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## **Dudley Stamp and the *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik***

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*Editorial introduction.* Sometime in 2005, Les told me that he had discovered (in a relatively obscure source, an indicator of his wide and eclectic reading) a reference to a paper by Dudley Stamp in *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, which was not listed in Joan Chibnall's published bibliography of Stamp's work. I put him in touch with Michael Wise, Stamp's former colleague and obituarist, who had not heard of it and could find no reference to it in Stamp's unpublished autobiography and other papers. Les set out to get a copy and to research its origins: as was his wont, this led him into a wider investigation of the *Zeitschrift* – and indeed he managed to purchase a complete back set (some of the many packages of books that seemed to come through the post to him weekly if not daily).

In autumn 2006, Les showed Michael and me a brief draft paper on the subject, which he then revised after receiving our comments. He was not yet ready to submit it for publication – as was his way, Les often took some time (occasionally several years) finalising a manuscript before he was ready to send it off, and I know that he was intending to undertake a translation of the original to accompany his piece. And so the paper was incomplete when he died in February 2007. But it was in a publishable state, and I agreed to prepare it for this special issue of *Geopolitics*, along with some notes by Michael Wise and a translation by Rolf Meyer which he arranged. We are grateful to Suzanne Hepple for agreeing that we should do this.

Apart from a few typographical corrections and some additions to the footnotes, the manuscript is exactly as Les left it. It stands as a paradigm of his broad and painstaking research while adding an intriguing footnote to our appreciation of Dudley Stamp's similar wide interests.

*Ron Johnston\**

A bibliographic reference by Sprengel reveals an apparently unknown paper in the *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik* by the distinguished British geographer L. Dudley Stamp.<sup>1</sup> Published in December 1927 the paper has the theme 'Change in world trade communications: Atlantic or Pacific Ocean?'.<sup>2</sup> This paper is unreferenced in studies

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of Stamp's work and not listed in Chibnall's bibliography.<sup>3</sup> Given the subsequent reputation of German *geopolitik* and Karl Haushofer's *Zeitschrift*, it is perhaps not surprising that Stamp made no subsequent reference to this paper, and, despite the wide range of his interests and writings, his subsequent work evinces no interest in geopolitical analysis or discourse.<sup>4</sup> So, how did Stamp come to be publishing a paper in Karl Haushofer's journal, and at a time when there was almost no knowledge or engagement with geopolitics in Britain?<sup>5</sup>

As it turns out Stamp was not the only unexpected contributor. Gyorgy, in his wartime study of German *geopolitik*, was taken aback to find a paper by Senator William E. Borah of Idaho, noting "How his writing found its way into the representative geopolitical magazine of Germany is no mean mystery".<sup>6</sup> In fact, there were other even more distinguished and unexpected contributors.

There is a considerable risk in reading the history of the *Zeitschrift* backwards and assuming it always had the character and reputation assigned to it in its later years when it became closely connected with (and strongly controlled by) the Nazi regime of Adolf Hitler. Murphy's study of geopolitical thought in Weimar Germany has emphasised the diversity of views and perspectives, and Haushofer's *Zeitschrift* was itself a broadly-based publication. Haushofer's own regular contributions 'Reports on the Indo-Pacific space' were surveys of current international political developments that could have been located in many other journals. When Haushofer founded the journal with the publisher Kurt Vowinckel in 1924, it was explicitly aimed at two groups: (1) academics from geography and history; and (2) politicians and political journalists. In a careful study, based on Haushofer's detailed archives, Harbeck has traced the history of the *Zeitschrift*.<sup>7</sup> Vowinckel was committed to *geopolitik*, writing on the topic himself, but he was also a successful publisher and looking to sales and profits. Discussions during 1926 led to a broadening of the scope of the *Zeitschrift*. A *Zeitschrift Weltpolitik & Weltwirtschaft* [World Politics and World Economy Journal] – known as *W&W* – had been founded by Alfred Ball and Arthur Dix in 1925, for the publisher Oldenburg-Verlag, and acquired by Vowinckel the following year.<sup>8</sup> His new scheme was to merge the two journals, and this took place from January 1927. The merged journal now had the masthead *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik verbunden mit* [in association with] *der Zeitschrift Weltpolitik & Weltwirtschaft*. This remained the title throughout the life of the *Zeitschrift*, though the second half was always subsidiary on the front cover and the journal was usually referred to simply as the *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*. In the early years of the new format, there were separate groups of editors, with Alfred Ball in Berlin as the chief editor for the *W&W* components, and to some extent the contents were separate, with sections on 'Aufsätze zur Weltpolitik' [Essays on World Politics], 'Geopolitische Berichterstattungen' [Geopolitical Reporting], 'Europäische Wirtschaft' [European Economy], 'Aus der Weltwirtschaft' [On the World Economy] and 'Aufsätze zur Geopolitik der Welt' [Essays on World Geopolitics]. The journal was expanded in size to over 1,000 pages per year, and the sales rose from 1,000 in 1926 to 4,000 in 1928.<sup>9</sup>

