Haines, E. V. (2019). Visions from behind a desk? Archival performance and the re-enactment of colonial bureaucracy. *Area*, 51(1), 25–34. <https://doi.org/10.1111/area.12378>

Peer reviewed version

Link to published version (if available):
[10.1111/area.12378](https://doi.org/10.1111/area.12378)

[Link to publication record in Explore Bristol Research](#)
PDF-document

This is the author accepted manuscript (AAM). The final published version (version of record) is available online via Wiley at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/area.12378/full>. Please refer to any applicable terms of use of the publisher.

University of Bristol - Explore Bristol Research

General rights

This document is made available in accordance with publisher policies. Please cite only the published version using the reference above. Full terms of use are available:
<http://www.bristol.ac.uk/red/research-policy/pure/user-guides/ebr-terms/>

Visions from Behind a Desk: Archival performance and the re-enactment of colonial bureaucracy

Elizabeth Haines, University of Bristol / Science Museum, London

03/07/2017

elizabeth.haines.2011@live.rhul.ac.uk

Abstract

Can ten weeks of archival research be considered a re-enactment of the daily life of black African clerks who created the records? What would such a claim entail when it is made by a white female scholar? Drawing from my experience of archival research in Zambia, and from recent enthusiasm in historical geography for ‘enlivening’ or ‘animating’ the past, I analyse what parameters would be necessary for this re-enactment to be considered a success. This paper explores how breaking up historical situations into units of gesture and experience affects the narrating of history. It asks what models of the self are implied by re-enactive historical investigation; in relation to the agency of historical actors, and also to the performativity of their original gestures. It argues that performative investigation of the social and cultural geographies of the subaltern sits uncomfortably with current scholarly practices in historical geography. This is in part because that work is largely carried out by lone scholars, but also because of the highly individualised, self-conscious and self-possessed modes through which the outcomes of performative research are narrated. Finally, borrowing the term ‘acts of transfer’ (from the performance scholar Diana Taylor), this paper proposes that this contemporary performance of clerical work is only one route through which the colonial past resonates, or acts, in the present. The lives of the colonial clerks were locked into structures of racial and socioeconomic inequality that survive outside my performance. Does ‘performing’ the past overwrite or obscure these other continuities? To avoid such an erasure, both the ethical consequences and epistemological goals of performative research in historical geography need to be more clearly articulated in relationship to the sociomaterial geographies of the present.

Introduction

In March, July and August 2013, for a total of ten weeks, I spent all day, Monday to Friday, carrying out archival work in Zambia, in both the National Archives, Lusaka, and in the archives of the Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines, Ndola.¹² Each day I ordered up files from the stores. Each day I unfolded cardboard, tentatively opened files that had been collated by tags, and often failed to separate one carbon-print page from another. Each day

¹ I’d like to thank the anonymous reviewers, and Ruth Slatter, for a great deal of help in clarifying my thoughts, and improving their articulation. I’d also like to thank Simon Werrett for pointing me to the use of the term ‘sociomateriality’ in history of science literature, and Tim Boon for offering the opportunity to explore literature on performative methods in more depth.

² All images the author’s own.

I typed furiously, copying out document after document onto my laptop. I noted dates, set up cross-references and indexed names.

In this paper, I am going to make a claim that, at first appearances, seems absurd: that this stretch of seemingly regular archival work by a white, British, female scholar constituted a re-enactment of the experience of a black male clerk in early twentieth century colonial offices. I consider the re-enactment a failure. Nonetheless the apparent clumsiness of this choice of scenario invites closer attention to performative methodologies.

Fig 1.

The possibility that this experience could operate as an “investigative re-enactment” (Cook, 2004) is one that is encouraged by research in the material turn, which co-opts a much wider range of historical matter as sources, and applies more obviously creative strategies of interpretation than in traditional historical scholarship. Often re-enactment proposes a “common, transcultural” experience of the human body: “the only class of historical events that occurred in the past but survive into the present” (Prown 1993: 2-3). In work over nearly a decade, historical geographers have explored these methods and

found them to be productive, both in generating new sources of historical evidence, and in connecting the documentary record of the past to other more sensual practices. Re-enactment techniques are now quite frequently referred to as ‘re-animating’ or ‘enlivening’ the past (DeSilvey, 2007b; Dwyer and Davies 2010; Gagen et al., 2007; Mills, 2013).

