northwestern consistently maintained a student body averaging "from 10% to 15% of the total population [of Evanston]" (Dalgety, 1934, p. 6). In Warrenton, however--at least for the years 1900, 1910, and 1920 where there are comparable data--the Central Weslevan student body comprised between 30 and 46 percent of the community's total population (Distribution of Students, 1865-1922; cf. Remmert, et al., 1974, p. 24)! In short, in addition to Warrenton's function as the county seat, C.W.C. was *the* focus of the community. Thus, it is not very difficult to envision the importance of the

college to the town, nor to understand the influence of this institution on the local cultural ambience.

8 In 1877, Central Wesleyan College published a pamphlet outlining the holdings of the college library (Books in the Library, 1877). From this thirteen-page booklet we find that, even at this early date, the library was receiving numerous surveys (particularly for Missouri) and a wide variety of geography and geology texts. As Sauer correctly recalled, three of Wheeler's books on Missouri's geological survey were already present in the library as of this date (Books in the Library, 1887, p. 11). Not surprisingly, however, the largest section of the library was devoted to theological texts: of these, at least 50 percent were in German (1877, pp. 3-6).

9 This pamphlet can be found at the State Historical Society of Missouri in Columbia. So far as this writer knows, this is the only extant copy of the lecture; it is not part of the C.W.C. Archives in Kirksville (see Kenzer, 1984).

10 For an amusing but highly stereotyped perspective of Germans and their "aptitude for baseball" see O'Connor, 1968.

CHAPTER FIVE[1]

THE CENTRAL WESLEYAN INTELLECTUAL ENVIRONMENT AND CARL SAUER'S UNDERGRADUATE TRAINING

Introduction

As mentioned briefly in chapter three, Central Wesleyan College was a direct outgrowth of the third wave of nineteenth-century German immigration to the New World. The institution began in Quincy, Illinois. The town, like the general St. Louis area, was saturated with German culture and philosophy; understandably it was the home of the so-called St. Louis School of (German idealistic) Thought.[2] The first instructors at C.W.C. were refugees of the 1848 German revolution (Haselmayer, 1964; Haselmayer, 1960; cf. Billigmeier, 1974, pp. 84-85). They were members of the intellectual class of "forty-eighters" who left Germany and virtually replicated the German *Kollegium* on American soil. The forty-eighters, writes Wittke, "were steeped in the traditions of Kant, Fichte, and Schiller....and many were well educated, in the best German classical tradition....They were" he elaborates, "the liberal heirs of the liberal traditions of Gotthold Lessing, Ludwig Feuerbach, and Ludwig

Büchner, and of Germany's golden age of liberalism and rationalism" (Wittke, 1973, pp. 72-74). More importantly, however, they were also the bearers of the notion of *Wissenschaft* which would ultimately triumph over an earlier generation of *Naturphilosophen* with their thoroughly romantic view of man and nature (e.g., McClelland, 1980, pp. 151-189). At base, the forty-eighters were "scientists" who relied on induction and empirical observations: scientists totally immersed in a world of "experience", who bore an unrelenting respect for history (e.g., Mandelbaum, 1971, particularly pp. 41-138; also Mendelsohn, 1964, especially pp. 39-40). In large part, the forty-eighters who started C.W.C. were schooled entirely in German universities which soon thereafter became the "model" for most "institutions of higher education in the western world" (O'Boyle, 1983, p. 3).

German academic learning, we should recall, was highly prized in nineteenth-century America. When thorough German training was unavailable at home, thousands upon thousands of young Americans were sent to Germany to avail themselves of a truly first-class education (e.g., Herbst, 1965, pp. 1-22). When a traditional German education *was* possible in the United States, the local citizenry would usually opt to send their children to these institutions. In fact, German pedagogical standards became so popular and made

such marked inroads into American institutions, that by the turn of the century they were considered the ideal and they were to have the greatest domestic influence, exceeding both the French and the British systems respectively (see Hinsdale, 1899, particularly pp. 603-629; also Viereck, 1978). It was for this reason, as we have seen in Chapter Four, that Central Wesleyan had little trouble attracting students from a wide radius, despite its remote location.

The purpose of this fifth chapter is to present the intellectual climate of Central Wesleyan College, with special reference to Carl Sauer's personal experiences and academic interests at C.W.C. The first half of the chapter will detail the three individuals who probably had the greatest hand in directing Sauer's interests during this period, in an attempt to identify their respective influences. In the second half of the chapter we will focus on Sauer's undergraduate academic training--i.e., the specific courses he took at C.W.C. We shall also examine the link between Sauer and Johann Goethe, a most important connection with regard to the concept of "morphological change" and Sauer's view of geography/science.

The Intellectual Environment

The Central Wesleyan faculty, primarily Germanic in origin, consisted of well trained men (and a few women) with an unlimited devotion to their work in Warrenton. The

college professors were among the lowest paid teachers in the state of Missouri, yet few ever left the institution, even when opportunities existed elsewhere (see Stuckemann, 1925).[3] Three of these individuals were significant in helping to shape Sauer's future interests and therefore deserve more detailed commentary.

John Henry Frick (1845-1927) spent fifty of his eighty-two years with Central Wesleyan. Receiving his B.A. from the college in 1870, he was one of Central Wesleyan's first two graduates. The following year he was appointed "Professor of Mathematics and Natural Sciences" at his *alma mater*, a position he held until his retirement at age seventy-five (Vosholl, 1928; Williams, 1913, p. 1158; Pulse, 1906). In 1877, Frick was a member of "the Edwards' scientific expedition" where he carried out botanical and geological studies in the Rocky Mountains. In subsequent years, Frick furthered his botanical interests at Shaw's (Missouri Botanical) Garden in St. Louis and also became a volunteer "observer for the United States Signal Weather Service" (Portrait and Biographical Record, 1895, p. 154; Williams, 1913, p. 1159). For most of his tenure at Central Wesleyan Frick acted as the curator of the college museum. His college teaching lasted from his appointment in 1871 until he finally asked to be relieved of his duties in 1920 (Central Wesleyan Star, 1920).

By all accounts, Frick was apparently a most congenial and likable instructor. As well, he has been described on several occasions as both "conscientious" and "earnest" in every respect. Students often befriended Frick, greatly appreciative of his help and patience. Upon his retirement, Frick was presented with a handsome sum of money and a bound volume of "about 300 letters" from friends, students, and colleagues, attesting to his kindness and character (Central Wesleyan Star, 1920). There is a telling account of him, written when he was approaching his seventieth year, which bears repeating here:

> During forty-two years he has now been teaching in the college, and each year's collection of students have graduated from the institution glad that they have had a chance to know Professor Frick. There are two kinds of teachers, those who can impart only facts, and those who can combine facts with ideals and inspiration. Professor Frick belongs to the latter class, and it is for this that his students love him. He not only gave them the necessary knowledge, but taught them how to live their lives more truly and more deeply (Williams, 1913, 1158).

Frick was instrumental in developing Sauer's initial love of the sciences in general and of geology in particular. As an elected member of the American Asssociation for the Advancement of Science from 1880 onward (Frick, 1904) and as a member of the St. Louis Academy of Science, Frick was a well respected figure in local scientific circles (Williams, 1913). He taught surveying and mapping courses and led his own expeditions to numerous corners of the state and

sometimes beyond Missouri to other parts of the Midwest. His most popular course, however, was geology. His geology courses were always full, attracting a large number of men and women. When Sauer was a graduate student at Northwestern University and later at the University of Chicago, he would (on visits home to Warrenton) often lecture in Frick's geology course as repayment of his intellectual debt to Frick (see, for example, Central Wesleyan Star, 1914). Very much the all-around scientist of his era (History of St. Charles, Montgomery and Warren Counties, 1885, pp. 1095-1096), Sauer respected Frick's views on scientific matters (see Central Wesleyan Star, 1908c; Kenzer, 1985d).

Henry Vosholl (1852-1938), Sauer's maternal uncle, was another important person in Sauer's life at this time. As the son of an itinerant minister (see Sauer, 1963, p. 83), Vosholl traveled widely as a child and developed a broad perspective and a keen interest in scholastic pursuits. Trained at Central Wesleyan College, Boston University, the University of Chicago, and the University of Missouri (Central Wesleyan Star, 1925), he has been described as "a gentleman of advanced ideas and progressive spirit" (Portrait and Biographical Record, 1895, p. 531). He considered a career in law and even served for a spell in the Missouri State Legislature before returning to Warrenton to teach.

Vosholl appears to have been a truly exceptional

individual. In one account we find that he was a voracious reader, so much so that "He once read the whole of Schiller's works from Friday evening to Monday morning" (College Star, 1898a)! Elsewhere, we discover that Sauer's uncle, in addition to his regular scholarly pursuits (see below), studied chemistry at Harvard, and that he once served as Warrenton's alderman--among his many other accomplishments (Pulse, 1906). In his prime, Vosholl was depicted as the ideal man of learning: "Prof. Vosholl is a man of wide attainments as a scholar, with a remarkably well balanced judgement, a fine critic, a strict disciplinarian and an educator who is the peer of any in the country" (College Star, 1898a). It is readily evident why Sauer would hold his uncle in such high esteem. From Sauer's correspondence home, one senses that he perhaps tried to emulate this man who commanded such deserved respect in Warrenton.

Vosholl was a Professor of English Literature and Ancient and Modern History at Central Wesleyan and a very close relative of the Sauer family. He thought highly of his nephew and offered him advice whenever possible. Both men had retentive memories, and both were prone to historical explanations (see Central Wesleyan Star, 1925). Sauer held his uncle in high regard and often requested his opinion. When Sauer decided to drop out of the University of Chicago, for example, he wrote home explaining in detail the

circumstances behind his decision and closed the epistle with this single sentence: "Please let Uncle Henry read this [letter] also".[4] This was not an isolated incident: Sauer often asked that his letters be read by Vosholl. His uncle was a man of acknowledged wisdom and a friend on whom Sauer could always depend. In 1912, Vosholl wrote to his nephew thanking him for a sum of money that Sauer had once borrowed and had now returned. From this letter we learn what sort of person Vosholl was, and why Carl Sauer cherished his advice. Vosholl first mentions that he has been reading Sauer's letters home to his parents, and then confides that he is familiar with the problems the young man is having at work. Then, without solicitation, he offers his nephew the following counsel:

> ...do not be critical or faultfinding. Stand in with the heads of the office. Of course not by servility, but by being pleasant & agreeable. One does not always have to say all he thinks, nor is it best to say it in as sharp & direct a way as possible. Franklin somewhere says that he found it wise to introduce a difference of opinion by saying "It has seemed to me" or "Might it not be?" and various other phrases that tend to avoid antagonism. We need to win the good will--a sort of social good will[--]of people whom we meet and with whom we have to deal (H. Vosholl to C.O. Sauer, August 5, 1912).

In typical fashion, Sauer was gratified to hear from Vosholl, always eager to learn from his uncle who he so respected. Sauer's reply is unfortunately missing, but in a letter to his fiancée (three days hence) he would write that "I

had a nice letter from Uncle Henry to-day. He doesn't write to me very often, but when he does write, he has something worthwhile to say" (C.O. Sauer to L.L. Schowengerdt, August 8, 1912).

But it was Sauer's father, (William) Albert Sauer (1844-1918), who had the greatest influence on the younger Sauer at this time. Albert Sauer taught French and music at Central Wesleyan (Leighly, 1976, p. 337) and was the epitome of the traditional German scholar. With an intimate knowledge of the classics and a strong background in both the physical and natural sciences, Sauer Sr. was the well-rounded intellect of the college (Warrenton Banner, 1918). Carl Sauer dedicated his doctoral thesis to "the gentle memory of my father, at whose side I formed my first appreciation of the things that constitute the living world" (Sauer, 1920b, p. v), and there is scarcely reason to wonder why. When the elder Sauer took the family to Germany (1898-1901), father and son would take daily walks through the Schwarzwald (see C.O. Sauer to J.W. Thompson, January 4, 1937),[3] and Sauer Sr. would identify all the local plants and animals for his son, often indicating their origins and historical significance. This too is of little surprise, since Sauer Sr. was also the plant taxonomist at Central Wesleyan.[4] Sauer and his father were "intellectual twins" and it is noteworthy to mention the degree to which

the younger Sauer returned to the reading of the German literature following the death of his father in 1918 (Kenzer, 1985b).

The Sauers apparently come from a long tradition of "teachers and musicians". Carl Sauer's father "was educated in the public school and later graduated from a teachers' college [in Germany]" (Warrenton Banner, 1918). As a student, (William) Albert Sauer's early academic interests appear to have centered around music and languages (Pulse, 1906), but music soon became his foremost concern. The elder Sauer was an accomplished composer, musician, and the head of Central Wesleyan's Music Department for many years. Many of his manuscripts are extant, though he chose not to publish the majority of them. His poems and lyrics, however, frequently embellished the pages of the college newspaper. According to his granddaughter, his musical compositions were written mainly for the piano; she further notes that her mother (Mrs. Carl O. Sauer), a trained musician herself (see Hewes, 1983, p. 145), often compared W.A. Sauer's music to Schumann (E.S. FitzSimmons to M.S. Kenzer, October 16 and October 27, 1984, personal correspondence). At least one of Professor Sauer's students, Louis Weber (1851-1931), went on to become one of Missouri's leading late-nineteenth-century composers (Baldridge, 1970, especially pp. 17-19).

Music was an important part of the Central Wesleyan

experience and Sauer's department was considered as fine a music center as one was apt to find in the region. Shortly before the turn of the century, the Central Weslevan Conservatory of Music was described as one that would "compare favorably with any in the West" (College Star, 1893, p. 3). The respect accorded this small department was due, in no small part, to William Albert Sauer's background and view of higher education. Trained and educated wholly in his native Germany, he was, in the words of a contemporary, "a thoroughgoing educator of the German type, [one] who abhors all sham and superficialness" (Pulse, 1906). For W.A. Sauer, music was never considered an end in itself, nor was it a substitute for a proper, scholarly education: music and book-learning went hand in hand:

> Students who pursue a music course very often overlook the necessity of a higher general education. A real musician, just like the master of any other branch of art, must always be a person of general cultural, not a mere mechanic. He who aims at a situation in a college or any higher school, must not forget that no school will appoint a music teacher who possesses no other accomplishments but his music (College Star, 1887).