Ball's *W&W* component brought in short essays by distinguished international figures from both politics and finance, and this is the connection that generates the surprise contributors to the *Zeitschrift* such as Senator Borah. In the first year of the merged journal, other contributors included Joseph Caillaux, the former French Prime Minister; Gilbert C. Layton, a London-based industrial finance expert; William

Graham, a British MP; Ramsay Macdonald and Philip Snowden, both leading British politicians; and Sir Graham Bower, British diplomat. Contributors in later years included the leading French politicians Aristide Briande, Anatole de Monzie and Louis Loucheur; Ismet Pasha, the Turkish Prime Minister; William Cosgrave, the President of the Executive Council of the Irish Free State; Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary-General of the League of Nations; and Harry Elmer Barnes, the American historian and sociologist.

Dudley Stamp's paper of December 1927 was published in the 'Aufsatze zur Weltpolitik' section; in other word, in Ball's *W&W* component, not Haushofer's component of the journal. The question is now no longer "Why did he publish in this geopolitical journal?" but rather "How did he come to join such distinguished company?". The answer lies in the first issue of the merged journal, that for January 1927, which contains an article on 'The true sense of economic manifestos' by Sir Josiah Stamp.<sup>10</sup> Josiah Stamp was Dudley's elder brother, the elder by almost twenty years. He had become a successful civil servant, tax expert, business man and public figure, serving on many national bodies and committees. In 1926 he became Chairman of the London, Midland and Scottish Railway and two years later a Director of the Bank of England. During the 1920s he was also very involved in plans for the reconstruction of the European economy and the role of Germany. He served on the Dawes Committee on German reparations, playing a major role in drafting the Dawes plan, and then its successor, the Young Committee of 1929.<sup>11</sup> Josiah thus had close links with Germany – and developed many contacts there as the committees gathered evidence for their reports (notably with Hjalmar Schacht, President of the Reichsbank in the 1920s and Minister for Economic Affairs in the mid-1930s). It was this role as a key figure in German reconstruction, and a frequent speaker on German affairs in Britain at the time, that made him an obvious person to attract to the journal.

Josiah was also an alumnus of the London School of Economics, and had become a Governor in 1924, serving as Vice-Chairman from 1930 to 1935 and then Chairman to his death in 1941. During the first half of the 1920s, Josiah's younger brother Dudley had worked in Burma, first for an oil company and then as professor of Geology and Geography at the University of Rangoon. However, he had returned to London in 1926 to become Sir Ernest Cassel Reader in Economic Geography at the LSE, and during 1927 and 1928 he was establishing his interests in the field of economic geography.<sup>12</sup> Given Josiah's position at the LSE, he may have played a part in Dudley's move there; whatever the role there, it is almost certain that Josiah is the link between Dudley Stamp and the *Zeitschrift*, encouraging his younger brother to write for the *W&W* section.<sup>13</sup>

### **Some notes by Michael Wise**

Professor Hepple raises interesting questions. Not only was the article in *Zeitschrift* omitted from Joan Chibnall's bibliography, and unnoticed by others who have written about Dudley Stamp's life and work, it also does not seem to have been remembered later in life by the author himself. It is not referred to in the draft chapters that he prepared for his unpublished autobiography nor is there any mention of it in the preparatory lists and other material left with those chapters. Taking account of the sheer quantity of his output, a small omission may not seem surprising, especially as

there are a few others, but it is surprising that a geographer with such wide international interests should overlook a publication in such a well known German journal. How then did the article come to appear?