However, there has also been hesitance about taking up performative strategies for interpreting material culture. Using material culture as a source requires increased amounts of empathy and imagination as tools for historical work. Some historians have voiced scepticism over the kinds of experiences that are open to our empathetic capacities (Cook, 2004). Doubts have also been expressed over the relationship between these more creative research techniques and empirical study (Duncan 2002, Griffin and Evans, 2008). Broadly speaking the existing literature is polarised between experimental enthusiasms for performative research methods, and more distant ‘armchair’ critique. This paper bridges these two positions with a focused analysis of the failure of my experiment. In what follows I describe how this experiment emerged and its methods in more detail. More importantly, I draw from literature in historical geography, but also social and cultural geography, anthropology and critical performance studies to address the discomforts and silences that resulted.

Key to this analysis is Taylor’s *The Archive and the Repertoire* (2003). I have borrowed Taylor’s definition of performance as an “act of transfer”, the transmission of “social knowledge, memory, and a sense of identity through reiterated... behaviour” (2,3) in order to consider how ‘re-enactment’ is enmeshed in broader expressions of social knowledge and identities. I suggest that the cultural identity of the researcher as a “bourgeois, self-possessed individual” has a strong impact on performance as a mode of historical research and is incompatible with the narration of many kinds of embodied historical experiences (Hartmann 1997, 54). Accessing the embodied past through the lens of the Romantic lone scholar also re-organises our view of the present, highlighting certain commonalities

between a researcher and past actors, but simultaneously obscuring other routes through which the past manifests itself today.

Context

In spring and summer of 2013 I was researching the history of colonial cartography in Northern Rhodesia, the former British colony that, in 1964, gained independence as Zambia (author). In the process I became increasingly interested in the bureaucratic work of mapping. From the colonial archive as a putative whole (read between records in the UK and Zambia) it was only possible to produce intermittent pictures of daily work within the Northern Rhodesian Survey Department. Through even these fragments, however, it became clear that the colonial bureaucracy deployed a practice that is very familiar from other areas of colonial economies: the use of cheap human labour in place of more costly technological devices. The sheer number of these employees suggests that they had been responsible for the material production of the bulk of the archive under my fingertips.

Fig 2.

The reconstruction of the architectures of knowledge in government now has a venerable history. Latour in ‘Drawing Things Together’ proposed a highly successful model for the movement of matter towards a centre of calculation, serving that centre with evidence for making claims and exercising control (Latour, 1990). For Latour the paper matter itself *is* the government. Yet, as we learn from Ogborn’s analysis of letter writing in the East India Company (2002), or from the investigation of Pakistani bureaucracy by Hull (2012), the ‘rules’ of paperwork cannot fully determine the movements and habits of human actors. Actors pick out the limits and contradictions in bureaucracies: to understand the system we need to account for those behaviours.

Yet if the colonial archive was thin on its own processes, information about the African administrative employees was almost non-existent. Much had to be inferred from the form rather than the content of the archives. In one folder, for example, it was possible to trace how a government agent, Henry Matondo, achieved greater social status as his correspondence shifted from pencil to fountain pen over the years 1951-1952.³ A letter written on 12th May 1954 was notable for being the earliest typed document I saw that had been signed by an African administrator in his own name.⁴ Such faint echoes of the clerks are scarcely amplified in the secondary literature—there have only been a handful of publications on African colonial bureaucratic employees (Lawrance et al. 2006). So how could the legacy of the clerical workers be written back into the history of colonial government?