Similarly, in 1890, the elder Sauer would recommend that all college students get a well-rounded education. If you are planning to become a specialist, he would write, "learn all about the world". Even if you intend to become a doctor, he adds, be sure to study grammar, geography, and math as well, because no doctor should know only about medicine or human

health (Sauer, 1890).

It is worth noting here that Professor Sauer believed that education, like true musical understanding, cannot be taught: it must be desired. I think it will be instructive to quote, at some length, from some words of "advice" he offered in 1891. While the passage is directed at prospective musicians, it is also indicative of the gentleman's attitude toward learning in general, regardless of the specific discipline or endeavor:

> It is a mistake so often made by music scholars to expect their musical education exclusively from the teacher....In order to become a musician, one must live and breathe in a musical atmosphere. If your surroundings are not of that nature, you yourself must create such an atmosphere around you. Do not perform trashy music, because your friends cannot understand any better, but try to elevate not only your own, but also their taste. Use every opportunity of hearing good music; be slow in criticism; do not reject what, at first, you do not understand; remember musical taste and understanding must be developed just as any other mental power (Sauer, 1891).

Just as his son would later write that, to know the inhabitants of an area, you must "Become one of the people; live with them if possible; take part in their activities" (Jones and Sauer,' 1915, p. 521), and that we must immerse ourselves in a region to understand its culture and "personality" (e.g., Sauer, 1941a; Sauer, 1941b), Sauer Sr. believed that you must likewise devote yourself, without reservation, to whatever enterprise you choose to undertake (also see Sauer, 1888; Sauer, 1893). In the same manner, we

note that the elder Sauer refused to relinquish what he considered important; he would never settle for second best. It was with this same idealistic fervor that Carl Sauer refused to accept a second-rate geography; like his father, he too believed in quality above all else (see Kenzer, 1985c). It is useful to compare the Sr. Sauer's advice on education (above) to a remark made by one of Carl Sauer's former graduate students concerning his mentor's attitude toward learning:

> ...he [Carl Sauer] refused to accept that part of our educational system predicated upon the belief...that talent can be implanted by anyone--or, particularly, by any organization. He recognized that the product of real talent is something that we have not seen before and cannot anticipate in training, and for that reason, the best that a graduate school teacher can do is to offer opportunities for the inspired individual....Example is necessary in a teacher and Sauer fulfilled his obligation by his habits of work, receptiveness to ideas, and intolerance of shoddy performance. Among the earliest to arrive at the department, he usually stayed through the day, reading or writing....He had a quick and jaundiced eye for pretentious mediocrity; he did not confuse cleverness with wisdom nor volubility with perception, but he was pleased by an "informed dissenter" (Stanislawski, 1975, pp. 551-552).

Just as his father taught that the role of a teacher was one of mere guide, his son "expected students to learn by their own efforts; the professor was example and mentor, not a source of information" (Leighly, 1978b, p. 130).

Albert Sauer's Germanic heritage remained with him always, and his view of American culture can only be

understood against this comparative backdrop. From one account we learn that "he is against all American superficiality concerning either politics or the church" (College Star, 1898b, p. 3). In another instance the elder Sauer himself wrote that there was far too much individualism in this country, too much individual power. He was alarmed that Americans possessed a false sense of "freedom". While Americans believed that political freedom was the most important freedom obtainable, Professor Sauer felt that true freedom--the freedom to become equal, one and all--was lacking in the United States (cf. Krieger, 1957). More importantly, however, he was expressing a concern about America's preoccupation with the individual. America's progressive, secular, pragmatic culture and its associated lack of historical perspective worried him. Thus he contended that there was a distinct lack of respect for authority in the United States--no respect for adults, no regard for tradition, no sense of history (Sauer, 1892a). By contrast, he believed that the Europeans had a greater sense of history and, as a consequence, a much stronger tie with their past. In his opinion, Europeans were therefore actually freer than Americans. An understanding of the past was extremely beneficial in his view and should *never* be compromised. Americans might be politically free, he would note, but he believed Europeans to be more reverent and more

spiritually free due to their retrospective nature (see Sauer, 1889). It is not very difficult to see why his son was continually comparing American and German Geography (Kenzer, 1985c). This comparative practice was inherited from a father who straddled two distinct cultures.

In sum, America's "ever-forward", progressive credo was antithetical to Professor Sauer's world view which, in turn, was synonymous with a common, nineteenth-century German preoccupation with process and an historical perspective (see, for example, Mead, 1936, pp. 127-152; Hughes, 1958, pp. 183-248; Iggers, 1983, pp. 3-173). To the nineteenth-century German mind, the past is an ongoing phenomenon that fully explains the contemporary scene. One of W.A. Sauer's colleagues may have summarized this view in a chapel talk when he spoke on "the value of historical study". "[A] knowledge of history" he argued, "brings the past up to the present, and how we thus find *the controlling powers*, and seeing *the causes* we find how the past is likened to the present..." (emphasis added) (College Star, 1899). As a product of nineteenth-century Germany, it was all but impossible for the elder Sauer (or his associates) not to think in historical terms. History and things historical were second nature to this generation of intellectuals. Historicism was more than a method: It was "an intellectual and scholarly movement which dominated historical, social,

and humanistic studies in nineteenth-century Germany..." (Iggers, 1973, p. 458). As Hughes reminds us, even a Max Weber who was certainly no historian was influenced by this same historicist perspective:

> ...the enormous merit of [late-nineteenth-century] German social thought was that it dwelt *in the historical world*. History was one subject that Weber never specifically studied or taught. But his whole intellectual life was suffused with historical thinking. Law, like economics, was taught in Germany as a historical discipline. Sociology was being cast in a similar mold. And philosophy...had posed as one of its central problems the elaboration of the catagories of historical thought [emphasis in original] (Hughes, 1958, p. 293).

Before leaving W. Albert Sauer (and the C.W.C. intellectual environment), it is important to this study to emphasize not only his German character and his preoccupation with the past, but to make note of his background in the physical and natural sciences (see Warrenton Banner, 1918), in particular his interest in plants and geography. As mentioned above, Sauer Sr. was the college botanist and taxonomist (see Note 6 below). As well, he had a curiously persistent interest in maps. The study of geography was as important to him as a knowledge of history, and the combination of the two even more important. Fortunately, like his son, he was a rather opinionated individual who freely expressed and published his views on a variety of topics and issues. The following passage should prove insightful to those readers who may have wondered where and

when his son, Carl Sauer, first considered the value of historical geography, or what the younger Sauer may have read as a child in Warrenton. In 1892, suggesting which German books a student should read, Professor Sauer wrote:

> Well known are the excellent historical works by Becker, Dittmer [sic], Ranke, Schlosser [sic] and Weber but I would like to recommend to my young friends, for their special purposes in particular, Redenbacher's primer of world history, which surely will remain a lifelong favorite handbook for them. Whoever reads about history should not omit to look up the area on the map where the event took place. A historical atlas, the quite reasonable one by Putzge [sic] will be of great value to him. And since we now have mentioned the relationship between history and geography, I would suggest for the purpose of self-instruction the primer of geography by Schwartz. If, however, someone would prefer a more scientific approach, I would suggest Daniel's small textbook on geography (Sauer, 1892b).*

In his view, history and geography went hand in hand: one useless without the other, both necessary components of meaningful research. Even in a discussion on literary works, he would suggest that "when reading such works of literature, to keep the textbook of history plus the map nearby in order to place everything in chronological and geographical order" (W.A. Sauer, 1907, p. 9).

One thing is surely evident: Carl Sauer's early recognition of the relationship between history and geography (see Sauer, 1916a, pp. 144f.; Sauer, 1918a, pp. 45-83; Sauer, 1920b, pp. 73-174; Sauer, 1924, pp. 18-19; 1925) and his subsequent dicta on the subject (Sauer, 1941a; Sauer, 1952;

Sauer, 1984) did not arise haphazardly. Whether he was aware of it or not, he was mirroring an attitude that was traditionally German on the one hand (see Pfeifer, 1965; James, 1968, p. 9) and specific to his father's own world view on the other (Kenzer, 1985b). Like his father, he was ever so conscious of the past. Even when the younger Sauer would write a paper on the *current* "economic problem" of his Ozark homeland, he would qualify his approach, arguing that "For an understanding of the area it is essential to keep in mind its antecedents, and also that the blood of the frontiersman is still dominant among the population" (Sauer, 1920a, p. 217).

Sauer's Undergraduate Training

Carl Sauer was a gifted child. When the family returned from their stay in Germany (1901) the youngest Sauer was immediately enrolled in Central Wesleyan's college preparatory program. He must have been extraordinarily precocious for his age because, under normal conditions, students under fifteen were denied admission to the college (Addicks, 1897); Carl Sauer, however, had not yet turned twelve! Since his mother was a former teacher and his father a college professor, it would appear as though the intellectual odds were in Sauer's favor. He must have held his own as a preparatory student, as he was subsequently admitted to regular college courses during the 1904-1905

academic year" at the age of fourteen (Annual Catalogue, 1904-1905, p. 59).[10]

The Central Wesleyan program, like the programs of other small, contemporary, German-Methodist colleges in the Midwest, had a great deal of continuity from year to year and from institution to kindred institution (see Haselmayer, 1964; also Haselmayer, 1963, pp. 6-10). According to the chosen course of study, there was little room for variation within the four possible collegiate options: classical, philosophical, scientific, and literary programs. Sauer's official transcripts from Central Wesleyan College no longer exist,[11] but it is a relatively easy exercise to deduce which courses he took in any given year. Since we know that Carl Sauer graduated in 1908 with two degrees[12]--an A.B. in the classical program, and a B.S. in the science curriculum--it makes our endeavor relatively simple.

The Central Wesleyan academic calendar and the requirements for graduation were somewhat unique by today's standards. It was an extremely rigorous college, demanding an unusually large number of classes for any one degree. In the course of an academic year, for instance, each student was expected to enroll in an average of eighteen separate classes, nine each semester, each semester being further divided into two independent terms. The college preparatory

program[13] (which Sauer followed from 1901-1902 until 1903-1904) necessitated a very specific series of courses. Over a three-year period, all students were required to take a total of twelve Latin courses, eight German courses, eight English courses, four history courses, eight math courses, eight essay courses, four science courses, and four more courses which could be either in Greek or additional German coursework--a total of fifty-six courses; each, except for the essay course, meeting five times a week! Moreover, each course addressed a specific aspect of the respective subjects and prespecified textbooks were used in each class (e.g., Annual Catalogue, 1904-1905, pp. 35-37). The four required science courses, for example, were actually two courses each of geography and physiology. There was a "descriptive" geography course using a text by Rand-McNally (presumably one of their atlases), and a "physical" geography course that used Tarr's well known text[14] (Tarr, 1895;[15] see Annual Catalogue, 1901-1902, p. 36; Annual Catalogue, 1904-1905, p. 37).

The college-level programs were, like the "preparatory" programs, rigid, well-defined curricula.[16] In a four-year "classical" program, at least eighty-two courses were required. In the four-year "scientific" program, a candidate needed one hundred and six courses to graduate. Therefore, accounting for the

possibility of duplication, Sauer's two baccalaureate degrees necessitated a minimum of one hundred and nine courses. The following table is an enumeration of Sauer's probable[17] undergraduate coursework:

LATIN	GREEK	MATH
Livy	Xenophen or	Trigonometry(2)
Horace(2)	Herodotus(2)	Surveying(2)
Cicero	Homer(2)	Algebra(4)
Tacitus(2)	Attic	Geometry(2)
Plautus(2)	Orators(4)	Calculus(2)
	Plato or	
	Xenophen(2)	
	Attic	
	Tragedy(2)	

HISTORY	SCIENCE	ENGLISH
Oriental or	Physics(2)	Rhetoric(3)
Greek(2)	Chemistry(2)	Classics
Roman(2)	Geology(2)	
Mediaeval(2)	Astronomy(2)	
Modern(2)	Zoology(2)	FRENCH
English(2)	Botany(2)	4 Courses
U.S.(2)	Drawing(2)	
Bible(4)	Biology(2)	LITERATURE
		History of(3)

PHILOSOPHY		
Sociology(2)	Logic	
Psychology	Ethics(2)	ESSAYS
Pol. Economy	Evidences	24 Courses
Theism	History of	

Table A. Minimum required coursework for Carl O. Sauer's undergraduate degrees.
Source: Annual Catalogue, 1905-1905, pp. 24-27; compiled by author.

However rigorous these undergraduate programs may appear to have been, their somewhat demanding courseloads would seem to have paid off since Central Wesleyan's reputation was unquestionably an honorable one. In Sauer's case, for example, when he graduated and then matriculated at Northwestern University, he would write back and remark:

> All my work was fully accepted without question or investigation. Most students have a hard time in getting their credits from other schools recognized. The teachers [at Northwestern] did not ask me to produce a thing (Central Wesleyan Star, 1908c, p. 19; see Kenzer, 1985d).

Goethean Science

William Speth was the first to speculate on Sauer's intellectual debt to Goethe, suggesting that "The foundation of Sauer's metatheory rests on Goethe's conception of morphological change. His influence on Sauer was both primary and secondary" (Speth, 1981, p. 233; cf. Williams, 1983, pp. 5-6). Indeed, the intellectual link between Goethe and Sauer cannot be overestimated. Goethe, his works, his philosophy, his world view, the society and the particular ideals he stood for, were all very much a part of Carl Sauer's undergraduate heritage (Speth, 1981, pp. 233-234 and 240-241; cf. Ungar, 1963, especially pp. 5-23,; Runes, 1955, pp. 437-438) and a part of the *Zeitgeist* of Central Wesleyan College and turn-of-the-century Warrenton, Missouri. To separate Goethe and Sauer, intellectually, is to ignore a vital component of Sauer's pre-Berkeley intellectual

heritage.

The C.W.C. intellectual climate was heavily suffused with a Goethean conception of history. Indeed, the institution's *Weltbild*, the professors' respective philosophies and, consequently, the students themselves, were all fully enveloped in this elusive yet distinctive intellectual environment. Goethe's maxims filled the pages of the school's newspaper and journal. The oldest student organization on campus was the Goethenia Society--a literary association based on the writings of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832)--and Carl Sauer became a devoted member as an undergraduate (Chapter Four; Kenzer, 1985a). The Society took its name and motto ("*Mehr Licht*") from Goethe and there is no way to understand either the C.W.C. experience or Sauer's undergraduate heritage outside of this context.