One line of argument is that the editor of *Zeitschrift* extracted the article, as with some others, from work which had already appeared or was about to appear in print. It may thus be worth reviewing the work on which Stamp was engaged in the year or so before the appearance of the *Zeitschrift* paper towards the end of 1927. His books on *The Indian Empire* (with F. G. French) had appeared in 1925 and 1926 but these do not seem a likely source. Stamp had completed and posted off the manuscript of *The World (Indian edition)* shortly before leaving Rangoon (where he had been Professor of Geology and Geography) in April 1926. This book appeared in 1927. He then travelled extensively via Singapore, Java, Australia, South Africa and the then Southern Rhodesia, arriving eventually in London on August 16, 1926.

While in Australia he had agreed with Professor Grenfell Price for an Australian edition of *The World* and this appeared in 1927. Stamp made no secret of his use of spare time on board ships for writing and the preparation of this edition would have kept him busy en route to South Africa. Similarly, while there, he made arrangements for a South African edition of *The World* and we have his own word that this was a task for the voyage home from Cape Town. It is also possible that he was preparing material for his lectures that he was due to give from October 1926 in his new post as Sir Ernest Cassel Reader in Economic Geography at the London School of Economics and Political Science. These courses were to be on Commercial Geography and on Asia, and he felt that books were needed to accompany both courses. The first edition of *An Intermediate Commercial Geography Part I* (which was to have wide sales in the world of business as well as to students) appeared in November 1927. Successive editions of this book carried sections on Transport and Trade (but no discussion comparable to that in the *Zeitschrift* paper). While it does not seem that the article in question derives directly from any of these publications, it is possible that Stamp, with so much relevant material in his mind, quickly dashed off the *Zeitschrift* paper, and later forgot it. Other work to appear a little later included the regionally organised section of *An Intermediate Commercial Geography* (1928) and the British edition of *The World* (1929) and these can be ruled out. Professor Hepple had already checked these.

Stamp had also taken on the task of revising G. G. Chisholm's successful *Handbook of Commercial Geography*. Chisholm was very familiar with German literature in economic geography and had German connections and it is possible that he was the link. But this does not seem likely for though he and Stamp were on good terms, Stamp's contribution to the work was at first limited to revision and, as Stamp found, Chisholm was ageing.

A second, and interesting, possibility is that the material for the article was sent to the editor of *Zeitschrift* by Stamp's greatly loved and revered elder brother, Josiah, with or without Dudley's knowledge. It is perhaps no simple coincidence that an earlier number in the same volume of *Zeitschrift* contained an article by Josiah. Josiah's links with Germany and his knowledge of German economic conditions have been well noted by Jones and others.<sup>14</sup> It is also apparent from Dudley's unpublished autobiography that, when he had been in England for his wedding in 1923, he had

asked Josiah, who was of course much older and with a wide range of contacts, to put his name forward, with particulars, for any post in Britain which might offer an appropriate opening. Josiah had, in fact, put his name in for a Training College post, only to withdraw it. Later, he had sent particulars of Dudley to Dr William Beveridge, the ambitious Director of the London School of Economics, in connection with the Chair of Geography which was to become vacant on Sir Halford Mackinder's retirement. Josiah was at the time a member of the Court of Governors at the School. Dudley was, in fact, summoned for interview and, although he was not appointed, it was not long afterwards that he received the invitation to consider accepting what was to become the newly created Sir Ernest Cassel Readership in Economic Geography. How far Josiah was influential in advancing Dudley's name is obscure. When Dudley arrived at LSE he found, and strongly resented, some suspicion. As we have seen, he quickly began work on writing new material in connection with his courses. Josiah was clearly a benevolent elder brother and the *Zeitschrift* article might, perhaps, have been prepared at his suggestion; it is certainly the case that, after Dudley's return to England, the two had a close brotherly friendship.