As I worked through the documents I became conscious of quite how strongly my archival gestures invoked my own experience of bureaucratic labour. The copying out, ordering, and referencing brought back memories of secretarial work I had done for employment

³ BSE1/10/31 National Archives of Zambia

⁴ Letter from Musamai Mateyo to Divisional Surveyor, Choma, 12th May 1954, SP4/12/62 National Archives of Zambia.

agencies to support my studies, the generation of invoices and filing of tax returns I have done as a freelance worker, and the tracking of student progress as a tutor. I started to hold, unfold, and examine the papers more consciously. This consciousness was enhanced by the opportunity to see some of the original office technologies on display at the Mining Industry Museum in the Zambian Copperbelt (Fig 3). I began to wonder whether considering my archival work as a re-enactment might offer insight into the material processes of the fossilisation of the archive, and the behaviours ‘around’ paperwork that Hull’s ethnographic work so carefully exposed.

Fig. 3

I began to pay more attention to the materials in front of me, to the gestures and the rhythms of my work. This wasn’t a re-enactment in line with costumed Napoleonic battles, but rather closer to the sensory attention paid by Patchett to the construction of a taxidermy tiger’s head (2008), or by Lorimer and Whatmore to the weight of a historic weapon (2009). The process had, I would say, partial success. It focused my attention on the labour inherent in the archive: how the documents had been produced, reproduced, organised and

circulated; their indexing, dating, filing and stamping; and to how they were stored. On the other hand this attention to embodiment didn't – in any meaningful sense – allow me to understand more about the 'experience' of paperwork from the perspective of an African clerk. It seemed that this approach could generate certain kinds of understanding but not others.

Conceptually framing the archive as a stage was a fairly natural extension of the shift from seeing the archive as a source, to seeing it as a subject (Stoler 2010:44). Historical geographers have already observed the ways in which the archives invite particular performances in historical work (Ashmore et al. 2010; Lorimer, 2010; Rose 2000). These analyses have all examined how the construction and use of archives refracts political power. However, applying this methodological approach to the colonial archive made political concerns extremely explicit. There is a strong sense in the literature on material culture as a historical source that material can serve to prompt or choreograph gestures, and that the repetition of those gestures is to re-experience them, to walk a mile in another person's shoes (Petrov 2011). The idea of inserting myself imaginatively into the skin of a colonial African employee was deeply troubling. Just the word 'skin' in that sentence has an impact that suggests that the empathetic performance of embodied historical experience is a far more complex strategy than is sometimes acknowledged. As I interrogated the successes and failures of this experiment, I was driven to consider more closely how experience and identities are framed through the process of re-enactment.

Paperwork as an 'act': breaking up history into units of experience

A key problem that emerged quite quickly as I tried to understand my re-enactment was the difficulty of scale, and what paperwork 'was'. Taking up gesture as a unit of experience has implications for how we understand historical situations, and the location of their essence or meaning. To write history from gesture is the "privileging of experience

over event or structure” (Agnew 2007, 301). The significance of bureaucracy comes from being a networked system of activity, and from its persistence well beyond the individual. So how would breaking up history into gesture at the scale of a single desk affect the narration of this particular historical subject?

An initial question was that of duration. I began to ask whether ten weeks was enough time to build a sense of the archival gestures. Paperwork derives its meaning from repetition: repetition in the sense of the immaculate reproduction of documents, but also repetition in the sense of boredom. Through repetition, sociomateriality emerges; the co-production of bodies *with* their tools and environments, as the gestures of work turn into toughened skin, altered muscular structures, or chemical transformations of the lungs (Roberts 2015). In industrialised societies, these transformations have often been uncomfortable, or even fatal. On the timescale of sociomateriality, the unit of the gesture tells us very little.

It is interesting, and complicated, that performative methods are often used to access historical experience that aren’t documented by first-person accounts, to revive histories ‘from below’. They are, therefore, very often attempting to describe lives that were *locked in* to very uncomfortable gestures over long periods, or lifetimes. The physical discomfort caused by deskwork is certainly very different to working with drills on a coalface. There is, nonetheless—Steedman reveals in *Dust*—physicality to the fabrication and use of papers and inks that leaves traces on human bodies (2001).