While much of nineteenth-century German historicism was grounded in an analysis and explanation of political history (i.e., history of the state)--what Iggers calls "the German historicist tradition" (Iggers, 1983, p. 13)--the Goethean strain of German idealistic historical thought viewed culture (and the individual) as the focal point of history (Holborn, 1970). This was the predominant German social philosophy of the nineteenth century: a "German national philosophy" adumbrated in the late-eighteenth century and given full substance in the writings of Fichte,

Hegel, and Schelling--the "great idealists" of the early-nineteenth century (Beck, 1967, pp. 301-307). This was likewise the very basis of Goethe's morphology (form study)--i.e., the understanding of form as expressed creatively (culturally/individually). Form--the manifestation of human, spiritual, and natural processes--was *the* single most important element in Goethe's world view. "Consequently" notes Bergstraesser, "he [Goethe] saw history as essentially cultural history. His interest in it was centered upon the forms by which man lives and conceives his own existence and by which he gives expression to this experience in religion, art, and science" (Bergstraesser, 1962, pp. 205-206).

Speth (1981) and Williams (1983) have respectively demonstrated that Sauer was writing in a Goethean intellectual tradition. Sauer not only acknowledges this debt to Goethe--both in his published works and in his correspondence--but uses Goethe's very term ("morphology") to express the essence of his important 1925 essay on geographic methodology (Sauer, 1925). Sauer's form-laden, phenomenological outline for a cultural geography was predicated on a Goethean conception of man. Thus, like Goethe, Sauer tried to reconstruct the inner meaning and the forms of historical cultures (see Bergestraesser, 1962, p. 209). By defining geography as culture history, Sauer was

merely attempting "to reestablish the German classical geographical tradition in American geography" (Entrikin, 1984, p. 405). *But Sauer's cultural-historical geography was based not on a reading of Goethe, but due instead to the fact that Sauer had been totally immersed in a Goethean world view since birth.* This was further compounded by his three-year stay in southern Germany as a lyceum student (1898-1901), and later, perhaps more so, by his association with the C.W.C. intellectual environment and his enduring involvement with the Goethenia Society as an undergraduate (Kenzer, 1985a). Sauer was certainly no stranger to Goethe's writings, nor to the intellectual legacy Goethe left to nineteenth-century Germany. In his attempt to place American geography on firmer ground than it enjoyed in the 1920s, Sauer simply had to reach into his past and build on a familiar, idealistic heritage that was part of his very being since childhood. Some ambiguities and/or contradictions in Sauer's writings, again, can be explained in light of his Goethean world view.

Goethe was a complex individual and his writings show a man caught between two intellectual worlds. His early life and ideas clearly reflect the climate of romanticist, late-eighteenth-century Germany. By the end of Goethe's career, however, German intellectual thought began to shift away from the classical romanticism of his youth, and was

instead becoming a "science" immersed in idealism and the experiential philosophy of positivism. A close analysis of Goethe's works reveals that "the sage of Weimar" decidedly straddled both worlds (see Nisbet, 1972). In retrospect, his writings consequently seem ambiguous or inconsistent, as they indeed were:

> He [Goethe] picked out an idea here and there which he came across in rather haphazard reading...and he did not trouble himself about the logical proof of the idea which interested him, nor about the steps which followed from it, but took these thoughts because they suited him and worked them into the complex weave of his own emotions and beliefs (Trevelyan, 1949, p. 124).

This lack of logic is perhaps a fitting tribute to a man who is remembered mainly for his poetry and novels, even though Goethe considered himself a scientist and felt that his literature could not be understood without first enquiring into his science (see Zweig, 1967). It is of little surprise that he has been called an illogical philosopher (Trevelyan, 1949, p. 122)--his philosophy was admittedly inconsistent.

By the same token, a follower of Goethe--whether it be an institution (C.W.C.) or an individual (Carl Sauer)--cannot be expected to be entirely logical or consistent either. Thus it comes as no great surprise to find Sauer characterized as paradoxical (Hooson, 1981, p. 166), intransigent (West, 1979, p. 35), or as an "intellectual Voortrekker" (Williams, 1983, p. 2). Like Goethe, Sauer would pick and choose ideas and concepts to fit

the occasion. As Entrikin has recently observed, for Sauer an hypothesis "was a means to an end" and nothing more (Entrikin, 1984, p. 390). In Sauer's eyes, an argument was merely "a means of solving logical puzzles that arose in the course of specific empirical studies..." (Entrikin, 1984, p. 387). "Sauer's goal" he points out, "was to work through conceptual problems that he encountered in his empirical, field-oriented studies, not to establish a consistent logical framework or system" (Entrikin, 1984, p. 387). This equates with Goethe's maxim that "truth is individual and, although it is such, or rather because it is such, is true" (Croce, 1923, p. 15). Absolute truth and consistency were as unimportant to Sauer as they were to Goethe.

Sauer and Central Wesleyan: A Summary

It is important that Central Wesleyan College be seen as much more than a small, now-defunct college in the Missouri Ozarks, and that we recognize that someone schooled at this institution was, in large measure, trained as if he or she had been educated in a comparable, small German college at the time. Consequently, when Carl Sauer graduated from C.W.C. there was probably little to distinguish him from his well-educated analogue in Germany. As a product of the Missouri Rhineland and as a graduate of this particular college, he was indeed thoroughly immersed in German culture by that time; his *Weltanschauung* would have certainly

mirrored that Germanism. Moreover, the three-year period of study in Calw, Württemberg (1898-1901)[18] could have only reinforced his strong German character. It would be difficult to deny this influence at such an impressionable age. The one difference between Sauer and a student in Germany at the time, may have been the former's thorough knowledge of English. Having been born in the United States, it was of course imperative that he become fluent in the native language at the earliest possible age. Moreover, since his father was linguistically inclined, it was perhaps natural for Carl Sauer to be bilingual from birth and to become multilingual by the age of eighteen.

In this chapter we have been introduced to the three individuals who most strongly influenced Sauer during his childhood and adolescence. As well, we have taken note of Sauer's debt to Johann Goethe and Sauer's coursework at Central Weslevan College. There were, undoubtedly, other influential people and events during this period, and they too may have had a hand in helping to shape Sauer's contemporary ideas and outlook. On the whole, however, I do not believe that these "other" people or events are of much concern to our study. They do not survive in the archival record and if they were indeed influential, it was of passing importance at best. Carl Sauer's fundamental world view during this period and those most responsible for its

formation can be found among the pages of the current and two preceding chapters.

What survives from any given period is of course partial and incomplete in nature. Therefore, there is always a degree of uncertainty when trying to understand and interpret historical data. As such, I have only occasionally tried to identify exact ideas or specific sets of beliefs in Chapters Four and Five. Instead, I have tried to paint both the broad picture--the scenery--while also "sketching in" a few of the details of the characters for the reader's mind to define. Each of us could reconstruct Sauer's past from those fragments in varying combinations. In the following chapter, however, I hope to demonstrate that the pieces fit best as we have reassembled them. By focusing on Sauer's "morphology" essay written in 1925, and by systematically working our story back in time to his C.W.C./Warrenton period, I believe we will then discover that the pieces of our puzzle are in fact properly aligned. In other words, in Chapter Six the intent is to show that the basic set of ideas Sauer expressed in 1925--the general flavor of and motivation behind the "morphology" article--came out of Sauer's earliest world view, the world we have been exploring in Chapters Three, Four and Five.

CHAPTER FIVE NOTES

1 See Note 1, Chapter Three.

2 The "St. Louis School" is generally attributed to William T. Harris (1835-1909) who began *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy* based on the idealistic writings of Hegel, particularly his *Logic*. Like Hegel, Harris argued that science was grounded in experience and to comprehend reality, indeed to understand existence at all, we must realize and accept the dialectical nature of the universe: in sum, the notion that everything is in a continual state of reciprocal change and thus the only two constants are time and space (and their mutual interaction). Harris's ideas became very popular in the St. Louis area, notably among the local intellectuals who formed the St. Louis Society. For an introduction to Harris and his "School" see the following sources: Easton, 1967; Forbes, 1930, especially pp. 83-90; Forbes, 1931; Runes, 1955, pp. 466-469. A good starting point for information on Quincy, Illinois, especially with respect to Hegelian thought and the general philosophical

climate of the area at the time, is Anderson, 1940 and Anderson, 1941.

3 This fact becomes all the more startling when we read that, in 1890, "Dr. Koch hears six classes daily; Prof. Voshell seven; Prof. Rinkel eight; Prof. Frick seven; Prof. Addicks seven; Prof. Asling seven; Prof. Fronhardt ten classes....Profs. Sauer and Tiemann give instructions in music *almost every school hour*" [emphasis added] (College Star, 1890)!

4 The final line of the letter reads "*Bitte lasst auch Onkel Henry diese lesen*" (C.O. Sauer to Parents, July 24, 1910, private family correspondence, in Sauer's daughter's possession; see Chapter Six, Note 2). All early letters from Sauer to his parents are in German. When his father died in 1918, however, Sauer began to write to his mother in English as it was her preferred language. From here on, I shall liberally translate all letters into English, without providing the original German text.

5 From Box 1 of the J.W. Thompson Papers, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.

6 As mentioned in Chapter Four, Central Wesleyan College ceased to exist after 1941. The buildings were literally

abandoned and all materials and property belonging to the college were locked inside, indefinitely. Finally, six years later, the library, the herbarium collection, the museum and rock collection, and all laboratory equipment were purchased by Northeast Missouri State University (N.M.S.U.). The N.M.S.U. administrators also agreed to maintain Central Wesleyan's records and students' transcripts as part of the purchase (see Kenzer, 1984). While perusing the C.W.C. Archives in Kirksville, Missouri, I decided to look at the herbarium collection, concerned to locate whatever information I could about the operation of C.W.C. prior to its demise. Many plant specimens had been re-mounted and more specifically indentified by Dr. Melvin Conrad who is now in charge of the collection. With his cooperation, I managed to examine a number of the yet undisturbed specimens; the group I looked at were from 1877. On the covers of these specimens were notes indicating where and when the contents were collected, and Professor W.A. Sauer is named as the college "botanist". Sauer Sr. was never listed in the C.W.C. catalogues as anything other than an instructor of music or French, but he was certainly qualified to act as the plant taxonomist. His interest in plants and animals seems to have been profound (College Star, 1898b). In large measure, Carl Sauer's

associated interest appears to have come, initially, from his father (see text: also Kenzer, 1985b). At Carl Sauer's daughter's house in Berkeley, there is a notebook that was owned by her father as a teenager. The book is entitled "Herbarium and Plant Description: Collected and Identified by Carl Sauer" and dated April 29, 1905-June 10, 1905. All specimens in the notebook are taken from the Warrenton area. Apparently, this is the only surviving notebook of several such "plant description" books kept by Carl Sauer as an adolescent.

7 It is often assumed, because of the order of their names, that Jones was the senior and Sauer the junior author of this influential essay. Discussing the article twenty-four years after its publication, however, the two men reveal that the "Jones and Sauer" juxtaposition was used merely to suit the alphabetical arrangement of their names, not due to any senior-junior designation (see W.D. Jones to C.O. Sauer, December 22, 1939, S.P.).

8 The above-mentioned German writers to whom Professor Sauer was referring were probably Wilhelm Adolf Becker (1796-1846), Heinrich Dittmar (1792-1866), Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886), August Ludwig von Schlözer (1735-1809), Max Weber(?) (1864-1920), Wilhelm Redenbacher (1800-1876), Friedrich Wilhelm Putzger (b.

1849), Friedrich Leberecht Wilhelm Schwartz (1821-1899), and Hermann Adalbert Daniel (1812-1871). Few of these books were part of the Central Weslevan library, at least not in 1877 (Books in the Library, 1877). It is therefore possible that Sauer Sr. was looking through his personal library when naming these important history and geography texts.

9 Sauer is also listed as a college freshman for the academic year 1903-1904 (Annual Catalogue, 1903-1904, p. 60), but this is an apparent error. According to the record for the two previous college years, he should have been listed in 1903-1904 as a senior in the preparatory program (Annual Catalogue, 1901-1902, p. 54; cf. Annual Catalogue, 1902-1903, p. 59).

10 The Central Weslevan Annual Catalogues, like most published material at the college, were printed in both English and German until 1918 (see Kenzer, 1984). This particular catalogue, for instance, was also published as *Einundvierzigster Jährlicher Katalog. Central Weslevan Kollegium und Theologisches Seminar, 1904-1905*. Hereafter, I shall only refer to the English volumes.

11 As noted earlier, Central Wesleyan College went defunct in 1941 and the institution (including all possessions

and administrative records) was abandoned until Northeast Missouri State University (N.M.S.U.) purchased the bulk of the material in 1947 (see Note 8 above). During the intervening six years, a fair amount of violence and pilferage occurred and, as a result, some of the students' records are now missing. When I checked with the N.M.S.U. registrar (who is now in charge of former Central Wesleyan College students' transcripts) I was informed that Sauer's records were apparently among those stolen. Indeed, it seems that a "fair amount" of the records from the "S" section of the alphabet are missing (L. Myers to M.S. Kenzer, March 25, 1983, personal correspondence).

12 Sauer was not only the youngest member of his small class, but apparently one of the brightest and certainly one of the most dedicated achievers. Of the twenty-four students who constituted the Central Wesleyan graduating class of 1908, he was the only one who received two college-level degrees. Sauer either forgot this fact, or chose to ignore it. Consequently, everything that has heretofore been written about Sauer, has indicated that he only had a B.A. from Central Wesleyan (e.g., Leighly, 1963; Leighly, 1976; Leighly, 1978; Parsons and Vonnegut, 1983, p. 157). Sauer, himself, made mention of only the one degree (e.g., Sauer, 1973). Yet, the archival record

is clear on this point and there can be no doubt whatsoever that he actually graduated with two degrees (see, for example, Annual Catalogue, 1907-1908, p. 69; Bulletin, 1909; Central Weslevan Star, 1908b; Central Weslevan Star, 1908a, p. 20; Walter, 1908). One source notes that Sauer was awarded two separate diplomas (Warrenton Banner, 1908).

13 The "college preparatory" program (also known as the "academic course") is not to be confused with the "general preparatory" program. The former, as the name implies, was designed for those who subsequently expected to enroll in a college-level curriculum, where a college-level degree would be obtainable. It was a three-year, six-semester program. The latter program--the "general preparatory"--was basically the equivalent of a high school degree and thus inferior to the former in both its requirements and its rigor. It was only a single year, two-semester program (see, for example, Annual Catalogue, 1904-1905, pp. 35-37).