Rolf Meyer, an experienced translator, has raised an interesting point concerning the two papers by the Stamps in the same volume of *Zeitschrift*. Was, he asks, Josiah's paper written in German by himself? Dudley's paper, by contrast, is written in a relatively simple style and gives the impression of being a section from a text book rather than from an academic journal. There are, however, just a few long sentences with subordinate clauses, which suggests that it was edited not just translated by a German hand.

One further clue which supports the hypothesis that Josiah was the link is the opening sentence to Dudley's paper – 'There are already many people today who claim that in a not too distant future the Pacific Ocean will have surpassed the Atlantic with regard to economic significance'. Who were these people? One probable is Haushofer himself. In 1924 he published a book on *Geopolitics of the Pacific Ocean*, which undoubtedly reflected his experience as an army officer in Japan, on which he built his reputation, and his firm views on the growing importance of Japan and the Pacific.<sup>15</sup> But Dudley did not read German, so perhaps Josiah brought it to his attention and encouraged his brother to write the essay to counter Haushofer's possibly exaggerated assessment of the importance of the Pacific, and suggested that he send it to the *Zeitschrift*?

There remains the question of the omission of any reference to the article in Dudley's comprehensive unpublished memoirs. This may, of course, have been a simple oversight. Perhaps, though, the connection with the German journal may have been relegated to the back of his mind, not simply because of the reputation or notoriety that the *Zeitschrift* gained in later years but for another reason. Josiah (then Lord Stamp) was killed at his home in a German air raid on London in 1941. The shock and grief to the family was great. The family questioned for a time that the raid might have been deliberately aimed at Lord Stamp's home, though this now seems unlikely. But the grief was great. Later, the family chose J. H. Jones to write Josiah's biography. As Dudley told me at the time, and his unpublished memoirs confirm, the book did not please them. They were unhappy, especially, at what they regarded as serious mis-representation of Josiah Stamp's attitudes to, and connections with, inter-war Germany. Thus, Dudley may well have put his own, though slight, German

connection out of his mind....it was perhaps best to forget the old links....there were so many new tasks waiting.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> R. Sprengel, *Kritik der Geopolitik. Ein deutscher Diskurs 1914-1944* (Berlin: Academic Verlag, 1996) p. 226.

<sup>2</sup> L. D. Stamp, 'Wandlungen in Welthandelsverkehr: Atlantischer oder Stiller Ozean?', *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik* 4 (12), 1927, pp. 64-66.

<sup>3</sup> J. Chibnall, 'Bibliography of publications by Sir Dudley Stamp', in C. Embleton and J. T. Coppock (eds) *Land Use and Resources: Studies in Applied Geography. A Memorial Volume to Sir Dudley Stamp*. (London: Institute of British Geographers, Special Publication 1, 1968), pp. 71-84.

<sup>4</sup> The only conjunction of Dudley Stamp and geopolitics that I can find is his brief review in *International Affairs* (1944, volume 20, pp. 124-5) of Griffith Taylor's pamphlet titled *Canada's Role in Geopolitics*.

<sup>5</sup> Almost none, but there was *some* knowledge. The Royal Geographical Society was receiving some German geopolitical publications and in 1925 'G.G.C.' [G. G. Chisholm, the economic geographer] reviewed *Zur Geopolitik der Selbstbestimmung* by Karl Haushofer and J. Marz in the *Geographical Journal* (1925, volume 65, p.543), and in 1927 'G. R.C.' [G. R. Crone, the RGS librarian and historian of cartography] reviewed Erich Obst's *England, Europa und die Welt* (*Geographical Journal*, 1925, vol. 65, p. 180). Crone subsequently reviewed a number of other German geopolitics books in the *Geographical Journal*.

<sup>6</sup> A. Gyorgy, *Geopolitics, the New German Science* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1944), pp. 239-240.

<sup>7</sup> K.-H. Harbeck, *Die 'Zeitschrift für Geopolitik' 1924-1944*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Christian-Albrechts-Universität, Kiel.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.22-25.