Fig. 4

I find Steedman's *Dust* to be a very successful attempt to juxtapose the temporalities of encounter between a historian, material and past human experiences. More often, however, when historians (and historical geographers) encounter material culture performatively it is framed in a language of exploration, commitment, endurance and improvisation that—in similar ways to the language of fieldwork—invokes a romantic sublime (DeSilvey 2007a; Lorimer 2010). Although historical geographers often “forgo any claims to the possibility of recovering in fullness the realm of lived gesture, touch and emotion”, they might aim to, “seek out historical ‘performance’ in its immediacy and evanescence” (Gagen et al. 2007:5). Historical understanding built from flashes of intuition, I would argue, is difficult to reconcile with the sense that most of the tasks that accumulate in our everyday to become history are embodied over years of repetition, are carried out unconsciously, and are extremely boring (Schilling, 2003). Framing the immediacy and hyperawareness of re-enactment as an ‘access’ to history can—if that language remains untempered—shape an idea of past experience as being made up of intense and fleeting moments rather than of grinding everyday.

In the same way that the scale of a single gesture might not serve to represent its repetition over time, there is a tension between the mode of individual scholarship and activities that are as inherently social as clerical work. The re-enactment of craft or technically difficult work can be measured against the yardstick of a goal object: historical material culture can reveal whether (or not) the appropriate skills and techniques have been acquired by the historian (Patchett 2016). Other historical experiences are more open-ended, more processual, however, and don't offer such clear criteria for success. In such enquiries historical geographers have turned to surviving historical actors as companions, or better guides, who help ground, interpret and analyse the fragments of historical experience gained in re-enactment (Lorimer 2003, 2006; Patchett 2016). In Zambia I didn't succeed in finding anyone who could talk me 'around' colonial bureaucracy with either their own or hereditary memories (Ashmore et al., 2012).

Importantly, however, the success of a bureaucracy depends on its operation at the level of a system, geographically organising a large collection of bodies and objects. I began to wonder whether it was framing my re-enactment so closely around myself—from a single desk-space—that was causing a failure to get to the essence of the experience of bureaucracy. The traditions of living history, and battle re-enactments demonstrate much larger assemblages of people and stuff, and represent a better possibility of accessing highly 'social' historical situations. However, whilst such collective endeavours are relatively common outside of the academy, they mesh awkwardly with the typical social patterns of research in historical geography. The romantic language pervasive in performative historical research that invokes individual insight seems to erode even the social mechanism of peer review.

Beyond historical geography, there are an increasing number of projects using collective approaches to interrogate historical systems. Groups of investigative re-enactors have put emphasis on the social and intersubjective aspects of historical technical work. For

example, Geissler and Kelly investigated colonial laboratory science in Tanzania (2016), Kneebone and Wood explored the ‘hive mind’ of historical surgical teams (2014). With hindsight, I think that this would have been a better way to approach colonial bureaucracy.

Models for identity, ‘self-hood’ and history

Whilst defining and recreating an ‘act’ of paperwork is complex, the definition and re-embodiment of a historical ‘actor’ enters realms that are even more fraught with ethical, political and epistemological difficulties. In an investigative re-enactment the historian is (more or less consciously) taking up models for the ‘self’: for their own person and for the historical actor. Such models assign particular qualities and agency to each. This question is under-theorised by historical geographers who haven’t drawn from work in cultural or social geography (or elsewhere) to support their propositions of what ‘acting out’ past bodies might mean.

To re-embody colonial bureaucratic practices is to invoke a cultural milieu in which rights and responsibilities, and perceived cognitive capacities were policed according to skin colour. Attempts to interpret or reproduce behaviours from a colonial bureaucracy must take into account the violence, coercion and degradation in the policing of racial asymmetry. Two problems in particular rise to the surface. The first is a consideration of what acting out ‘types’ of people might mean for the ethics and epistemology of research. The second is the problem of discerning and narrating structure and agency in the actions of historical actors.