14 By the time Sauer graduated from Central Wesleyan, however, the geography text for the "descriptive" course had changed to one by Dodge (probably Dodge, 1904); and the "physical" geography class was then using a book by Dryer (possibly Dryer, 1901) (Annual Catalogue,

1907-1908, p. 417. The Dodge and Dryer books both went through numerous editions, with only the slightest changes from year to year.

15 Tarr's book was first published in 1895 and then reprinted, virtually unchanged, nearly each subsequent year for the next decade and one-half. It is uncertain which edition they were using during Sauer's era at C.W.C.

16 The college-level requirements seemed to have eased somewhat in the academic year 1906-1907. From this time forward, students were permitted more elective courses and more diversity was introduced into the various programs of study. However, since Sauer began his college work in 1904-1905, I can only assume that he was obligated to follow the earlier course requirements.

17 This breakdown assumes that Sauer took the French elective where he was given a choice between German, Latin, or French in the scientific program. This assumption is based on the fact that he knew German from birth (Kenzer, 1985a, p. 268) and that he was required to take both German and Latin in his "preparatory" program (see text). Furthermore, somewhere along the way he picked up French because he was appointed "assistant in French" at Central Wesleyan prior to his graduation

(Annual Catalogue. 1907-1908. p. 7). Thus, he must have become proficient in French sometime prior to the start of the 1907-1908 academic year. Moreover, since his father knew several languages and was a Professor of French at Central Wesleyan during this time, it seems reasonable to conclude that the younger Sauer was "persuaded" to take French as an elective. Finally, there may be some question about the two biology courses, because French or German could be substituted for biology.

18 Sauer attended the *Realgymnasium Calw* for the academic years 1898/99-1900/01, but there is far too little known of his schooling in Germany. There is, however, a "geography" treatise that survives. It was written by Sauer while in Calw, and it must have made quite an impression, becoming a topic of discussion when the family returned to Warrenton (see W.H. Flake to C.O. Sauer, January 6, 1941, S.P.). Sauer took several geography courses in Germany, so the "geography" was likely written in connection with one of his classes. The pamphlet is in the possession of Sauer's daughter, Berkeley, California.

CHAPTER SIX

DEPARTURE, FRUSTRATION, AND CAREER FORMATION: BACKGROUND TO *THE MORPHOLOGY OF LANDSCAPE*

Introduction

Between 1908, the year Sauer graduated from C.W.C. and left his hometown of Warrenton, and 1925 which marks the publication date of his "morphology" article, Sauer's life was continuously wrought with trying, often highly frustrating, experiences. In the early part of the autumn of 1908 he matriculated at Northwestern University with the prospect of taking a graduate degree in geology. A year at Northwestern, however, convinced Sauer that neither Northwestern nor geology would suit his career plans. The following year he enrolled at the University of Chicago as a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Geography.

Chicago appealed to Sauer, but university, apparently, did not. Determined to establish himself in the publishing industry, he left the University in 1911 and took a job with The Municipal Art League of Chicago where he hoped he would get the necessary experience to undertake newspaper work. His objective of entering the publishing field

persisted during the five months he worked for the Art League. He soon came to realize, however, that although the League afforded him an opportunity to establish contacts, it could never be a means to an end. An editorial position opened up at The Rand McNally Company and Sauer promptly took it, remaining with Rand McNally for nearly sixteen months. Unfortunately, his first job in a publishing house turned into a colossal disappointment. For despite the fact that Sauer was promised numerous promotions, and in spite of his belief that he was the most diligent person in the editorial room, he never received the promotion he was hoping for. He was on the verge of resigning when he received word of a temporary teaching position at Salem Normal School in Salem, Massachusetts. With little hesitation he quit the Rand McNally firm and took hold of the opportunity to the east.

The job at Salem was a blessing, for this would provide Sauer with sufficient income to get married. He married his hometown sweetheart, Lorena L. Schowengerdt (1890-1975), and they immediately departed for New England. Carl and Lorena Sauer spent their honeymoon in Salem, as there was no time to go anywhere else; Carl was committed to be there and teach. When the semester ended, they left Salem and headed for Ann Arbor where Carl, now twenty-four, had procured a summer teaching job at the University of Michigan.

When the summer of 1914 came to a close, the Sauers

moved to Chicago. Carl had earlier decided to return to the University of Chicago and complete his doctorate, so he spent the next year and one-half collecting materials and working in earnest to write his thesis. Shortly before his graduation, an offer came from William H. Hobbs (1864-1953) to return to the University of Michigan as a permanent member of the faculty. The Department of Geology at Michigan was changing its name to the Department of Geology and Geography and they wanted Sauer, in essence, to be the geography component. Sauer accepted straightaway and arrived back in Ann Arbor in January of 1916.

In the seven and one-half years Sauer spent in Ann Arbor a great deal was accomplished: he helped to establish the Michigan Land Economic Survey (see Schmaltz, 1978); he helped locate and create a permanent field camp site for the University in the state of Kentucky (see James, 1983); he was elected to membership in the A.A.G. (see Chapter Two) and read several important papers before that body; and, due to his scholarly efforts and his popularity as an instructor, he was routinely promoted until he became a full professor in 1922. Yet, despite his rapid promotions and his apparent successes, he was still unhappy and agitated with his foreseeable prospects. It is clear that Sauer felt constrained by the Midwestern approach to geography (see Sauer, 1974, p. 191), the predominant approach at the time

(Rugg, 1981); he definitely did not wish to continue with his applied research.

In 1923 an attractive offer came from the University of California at Berkeley, and Sauer was drawn west to new horizons. Berkeley represented an opportunity to put his emerging perspective of geography into practice. He arrived in August of that same year, as the new Chairman of the Department of Geography, and he remained with the Berkeley Department for the rest of his life.

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. It will firstly shed some light on Sauer's life between the years 1908 and 1925; it will sketch the major changes that Sauer experienced during this period and show how Sauer responded to those changes. More importantly, however, it secondly demonstrates that "The Morphology of Landscape" was primarily an outgrowth of Sauer's Warrenton experiences, and that the intervening years (1909-1924) had surprisingly little influence on the development of his geographic/scientific agenda, less indeed than one might assume. At bottom, I shall argue that the "morphology" was a natural result of the strong Germanic training and world view he acquired in his hometown. Between 1908 and 1925 Sauer's thinking and interests were focused mainly on academic geography, but they were decisively colored by a *Weltanschauung* steeped in late-nineteenth-century Goethean thought inherited from the

initial eighteen and one-half years that Sauer spent in Warrenton and southern Germany (Chapter Three; Chapter Four; Chapter Five; Kenzer, 1985b).

A Year in Evanston

In 1908, a few months shy of his nineteenth birthday, Carl O. Sauer left Warrenton, Missouri and Central Wesleyan College to attend graduate school in Evanston, Illinois as a geology student at Northwestern University.[1] Northwestern had a Methodist background (e.g., Williamson and Wild, 1976, especially pp. 363-367) and it was perhaps the logical place in the Midwest to send a budding Methodist scholar for graduate training (Dow, 1983, p. 8; Riess, 1976, p. 66). Sauer was obviously well prepared academically, for he would arrive in Evanston with two baccalaureate degrees--one in the classics and a second in the sciences. By this time he was fluent in German, English, and French (Chapter Five), and his knowledge of Latin and Greek was superior to most of his peers (Pulse, 1906; Pulse, 1907). All indications were that he would be a promising graduate student and take his degree in geology at Northwestern as expected.

Upon first arriving in Evanston, Sauer seemed to enjoy his encounter with a new environment and his initial taste of graduate school. In the earliest extant letter from the period,[2] he would write to his hometown friend

and companion that "U. Northwestern [sic] is all-right" (C.O. Sauer to L.L. Schowengerdt, November 11, 1908). At about the same time he would send greetings back to Professor Frick at C.W.C. and note that "In general terms, my school work and I seem to agree very well, my teachers are very kind and helpful and I hope to do well enough to maintain, at least partially, the high standards which Central Wesleyan College holds, and deserves too, in the eyes of the teachers here" (Central Wesleyan Star, 1908c). Sauer's apparent pleasure upon arriving at Northwestern was perhaps logical and to be expected. After all, it was the first time that he would venture out into the world on his own; he was not yet nineteen. The contrast with Warrenton was obvious and the "newness" of Evanston was possibly attractive to him. His love affair with Evanston would be short lived however, and two things in particular seem to have combined to affect Sauer's outlook: his German-Methodist background and his sudden academic awakening.

Sauer was raised a Methodist in Warrenton and there he was, in late-1908, in another Methodist community. Evanston, Illinois was still heavily Methodist in Sauer's era. The community's Methodist heritage was so strong in fact that many of the city's streets are named for prominent Methodists (see Sheppard and Hurd, 1906, pp. 311-316), and one would think that he would have adapted to his new home

with little or no difficulty. But while Evanstonians were Methodist, they were English-speaking members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The distinction was indeed a major one.

As we have seen previously, Sauer was raised as a Methodist, but as a German-Methodist (Douglas, 1939). His family was German, his hometown was German, his *alma mater* was (at the very least!) bilingual, and most of the C.W.C. instructors had had a thorough German education. Sauer himself had also spent three years as a student in southern Germany and was consequently familiar with German culture on a first-hand basis. Hence, when he returned from Germany he had no trouble adjusting to Warrenton: there was little to adjust to. But the switch to Evanston produced an entirely different set of circumstances. Heavily steeped in a world view markedly distinct from the situation he discovered at Northwestern, he found little comfort in his new environment. It was already becoming evident that his Germanic background would prove to be of continuing consequence.

The Germans have traditionally been known for having a good time socially, Methodists or otherwise. In the history of the American West, the stories are legion about the conflicts between the Germans and the non-Germans over the issue of a joyous Sabbath. Time and time again one reads

about the infamous Germans and their sense of *Gemütlichkeit*, their good-natured, easy-goingness. They were a lively people who enjoyed an occasional drink, and they never questioned the appropriateness of a healthy and festive celebration. In short, they enjoyed themselves. Douglas has captured this German-American spirit:

> The Germans...were a gregarious people. They were never quite as happy and their social organization was never quite complete until they had associated themselves into *Vereine* [societies]....Wherever he went the German founded societies for social, philanthropic, religious, and cultural purposes.
>
> One of the numerous German characteristics not completely understandable to the more staid elements of the community was their different, fun-loving approach to living which was not in the tradition of the settlers from the [American] East. At the end of the day's work the Germans relaxed in pleasure. Their behaviour furnished a contrast to the busy American who took his pleasure seriously. They sang; they drank (Douglas, 1939, pp. 4-6; also see Hawgood, 1970, pp. 34-37; Faust, 1969, vol. 2, pp. 378-386; O'Connor, 1968, pp. 288f; Flynt, 1896).

In one sense, German-Methodism can be seen as the essential and predictable outcome of the Germanic *Weltanschauung* when combined with the religious convictions of a Methodist approach to salvation. The English-speaking Methodists were conservative and reserved; the German-speaking Methodists were "fun-loving" and full of life. In other words, it was virtually impossible to be simultaneously German and Methodist unless the Germans were allowed to form their own church and thereby practice their

own variant of Methodism (see Schneider, 1939, especially pp. 465-466).

The point has been made, and it clearly describes the situation in Evanston and Sauer's response to this particular social climate. A German-American like Carl Sauer simply would not have felt comfortable in this "foreign" environment. He had been used to a more spirited social climate in Warrenton, and that is probably why he would write home (in that same first letter cited above) that "Socially nothing doing [here in Evanston] except Saturdays and Sundays. I have always spent either or both in Chicago" (C.O. Sauer to L.L. Schowengerdt, November 11, 1908).[3] A Methodist and a German-Methodist make strange bedfellows, and one can immediately envision Sauer's reaction to the subdued, prim and proper environment he encountered in Evanston.

A second reason for Sauer's uneasiness and frustration in Evanston was due to his sudden realization that perhaps geology was not his forte. When he graduated from his now-defunct Missouri *alma mater* his aim was to matriculate at Northwestern as a petrography student (Leighly, 1976, p. 337). Unfortunately, the record is unclear regarding what Sauer planned to do with a petrography degree. Since he was so fascinated with the geological reports he had read at C.W.C. (Chapter Four), it is feasible

that he was interested in conducting survey work for the government. Likewise, since his father was a college professor, and given that Sauer himself had teaching experience at Central Wesleyan, it is of course possible that he considered a career as an instructor of geology. He certainly had great admiration for his former geology instructor, Professor John H. Frick (Chapter Five; Kenzer, 1985d), and Frick may indeed have been partially responsible for steering Sauer to Northwestern. Moreover, the then-head of the N.U. Geology Department, Ulyssess Sherman Grant (1867-1932), was a petrographer of national repute and, given Sauer's venue in Missouri, Northwestern would appear to have been a natural and admittedly good choice to seek out a degree in petrology. Sauer worked under Grant while in Evanston, and the two men remained friends for many years.[4] Whatever the origin of Sauer's motivation to attend Northwestern, he enrolled with the intent of becoming a petrologist.[5]

But almost immediately Sauer's interests changed, and his dedication to petrography diminished. In a letter written to Frick within a month of Sauer's arrival in Evanston, Sauer details his then-current coursework. He explains that he was taking physiography, assaying, chemistry, mineralogy, and petrography with Professor Grant (Kenzer, 1985d; Central Wesleyan Star, 1908c). At the close

of the letter he makes a most revealing comment: "I wish you could teach a full year of geology at C.W.C. *also make physical geography a freshman or sophmore study of a full year and put them through it hard*" (emphasis added). Sauer enrolled at Northwestern as a geology student and yet, within the first month of his studies, he was writing home convinced of the value of physical geography. Why would a student whose "chief study" was petrography, find such immediate interest in geography? The answer lies, I believe, in Sauer's already growing recognition of his relative isolation in a career devoted to petrographic research. Petrography was preoccupied with the local, immediate, descriptive conditions of rocks and minerals. There was little or no desire to understand their importance from a wider perspective (Loewinson-Lessing, 1954, pp. 27-32). Geography, on the other hand, forced one out of the laboratory and in to a dynamic natural environment. In contrast to petrography, a geographic study was field-oriented, where both one's research *and* analysis focused not on minerals or crystals, but on the landscape and the larger picture--the surface of the earth. As Sauer recounted years later of this rising awareness:

> I worked at petrography for a year and I learned that you did not look at the country or the beds of the rock, you looked in thin sections. They were interesting, they made very interesting patterns when you turned the stage. I knew well before the year was advanced that if that was geology that was

not my dish (Dow, 1983, p. 8).