<sup>9</sup> [Note that Paterson equates the *Zeitschrift* with magazines like the *Geographical Magazine* rather than academic journals. J. H. Paterson, German geopolitics reassessed, *Political Geography Quarterly*, 6, 1987, p.111. See also H. Heske, Karl Haushofer: his role in German geopolitics and Nazi politics, *Political Geography Quarterly*, 6, 1987, pp. 135-144. This footnote is not in Hepple's original.]

<sup>10</sup> J. Stamp, 'Der wahre Sinn des Wirtschaftsmanifestes', *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, 4(1), 1927, pp. 35-37.

<sup>11</sup> On Josiah Stamp see W. Beveridge (revised by Jose Harris), 'Stamp, Josiah Charles, first Baron Stamp (1880-1941)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36237>. [See also, not referenced in Hepple's original manuscript, J. H. Jones, *Josiah Stamp: Public Servant. The Life of the First Baron Stamp of Shortlands*. (London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons Ltd. 1964).]

<sup>12</sup> On Dudley Stamp see M. J. Wise, 'Stamp, Sir (Laurence) Dudley (1898-1966)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36238>. [See also, not referenced in Hepple's original manuscript, W. E. Pilfold, *Sir Laurence Dudley Stamp (1898-1966), Geographer and Public Servant: a Critical Biography*. PhD thesis (Brighton: University of Sussex, 2005).]

<sup>13</sup> It might just be possible to try and suggest that G. G. Chisholm was the link: he knew some of the German geopolitical literature – evidenced by his 1925 review in the *Geographical Journal* – and his enormously-successful *Handbook of Commercial Geography* was taken over and revised by Dudley Stamp in 1928, so the two were in contact. However, there is no evidence of any correspondence between Chisholm and Haushofer, and in any case Stamp's essay appeared in Ball's *W&W* section. [On Chisholm, see E. Baigent 'Chisholm, George Goudie (1850-1930)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/51478?docPos=2>.

<sup>14</sup> Jones, *op cit.*

<sup>15</sup> K. Haushofer, *Geopolitik des Pazifischen Ozeans. Studien über die Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Geographie und Geschichte*. (Heidelberg: Vowinckel, 1924). [This book was translated by E. J. Brehm and edited by L. A. Tambs, as *An English translation and analysis of Major General Karl Ernst Haushofer's Geopolitics of the Pacific Ocean: Studies on the Relationship between Geography and History*. (Lewiston NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2002). On Haushofer see H. Heske and R. Wesche, Karl Haushofer (1868-1946). *Geographers: Biobibliographic Studies*, 12, 1988, pp. 95-106.]



**A translation of Dudley Stamp's 1927 paper in *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, 4 (12), 1927, 64-66, by Rolf Meyer.**

Dudley Stamp

### **Changes in World Trade Flows: Atlantic or Pacific Ocean?**

There are already many people today who claim that in a not too distant future the Pacific Ocean will have surpassed the Atlantic with regard to economic significance. It is pointed out that the main routes of world sea traffic are being transferred more and more from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It is, thus, almost generally expected that there will be a shift in status similar to that which has taken place between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. Before the discovery of America, the Mediterranean was the world's central sea. The great empires and the important trading nations of the antique world, Egypt, Greece, Rome and Carthage – later Italy and Spain – made up its shores. However, this picture changed immediately after the discovery of America, and those countries which lined the Atlantic Ocean – i.e. Holland, Great Britain, Spain and Portugal on one side, the United States, Canada and the Argentine on the other – enjoyed an undreamt-of economic upswing. The countries round the Mediterranean lost a great deal of their importance in world economy, and only the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 brought back stronger trade flows.

Are we to expect a similar development today? This question has considerable practical significance, as it will have great influence on the future formation of international relations, not only economically but also in a political perspective.