Enlivening, and re-animating are strategies associated in historical geography with non-representational philosophies. They are often assimilating modes of enquiry from posthumanist cultural geography that have been called ‘witnessing’, or ‘solicitation’, modes that seek out intersectionality at a precognitive level. If taking that non-representational position seriously then the human subject is drawn as an embodied

relational construct, emerging out of a series of encounters, or deriving potentiality from contrasts of (for example) movement and rest (Crouch 2003; Harrison 2008; McCormack 2003). Although historical geographers have been inspired by non-representational models, they still seem to focus on interpreting sociocultural rather than the precognitive aspects of embodied history. This is, I suspect, the reason that more traditional notions of personal identity linger in this scholarship, albeit in a fragmentary form. The term ‘ghost’ is often used (DeSilvey 2007b; Edensor 2008; Mills 2013). Lorimer (2007:58) uses the expression ‘character acting’.

In opposition to the vague, fragmented model posited for the historical actor, reports of the performative encounter often detail, with great intensity, the researcher’s actions and sensations as they carry out their research. The reports emphasise the researchers’ agency (DeSilvey 2006; Lorimer 2011; Steedman 2011). They enter the historian’s gestures into what the cultural studies scholar, Stewart, calls the “artful time of the narrator” who is able to re-organise and re-tempo the everyday in order to provide pattern and insight (1984). Performative research often does not, therefore, adhere to dominant schools of postcolonial thought that reject the capacity of historians to speak for the narratively dispossessed, or, indeed, for anyone to give a direct representation of their own consciousness (Spivak 1988).

The terms ‘ghost’ or ‘character’ seem to liberate researchers from positivist constraints and identity politics when narrating embodied pasts, but I don’t feel comfortable using that language with regards to the colonial bureaucratic workforce. I’m not willing to abandon the subaltern to fiction. The identities of the clerks have already been flattened to functions, types and caricatures in the colonial record. Hartman suggests that in order to write the history of slavery, scholars should sidestep attempts “to recover voices”, with “an attempt to consider specific *practices* in a public performance of slavery” [emphasis

mine](1997,12). To do this would require a subduing (not silencing, but a significant lowering of tone) of the “I” present in performative research.

Performativity and agency in the acts of everyday

The delicate balances of self and self-consciousness in historical research really come to the fore when we begin to consider that historical ‘everydays’ may also have been knowingly performed. On one level it would seem that the colonial clerks would have had little agency in their daily activities, that their interactions with the paper, typewriters and filing cabinets would have left scant room for creative manoeuvre. Yet scholars across multiple fields have been able to demonstrate the ways in which individuals and groups operated tactically, reworking power or creating coping mechanisms to contest attempted impositions of hegemony. Some of this literature has interrogated situations of direct violent coercion in the European colonial past (Duncan 2002; Hartman 1997; Scott 1985). However, parallels can be found in analyses of agency in contemporary labour geographies (McDowell 2008, Coe and Jordhus-Lier 2011) as all these scholars have often drawn from de Certeau’s analysis of European urban life (1984).

It seems likely that a certain amount of ‘reworking’ was going on in colonial bureaucratic procedures. Although I didn’t find any evidence of directly antagonistic behaviour from the colonial clerks, their employers discursively classify them as lazy, inadequate, or promising yet ineffective—well known as tropes to avoid taking the agency of the colonised seriously (Duncan 2002; Scott 1985). Seeking out the conditions of possibility for the clerical workers to ‘rework’ the bureaucracy for their own ends had been a key aspiration for my experiment in the archives. Yet in this I soundly failed. Using the materiality of the archive to consider writing and filing as embodied work, didn’t allow me to identify means by which the clerks could have re-asserted their own will on the system.

That failure produced reflection on one particular bureaucratic task, the act of writing. And on deeper reflection it seemed highly doubtful that this was an act that was amenable to closer interrogation through re-enactment. Clerical work, as observed in satirical fiction for nearly two hundred years, bears a strongly ironic relationship to notions of agency and creativity. The condition of the clerk, bound to transcribe, rather than to write, is a parody of the association between writing and self-expression or development. Yet in the physical *re-enactment* of writing, this difference is erased.