This concern for the large picture was of course something important to Sauer. Rarely one to dwell on detail, he was forever concerned with synthesis and the whole (e.g., Sauer, 1941a).

Though he may not have realized it at the time, petrography's lack of concern for man was also a probable factor in Sauer's leaning toward geography. This neglect of the human component undoubtedly contributed to his decision to terminate his work in the Chemistry Department after his first term at Northwestern. In a letter written less than two months after the one sent to Professor Frick, Sauer explains to his brother and sister-in-law that "I like my work first rate, all but Chemistry. Well, I'm going to quit that and take up topographic mapping the second semester, and then I'll be satisfied" (C.O. Sauer to Brother and Sister-in-law, December 16, 1908). In sum, he was getting bored with geology. As he explained to his future wife, "School work is getting rather monotonous, and I'll be glad to try my hand at something else next year" (C.O. Sauer to L.L. Schowengerdt, January 30, 1909). Like geography, topographic mapping allowed Sauer to examine the world not through a microscope, but from a panoramic perspective. Petrography and chemistry would consequently fall by the wayside as they were both too concerned with analysis and

minutia. Moreover, petrography was completely devoid of human action; geography allowed Sauer not only to focus broadly, but to accommodate his interest in the broader picture *and* living things.

As an independent discipline, geography did not exist at Northwestern until 1945 (Kenzer, 1983). In Sauer's era, the university offered only two semester-length courses in geography and both were supplementary to a degree in geology.[6] Thus, given Sauer's interest in and growing awareness of the big picture, it was only logical that he look elsewhere. One of his more astute instructors suggested that Sauer drop geology and consider working with Rollin D. Salisbury (1858-1922) in the oldest graduate department of geography in North America (see Dow, 1983, p. 8)--The University of Chicago (Pattison, 1981; James and Martin, 1981, pp. 310-315). When the school year was over, Sauer acted on his confidant's advice and made the momentous decision to move across town and become a student of human geography at Chicago.

Chicago and Geography

Sauer's affiliation with the University of Chicago turned out to be about as satisfying as his relationship with Northwestern had been. It was clear from the very beginning (of his residence in Chicago proper) that his heart was just not in academia, and that he longed to return to his native

haunts. In October of 1909, a mere three days after he had left Warrenton (at the end of the summer break), he would write to his future wife in a soon-to-become-typical mood of melancholy. He wrote home on C.W.C. stationary and exclaimed in the letter that the "W" in the letterhead "stands for work right now, and for Warrenton--sometime in the remote future". His thoughts were not on his studies however, but instead on his confortable hometown and on the memories of more care-free times. He had made an important decision to leave Northwestern (and petrography) and to enroll at Chicago (as a geography student). One might expect that he would have been excited about the move and eager to test the waters of his new-found discipline. But the move had become a matter of introspection, and Sauer's restlessness indicates that "second thoughts" were perhaps in order:

> It is always hard for me to become satisfied in a new place....And so these days I have thought mostly about my future, and thereby made matters worse. For this is the big thing which I must confront now....Some men never decide what they want to do, they take up some line of work temporarily, and some day they are going to decide. Before that day comes, they are old, and unfit for the harness. I wish to avoid this. Most of us are so nearly equally gifted, that success is merely a matter of good health and enthusiasm. And you can't put the proper enthusiasm into your work, unless you are satisfied the work is what you want,--which is where I'm "up in the air". Most people think I am up here in preparation for my chosen work,--I wish I knew (C.O. Sauer to L.L. Schowengerdt, October 3, 1909).

A few lines later, he begins to recall his experiences in

Warrenton, when working for the school newspaper, and his editorial position on the *Pulse* (Chapter Four). His remarks bespeak his uneasiness with the situation at hand, despite having transferred to Chicago: "The call of the country editor is strong upon me again, the very smell of the printing office lures me". Fighting with his emotions, Sauer continues the pensive letter:

> But enough of this: I'm going to have hard work this year, which will be excellent discipline, and I will learn in many other ways, and next year even if they again offer me a fellowship, which most likely they won't, I'll stay out of school and try to arrive at a decision (C.O. Sauer to L.L. Schowengerdt, October 3, 1909).

Later in this same letter, however, he once again wanders away from the immediate task of completing a graduate degree and intimates to his close friend that "I admire the life of a country editor, and I think in him is the potentiality of doing much good, more so than in most other vocations".[7]

That first letter was not a rare occurrence. Sauer's letters home, almost without exception, tell of his desire to quit school, to move in to the publishing field (or, at the very least, out of academia), and to recapture the sense of security he left behind in Warrenton. Later that same month, for instance, he would tell Lorena:

> I am going down-town and read some reference-material on Missouri, to which I am devoting a good share of my attention; And [sic] the more I read the more I'll wish I were back down

there.

He found Chicago a definite improvement over Evanston:

> ...it's not half bad up here; I come the nearest to liking this place of any at which I've ever been away from Warrenton.

But, under no foreseeable situation would he continue his degree after that initial year at Chicago:

> He [Professor Rollin D. Salisbury, Sauer's graduate advisor at Chicago] and Prof. Barrows [Harlan H. Barrows (1877-1954), another instructor in the Chicago Geography Department and a member of Sauer's dissertation committee (see Chapter Two)] have already laid plans for me for my Ph.D. I wonder what they'd say if I told them there wasn't going to be any Ph.D. for me....I don't want to be a learned man right now, maybe later I'll get the call, as they say of the ministers, to the schoolroom and the book-shelves (C.O. Sauer to L.L. Schowengerdt, October 22, 1909).

In the spring semester Sauer's attitude had not yet changed. He was still bent on leaving university after the school year was over, and he continued to look toward publishing as a future field of employment. Eventually he discussed the matter with Salisbury, and afterwards he wrote to his parents:

> Sal [sic] says that I should continue my studies and later teach in a college. If I drop out now, I will have to teach in a high school and that would be a waste of time. Barrows [also] agreed that I should continue--to stay another year--and that they would get me a tutoring job if I need the money (C.O. Sauer to Parents, February 18, 1910).

The talk with his supervisor was obviously helpful, and he wrote and mentioned to Lorena that "...it looks as if my address next year would be Chicago....He [Salisbury] didn't

take at all kindly to the idea [of my quitting], and so I shall *probably* be back in the fold for another year". But whereas Sauer was still uncertain about his career plans, he was completely convinced that a second year at Chicago would be his last: "Any-way, if I am back here next year, it means my last year at school. I've been on the same road a long, long time, and I shall certainly be glad when the turn comes" (emphasis added) (C.O. Sauer to L.L. Schowengerdt, February 16, 1910).

Sauer decided to stay at Chicago that second year, the renewal of his fellowship being one probable reason (C.O. Sauer to L.L. Schowengerdt, April 21, 1910). In reality, he had no other options, unless he could return to Warrenton and perhaps teach at C.W.C. But Central Weslevan's enrollment was fairly stable and, if he was unable to secure a position with the local newspaper, it would seem as though there was no place for him back home.

A second (and undeniably more important) reason for Sauer's decision to remain at Chicago was the opportunity Salisbury offered him to do geological fieldwork during he summer of 1910. The Illinois Geological Survey was trying to finish the mapping of the Illinois Valley. Most of it had been completed, but one major portion, the upper third of the Valley, still remained. Salisbury (who was in charge of the project) approached Sauer about the possibility, asking

whether he might wish to undertake this 125-mile section of the survey. He sensed that Sauer's enthusiasm for school was still quite lax, and he hoped to instill a greater interest in him via geological fieldwork (C.O. Sauer to L.L. Schowengerdt, April 28, 1910). When the survey was complete, it would necessitate a written report, and Salisbury knew of Sauer's strong penchant for writing. With trepidation Sauer accepted the challenge.

The work proved highly beneficial, both to Sauer's school work and to his interest in academic pursuits. Dropping him in the middle of the Upper Illinois Valley to chart the local geology helped raise his level of self-confidence. It also forced him, while alone in the countryside, to reflect on his present and future plans. His letters home during this period are both pensive and introspective. He enjoyed being free from the classroom, but he never relinquished his thoughts about editorial work:

> I...am going back [to university] just long enough to write out my report, which may be Christmas, may be Easter, may be June. Then I'm going to tell Prof. Salisbury that I'm going to give geology a six month's rest and try some newspaper office. If I can break myself of the notion of newspaper work, it will be six months well invested, if not I'll have something to stick to....I've had the call to journalism ever since I could write, and I want to find out if it's a false alarm (C.O. Sauer to L.L. Schowengerdt, July 24, 1910).

After numerous delays, his summer fieldwork was published as *Geography of the Upper Illinois Valley and History of*

Development (Sauer, 1916a). Sauer's peculiar research interests led him astray from the more traditional format of a geologic survey, resulting in what might more properly be termed a natural history study, thus accounting for the somewhat odd title of his "geological" monograph. Examining his correspondence from the field, we can note that he was relatively conscious of this fact from the beginning. He was a geographer, not a geologist:

> Native-study is one of my sidelines. I'm out [working] in man-forsaken places most of the time, and am learning lots about out-of-doors: more it seems to me about things above the surface [viz., geography], than about things beneath [viz., geology] (C.O. Sauer to L.L. Schowengerdt, July 10, 1910).

Letters written to his parents during the summer of 1910 suggest that Sauer was fed up with the survey report long, long before he ever completed the fieldwork portion of it. When he returned to Chicago he declined an offer by Salisbury to teach a course in the Geography Department. He was once again searching for an alternative to an academic future--something more "practical"--again ruminating on the perceived virtues of publishing:

> I've been thinking a lot about my future. I think I've come to a conclusion. I'm going to give up geology and become a journalist....I'm sure all my relatives want me to become a scholar. I have decided not to, but not because I'm not gifted enough. On my newfound path things look good. After this report is finished, I'll get a few classes to teach, as Salisbury has promised. Then it's a small step to an instructorship. In ten years I'll be getting $2,500. But, much further I will not get.

> That would be okay; life would be okay. But it's not what I want. It's not a matter of geology or geography--I'm very satisfied with them. It's a question of the academic versus the practical....I'll look for a job with a newspaper in a small town (10-50,000 people). I feel better now that I've come to this decision--better than I've felt in a long time (C.O. Sauer to Parents, July 24, 1910).

He finished the necessary reconnaissance, returned to Chicago, and began to piece together his research findings.

Shortly after New Years, 1911, a new twist was added to Sauer's plans: a proposal that he work for the Municipal Art League the following summer. The League was a civic organization wih strong interests in cleaning up Chicago and the related task of adorning the city with works of art (see Millard, 1921). This was definitely attractive to Sauer, as it could possibly lead to something more in keeping with his editorial interests. Of greater importance, however, it was the doorway that might open into the "practical" career he believed he was suited for. It required little time for him to think the matter over before accepting:

> I've had a tentative offer of work for the summer....Last night Goode [Professor J. Paul Goode (1862-1932), another member of the Geography Department at Chicago] came around to me with a deal which I accepted. The various museums, institutes, and schools of Chicago are joining to get out a hand-book--a sort of guide to all the cultural institutions of the city. Arrangemnets aren't quite complete, but I'll probably be managing editor of the enterprise....It seems to pay me better to stay at school than to work for a living, but work I must after June (C.O. Sauer to L.L. Schowengerdt, January 26, 1911).

As mentioned above, the position lasted for approximately five months, but before it had ended Sauer was disappointed that he was no closer to becoming a newspaper editor than before he accepted the summer job. However, he did produce something that he was proud of while employed with the League (Sauer, 1911), even though the thin brochure fails to mention him by name. Once the small "hand-book" was complete, he stayed on a while with the League, carrying out investigative work on various topics under the title of "assistant secretary".

Professor Goode, who had secured the Art League job for Sauer, told him next of a possible editorial position opening up at Rand McNally. Goode did cartographic work for the map firm and was one of their senior employees. His sudden interest in Sauer is somewhat of a mystery however, as the two men had seemingly little contact until that time. Sauer was interviewed for the position, was accepted as an employee shortly thereafter, and began work on July 1, 1912. It was important that he land a permanent, full-time job: He had recently proposed to Lorena, and her parents were unwilling to let the two get married until Sauer had a "real" position, something with a future.

Sauer's first day at Rand McNally passed pleasantly. He wrote home to Lorena explaining his duties and prospects; his tone was optimistic, and his expectations were obviously

high. He seemed happy for the first time in many months:

> I've worked a whole day on *our* job....Mr Newkirk [his boss at Rand McNally] said he was going to start me off in the editorial office and then later let me get experience in other departments so that I get an all round [sic] business knowledge. They must take some interest in me, because I know some college men who have worked in this editorial office for years, and never have had a chance at anything else or have anyone to look after them. Miss Hammitt [Sauer's immediate supervisor] assigned me to a temporary desk, and put me at work right away, and the day passed in a jiffy....There are seventeen in the editorial office--most of them women. Several of the young men came around and introduced themselves and everyone was just lovely (emphasis in original) (C.O. Sauer to L.L. Schowengerdt, July 1, 1912).

In the remaining sixteen months that Sauer worked for the map and textbook firm, that first letter would be practically his only cheerful piece of correspondence home. The position turned into a literal nightmare for Sauer. He too would become one of the "college men" who never made it beyond the editorial room. The only satisfaction he achieved while employed there was his weekly paycheck, but even that seemed insignificant after a time. A short twenty-two days after he had started his new job he would write to Lorena:

> There's no excitement in this work at all, except in looking forward to pay-day, which comes to-morrow. I'll have to learn a great deal of patience, I expect.

In lieu of admitting that he was unhappy, determined to make good in a publishing house, Sauer instead rationalized the miserable conditions at Rand McNally:

> That's why I am glad in a way for this sort of

> work; it's self-discipline, and I need to school myself in doing unpleasant tasks pleasantly (C.O. Sauer to L.L. Schowengerdt, July 23 (night), 1912).

The real troubles at Rand McNally were yet to come for Sauer. He would shortly find himself in one of the most thoroughly agonizing periods of his life. Miss Hammitt (the Editor-in-Chief) and Sauer never got along very well at all. The two of them were apparently strong-willed individuals and both had personalities incompatible with one another. From the outset Sauer's letters home tell of his increasing frustration with the woman and, by extension, his position with the company. His complaints about his superior began on the last day of his initial month with the firm:

> I had a quarrel with Miss Hammitt to-day....She's a peculiar little woman, not a bit approachable, nor does any one about the office feel that she takes a personal interest in their work (C.O. Sauer to L.L. Schowengerdt, July 31, 1912).