A number of indicators suggest greater prominence of the Pacific Ocean in world trade. On the American side we have seen the astonishing upswing of the entire west coast of the United States. California with its wonderful climate must already be called the world's greatest orchard. It is also likely to emerge more and more as a great exporter of grain. It has the largest oil fields of the Union and should have the prospect of an influential future through its mineral resources alone. The Rocky Mountains and their well-nigh inexhaustible riches in minerals are much nearer to the Pacific than the Atlantic. In a world with, after all, a limited supply of timber, the state of Washington and the province of British Columbia with their immense reserves of first class timber are of crucial importance. British Columbia, moreover, has large mineral deposits. Somewhat further to the north lies Alaska, one of the world's largest fishing regions.

Further to the south we find the extremely valuable coffee and cocoa producing areas of Central and tropical South America. The yet unexploited regions of Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia are of as great importance to world economy as the neighbouring areas of Chile. The Panama Canal, so important to world traffic, and the numerous transcontinental railway links – half a dozen or more in North America and already one in South America – allow for close trade connections between the west coast of America on the Pacific Ocean and the great American industrial centres along the coast of the Atlantic.



How about the other side of the Pacific Ocean? The astonishing rise of Japan as one of the world's leading industrial nations is just a foretaste of the immense possibilities of the considerably larger China, equipped with far richer natural resources. The tropical regions of the East Indian islands are hitherto only exploited to an insignificant degree, although the important production of rubber in the Malay states, Java and Sumatra already hints at the future path of development. A great role for trade in these distant parts is also played by Australia, a continent the size of the United States but with only one eighteenth of their population; also by New Zealand, almost the size of Great Britain, but with only a thirtieth of her population. Finally a number of smaller islands in the Pacific must be mentioned, e.g. Hawaii with its lovely resorts and its pineapple fields, but even more important as a bunker port for refuelling.

Despite these apparent advantages, the Pacific has many disadvantages compared to the Atlantic Ocean. To start with, its immense size. Along the equator, the Pacific spans more than a third of the circumference of the earth. Despite advances in naval technology, long journeys across oceans without a sufficient number of bunker ports on the way are not really conducive to the expansion of trade flows. Ships must carry massive stocks of fuel, thus reducing the payload. Bunker coal and oil for the ships must be transported to the Pacific islands from far away and therefore at high cost.

But even by its very nature trading across the Atlantic Ocean is not likely to suffer through the development of the Pacific. The densely populated regions of Europe depend to a considerable degree on the countries on the opposite side of the Atlantic Ocean, the United States, Canada and the Argentine in particular, for their supply of foodstuffs and industrial raw materials – mainly meat, grain, cotton, copper and petroleum. As long as the Old World still needs to be fed with provisions from the New World, and as long as North and South America and Africa are exporting foodstuffs and industrial raw materials for this purpose, trading between these three continents will predominantly be via the Atlantic Ocean. It may be argued that Australia's rise as a grain exporting country will stimulate transPacific trade, but the route from Australia to Europe via the Suez Canal is still the shortest, and even if shipping goes via the Panama Canal the Atlantic Ocean still has to be crossed in order to reach Europe.

The enormous growth of shipping through the Panama Canal has often enough been used as evidence of the increase of trading across the Pacific Ocean. However, this evidence is by no means conclusive. If the tonnage passing through the Panama Canal during the past few years has surpassed that of the Suez Canal, one should bear in mind that out of the total 16,500,000 tons passing through the Panama Canal in 1925, by far the greatest part concerned coastal traffic between the West and the East coasts of America. Only approx. 615,000 tons, i.e. less than one twentieth of the total tonnage, came from far away regions of the Pacific Ocean. And less than one sixth of the tonnage was destined for Australia or the Far East. Looking at the total trade volume of the United States, one finds that in the year 1926 approx. 21 million tons of goods were shipped over the Atlantic to Europe, and less than 5 million tons to Australia and the Far East. A considerable part of this latter amount was not shipped over the Pacific but went over the Atlantic and then through the Suez Canal.

The consolidation of China which will certainly come about sooner or later and the economic opening of the great Asian prairie lands in Manchuria and Mongolia will certainly offer a considerable impulse to transpacific trade. But this upswing will complement the existing transAtlantic trade rather than replace it.