The conjunction of race, agency and irony in these colonial bureaucratic acts suggests that the conditions of their original ‘performance’ were highly specific. The ‘regulated reiteration’ of the performance of race infused what the clerical work was and what it meant (Butler 1993; McDowell 2008; Taylor 2003). The relationality of race in gesture has been described in historical geographies (Cresswell, 2006; Ogborn 2009). Yet to take that relationality seriously imposes sharp limits on what we can expect to understand through ‘enlivening’ historical material culture. Re-enactment can, it would seem, only capture the brute form of enacted gestures and only offer very limited access to their performative significance in their original context.

The performativity of re-enactment: repeating and reproducing the past

A final difficulty that this experiment brought up is perhaps the most obvious: my claim, as a white researcher sitting behind a desk in Lusaka, to *know* about the experience of a black African, is a claim that is embroiled in the racial politics of the present. It is now common for scholars to describe their investigative re-enactments as muddying and confusing the passage of time in productive ways. The terms ‘anachronism’ and ‘haunting’ (Edensor 2008; Geissler and Kelly 2016) have become celebratory within scholarly research. To focus on how re-enactment practices merge and multiply temporalities, however, is to skip a basic point: that to ‘re’-enact offers the suggestion that the investigated experience is, in

some way closed, that it's 'over'. By 'closing' the past, re-enactment bypasses and figuratively erases the other vectors, or acts of transfer through which the past persists in the present.

British colonial racial discourse is far from 'over'; it has multiple living legacies in what skin colour means today. One such is the historic legacy of a culture in which the black body is subject to the casual surveillance of the white gaze (Hartman, 1997), an "economy of looking" (Taylor 2003:13). The problem of embodiment and the gaze in enactment is also culturally entangled with the tradition of white bodies 'blacking up' in civic commemorative performances (Witz, 2009). To re-enact is an act of transfer, in multiple dimensions (Taylor 2003). I am *performing* colonialism in more ways than simply through the clerical gestures.

The difficulty of situating this re-enactment within the very live cultural heritage of colonial race discourse is compounded by the geographies of material injustice that survived the political dismantling of European empires. In 'performing' I draw attention to the contrast between my immunised and insured body and the social disadvantage of the archivists, cleaners and contemporary bureaucrats in Lusaka and Ndola whose work continues around my re-enactment. Through re-enacting colonial clerical gestures in the quotation marks of performance I am reinforcing my agency and my capacity for artfulness, in the face of communities trapped in in the "unfinished business" of the postcolony (McCalman 2009:168). The experiment is not only a re-re-enactment, but an arch reproduction of British colonialism's socioeconomic consequences.

It is well established in geographical fieldwork that the researcher's body is a site in/with which we "field difference" and "practice" geographies (Dewsbury and Naylor 2002), but the ethical aspect of this needs squaring with performative techniques in historical geography. Whilst in historical geography re-enactment has mostly been used to

investigate scenarios that are less obviously politically fraught than colonial governance, re-enacted gestures are nonetheless often treated as ‘of’ the past, and in isolation from contemporary manifestations of surviving or similar socio-economic structures.

Better ‘fielding of difference’ within re-enactment might be addressed by recognising parallel acts of transfer but Edensor doesn’t invite today’s Mancunians to qualify or enrich his musing on the “mundane present absences” of the working class in the built environment (2008). DeSilvey’s investigation of the materiality of a Montana homestead doesn’t draw upon the experience of those locked into salvage economies, or of migrant domestic and agricultural labour in North America today (2006; 2007a; 2007b). Lorimer’s investigation of the ‘appreciative listening’ that was advocated by a refugee of Nazism doesn’t invite contemporary political exiles to explore sensory dislocation and disorientation (2007).

One of the performances that re-enactment itself produces, by closing quotation marks and artfully placing our attention, is the invocation of patterns of similarity and difference: between past and present, between the historians and historic subjects, and between their respective communities. Material remains are far from being “the only class of historical events that occurred in the past but survive into the present” (Prown 1993: 2-3). Where a researcher privileges their own voice as unique mediator of past embodied experience, they risk overwriting commonalities that are shared elsewhere. Where that researcher ignores the other means, the other routes through which historical experience is manifested in “acts of transfer” and reiterated behaviours (Taylor 2003) they risk augmenting rather than alleviating the unevenness of the historical record.