Day by day the hostility continued to grow between them. The very next day Sauer would further reveal his feelings and impressions of Miss Hammitt and explain that his anguish was not confined to this one woman alone:

> She's the most unsympathetic person, and I can't warm up to her at all. Her assistant, Miss Tibbits, positively gives me the creeps. She sits all day with a sneer on her face, and watches everybody around the office like a hawk, and if someone makes a slip she pounces on them with unholy joy....Previously at school or in work I have always worked under people to whom I have looked up [to] with warmth and enthusiasm....But I'll confess that I can't look upon my present superior with even a shade of that feeling. I don't believe she appreciates anything (C.O. Sauer to L.L.

Schowengerdt, August 1, 1912).

As time moved on Sauer came to loathe his now meaningless editorial position. His relationship with Miss Hammitt evolved into an outright hatred of the woman, and the tension in the office soon reached a frantic level:

> Yesterday I had a row with Miss Hammitt and to-day another....I had been thinking some of getting myself transferred to Mr. Newkirk's department, but now I'm going to stay and fight, and if Miss Hammitt tries to get rid of me, I'll air the situation. I haven't the nagging persistency of those women, but if they want trouble, they'll get it....I never saw such an outrageous situation....I'm not in the least bit worried, but I'm beginning to get mad (C.O. Sauer to L.L. Schowengerdt, August 22, 1912).

To his parents he would also confide that the situation was most unsavory and that he was considering putting some distance between himself and his superior:

> I had some difficulties with Miss Hammitt again this week. My former ideas about her have only been strengthened. I found out this week that more than once she has pushed young men out of the office who showed some talent in their work....if things get too bad, I will "take to the road" for a while as a textbook agent....There are so many things that I can only tell you in person. The conditions in our office are simply without limit (C.O. Sauer to Parents, August 25, 1912).

By late-November Sauer's frustration with the map company was pronounced. He was not only on less-than-cordial terms with Miss Hammitt, but he was now fed up with the firm altogether. In particular, he was upset with Mr. Newkirk who had hired him and who had regularly promised him a promotion and more challenging work. The day before Thanksgiving Sauer

wrote to Lorena and explained his circumstances in great detail. From the following lengthy passage we can assess not only his disappointment with his current situation, but also his realization that his present path in life was seemingly headed in the wrong direction:

> Dear, I've been in agony all week, and it's gotten so bad to-day that I don't know what to do....I've had all the experience in map-work any person can need. I know the Rand McNally maps backwards and frontwards, so that I don't relish doing much more of that. Also, you know the unprogressive character of the office. To-day I met Mr. Newkirk....I saw my opportunity and told him that I had been thinking about his sending me out on the road occasionally, and that after all that was very indefinite and that I felt that I needed more than merely occasional experience, rather a good, comprehensive experience in field-work. I told him too that I had been tied down to map-work, and saw little else than that in sight in the office....The point of it all was, he didn't want to speak to me about the road-work, and tried to jolly me into believing that my present job was all-right....All the glittering promises he made before I started work, about being willing to put me in any department, or letting me go on the road: where are they?...I want to stay with the [publishing] house, but I can't afford to stay at this sort of work much longer. I'm not growing at that job I'm just being exploited.

Sauer adhered for sixteen long, hair-pulling months. He had no other options; he needed desperately to enter and to begin a career in the publishing field. Tired of school, he had already decided to drop out of university (though he continued to foster his contacts with the Geography Department at Chicago). More importantly, however, was the fact that he was under pressure to maintain a full-time job

if he wished to marry Lorena.

By October of 1913, after having been duly promised everything under the sun at Rand McNally, Sauer still had not achieved any sort of noteworthy promotion. When a minor raise had finally been approved, it took the company months to give the extra money to the young editor. His tolerance was understandably wearing thin, and he was on the verge of resigning:

> I think I have had less enthusiasm for my work this week than ever before. I shall probably be horribly cross from now on until I know what Mr. N[ewkirk] is going to do with me. My patience is clear absolutely gone and I'm liable to get myself fired if nothing happens pretty soon....I've been anxious to have a real talk with him for some time and still I've sort of dreaded it as I have been somewhat ill-natured and I don't want to appear as though I was airing a grudge (C.O. Sauer to L.L. Schowengerdt, October 8, 1913).

Meanwhile, in early-November, a letter from the State Normal School in Salem, Massachusetts would arrive at the Rand McNally office addressed to a "Mr. Paul". The letter would read:

> We are in need of an assistant instructor in geography for the remainder of the year at an annual salary of about two thousand dollars. Professor Barrows recommends you and thinks you may be interested in the position (J.A. Pitman to Mr. Paul, October 30, 1913).

Two weeks later a second letter would arrive for Mr. Paul when no reply was made to the first (J.A. Pitman to Mr. Paul, November 10, 1913). On November 19, Sauer would receive copies of the two letters accompanied by a third letter, this

time addressed properly to "Mr. Carl Sauer":

> I am enclosing copies of letters which, because I was not given your name correctly, have failed to reach you. I shall be very glad to hear from you at an early date (J.A. Pitman to C.O. Sauer, November 17, 1913).

Sauer was greatly enthused at the prospect of leaving Rand McNally, but he was uncertain about teaching and reentering a university milieu. He immediately discussed the prospect with his friends in the Geography Department at Chicago (C.O. Sauer to L.L. Schowengerdt, November 19, 1913) and was seemingly "hooked" at once:

> The more I think about the eastern job, the more I feel that I'm going to fall before the temptation if it comes my way.

When compared to Rand McNally, all the horrible things he had said and thought about an academic career began to look appealing at that moment. Only one day after receiving the news he would write Lorena:

> In the first place $2000 is a lot of money, more than I'd make in a long, long time at any thing else. Then there are the nice long vacations in which one can do as one pleases. Then there would be the chance for me to do some writing, and that inclination has grown upon me greatly in the last year or two. I think it would be fine if we would live in the East [sic] for a while....Salem is a town on the sea, 15 miles from Boston. There is lots of wonderful country around. Gloucester is just a few miles, the New Hampshire line is only 20 miles distant. Cape Cod is less than 60 miles off...Portland, Me. only 80! 20 miles farther and you would be in the White Mts. or in Vermont. Think of all the excursions we could take in a week-end! I'd better quit writing about it or I'll disappoint myself if the job doesn't come through (C.O. Sauer to L.L. Schowengerdt, November 20, 1913).

It was clear that Sauer was excited and ready for a change. He recognized that an opportunity to leave the frustration at Rand McNally was a blessing too good to pass up. He accepted the lucrative offer, married Lorena on December 30, and left for their honeymoon in Salem the same day (Warrenton Banner, 1914).

A Semesters' Respite in Salem

Only a few facts need to be recollected here concerning the time Sauer spent in Massachusetts. Intellectually there is litle one can say about this period. Salem Normal School was predominantly a women's college, though it seems to have been of fairly high standards (Catalogue, 1913-1914). Sauer was given seven courses to teach--four were repeat sections of the same course--for a total of sixteen and one-half hours a week (C.O. Sauer to Parents, January 4, 1914; cf. Riess, 1976). He enjoyed the position, as the students (*all* of them females!) were apparently bright and full of questions. The one drawback he remarked upon was a poorly-stocked library (C.O. Sauer to Parents, January 11, 1914).

As Sauer noted before he left Chicago, the position allowed the two newlyweds to take excursions throughout the region. It also permitted Sauer to experience an unfamiliar landscape that reminded him of his days in southern Germany. His letters home from Salem are full of long passages

describing the local topography, frequently referring to the "foreignness" of the area, commenting as well on the people and New England culture. In fact, many of his letters reveal that he was still comparing his present surroundings with Warrenton (and to a lesser extent, to his school days in Calw):

> This afternoon we took a hike to Marblehead, about 4 miles away, which is a curious little town with dreadfully crooked streets. The town is situated on a peninsula in the sea. The trip there was also very interesting. Compared to those farms, Warren County is a paradise for farmers. Everywhere rocks are sticking out of the ground and the fences are stone walls made of the gathered rocks from the fields. On the pastures you see more rock than soil. The soil is all yellow and everything looks decrepit. The area is even poorer than the Black Forest (C.O. Sauer to Parents, January 11, 1914).

And a few months later:

> I know that Papa would like it here. So much would remind him of the old world: winding streets, old houses built directly onto the street, and old cemeteries in the midst of the town, often surrounding an old, white Congregational Church. And on top of that there are now the huge, old chestnut trees which you find everywhere around here, and which are covered with their white candles. It does not surprise me that this is called New England (C.O. Sauer to Parents, May 24, 1914).

The most important points to keep in mind concerning Sauer's short stay in Salem is that it provided him with a break from the toil of Rand McNally, some needed distance from the unpleasantness of Chicago, the University, and his work, and the time to think over his career plans and reevaluate what he might now do with his life. His initial

encounter with a publishing firm was far from encouraging. Moreover he suddenly found himself married, in a strange and mysterious environment, and with no clear picture of his future once the temporary position at Salem Normal came to and end. Three related events helped Sauer make a decision about his post-Salem career.

In February he received a short note from Professor Salisbury asking whether he would like to return to the University of Chicago when the semester at Salem came to a close. Accompanying the note was an application for a fellowship (R.D. Salisbury to C.O. Sauer, February 11, 1914). Sauer wrote home noting that he did not feel he could accept a fellowship, but he wished to think it over seriously and perhaps return to Chicago and take a few courses (C.O. Sauer to Parents, February 15, 1914).

In March Sauer received a letter from Cyrus C. Adams (1848-1929), the then-editor of the *Bulletin* of the American Geographical Society (A.G.S.), inquiring whether he would agree to review books for the *Bulletin* for pay. This of course interested Sauer immensely, as it was another door into the publishing industry. He accepted the offer realizing that this was also a way for his name to become known by the readers of the journal (obviously considering Salisbury's offer to return to graduate school) (C.O. Sauer to Parents, February 22, 1914).

The third event of this period that helped influence Sauer's career plans was an offer from William Hobbs to come to Ann Arbor and teach summer school. Sauer was asked if he would teach two courses that summer and conduct several field excursions for $400 for an eight-week period. Hobbs promised him an assistant and Sauer accepted at once (C.O. Sauer to Parents, March 15, 1914). In comparison to his hefty teaching load at Salem, the position in Michigan must have seemed like easy money for eight short weeks. Hobbs immediately confirmed Sauer's acceptance and added "I am hoping that you may be in attendance at the first joint meeting of the American Geographical Society and the Association of American Geographers in New York April 3rd. and 4th, in which case I could make your acquaintance and talk over the matter with you" (W.H. Hobbs to C.O. Sauer, March 16, 1914). Sauer of course went to New York.

Consciously and unconsciously, Sauer was moving back into the academic world he had run away from earlier. His experiences at Salem were refreshing and a welcome escape from his trying editorial work. It was also obvious that, behind the scenes, those who knew him well at the University of Chicago were pulling strings and pushing him to return to finish his degree. The offers to review books for the A.G.S. and to teach at Ann Arbor did not arise by chance. Just as Salisbury would coax Sauer back to Chicago with a fellowship

offer, and just as Barrows had quietly found Sauer the position at Salem (S.W. Cushing to C.O. Sauer, December 4, 1913), it was evident that those who knew him recognized his potential and tried (and finally succeeded) to get Sauer to finish his Ph.D. degree in geography. When the summer session in Michigan had ended, Sauer headed straight for the Missouri Ozarks where he did some quick but thorough field reconnaissance. He then returned to the University of Chicago in the fall of 1914 and resumed his studies. He completed his classes, hastily wrote his doctoral thesis (Sauer, 1920b), and was called back to Ann Arbor as a permanent, full-time geography instructor.

Seven Long, Suppressed Years in Michigan

The last-minute details surrounding Sauer's dissertation, the extreme pressure he was under during those final days in Chicago, the oral and written exams he took the very day before he would depart for Ann Arbor, and all the general confusion of the period surely must have had a marked effect on Sauer. He was literally exhausted--"I'm not properly jubilant yet, but when I get a little of my energy back, I will be"--too exhausted in fact to write to his parents and tell then that he had passed:

> I didn't get time to write to the folks on Sunday, and they know nothing of the result [of his exams]. Papa may be worrying, and besides I want them to know right away. Only I haven't energy enough to write a second letter. So will you please tell them?

More importantly, however, he was *done*, and at last he could express his anger and vent his deep frustratuion with regards to the entire academic experience:

> Well, I'm still in a semi-comatose condition but it's all over. I'm at the end of a long, hard road and now we've come to the turning.

He goes on to describe the exam itself and then adds:

> At any rate, it's off my chest....I still don't realize that I will never have to sit on the school-bench again, that no one will ever quiz me any more, that I've come as far as the academic line runs (C.O. Sauer to L.L. Schowengerdt, December 14, 1915).

A huge burden had been lifted from Sauer's shoulders, and it is clear from his correspondence that he thought it would be all downhill and easy-sailing from then on. Unfortunately, he could not have been more mistaken. The next seven and one-half years in Ann Arbor would prove to be as bad as, if not worse than, the previous seven in Evanston and Chicago had been for "Professor Sauer".

Seven and one-half years is a long period of time. A great deal can happen to an individual over the course of ninety months. A person can accumulate a substantial body of achievements, and intellectually he or she could make numerous important contacts and subsequently make many noteworthy discoveries. Sauer's tenure at the University of Michigan proved to be no exception. As mentioned earlier, he was quite productive during this period, and he became a semi-popular figure within certain circles. He had achieved

the rank of full professor during those ninety months, he had begun to publish on a variety of topics (Sauer, 1916a; Sauer, 1916b; Sauer, 1917; Sauer, 1918a; Sauer, 1918b; Sauer, 1918c; Sauer, 1919a; Sauer, 1919b; Sauer, 1920a; Sauer, 1920b; Sauer, 1921b; Sauer, 1922), and his work in the northern portion of Michigan led to the establishment, with P.S. Lovejoy, of the Michigan Land Economic Survey (see Titus, 1929).[8] One might ask, therefore, why he fled Ann Arbor so readily when the position at Berkeley presented itself.