Conclusion

The lightly re-enactive approach I took during the archival visits was very successful in drawing my attention to the materiality of the colonial record. It failed, however, to support

any revelations about how the original clerks would have experienced their work. This suggests that some kinds of historical investigation are more suited to performative approaches than others. Additionally, I'd suggest the performances that are produced in self-consciously embodied historical research are not isolated. Where scholars emphasise their own body as one particular route through which past behaviours can inflect the present, they must recognise where other parallel "acts of transfer" are taking place. Performative research in historical geography needs to be more clearly articulated in relationship to the sociomaterial geographies of the present.

Bibliography

Agnew V 2007 History's affective turn: Historical reenactment and its work in the present *Rethinking History* 11 299-312

Ashmore P Craggs R and Neate H 2012 Working-with: talking and sorting in personal archives *Journal of Historical Geography* 38 81-89

Author (unpublished thesis)

Butler J 1993 *Bodies that Matter: on the discursive limits of "sex"* Routledge, London, UK

Certeau M de, 1984 *The practice of everyday life* University of California Press, California, CA

Coe N M and Jordhus-Lier D C 2011 Constrained agency? Re-evaluating the geographies of labour *Progress in Human Geography* 35 211-233

Cook A, 2004 The Use and Abuse of Historical Reenactment: Thoughts on Recent Trends in Public History *Criticism* 46 487-496

Cresswell T 2006 "You cannot shake that shimie here": producing mobility on the dance floor *Cultural Geographies* 13 55-77

Crouch D 2003 Spacing, performing, and becoming: tangles in the mundane *Environment and Planning A* 35 1945-1960

DeSilvey C 2006 Observed Decay: Telling Stories with Mutable Things *Journal of Material Culture* 11 318-338

DeSilvey C 2007a Art and archive: memory-work on a Montana homestead *Journal of Historical Geography* 33 878-900

DeSilvey C 2007b Practical remembrance: material and method in a recycled archive in **Gagen E Lorimer H and Vasudevan A** eds *Practising the Archive: Reflections on Method and Practice in Historical Geography* Historical Geography Research Group, Royal Geographical Society, Institute of British Geographers, London 1-8

- Dewsbury J D and Naylor S** 2002 Practising geographical knowledge: fields, bodies and dissemination *Area* 34 253–260
- Duncan J S** 2002 Embodying colonialism? Domination and resistance in nineteenth-century Ceylonese coffee plantations *Journal of Historical Geography* 28 317–338
- Dwyer C and Davies G** 2010 Qualitative methods III: animating archives, artful interventions and online environments *Progress in Human Geography* 34 88–97
- Edensor T** 2008 Mundane hauntings: commuting through the phantasmagoric working-class spaces of Manchester, England *Cultural Geographies* 15 313–333
- Gagen E Lorimer, H and Vasudevan A** 2007 Introductory Remarks in **Gagen E Lorimer H and Vasudevan A** eds *Practising the Archive: Reflections on Method and Practice in Historical Geography* Historical Geography Research Group, Royal Geographical Society, Institute of British Geographers, London 1–8
- Geissler P W and Kelly A H** 2016 Field station as stage: Re-enacting scientific work and life in Amani Tanzania *Social Studies of Science* 46 912–937
- Griffin C J and Evans A B** 2008 Embodied practices in historical geography *Historical Geography* 36 5–16
- Harrison P** 2008 Corporeal Remains: Vulnerability, Proximity, and Living on after the End of the World *Environment and Planning A* 40 423–445
- Hartman S V** 1997 *Scenes of subjection: terror, slavery, and self-making in nineteenth-century America* Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK
- Hull M S** 2012 *Government of Paper: The Materiality of Bureaucracy in Urban Pakistan* University of California Press, Berkeley, CA
- Kneebone R and Woods A** 2014 Recapturing the History of Surgical Practice Through Simulation-based Re-enactment *Medical History* 58 106–121
- Latour B** 1990 Drawing things together in **Lynch M and Woolgar S** eds *Representation in Scientific Practice* MIT Press, Cambridge, MA 19–68
- Lawrance B N Osborn E L and Roberts R L** 2006 *Intermediaries, Interpreters, and Clerks: African Employees in the Making of Colonial Africa* University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, WI
- Lorimer H** 2003 Telling small stories: spaces of knowledge and the practice of geography. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 28 197–217
- Lorimer H** 2006 Herding Memories of Humans and Animals *Environment and Planning D* 24 497–518
- Lorimer H** 2007 Songs from before - shaping the conditions for appreciative listening in eds *Practising the Archive: Reflections on Method and Practice in Historical Geography* Historical Geography Research Group, Royal Geographical Society, Institute of British Geographers, London 1–8
- Lorimer H** 2010 Caught in the Nick of Time: Archives and Fieldwork in **DeLyser D Herbert S Aitken S Crang M and McDowell L** eds *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography* SAGE Publications Ltd, London, UK 248–273

- Lorimer J** and **Whatmore S** 2009 After the “king of the beasts”: Samuel Baker and the embodied historical geographies of elephant hunting in mid-19th century Ceylon *Journal of Historical Geography* 35 668–689
- McCalman I** Failing with Livingston: A Voyage of Reenactment on Lake Nyassa. In Daniel Spoth, **Agnew V** and **Lamb J** eds *Settler and Creole Reenactment* Palgrave Macmillan, London, UK 156-168
- McCormack D P** 2003 An event of geographical ethics in spaces of affect *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 28 488–507
- McDowell L** 2008 Thinking through work: complex inequalities, constructions of difference and trans-national migrants *Progress in Human Geography* 32 491-507
- Mills S** 2013 Cultural-Historical Geographies of the Archive: Fragments, Objects and Ghosts: Cultural-Historical Geographies of the Archive *Geography Compass* 7 701–713
- Nast H** 1998 The Body as “Place”: Reflexivity and fieldwork in Kano, Nigeria in **Nast H** and **Pile S** eds *Places Through the Body* Routledge, London, UK
- Ogborn M** 2002 Writing travels: power, knowledge and ritual on the English East India Company’s early voyages *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 27 155–171
- Ogborn M** 2009 Francis Williams’s Bad Language: Historical Geography in a World of Practice. *Historical Geography* 37 5–21
- Patchett M** 2008 Tracking Tigers: Recovering the Embodied Practices of Taxidermy *Historical Geography* 36 17–39
- Patchett M** 2016 The taxidermist’s apprentice: stitching together the past and present of a craft practice *Cultural Geographies* 23 401-419
- Petrov J** 2011 ‘Playing dress-up Inhabiting imagined spaces through museum objects’ in **Dudley S, Barnes A, Binnie J, Petrov J, and Walklate J** *The Thing about Museums: Objects and Experience, Representation and Contestation* Routledge, London, UK 230-241
- Prown J D** 1993 The Truth of Material Culture: History or Fiction? Lubar S and Kingery W D *History from Things* Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington 1-19
- Roberts L** 2015 Producing (in) Europe and Asia *Isis* 106 857-865
- Rose G** 2000 Practising photography: an archive, a study, some photographs and a researcher *Journal of Historical Geography* 26 555–571
- Schilling D** 2003 Everyday Life and the Challenge to History in Postwar France. Braudel, Lefebvre, Certeau *Diacritics* 33 23-40
- Scott J C** 1985 *Weapons of the weak: everyday forms of peasant resistance* Yale University Press, New Haven, CT
- Spivak G C** 1988 Can the Subaltern Speak? in **Nelson C** and **Grossberg L** eds *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* University of Illinois Press, Urbana, IL 271–313
- Steedman C** 2001 *Dust* Manchester University Press, Manchester, UK

Stewart S 1974 *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* Duke University Press, Durham NC

Stoler A L 2010 *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ

Taylor D 2003 *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* Duke University Press, Durham, NC

Witz L 2009 *History Below the Water Line: The Making of Apartheid's Last Festival in*
Agnew V and **Lamb J** eds *Settler and Creole Reenactment* Palgrave Macmillan,
Basingstoke, UK