A close examination of the Ann Arbor milieu reveals one overriding negative factor: William H. Hobbs, the Chairman of Sauer's department. Hobbs was a colorful character. So colorful, in fact, that during the first world war his skin glowed a deep red, white, and blue, and he became a vocal, outspoken critic of Germany and "unpatriotic" Americans, especially German-Americans. Together with his colleague in the Michigan History Department, Claude H. Van Tyne (1869-1930), the respective chairmen waged an all-out, two-man campaign against everyone pro-German or those not openly patriotic.[9] Suspicious pacifists like Sauer (see Hewes, 1983, pp. 144-145) were fair game. In the next several pages we plan to paint a brief portrait of Hobbs, in particular his anti-German stance during and after World War I. We do so not to detract from Sauer's intellectual

development, but rather to juxtapose the two men. The aim here is to expose Hobbs's character, allowing the reader to judge Sauer's probable reaction to this man who was Sauer's Chairman for more than seven years.

During and following the War, Hobbs was involved with many patriotic, anti-German associations. He was the Chairman of the Michigan Section of the Bureau of Patriotism through Education, a regular speaker for the National Security League, the Chairman of the Ann Arbor Branch of the League, a member of the Inquiry (a special body preparing "material for use of the American members of the Peace Commission at Versailles"), and the author of numerous pro-American, propagandist articles and books (see, especially, Hobbs, 1952). Scattered throughout the University of Michigan archives are countless testimonials to Hobbs's bitter condemnation of the Germans during this period.

His private campaign of hatred seems to have begun around 1915. In November of that year he would remark that "As a scientific man it has been my custom to go to the bottom of things, if that it is possible [sic], and that is now my desire in reference to national defense.[10] Five days later Hobbs would write to the president of the University, noting:

> My attention was called by a student to the fact that Professor Dieterle of the German Department

> the matter to the attention of the Regents, that he should be told that he must exercise more care.[13]

The subsequent talk with Hobbs[14] apparently had little effect on him. If anything, he became more outspoken. In 1916 he began a massive letter-writing campaign aimed at the federal administration and its foreign policy. In February, for example, he wrote to a member of the U.S. Senate exclaiming:

> I am writing you to urge in the strongest possible terms...to use your influence with the President and with Congress....The German element in the population is apparently at the moment especially active to induce the Administration to surrender to Germany. It would be a most serious blow to the prestige of the nation if this were permitted.[15]

Similarly, in July of that same year he would write to a local politician and note:

> I have been informed that you are a candidate for Congressman in this District [sic], and am taking the liberty of writing you in the interest of the voters. The dominating issues before the country in the present political campaign are now well recognized to be Americanism and national defense....As an advocate of preparedness I am therefore asking you to furnish me with a statement of your position which you are willing to have published with the statements furnished by the other candidates.[16]

As the years rolled on, Hobbs became more aggravated wih the German situation. Early in 1917 he would write to President Hutchins:

> I am writing to urge the importance of releasing Professor Van Tyne for the important educational work of the Security League throughout the

> country....Personally I feel that our first duty today is to meet the danger of the lying German propaganda with a wide dissemination of facts by men whose training and station command respect and confidence.[17]

It is indeed probable that Hobbs and Sauer were at odds over the war issue for the duration of Sauer's tenure in Ann Arbor. Hobbs, like Sauer, was ostensibly able to divorce professional commitments from personal feelings, yet it is also clear that Hobbs *must* have been suspicious of a German-American pacifist like Sauer. That suspicion no doubt increased dramatically by early-1917. In February of that year Hobbs circulated a petition with faculty names on it, asking the respective faculty members to sign a copy of the statement which would then be sent to President Wilson. Of the thirty-nine original names on Hobbs's petition, all but eight professors signed the document, Sauer being one of those who chose not to sign.[18]

Later in the year Hobbs stepped up his anti-German warfare. He wrote first to a U.S. Attorney in Detroit, complaining of a local German-American newspaper and its editor:

> ...I am sending you herewith, as exhibits A, B and C...material to be used in proceedings against *Die Washtenaw Post*, a seditious German newspaper published in this city, edited and ostensibly owned by E.J. Helber.

Hobbs next goes on to describe the contents of the paper and the dubious (according to Hobbs) character of Mr. Helber,

noting at the end of the letter:

> ...I venture to hope that your offer to bring the matter together with this additional material to the attention of the Attorney-General, will result in the suppression of the paper and possible restriction of the activities of the editor.[19]

Taking no chances, however, Hobbs tried a second avenue of attack on the local newspaper and wrote to the Postmaster General direct:

> I am writing to call your attention to the notoriously seditious character of Die Washtenaw Post, published weekly by Eugene J. Helber at his office in this city, and distributed chiefly among the German-American farmers of Washtenaw County. The paper is said to have a circulation of some three thousand, and the subscribers as a rule read no other paper and hence secure all their information upon current issues through this one poisoned source....This community is in a state which would welcome action taken against the paper by the Federal Authorities [sic] to refuse permission to use the mails....I would say that I am ready to assist the Department in any way that they may see fit.[20]

A short time later the paper was shut down, but Hobbs still was not satisfied:

> I write to inquire whether permission could not be granted to have the list of subscribers to the suppressed newspaper obtained...in order that these deluded people may be reached and supplied with some correct information.

Hobbs's rationale for having the subscription list seized indicates his excessive obsession to rout out all pro-German sentiment:

> My visits to other communities in the state where there are likewise dense German agricultural population [sic], have convinced me that the

> element of disloyalty is largely limited to sections where a German-American newspaper has been circulated, and the case of Washtenaw County is notorious in this respect.[21]

One is tempted to continue this exposé of Hobbs indefinitely. The evidence is voluminous, and it makes fascinating reading. Yet while I believe the case has been made, it is equally as important to demonstrate briefly that his views persisted long after World War I had ended.

James Murfin, another member of the Board of Regents, would indicate by the War's end that:

> ...Hobbs is gradually getting under my skin. He is becoming, confidentially, an insufferable pest. The problem of how to shut him up without interfering with the man's constitutional liberty of free speech is perhaps not an easy one.[22]

It seemed as though there was no stopping Hobbs once he got started on something. In 1919 the Michigan Board of Regents even considered firing him for his continual activities,[23] yet the man never backed down.[24] As late as 1922, he was still pointing fingers and naming names, and he was yet complaining about local community and faculty members and their so-called propagandist lectures and discussions.[25]

One assumes that the point has now been made sufficiently why Sauer chose to flee Ann Arbor when the right opportunity presented itself. One wonders, in fact, how Sauer was able to endure under Hobbs as long as he did. While there is no extant evidence that the two men were in

open confrontation, it seems entirely logical and convincing that Sauer was intimidated if not fearful of his Chairman, though Sauer was sensible enough to reserve comment while an employee of the University.[26] As a German-American, it was undoubtedly to his advantage to say nothing. He was obviously aware of Hobbs's frame of mind and under a great deal of pressure not to say or write anything that could possibly glorify German geography, as he *was* ready to write in 1925. It was the wrong time and the wrong place for such things. But what *was* Sauer doing academically? Are there indications that he was at least considering the ideas he later published in the "morphology" essay? The remainder of this chapter will address this important issue.

Prelude to the "Morphology"

Except for the many references to German sources, there was little in the "morphology" that Sauer had not already published or considered elsewhere. Virtually all of the ideas were outlined in a paper that appeared in 1924 as "The Survey Method in Geography and its Objectives" (Sauer, 1924). Why this first paper failed to spark the change realized by the "morphology" is unclear. But, as Leighly commented following Sauer's death, "The position it [the "morphology"] exemplifies is essentially the same as the one he had taken in 'The Survey Method,' fortified by further reading and informed by the liberating concept of culture"

(Leighly, 1976, p. 340). It is also clear that Sauer was thinking along these lines prior to 1923 (the year he wrote 'The Survey Method' and the year he arrived in Berkeley). In 1920, for example, he presented a paper at the Chicago meeting of the A.A.G. entitled "Geography as Regional Economics" (Sauer, 1921a). Only the abstract of that paper survives, but in it Sauer demonstrates his early dissatisfaction with the discipline:

> There have been numerous discussions of the scope of geography, and especially there have been examinations of the periphery of the science. Much less attention has been given to the determination of particular objectives within the field of geography. Geography is suffering from a scattering of interests over too broad a field for the limited number of workers engaged in it.

He goes on to note how geography, as defined by his American colleagues, is incapable of analyzing conditions which are not typically regarded as geographic:

> ...the inquiry must not be limited to the evaluation of so-called geographic factors (Sauer 1921a).

In a letter written a short time after the meeting, Sauer explains exactly what the Chicago paper was about. Here we can see that the notions of culture and historical change were already part of his conceptual vocabulary, even though he did not yet use those specific words:

> With regard to my paper on Geography as Regional Economics. I presented this for the sake of discussion at the Chicago meeting, but the papers were crowding each other so fast that the principal purpose of presenting this subject was

> defeated....My main argument was that Geography is suffering from a confusion of purposes and I made a plea for a concentration of effort on something that lies central to the subject, has major significance, and may supply a definite focus. I also objected to the special pleading that is bound to come out of an interpretation of geography as the study of geographic influences. I proposed the study of areas in terms of their economic performance, with due emphasis on their opportunities, handicaps, and stage of development, *but without any partiality to the consideration of physical factors. We can develop a discipline for this type of work that will rid us of the odium of trying to make out a case for one set of influences* (emphasis added).

He also tells us in this letter that "I have a number of more urgent things pressing for publication, so I have put this thing aside for awhile, but shall take it up again at a later date" (C.O. Sauer to J.R. Smith, May 19, 1921).[27]

In the same year as the Chicago paper, 1920, Sauer evaluated two books for the *Geographical Review* (Sauer, 1920c).[28] The first was *Das Deutsche Reich* by Willi Ule, and the second was *Deutschland. dargestellt auf Grund eigener Beobachtung. der Karten und der Literatur* by Gustav Braun. Of Ule's book, Sauer said that it:

> ...is not an important contribution to geographic literature. It breaks no new ground....The author apparently subscribes to the idea that geography is concerned with the special distribution of things.

But of Braun's monograph, Sauer was much more optimistic:

> The author is primarily a morphologist in viewpoint, but he is enlarging this basis along geographic lines. He still feels constrained to say that the problem of the geographer culminates in the description of the land, but his idea of the land is becoming geographic rather than

> physiographic. For he adds that the individuality of the land may be determined by physical characteristics or it may be a cultural individuality....His actual objective becomes the study of the evolution of *Kulturlandschaft* out of *Naturlandschaft* by resolving the landscape of today into its components, be they natural or cultural. That is certainly a sufficiently clear and sound aim to merit approbation (Sauer, 1920c, p. 52).

This was precisely the form of geography Sauer articulated in the "morphology" (see Chapter Two). Indeed, it is obvious from the remainder of his review that Braun's study struck a chord of harmony in Sauer:

> The result is a distinct advance in methods of geographic inquiry. The whole treatment is clear and penetrating, pregnant with thought, not burdened with encyclopedic details. The author is at work constructing generalized images of regions as homes of men....There is also a clear recognition of the changing values of the environment with changes in historical conditions [see Sauer, 1919b]....The first section deals with the form of the natural landscape, the second with the modification of the landscape through its utilization by man, and the third with the present form of landscape (*Landschaftsbild*) for the various regions [see Chapter Two] (Sauer, 1920c, pp. 52-53).

This was the very approach expressed by Sauer in his 1925 address and in many subsequent empirical papers (see Chapter Two). But can we therefore say that his ideas were drawn from Braun's work? In a word, no.

It is evident that Sauer was already considering the pervasive impact of man in his work on the cut-over lands of Michigan. In particular, in 1919 he tells us:

> The true geographic map, although based on maps of

> the sorts mentioned [i.e., topography, soils, or vegetation], must attempt to set forth economic conditions. Certainly the aim of such a map must be *to represent the ways in which the people of the area make their living and the character of this living, in so far as these things can be confined within the inelastic frame of a map* (emphasis added) (Sauer 1919a, p. 47).

Sauer's recognition that different peoples use the same area in different ways was something he realized at least as early as 1918 when he wrote his paper on Niagara Falls (Sauer, 1919b). It is immediately clear from this early paper that he was already weighing the cultural against the physical and arguing in favor of the former. This is not too surprising. As noted in Chapter Three (Note Two), Sauer mentioned that he had been reading German academic geographers as early as his graduate school days when he was displeased with what was being taught at Chicago:

> My dissatisfaction with the environmentalist tenet came mainly from listening to Miss Semple and J. Paul Goode, both delightful persons, and hearing Barrows distinguish between geographic and non-geographic factors. That wasn't what I had come for to geography. In the years I worked in The Loop I read German geographers evenings who were doing what I wanted and when I came to Berkeley I put it together as the "Morphology of Landscape" (C.O. Sauer to W.W. Speth, March 3, 1972, S.P.).

But what, precisely, did Sauer mean when he said German geographers *"who were doing what I wanted"*? How did a neophyte of twenty or twenty-one know what he *wanted* from geography? and how could he be so sure of "*what [he] had come for to geography*"? What, in other words, was so

irritating about the type of geography he was being taught at Chicago and, conversely, what was so appealing about this German geography he was reading?

What Sauer probably meant by these statements was that the German way of approaching a problem was compatible with the world view he had thus far embraced. In short, the frame of reference he left Warrenton with, the outlook on the world, its mode of understanding, and a kindred interpretation that seemed so strikingly natural to him in his hometown environment, now again seemed "right" when reading German geographers. Put differently, German geography possessed elements similar to, if not identical with, the ideas and the *Weltanschauung* he adopted as a youngster. In contrast, the American version of geography (earth science) he was being fed in graduate school he found repulsive: it held such little interest for him that he was more than willing to throw it overboard for a career in journalism.

Sauer had left Warrenton intending to become a geologist, but exposure to North American geology at Northwestern had turned him toward geography: subsequent exposure to North American geography at Chicago almost turned him into a map editor. He departed Warrenton with a German world view, looking for an approach compatible with the Goethean conception of science he had internalized since

childhood. Salisbury, his graduate advisor, recognized Sauer's strong Germanic qualities at once and understood that he was truly a product of a German intellectual climate. In 1917, for instance, when he would write a letter of recommendation for his student, Salisbury would warn the prospective department:

> Sauer is by ancestry a German, as his name implies, and has the notions of scholarship which go with his ancestry. He is a solid, substantial man, with ideas of his own, tho not difficult to work with (R.D. Salisbury to R.S. Holway, March 10, 1917).[29]

If it had not been for the foresight of his instructors at Chicago, it is likely that, being the strong-willed person he was, Sauer would have remained outside of academia despite his father's continuous protests and pleadings. When he *did* finally return to the world of scholarship, particularly after he became established in his field, he naturally chose to readopt the viewpoint and methodology he felt most at ease with--a decidedly German "brand" of geography.

Background to the "Morphology": A Summary

The period 1908-1924 was one of frustration and disappointment for Sauer. After leaving Warrenton to attend graduate school at Northwestern he quickly realized that he had made a mistake--neither Evanston nor geology were to his liking. The following year he transferred to Chicago to become a geographer, yet his honest desire was to become a

"country editor". Thus he dropped out of the University of Chicago to pursue editorial work for the Municipal Art League and the Rand McNally Company. As we now know, neither job provided Sauer with the satisfaction he was looking for; the latter position produced one problem after another.

The semester in Salem was literally a honeymoon. It also gave Sauer time to think and to evaluate his career plans. The position he accepted at Ann Arbor, upon completing his Ph.D., was not, however, the fulfilment of his expectations. It is clear that Sauer would have left Michigan earlier had the right opportunity come along. He was approached by several universities, but Berkeley alone offered him a chairmanship and he accepted on that basis (see Macpherson, 1985).

The "Morphology of Landscape" (Sauer, 1925) was in no way something new in Sauer's thinking. To read the lengthy paper, one is impressed with the tight argumentation and careful, step-by-step reasoning he sets forth. The essay was something he needed to write to articulate his ideas at the time respecting the differences between geology and geography for a Berkeley audience (see Williams, 1983). Reviewing from Chapter Two, it was a very hastily-written paper and, as noted by those who knew him best, it was a terminal piece of writing for Sauer, not the beginning of a research frontier (Leighly, 1976, p. 340). It has been argued that throughout

this entire period Sauer's thoughts on geography changed slightly at best. It has been further argued that during these years Sauer had little time to think about geographic method, or to rework a conception of the discipline; he certainly lacked the motivation to express himself given the intellectual climate during and following World War I. He wisely waited until the time was ripe and the environment receptive before committing his ideas to paper. To see the "morphology" and the origin of the Berkeley School of Geography in any other light is to dismiss Sauer's pre-Berkeley intellectual heritage.

CHAPTER SIX NOTES

1 The details surrounding the decision to attend Northwestern are sketchy. Reminiscing about the event many years later, Sauer said "I had graduated from a little Methodist college in Missouri....and being a good Methodist, I went to the big Methodist institution in that part of the country, which was Northwestern..." (Riess and Sternberg, 1975, p. 2). On the other hand, while the Methodist connection was an obvious one, there is evidence to suggest that the real motivation may have been a scholarship from Northwestern. According to Sauer's private diary, Northwestern offered Central Wesleyan College one graduate scholarship each year. (Prior to his reference to this scholarship, Sauer's diary records no mention of any intent on his part to pursue graduate study.) He applied for this scholarship in 1908 and received word from Evanston of their interest in him, but there is no further mention of the matter (though the diary is incomplete and terminates at the beginning of the summer of 1908) (see Diary, 1907-1908, March 3, 18, and 27, 1908). The current Northwestern archivist tells me

that that there is no record of Sauer ever receiving a scholarship at the institution (P.M. Quinn to M.S. Kenzer, January 29, 1985, personal correspondence), but given the fact that Northwestern's records for this period are somewhat incomplete--e.g., they have no official record of Sauer's attendance!--I question whether the archival material pertaining to 1908 scholarships are very reliable. Sauer's diary is in the possession of his daughter (see Note 2 below).

2 Unless stated otherwise, all correspondence cited in this chapter between Sauer and his parents, between Sauer and his other relatives and colleagues, or between Sauer and Lorena Schowengerdt (Mrs. Carl O. Sauer), is in the possession of Sauer's daughter, Elizabeth Sauer FitzSimmons (Berkeley, California).

3 In case the reader should get the wrong impression, it is important to note that Sauer was not entirely happy with the Methodist churches in Chicago either. After visiting one particular church (while still a student at Northwestern), he would write home and tell how the urban Methodists of Chicago were "too commercial and inhuman". One minister, he remarked, gave up his position "to become a car salesman" (C.O. Sauer to Parents, March 22, 1909)! In general, Sauer's religious inclination was on the wane

from the time he left Warrenton.

4 See, for example, U.S. Grant to R.C. Flickinger, January 2, 1923, Walter Dill Scott Papers, Northwestern University Archives; also C.O. Sauer to U.S. Grant, March 1, 1932, S.P.

5 I am intentionally using the terms petrography and petrology synonymously, as did Sauer in 1908 (see Kenzer, 1985d). Petrography was merely one of several approaches to the more scientific, law-seeking petrology. Moreover, in 1908 there was seemingly little difference between the two terms. See Loewinson-Lessing, 1954, particularly pp. 1-9.

6 These were the two halves of Geology A2 (Physical Geography: Meteorology & Physiography of the Lands) (Bulletin, 1908, pp. 92-94).

7 It is not at all surprising to find that Sauer was thinking of becoming an editor. In addition to the obvious fact that he had been an editor of sorts at C.W.C., there was a second factor to be considered: The publishing industry was *the* most attractive profession for educated German-Americans until World War I (see, for example, Wittke, 1973). Believing that they might have an impact on American culture, and also persistent in their

desire to retain their native language, the German-Americans entered the publishing industry in earnest. The German newspapers, consequently, accounted for forty percent of all foreign-language papers published in America till the outset of the War (O'Connor, 1968, p. 180).

8 The Michigan Land Economic Survey was not unique to the State of Michigan. It was part of the larger land reclamation movement of the 1920s designed, in part, to promote the "scientific" use of America's post-World War I natural resources. For a good introduction to the parent movement see Guttenberg, 1976.

9 For a good overview of Van Tyne's patriotic fervor (and, to a lesser extent, his relationship with Hobbs) see Wilkes, 1971.

10 W.H. Hobbs to G.H. Putnam, November 10, 1915, William Herbert Hobbs Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, hereafter W.H.P.

11 W.H. Hobbs to H.B. Hutchins, November 15, 1915, Harry B. Hutchins Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, hereafter H.H.P.

12 H.C. Bulkley to H.B. Hutchins, December 3, 1915, H.H.P.

13 H.B. Hutchins to H.C. Bulkley, December 9, 1915, H.H.P.

14 H.B. Hutchins to H.C. Bulkley, December 13, 1915, H.H.P.

15 W.H. Hobbs to C.E. Townsend, February 28, 1916, W.H.P.

16 W.H. Hobbs to M. Bacon, July 6, 1916, W.H.P.

17 W.H. Hobbs to H.B. Hutchins, January 3, 1917, H.H.P.

18 "We the undersigend..." This is a three-page document dated February 28, 1917 in the Hobbs Papers, Box 1.

19 W.H. Hobbs to J.E. Kinnane, August 16, 1917, W.H.P.

20 W.H. Hobbs to Postmaster General, September 26, 1917, W.H.P.

21 W.H. Hobbs to Third Assistant Postmaster General, October 17, 1917, W.H.P.

22 J.O. Murfin to F.N. Scott, November 14, 1918, Fred Newton Scott Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

23 J.O. Murfin to H.B. Hutchins, March 17, 1919, H.H.P.

24 See, for example, W.H. Hobbs to H.B. Hutchins, May 2, 1919 and November 20, 1919, H.H.P.

25 W.H. Hobbs to E.H. Kraus, August 19, 1922, Michigan University Summer Session Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

26 When I say that there is no "extant evidence" I mean written evidence. On the other hand, several people who knew Sauer very well have confided in me of his "displeasure" with Hobbs. They have indicated, "off the record", that, although Sauer would never say anything unkind about someone publically, years later he did indeed discuss his "relationship" with Hobbs privately. The two men were *not* good friends!

27 J. Russell Smith Papers, American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia.

28 These reviews have been heretofore unknown to students of Saueriana. They do not exist in any of his published bibliographies. I "discovered" them, along with numerous other "unknown" publications by Sauer, in the course of my investigation into his pre-Berkeley intellectual heritage.

29 Rollin D. Salisbury Papers, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this thesis has been to explicate the origins of the one acknowledged "school" of historical geography in North America: the "Berkeley School" which was engendered, from 1923 onward, through the research, writings, and tutelage of Carl Ortwin Sauer. In trying to account for Sauer's decidedly non-North American definition of geography, it has been necessary to explore his past by focusing on his pre-Berkeley intellectual heritage--the key to understanding why the School assumed certain characteristics: an emphasis on the cultural landscape, a strong historical component, an inductive methodological approach, an empirical, phenomenological epistemology, and a highly qualitative interpretation of geographic phenomena. As an excercise in intellectual history, the thesis has concentrated attention on an individual and his definition of an academic discipline (rather than on a body of ideas per se), arguing that his interpretation led to the formation of a geographic school of thought practiced and advocated by Sauer and his many graduate students. The primary focus has been on Sauer to

uncover the motivation behind his ideas and his perspective of the field. Having outlined his pre-Berkeley intellectual development, we can now restate a number of the more telling conclusions.

It has been shown that Sauer's "brand" of geography was markedly different from the working definitions his colleagues sought to employ prior to his "morphology" essay. While the discipline was ripe for change in the early-1920s, it was apparent that only Sauer was able or willing to step forward with an articulate alternative. Once he proposed a well-developed substitute to the deterministic geography of Ellen Semple, and was also able to offer a viable alternative to William M. Davis's Darwinian-based, physical geography, the younger generation of geographers freely adopted this "new" geography.

Sauer's view of human geography emerged from a thorough immersion in German culture. Warrenton and Warren County, Missouri were so strongly Germanic at the time of Sauer's birth that one would be hard pressed to identify substantial differences between a child reared in such an environment and one who was raised in southern Germany at the time. Sauer was also taken to Germany at a very impressionable period--between the ages of nine and eleven--and schooled in a traditional German lyceum. He was fluent in German from birth and one would have a most awkward

time trying to distinguish between Sauer's early education and that of his German-born counterpart.

We have further examined the close relationship and intellectual bridge between Sauer and his father. The two men were so very alike--with the younger Sauer continually being pressured by his father (the professor) to follow in his footsteps and to carry on a family tradition of male college teachers--that there is little likelihood that Carl Sauer could have entered any other profession with his father's blessings. When he *did* try his hand at editorial work, his father would scold him through their correspondence and persistently push him back onto the "right" track. With Carl's older brother seemingly incapable of preserving the family's professorial tradition, the younger Sauer was practically "destined" to enter a teaching career.

We have also seen how Sauer's geography, like his father's world view, was an unconscious extension of a Germanic *Weltanschauung* traceable to a frame of reference associated with the writings of Johann Goethe. Goethe's conception of the world, his avenue of explanation, and indeed his very poems and maxims, all served to instill a strong sense of intellectual direction in Sauer and his peers. As a devoted member and participant in the local Goethean society, Sauer's reliance on this particular mode of

thinking was probably more pronounced than he could have understood. His undergraduate *alma mater*, Central Wesleyan College, was an overseas arm of the German *Kollegium*. Those who initiated the institution were themselves intellectual refugees fleeing a society in rebellion against the ideas and the world Goethe stood for. Thus it was not surprising to find the Central Wesleyan faculty perpetuating this Goethean tradition. With its location in the remote Missouri Ozarks, secluded from the mainstream of American society, the small college had little difficulty preserving its distinctive heritage and a set of ideas. In nineteenth- and turn-of-the-century Warrenton a tie to the past was almost assured; life could endure virtually unaffected by the more characteristically American educational standards. With the coming of World War I, however, Central Wesleyan's adherence to a Goethean world view was severely diluted and eventually the institution dissolved into a German-American "junior college".

Finally, we have explored Sauer's life from 1908 when he left Warrenton (with this Goethean tradition firmly ensconced in his very being), to 1925 when he freely expressed himself in "The Morphology of Landscape". Our major finding has been that the "morphology" was a natural extension of the Warrenton milieu, and that the intervening years spent prior to Sauer's arrival in Berkeley were really

of little influence in contributing to his seemingly odd "brand" of geography (cf. Martin, 1985). The period he spent in graduate school and the years he spent teaching at Ann Arbor were, together, fourteen and one-half years of anguish and extereme frustration--years in which he had the good sense to suppress his Germanic conception of geography. It was not until he arrived in California--a good distance away from the Midwest where academic geography was born and where it thrived in the early decades of this century--that Sauer was finally able to practice and refine a notion of man expressed geographically that was to his liking. It is not asserted that Sauer did not profit from his experiences in Evanston, Chicago, Salem, and Michigan. Nor is it implied that the "morphology" (and his geography) were total, absolute, complete reflections of the Warrenton intellectual milieu alone. Rather, I have argued that the evidence overwhelmingly suggests that Sauer would have adopted a distinctively German conception of his discipline irrespective of his post-Warrenton experiences. Indeed, one might further argue that he did so *in spite of* his subsequent "diversions". He was clearly headed in that direction. He was simply waylaid due to the frustrating and unsavory circumstances surrounding his graduate school days and most certainly due to the coming of World War I and the immediate presence of Hobbs.

The Berkeley School of (Historical) Geography developed and continues today *only* because Sauer had the foresight to move away from his academic peers, and because he had the initiative to persevere in his quest for an "alternative" geography. At he same time, he was a gifted individual who was able, independently, to work through his ideas and not worry about their acceptance or rejection, nor about his own disciplinal popularity. For the remainder of his life he continued to utilize and practice a working definition of geography that took him further and further back into the past and indeed into pre-history. His geography remained a field centered on the concept of culture history and man's ability to alter (and often exploit) his natural environment. He continually reworked and refined his definition, yet he never relinquished the fundamental ideas which were expressed in the "morphology".

Further research into Sauer's intellectual development is necessary. This study should be carried forward in time to investigate the remainder of his life and ideas. There were slight changes in his later writings that need to be examined in close detail. Those changes need not worry us here, but they are important, and they will present a fuller understanding of his more mature intellectual development. As well, they account in part for the varying research interests and foci of his graduate students (see

Mikesell, 1985).

In addition, similar research endeavors need to be undertaken for other academic geographers. At present, to the detriment of the discipline of geography, very few such studies are available. If we are ever to make sense of our past and uncover why earlier practitioners chose to define their work in certain ways, then we are compelled, if not obligated, to unearth their respective intellectual biographies. Only then will we have the potential to interpret our disciplinal heritage and the insight to understand our own work better. In the end we should gain a clearer recognition of what we do as geographers and why.

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